# Historical & Cultural Conditioning of Building City's Image & Brand– The example of Łódź (Poland)

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# Abstract\*\*

The aim of this article is to present, with the example of the city of Łódz, the impact of the narrative of a place led by myths and symbols on the perception of the image and brand positioning. Throughout the research procedure, the historical overview of Łódz was outlined in the forefront. Then, the content of 67 selected texts presenting genealogical myths were analyzed. The confrontation of historical content with myths made it possible to formulate a conclusion that the knowledge of the culture of a place, including myths and symbols, is a database for the analysis of the reasons for the success / failure of the image and brand of the place. In the case of Łódz, vivid myths telling about the city's fall are the cause of a negative image, while reconstructed myths are used as a tool for repair its image.

Keywords: Culture, Place Branding, Place Marketing, Place Making, City Branding, Łódz, Poland

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# Introduction

Łódz is an interesting case to analyze the determinants of shaping the city's image. It is the third largest agglomeration in the center of Poland, which has been struggling with serious barriers to development since the political changes initiated in 1989. An important element shaping this situation is the culture of the place, that, among other things, functions as the primary source of information about it for the residents, investors and guests. Łódz is distinguished by an gripping, but short and intermittent history of the city's development, as a result of which the culture has become little expressive. The myths about the city contributed to the formation of a negative image and a weak city's brand. The problem was noticed during recurrent activities undertaken by city authorities. There is a lack of the proper distinction between the cultural aspects regarding heritage and modern culture of the city, even though cultural activity significantly shapes culture, it is only an element of a broad issue, which is specific for the functioning of a given community because it determines the nature of experiencing it, the impressions and opinions it leaves in people's awareness.

The goal of the article was to show the importance of historical and cultural factors in the process of building the image and brand of the city, based on the example of the city of Łódz.

The research objectives for the study were:

- To show the structure of the research problem,
- To outline a historical overview of Łódz,
- To identify the myths and symbols present in the city's culture,
- To describe the character of the contemporary culture of the city based on the historical data and cultural artefacts and to present the proposals for using them in order to improve the image of the city and reconstruct its brand.

The purpose has been realized by analyzing the content (identification and description, classification and interpretation) of historical data and myths. On this basis, the conclusions were made.

# Theoretical Framework of the Study

A city is a undertaking aimed at organizing the lives of a large group of people, allowing its stakeholders to achieve benefits (tangible and intangible) (Dinnie, 2011: 15). These include:

- Material (Landry, 2006) and capital value (Capello, 2015), human resources (which include intellectual and social capital) and information resources (Florida, 2014:202) for city managers;
- Having a place to live (Olczak, 2019:23), work (with contract or entrepreneurship) and the possibility to access widely understood development (Bertaund, 2015), the alternatives to spend free time (European Commission, 2010:9) for citizens;
- Profitable conditions for external investors, especially with a foreign capital (McDonald, Baily, 2017:3), attractiveness for tourists (accommodation and restaurants, sightseeing options) (Alvarez, 2010:172) and the offer of recurrent and one-off events in a national and international scope (Yi-De, 2015:150).

The city's ability to generate the above-mentioned benefits determines the image and brand of a place (Monteiro et. al., 2022:1) - two marketing attributes correlated with each other. Since a brand is the result of the perception of a place and its image consequently it is a foundation where the mental associations are created and remembered, building awareness and reputation of the place (Vuignier, 2016:5). The purpose of creating a brand of a place is positioning; the positive perception contributes to the sense of identification with it on the part of the local community (Vela, 2013:471). In turn, the perception and identification are conditioned by the heritage of a place - its history and culture (Gillberg, 2012:4-5). These are the factors determining the possibilities of generating added value: attracting investment capital, talents, tourists, etc. (Papadopoulos 2004).

Culture contains the information about resources at its disposal. Associations arise as a result of experiencing a place and the behavior of its inhabitants, and these associations are used by marketers to create a brand that is the basis for positioning that excels the city among competitors (Grzys, 2017:3).

The value of a place is therefore shaped by intangible resources, such as historical value, which are based on associations related to the culture of a place (Wolfe, 2021: 20). These factors are an important criterion when deciding to establish 'a relationship' with a place, in other words to make a decision to live, work, run a business, or do other investment activity in it.

Culture is a set of spontaneous and planned interactions between members of a given community (Bjerke, 2000:20), as a result of which an image affecting internal and environmental relations is developed. This general picture is assessed and categorized, thereby shaping the image (Kavaratzis, 2005:2; Hands, 2017:129). The qualitative assessment of an image is a process about the simplification (induced by human nature) based on visible cultural products - artefacts - factual, behavioral and linguistic, eg myths that are subjective, colorful stories (Schein 1986). Some artefacts function as a symbol, suggesting associations and communicating a certain hidden meaning (Ezell, O'Brien-O'Keeffe, 1994). Moreover, they synthetically transfer knowledge. Furthermore they encourage the building of stereotypes (Hogg, Cooper, 2007:69-71). These, in turn, become part of myths or acquire the meaning of a symbol. Myths, stereotypes and symbols are inscribed in the language of the narrative about a given culture (Campbell, 1991:23). These images bring a superficial message about what a given society has at its disposal, allowing the affective (emotional) layer of the image to dominate the cognitive one (knowledge of facts) (Gasc¢ -Hernandez, Torres-Coronas, 2009:29).

