

Chapter 8

The Concept of the Garden City on a Micro Scale: A Case Study of the Urban Planning of Johow Gelände in Poznań and It's Challenging Heritage

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Poznań's Johow-Gelände: Adaptive Urbanism across Regimes

Urban space is far more than a neutral backdrop for human activity—it is a complex, dynamic arena where diverse forces converge and contend. Political, ideological, and cultural agendas are materialized in the built environment, rendering space a site of power struggles, but also of everyday negotiation and lived experience. Urban planning is not solely a matter of functionality or aesthetics; it also involves encoding certain visions of social order into the material form of the city. In this context, the district of Johow-Gelände in Poznań serves as a compelling example of how space may be employed both practically and symbolically, and how it reflects broader historical currents (Poznań, a city located in western Poland, is one of the oldest cities in the country and has a complex history shaped by Polish and German influences, particularly in the 19th and 20th centuries. In the period of the partitions of Poland, Poznań was part of Prussia and later Germany, only returning to Poland after World War I, and then again being part of Germany during WWII before becoming a part of Poland once more after 1945).

Founded in the late 19th century, Johow-Gelände was designed as a prestigious residential enclave for the urban elite, promoting the ideals of modernity, order and German national identity. The architectural diversity and formal coherence of the neighborhood - designed mainly by Max Johow - expressed not only urban rationalism, but also German cultural dominance over Polish. However, the fate of Johow-Gelände did not remain static. Following World War II and the establishment of the Polish People's Republic, the district underwent profound transformation. The original ownership structures were dismantled through processes of nationalization and municipalization, and the once-spacious apartments were subdivided into communal flats to accommodate the needs of a rapidly urbanizing, working-class population. This spatial fragmentation reflected the ideological shift toward collectivism and social equalization under socialism. The material degradation that followed was not merely a consequence of poor maintenance, but also a result of the state's ideologically driven housing policies. In the post-socialist period, new challenges and opportunities have emerged. Contemporary revitalization efforts aim to restore architectural heritage, but also grapple with the complex legacies of ownership, identity, and memory embedded in the space. The district's long history reveals how urban space is repeatedly reshaped by shifting political regimes, each leaving lasting marks on its form and function.

The central thesis of this research posits that the transformation of Johow-Gelände cannot be understood solely in terms of urban design; rather, it represents a symbolic enactment of ideological projects—from imperial power, through socialist collectivism, to neoliberal urban policy. Thus, the district becomes a microcosm of the political history of Central and Eastern Europe, a space where urban form and political intention are inextricably intertwined.

Methodological Framework and Periodization of Urban-Political Transformations

To fully grasp the complexity of Johow-Gelände's evolution, this research adopts a historical-urban methodology (Barłóg, 1989; Crowley, 1994; Grzeszczuk-Brendel, 2018; Howard, 2015; Juskiewicz, 2023; Kodym-Kozaczko, 2009; Skuratowicz, 1991), combining the analysis of urban planning documents (Plans of the housing estate preserved in the National Archives in Poznań, Akta Miasta Poznania (File of the City of Poznań) sig. 7316., documentation of the housing estate preserved Municipal Heritage Conservator's Office in Poznań, heritage records

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(conservation cards) of tenement houses located at 50–61 Matejki Street and 1–16 Grottgera Street), architectural transformations, and socio-political contextualization (Interviews conducted by Marianna Isańska and Dominika Plata with three residents of Johow-Gelände between February and April 2025 as part of this research indicate a substantial socio-demographic shift in the population inhabiting the area after World War II. Respondents were asked a set of questions regarding their experiences and perceptions, including when they moved into the area and whether they have lived there continuously since.



Fig. 1. Poznań, botanical garden in the so-called Johowa district. In the background are buildings in Matejki Street, circa 1910. Postcard from the beginning of the 20th century (source: University Library in Poznań).

They were also asked about their changing perceptions of green spaces over time, particularly in comparison to the 1980s and 1990s, the current structure of the population in terms of professions and social types, their thoughts on PRL-era architecture as reflected in photographs of the area, and the size and division of their apartments). The structure of the work is organized around three key phases in the history of Johow-Gelände. The first covers the formation of the district under Prussian rule (1890s–1918), when the estate emerged as a manifestation of German imperial ambitions and a model of bourgeois urban design (The period between 1918 and 1939, corresponding to the interwar years of the Second Polish Republic (II RP), is deliberately omitted. During this time, the district underwent significant political and administrative changes, including shifts in urban policy and priorities that do not align with the themes of imperial and socialist transformation explored in this text. Additionally, the socioeconomic and architectural changes of this period were overshadowed by the broader geopolitical and economic context, which complicates a direct analysis within the scope of this study.”). The second phase focuses on the transformations during the Polish People’s Republic (1945–1989), marked by nationalization, fragmentation of private apartments, and the ideological repurposing of space in line with socialist housing policy (The aim of this article is to analyze changes in the architecture and spatial layout of the housing estate; since no significant transformations occurred between 1918 and 1945, this period is omitted from the discussion). The final phase explores post-1989 revitalization efforts, with a focus on heritage preservation, reprivatization, and the socio-economic tensions arising from neoliberal urban development. Through the analysis of these three moments, the study aims to illuminate both the local urban history of Poznań and to derive broader conclusions about the ways in which urban space is transformed, utilized, and ideologically appropriated by different political regimes. This research contributes to critical urban studies by highlighting the political dimension of spatial planning, the long-term consequences of ownership transitions, and the contemporary challenges of heritage management within the socio-economic framework of late capitalism.

Urban Planning as a Tool of Ideological Transformation: A Century of Change in Johow-Gelände

After the incorporation of the Grand Duchy of Poznań into the German Empire in 1871, the city experienced a rapid influx of population. In order to overcome Poznań's status as a peripheral city and to retain the newly arrived residents of the Reich, it became necessary to develop a robust cultural and social infrastructure that would offer attractive living conditions (The Prussian authorities, particularly after the unification of Germany in 1871, undertook intensive Germanization efforts in Poznań, aiming to strengthen the city's German character in a region marked by a strong Polish identity. Despite significant investments in infrastructure and urban development, Poznań was perceived by many Germans as provincial and unattractive for permanent settlement.). One of the main obstacles to the city's expansion was the building restrictions imposed by its military fortifications from the first half of the 19th century, which led to overpopulation, a reduction in green spaces, and a significant deterioration in living standards (Skuratowicz, 1991, p. 131-160). These restrictions were further compounded by regulations regarding the use of military zones, such as the "safety zones" around the forts, which could not be built on due to the risk of artillery fire. These regulations were established under Prussian laws in the 1870s, when Poznań was transformed into Festung Posen (Fortress Poznań), restricting the city's growth and leading to overpopulation, a reduction in green spaces, and a significant deterioration