The cultural narrative is thus correlated with a historicism, the acceptance of disseminating information that differs from historical data. This dependence has an impact on the use of stories in the process of shaping the image and brand of a place, and consequently on the effectiveness of this process. Referring to the modern rules of storytelling, emotionally colored stories, the character that arouses interest and the clear context encourage the recipient to interact and leave impressions (Fog, Budtz, Yakaboylu, 2004). This type of marketing communication, is successfully used today in place marketing. However, cultural myths create

themselves (Lynch, 1960:123), they are not the subject of marketing activities, so they exist on their own and sometimes generate negative consequences for the image and brand of the place. It happens when they expose unfavorable events or prompt the reluctance of a person. Nowadays, due to the goals pursued by the city, the process of spreading myths should therefore be designed, planned and controlled in order to strengthen the effectiveness of the city's functioning (Anholt 2007). Arranging this aspect, selected communication activities should be undertaken appropriately to define the expected way of understanding the brand - its desired image (Nilsson, Zillinger, 2020:287).

The above argumentation serves to justify the problem's choice about the influence of historical and cultural factors on building the image of the city.

#### Historical Background

Łódz acquired city rights in 1423, but until 1820, due to its nature, it remained a small agricultural settlement with the right to organize fairs (Baranowski, Fijałek (ed.), 1980). At that time, the tsarist authorities decided to include Łódz into an industry cluster and made it a weaving and cloth-making center. The fathers of the dynamic development of the city which took place in the second half of the 19th century were the influx German entrepreneurs (one exception was Izrael Poznanski, who was born in the neighboring town, Aleksandrow Łódzki), who not only increased their fortunes but also built the city. Thus, the heyday of Łódz is due to the foreign citizens who had an extremely significant impact on the character of the city's culture (Barwinski). It was thanks to them that schools, hospitals and orphanages were established. At the same time, they basically did not differ from the capitalists of Western Europe considering how did they treat their local workforce. The workers included women (almost half of the people employed in Łódz at that time) and children over 10 years of age (Smiechowski, 2018). The stories about ridiculously low wages, dire housing conditions, numerous accidents at work and economic unemployment do not compose a positive collective picture of worker's lives standards. However, it should be remembered, that this situation affected many workers in the nineteenth-century industrialized world. The struggles for workers' rights had begun earlier in the West because there was a prior industry sector development. In Łódz, the workers did not play a visible social role until the last decade of the 19th century. In the subsequent century, the political and economic world situation shook the fortunes of Łódz, thus reducing class differences.

After the German factory owners and Polish workforce, the third important social group in this city were the numerous progressive Jews who came to Łódz to educate themselves and work in craftsmanship and trade (Pus, 1998:12). After 1918, when they obtained full civic rights (Przewłocka-Sionek, 2014:80), their social status and estates' possession allowed them to enter the intelligentsia in large numbers, becoming doctors, lawyers, teachers and artists.

Łódz stayed a culturally diverse industrial center until World War II. Paradoxically, the German elite of the city and their estates were endangered by their own countrymen - German soldiers, who after World War I on the orders of their leaders looted the factories of Łódz, and the Nazis, who expected loyalty to the Third Reich. An example of the resolute resistance to these pressures was the tragic death of Robert Geyer - grandson of the first factory owner in Łódz, who was shot by the Gestapo (Szymanski, Toranski 2016). The post-war, pro-Soviet nationalization led to the complete destruction of the city's entrepreneurial potential, which took away not only the property but also the dignity of the Lodzermensch<sup>1</sup> (one of the evidence was the tragedy of the Biedermann family and their decision to take their own lives due to being forced to seizure their property and goods) (Kozerawska, Podolska 2010). The factories then received a new owner (the state) and new employees. Before the occupation, almost half of the inhabitants were not of Polish origin (Rzepkowski, 2008:92), afterwards, Łódz became a predominantly polish city.

During World War II, Łódz was not severely damaged regarding its buildings. For this reason, and its proximity to Warsaw, it had the role of the capital while Warsaw was being rebuilt. Until the end of the '60s, it seemed that Łódz did not have insufficiencies. The textile industry was still the driving force of the city and Warsaw's intellectual elite worked in the newly created universities. A total collapse, however, came with the change of regime in 1989 and the collapse of large stateowned enterprises (Cudny, 2011:154). The radical change in the economic system caused passive reactions or migratory behavior among the inhabitants of Łódz.

The city's situation after 1945 resulted in the disappearance of its culture. There were no 'natural teachers' - the residents and representatives of all social and ethnic groups that previously created this community. The mass exiles, genocide and escapes have impoverished the memory of the place. The social capital of Łódz's inhabitants had been taken away. A huge influx of people after the war (Zysiak, 2019: 72) washed out the city's history, leaving only pale myths, that to a small extent based on facts, but were saturated with anti-German and anti-Semitic propaganda (Rakowski-Kłos 2017). The factories acquired new names, their history and the fate of their rightful owners became taboo. The rough, centrally planned economy and the assumptions of the socialist state almost vanished the past and traditions of this city from the pages of history, enlarging the gray and bland agglomeration space. In post-war Łódz, the low-skilled working class prevailed, living according to the maxim: "whether you stand or lie you will receive 1500 PLN,<sup>2</sup>" not knowing and not identifying with the history of the city. The inhabitants did not develop models of active and entrepreneurial behavior, such as those represented by pre-war entrepreneurs.

Łódz was orphaned, stripped of its identity. This empty void resulted in the formation of a negative image of the city, which is transferred both by residents and visitors. The problem with the development of this city emerges, among others, from the fact that its heyday was happening just for half a century, two generations, on a very short timeline, which, due to the subsequent dynamics of changes, was not able to be permanently recorded in the community's memory. The families of Scheibler, Grohman, Meyer, Poznanski remained in the city only for four decades. Łódz is not a city without history, but a city with a narrative gap for over half a century, which is why people are using the metaphor: Łódz lost its soul in the commune.<sup>3</sup>

#### Research Methodology

In the case study of Łódz, the content of texts presenting genealogical myths is analyzed - stories about the history of the place, its ancestors, the fate of the inhabitants, and the legacy they left behind, as well as the symbols appearing in them are indicated. Content analysis is used to describe, classify and interpret its meaning in order to establish the essence of social phenomena and subjects of social activities (Krippendorff, 1980).

The selection of genealogical myths was made by the analysis of existing sources (desk research). The basic criteria for the selection of source materials in the databases of the Library of the University of Łódz and on the Internet were the search keywords: "myth," "Łódz" and the names of manufacturers. In the course of the case study, the criteria were expanded with new threads and keywords that belong to the adopted research area. In total, 67 source texts were revised.

Based on the criterion of the strength of the myth's message (Eliade, 1963), selected stories about Łódz were classified as to their importance from the point of view of building the image and brand of the city. The more the story was popularized, the greater it was taken as the measure of the strength of the message, which determines the vitality of the myth (Eliade, 1963), assuming that:

- A living myth is generally, freely told,
- Narration of a dead myth stopped,
- A revived myth is a story whose vitality had deceased but returned into a narration.

The interpretation of the content served to determine the influence of the myth to building the image of the city.

# Findings

# Living Myths

A living myth in Łódz is the legend of Bałuty. It was once a quiet village bordering the northern Jewish part of the city. However, by virtue of the tsarist authorities' decision was that many criminals were settled thereafter they had left the prisons (Pus, 1998:202). In the second half of the nineteenth century, Polish peasants who wanted to work in factories but did not have sufficient funds to pay the rent in the center of Łódz, were coming to Bałuty as well as to the Chojny district (Rabon 2016). This social mixture that appeared there along with cramming into wooden barracks, associated with strongly expressed frustration, that entailed drunkenness, robberies and murders in the district. These behaviors intensified in times of bad economic conditions in factories and high unemployment. And although, as the old residents say: there are no real Błuciarzy (residents of Baluty) anymore, in modern days it is still a part of the city where incidents of hooliganism often occur and devalue the brand of Łódz. The name "Bałuty" has become a linguistic symbol depicting the degradation of the poor, unskilled workers in society (Gronc-zewska 2015).



Figure 1. Bałuty, 19th century house. Source: Muzeum Miasta Łodzi https://dzienniklodzki.pl/105-lattemu-baluty-wies-liczaca-100-tysiecy-mieszkancow-zostala-czescia-lodzi-zdjecia/ga/c15-15149734/ zd/45030962.



Figure 2. Bałuty, tenement house from the beginning of the 20th century - present state. Source: Tomasz Stanczak. Agencja Gazeta https://lodz.wyborcza.pl/lodz/7,44788,24192382,na-starych-baluckichpodworkach-kryje-sie-prawda-a-byc-z-balut.html.

The tangible artefacts of the period of industrialization are not only elements of the myth about the golden age for the city, but also the myth about the bumbling stewardship of the city of Łódz. After World War II, the palaces, villas and most of the more impressive tenement houses lost their owners and were adapted to the needs of public institutions (schools, kindergartens, hospitals) or turned into workers' housing. The buildings were experiencing a steady decline as a result of the political and economic changes from almost 30 years ago when the textile industry in Łódz irretrievably collapsed (Liszewski, 1999:56). The huge empty factories buildings started to decay, frightening off both potential residents and visitors alike to the problem of the lack of new jobs placement for the massively laid-off workers (Cudny, 2011:154). Łódz had become a city with no prospects. Not only the infamous Bałuty but also many other districts became enclaves of poverty, as the wealthier inhabitants moved to new residential accommodations, so mainly the poor and unemployed remained in the tenement houses.



Figure 3. Building of one of K. Scheibler's factories – present state. Source: Tomek Ogrodowczyk, Agencja Gazeta https://lodz.wyborcza.pl/lodz/7,35136,22959523,fabryki-scheiblera-czekaja-na-odnowebeda-biura-mieszkania.html.

# **Reconstructed Myths**

The main characters of the currently popular myths about Łódz are Ludwik Geyer, Henryk Grohman, Karol Scheibler and Izrael Poznanski. These men are the pillars of the stories about the factory owners who built the city (Szymanski, Toranski 2016). On the one hand, they are cherished for their role in the dynamic development of the city, and on the other hand, they are stigmatized for the way they treated employees. They were controversial personalities offering jobs, apartments, hospitals, and churches, while simultaneously, expecting a high pace of work, sometimes beyond the limits of human ability, due to the this, they were distinguished by the nickname of Lodzermensch (a term which has various interpretations depending on the above-mentioned perspectives of assessment). This term was popularized by Wladyslaw Reymont in the Nobel Prize-winning novel entitled "The Promised Land" (1988). It tells about capitalist' behavior and its impact on the social relations between eg, partners, employees, and on the development and character of the city. The person as a symbol most strongly remembered in the city's memory is Izrael Poznanski. According to the legends his behavior reflected to the greatest extend the stubborn pursuit of material goods and status, shown in his relentless competition with Karol Scheibler and his empire (Juchows-ki 2019). This is evidenced by, inter alia, the tangible symbols of the four palaces belonging to the Poznanski's, including the main one, belonging to the factory owner, dubbed the "Louvre of Łódz."



Figure 4. Izrael Poznanski's Palace, Museum of the City of Łódz. Source: Sebastian Glapinski https://uml.lodz.pl/aktualnosci/artykul/lodzki-luwr-po-remoncie-id36351/.

The source of the myth about the factory owners was their employees, who dreamed about the glamor of employers' lives and its sources - an alleged pact with the devil (Waingertner 2013). Later, the above-mentioned writer W. Reymont and his perception of that contemporary world made a significant contribution to the content of the myth. He was standing against the industrialization of cities and the presence of Germans and Jews in Poland. His negative message was further strengthened by Andrzej Wajda in his screen adaptation of the novel. For the sake of artistic effect, he radically exposed all the flaws of the characters like greed or hypocrisy, and also the oppressive character of the city, building an impression that has remained negative until the present times through coded associations with the darkly-framed movie.

An important element of the story about factory owners from Łódz are the numerous material symbols: palaces, villas, tenement houses, famuły (family homes) and factory buildings. These beautiful (many now restored) palaces, villas and tenement houses, which occupy a large part of the city, attract attention till nowadays. Łódz is rightly famous for its eclectic buildings - with their variety of styles, rich details along with the revitalized factory buildings, distinguished by unplastered brick walls and architecturally modeled on old strongholds (Stefanski 2008).



Figure 5. Tenement house "Pod Gutenbergiem. Source: LODZ.PL https://uml.lodz.pl/aktualnosci-lodzpl/ artykul-lodzpl/lodzianizmy-dom-pod-gutenbergiem-jaka-jest-historia-kamienicy-ze-smokamiid45507/2021/11/23/.



Figure 6. Entrance to the Grohman factory. Source: https://klubglobtroterawarszawa.com/2022/03/21/lodz-potentatow-polska-z-klubem-globtrotera/.

Another linguistic symbol of Łódz, known from marketing campaigns, is the slogan / statement: 'The City of Four Cultures': German - factory, Jewish - craft, Polish - workers and Russian - administration, which is the basis of the myth about the cultural diversity of the city and its cosmopolitan character (Flatt, 1853:116). This was evidenced by the joint ventures of the factory owners, such as the construction of churches financed by donors of various denominations, or the collaborative struggle of Polish and Jewish workers on the barricades in 1905. Undoubtedly, the city was multinational during that period, in addition to the above-mentioned groups some Czechs and Silesians were also settled in Łódz (Bieda, Wisniewska-Józwiak, 2013:185). Ethnically-based settlements bordered each other and daily life took place in factories.

Among the reconstructed legends, the myth of artistic Łódz seems to be the most controversial. Yes, Artur Rubinstein (pianist) and Julian Tuwim (writer) were born here, but they were never created here. And Wladyslaw Reymont (writer, laureate of the Nobel Prize in Literature), Kazimierz Dejmek (director, actor), Stefan Jaracz (actor, director, writer) and Gustaw Holoubek (actor) were only temporarily associated with this place. In the interwar period, the Polish avant-garde was born in this city, when the regaining of political independence encouraged freedom of thought and action. A particular symbol of the period is Władysław Strzeminski (avant-garde artist) with his resistance to socialist realism.

A special place in the myth of the artistic city is occupied by the Łódz Film School (founded in 1948 on the initiative of Warsaw's artists and art theorists who had no space to work in devastated Warsaw). The school's first decades of activity educated, among others: Roman Polanski, Krzysztof Zanussi, Krzysztof Kieslowski and Andrzej Wajda - the aforementioned filmmaker of "The Promised Land," who later supported the transfer of the Film School to Warsaw. The "Honoratka" cafe, which hosted many of these outstanding film artists, and was a source of ideas for them, has also become a tangible symbol.



Figure 7. Lodz Film School. Source: Mariola Anna S https://www.logo24.pl/Logo24/7,125390,20624077,fil mowka-wsrod-najlepszych-szkol-na-swiecie.html?disableRedirects=true.

# Dead Myths

At the end of the 19th century, the myth of the workers' struggle to improve working and living conditions was born. The calendar of historical events includes the Łódz revolt - the first Polish workers' strike (May 1, 1892) and the June uprising (June 22-24, 1905) which was an event belonging to the Revolution of 1905, when Łódz workers of Polish and Jewish origin fought together on the barricades against the absolutism of the Tsar (Smiechowski, 2014:78). Another incident in post-war history was the textile workers' strike in 1971, who were protesting against rising food prices (Zapolska-Downar, 2017:46). In this way, the workers from Łódz became known as heroes and activists (Piskała, Marzec, 2013).

Throughout the entire textile period of Łódz, there was a myth of women as workers, mainly textile, and professionally active guardians of the hearth. Undertaking work in noise, dust and chemical vapors and being proud of their attitude towards supporting the family budget, it was women who humbly accepted the hardships of life, while still being ambitious and trying to cope with any situation, seeking a sense of personal freedom and self-worth at work (Kuzma, 2013:36-37).



Figure 8. Women in the cotton products factory - the beginning of the 20th century. Source: Centralne Muzeum Włókiennictwa w Łodzi https://www.polityka.pl/tygodnikpolityka/mojemiasto/1564217,1,na-czym-polega-grozna-feminizacja-lodzkiej-biedy.read.

# Interpretation of Myths

History is recorded, inter alia, in cultural artefacts which carry the information about the nature and potential of a given community and the place it occupies. When analyzing the above content, it should be noted that Łódz is not a city without history, but with a short, intermittent and "uncomfortable" history, as evidenced by the myth regarding the founders of industrial Łódz. Their nationality and religion were used for the purposes of post-war anti-German and anti-Semitic propaganda, as a result of which the myth turned into a taboo. With the particular care the pro-social activities of the factory owners were removed from the memory. On the other hand, the figure of Izrael Poznanski was used for the staunch negation of the bourgeoisie as an example of a ruthless upstart. It can be seen, therefore, that a deliberate modification of the content about the ancestors of the city was made for the purposes of political indoctrination. On the other hand, as a result of the artistic endeavors undertaken by Wajda, there was a deepening of the mental rejection to remember the German factory owners and Jewish merchants inhabited the city. The contemporary reconstruction and its emotional layer indicate these stories are being treated with distention by their current narrators, who do not show the need to identify with the reported events and their characters.

When analyzing these stories about Łódz, it is worth noting that it ignores or marginalizes the broader historical context indicating the reasons for their settlement in Łódz, which would make it possible to understand the reasons for the sudden development of the city (it was the effect of the second wave of globalization in this part of Europe, favored economic conditions for the development of entrepreneurship: low customs duties in the Kingdom of Poland, low or interest-free loans, and high absorption of the Russian market) (Sieron, 2017:74 ).

The verification of the myth about multiculturalism draws attention to the fact that Russian nationality was not only the least visible - because Russians constituted 2% of the population - but also the least socially active due to the role played by these residents, the tsar's administration (Budziarek, 1995:15). Moreover, it is important to emphasize that it was not only the Russian culture that was isolated, others also remained in their national circles due to the rules and moral norms prevailing at that time that representatives of various social classes should not enter into mutual relations outside of work (Rzadkowolska, 2013:362). These norms were strongly enforced, as exemplified by the tragedy of Poznanski's grandson and his suicide due to his family's refusal to accept his relationship with a Polish employee. The mixing of cultures was also limited by the regulations concerning the rules governing Jewish settlements in Polish cities (Pus, 1998:15). Cultural diversity was, therefore, not based on the interpenetration of customs of individual nationalities, but on coexistence in the same place. The myth of the multiculturalism of Łódz is most often mentioned by former inhabitants of Jewish origin who were forced after the war to leave not only the city but also Polish territory, even though their roots remained here. Despite one-third of the city's inhabitants being Jewish before 1939 and there being nearly 250 synagogues and prayer houses (the Nazis successfully destroyed these numerous material symbols; with only one surviving after the war) (Walicki 2000), there are hardly any traces of their existence in the common social memory. There are only references to the ghetto in the narrative.

The myth about the artistic potential of the city was reflected in the assumptions of the Łódz brand management strategy for 2010-2016 - building the city's image as a center of creative industries (Szyjkowska 2019). Although the foundations for the development of Łódz are entrepreneurial and innovative behavior, the scope of creative industries is determined mainly by the classification of cultural industries, which have been expanded to include contemporary creative products, such as games or advertisements. Though Łódz has three reputable art acad-

emies, it has not become a workplace for many graduates, because the market of creative products in the city is not receptive (https: //uml.Łódz.pl/dla-biznesu/ przemysly-kreacyjnego/aktualnosci -the-creative-sector-in-Łódz). There is also no clear justification for referring to history. In addition, efforts were made to expose the few names of artists associated with Łódz, which is probably intended to raise the standing of the place, thereby preventing the city from being categorized as a working-class city, for one distinguished by its interest in high culture (Rakowski-Kłos 2015). However, Łódz's role in their artistic endeavors is mainly as a place of study, without creating a need to identify with this place. Therefore, the undertaken image-building activities did not bring the intended results. Currently, the starting point for brand building is a more general vision of the city as friendly, creative and dynamic (Integrated Development Strategy for Łódz 2020+)

Attempts were made to revive the myth of revolutionaries during the communist era to boost the mood of the employees of the numerous factories in Łódz. Although, the heroes of these events were assigned the role of activists for the rights of the proletariat to appropriate working conditions and decent wages. Little known remain in present the commemorative plaques and the monument in Pilsudski Park indicating the burial place of the victims of the Great Revolution of 1905-1907. The actual historical value of the workers' struggle itself made the myth short-lived (Potkanski, 2014:160-161).

The narrative of the myth about women working in factories is very weak as if no one cares about saving this image permanently (the heroines themselves were convinced that they only do what they have to do). Thus, the message has lost its power. However, a synectic<sup>4</sup> interpretation of the portrait of a worker from Łódz suggests that Łódz (using Hofstede's typology of culture (2001)) is a woman, so has a feminine dimension. This was evidenced by the independent initiatives of factory owners undertaken for the development of the city, such as the construction of hospitals and mainly joint co-financing of churches, which was possible thanks to respect of cultural diversity. Currently, Łódz is on the difficult path to renewal, focuses on cooperation and is open to new residents, who require a satisfactory place of residence and a guarantee of employment. The above are manifestations of female behavioral patterns that stand in opposition to fierce male competition.

#### The Influence of the Myth to Building the Image of the City

Confronting the historical content with the myths allows enabling the assessment of what information is important for the process of the conscious building of the image and brand of the city (Grzyz, 2017:10) by raising awareness about the culture of its former inhabitants and the motives behind their behavior.

The reconstructed myths show what the real character of the city is and what facts have been removed from the city's memory. Łódz has retained its industrial character, which is not sufficiently emphasized. The difference is that today it is a multi-sector activity (production, logistics, BPO) and factories are located on the outskirts of the city and modern technologies allow aesthetic buildings that fit seamlessly into residential estates. Contrary to appearances, a wide range of com-

panies from many fields reside in the city, providing numerous jobs, revealing the openness to external investors (Antal, 2019).



Figure 9. Once a Scheibler and Grohman factory. Currently Art\_Inkubator. Source: https://www.propertydesign.pl/konkursy/126/ruszyl\_konkurs\_na\_rezydentow\_lodzkiego\_art\_inkubatora,33497.html.

The entrepreneurship underlying the development of industrial Łódz is currently initiated in specially created institutions: the Łódz Special Economic Zone, Bionanpark, Art\_Inkubator, SkyHub, or through the competition organized by the City Office "I have an idea for a start-up."

The anti-Semitic and anti-German propaganda carried out throughout almost the entire 20th century has resulted in a lack of identification of the city with its history. Łódz has no collective just only individual memory (Fiszbak, 2005:297) of activists (such as the Marek Janicki Street Foundation or Marek Edelman Dialogue Center). There were no natural history teachers, pre-war residents, representatives of the other two national and social groups in Łódz - Jewish and German. However, it should be noted that the contemporary inhabitants of Łódz are not particularly interested in either the history of the city or the fate of its pre-war inhabitants, which should be respected from the point of view of an interpretative (as opposed to functional) approach to shaping culture. An example of the lack of residents' identification with the city's history is the scarcity and illegibility of those symbols that should be the essence of the content or information about the place and people. This problem can be illustrated by the example of the city's logo / name written in Strzeminski's alphabet (Jarecki 2011), which is not widely known, therefore it does not evoke associations with the Łódz avant-garde.<sup>5</sup>

Living myths are the source of its bad image. Although the situation in the city has changed radically in recent years, the power of the message of a living myth is still

very productive. The popularity of the way makes its content credible. Łódz experienced a crisis that left its mark on its image and brand, but in the last few years, a big number of measures have been taken to renew the city on many levels. Over the last decade, the city authorities have begun to use the city's material symbols in a visible and effective way. The factories of Poznanski (now the Manufaktura shopping complex), Grohman (Łódz Special Economic Zone), Scheibler (Fabryka Sztuki, Art\_Inkubator), Ramisch (OFF Piotrkowska mixed-use development) and John (217 Piotrkowska-performance & event venue) have been given a new lease of life. Revitalization of post-industrial facilities for the purposes of a range of entrepreneurial activities creates a unique atmosphere and increases the prestige of the place. On the other hand, the topographic identification of these objects and others related to the history and culture of the city (material symbols) would increase the city's readability - understood as the ability to locate important points or parts of the city. The average tourist is still limited to Piotrkowska Street and the Poznanski complex. Even for a native of Łódz, it is difficult to delineate a mental map of the southern part of the factory town (in the times of the Polish People's Republic, these were poverty enclaves).

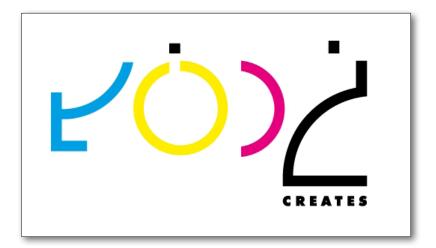


Figure 10. Łódz logo. Source: https://uml.lodz.pl/dla-mieszkancow/o-miescie/herb-logo-i-symbole-lodzi/logo-lodzi/.

Dead myths can be reconstructed, and such attempts are made in relation to the one of these myths. At present, Łódz focuses on cooperation on its way to renewal and is open to new residents and investors. These are manifestations of feminine cultural behavior patterns. While surfing in the Internet to look for "Łódz is a woman" there is mainly information about textile workers (https: //plasterŁódzki. pl/wydarzenia/Łódz-jest-kobieta-spacery-po-miescie/), famous Łódz women (https: //www.dziswŁódzi .pl / learn-Łódz / dobre-bo-Łódzkie / great-Łódzians / Łódz-is-a-woman - stories-of-the-most-famous-Łódz women). This phrase appears in the statements of the current Mayor of the City, Hanna Zdanowska (https:// twitter.com/hannazdanowska/status/918842870118928385) and was also used to distinguish the information about the preparations for the opening of the intimate prevention point (https: //uml.Łódz.pl/aktualnosci/artykul/Łódz-jest-kobieta-w-Łódzi-ieszka-wiecej-kobiet -niz-men-and-is-the-most-pro-female-city-in-Poland-

id26489 /). It should be added that there are few of them (7 in total, as of June 2021). Thus, the feminine character of the city is perceived (however, the small number of activities in this area does not allow the myth to be classified as reconstructed). This metaphor not only refers to the history of the city but also provides a wide range of possibilities for describing its positive values indicated above. It also fits in with the female style of solving problems, in this case with the image and brand of the city.

#### Discussion

Place branding is a relatively new issue and is not very precise, both in terms of definition and in structuring the factors determining success (Vuignier, 2016:4). The historical and cultural context is essential in this respect (Scaramaga, 2012). On one hand, it has a significant impact on the perception of the brand image, due to, among other things, marketing communication referring to known facts, as well as legends and myths (Rivas, 2015:25-38). On the other hand, it makes a comparative analysis of places difficult. It is believed that the starting point for its implementation may be measurable variables, such as the year of foundation, area, number of inhabitants, number of investments, number of tourist attractions, industrial profile of the city, etc. However, the historical and cultural context important in place branding is descriptive, qualitative, comparable to a psychological study of the individuality of a human being. It reveals many complexities and differences conditioned by different experiences (Petraskis, Kostis, 2013:47).

Therefore, place branding should be a case study supported by benchmarking. There is, of course, a need to make comparisons with similar cases and to look at solutions to problems as well as the causes of their formation and barriers to their elimination (Mskowiec, 2016). However, each branding project is unique and should have its own vision, also because the brand must be different from others and not resemble them (Oguztimur, 2017:149-150).

With regard to the example of Łódz, the literature on the subject most often includes comparisons of this city with: Manchester and Detroit (Sieron, 2017; Kazmierczak, Kosmowski, 2018). The common point is the dynamic development of the place associated with the industrial revolution and the problem with management, after World War II, of a specific - large, post-industrial space and people, low-skilled factory workers. The analysis of the content of the available studies reveals that the narrative about both cities compared to Łódz is completely different, due to the historical and cultural context that is key in this study.

In the nineteenth century, Manchester was hailed as "Cottonopolis" and became the urban paradigm of agglomeration turbodevelopment with the entry into its space of large industry powered by steam engines (Hahn, 2020). The history of the city is long, dating back to Roman times. The space is distinguished by monuments that have survived from the beginning of the modern era. They are complemented by stories, for example, about the work of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in one of the historical libraries on the Manifesto of the Communist Party (Musto, 2007:479). There are also modern stories related to famous football teams: Manchester City and United, their players, coaches, stadiums, successes and failures (Edensor, Millington, 2008). However, there are not too many references to the industrial era. It is the result of, among other things, the great bombing of the city in 1940 by the Germans, the main targets of which were industrial facilities. The historic district of Castelfield has survived and is now a tourist attraction (Gibson, 1997). Therefore, the points of reference for building a marketing communication strategy of the place are divided into various, the above-mentioned threads are elements of an interesting historical and cultural puzzle.

The history of the city of Detroit dates back to the beginning of the 17th century, but the area was already inhabited 11,000 years ago. In the second half of the 19th century, Detroit became a world hub for trade and transport (Martelle, 2015:25-34). At the beginning of the 20th century, it was again the focal point, this time of the socio-economic revolution, to which Henry Ford contributed, who opened a large factory here. The entrepreneur's ambition was also for each of his employees to have a car (Barrow, 2018:101). This is where the idea of consumer and mortgage loans was born (Hounshell, 1985:293). In the 1960s In the 1980s, the African-American music label Motown Record started its activity, which to this day, despite many obstacles, plays a significant role in this industry (Aquila, 2009). In addition, the communication of the place shows two more motives of the stories, less exposed. One of them concerns the Mardis Gras parade organized since 2005, thematically referring to the myth about the dwarf Nain Rouge, which was supposed to curse his person and place immediately after Antoine de la Mothe founded the city (Fee, Webb, 2016:696). The second one raises the issue of involving the local community in the revitalization of the city space (Gołebiewski, 2013). However, the dominant theme in the story of Detroit is its collapse, which began in the 1940s. In the 1980s, it continues to this day due to racial conflicts between the inhabitants, the relocation of housing estates and factories to the suburbs (Sugrue, 1996), and the tax policy. The narrative about Detroit focuses on this one theme - the city's degradation and darkness (Ryzewski, 2021:7-12), taken from different perspectives, overshadowing its weight with other worth of attention (Hitchen, 2011).

In both cases, as in the example of Łódz, vivid myths determine the image and brand of a place. They have an impact on reputation understood as a cultural phenomenon that is not under the direct control of the "owner" of the brand (Anholt, 2008:4). They play an crucial role in the perception of a place by its stakeholders (residents, investors, tourists, etc.) (Rivas, 2015:52). Łódz does not have the attributes of Manchester, but also such socio-economic problems as Detroit. It also differs in terms of politics and economy. Both selected cases are located in the territories of highly developed countries, leading the world, as opposed to post-communist Poland. These observations argue the importance of historical and cultural barriers that make it impossible to carry out a comparative analysis of cities. At the same time, the same factor determines the placement of the place's brand and image.

#### Conclusion

Contemporary cities care about effective customer acquisition in the form of tourists, investors and encouraging residents to stay within its territory. All stake-holders want to feel the atmosphere and the exclusiveness of the place. Some-thing has to seduce them. Therefore, by making sure that the place is attracting residents and guests with an interesting image and a good brand, a positive image of a place is built. Its cognitive layer should be strengthened and conclusions that are drawn from the study of cultural artefacts confirm this. The knowledge of the culture of a place, including myths and symbols, is a database for analysis and inference regarding the reasons for building the specific image and brand of a city.

The example of Łódz discussed as the case study shows that broad-context research reveals ways to overcome the negative image and encourage positive reinforcement. The study of historical data and cultural narrative creates marketing opportunities through the skillful use of trivia, little-known facts or told stories. As a result, the expressiveness of the place increases, which in turn is a factor conducive to the achievement of the city's goals. On the other hand, the expressiveness of a place is determined by the ease of experiencing its history on emotional level.

The purpose of the case report was to show the relationship between the inept use of historical and cultural data and the poor brand of the city and its unfavorable image. Łódz is an example of a post-industrial city that, due to the economic, technical and technological changes determining the functioning of industry, could not achieve its original goals. The culture of Łódz is a little expressive culture, not very expressive, not preserved in the memory of the place, but the city has a splendid history. Łódz was a city that gave a sense of freedom for entrepreneurial thought, for architecture (the famous Łódz eclecticism), and for creative activities. It did not impose rigid standards, it does not overwhelm with history, it does not label or categorize. The ancient cultural diversity has taught its people (from different backgrounds) to be tolerant. The unique industrial character of the place is emphasized by numerous architectural material symbols. Łódz is a city that is shaping its culture anew. It is a culture that is reviving, thanks to which it has the possibility to reconstruct its image and brand in a way that is beneficial for the city's interest.

The conclusions show the importance of historical and cultural factors for the effective building of the city's image and brand. They indicate that the knowledge of the culture of a place, including myths and symbols, constitutes a database for analysis and inference about the reasons for building a distinctive image and brand of a city.

#### Endnotes

- 1 From German: Lodzer Łódz, mensch human.
- 2 Polish currency.
- 3 When there was a communist regime.

- 4 Gordon's synectics is a method of creative, in this case metaphorical, thinking (1961).
- 5 An example unrelated to the main field of research elaboration is the problem of symbol which unexpectedly appeared in Łódz, causing huge controversy unicorn. The roofing of the main transfer station in the city centre near two main arteries intersecting gained the common name of "Stable of Unicorns." In 2016 the project of building a monument of a unicorn was announced as part of the civic budget, which won the contest. Currently, the unicorn became the symbol of Mobile Łódz a nationwide promotional campaign aimed at obtaining new workers and citizens. Judging the birth of this symbol from point of view of natural cultural processes it should be assumed that it is an expression of need of having symbols, which are legible for citizens. However, unicorn have a rich cultural history reaching 4th century BC and has a very positive meaning. Reservations may arouse only its current graphic visualization.

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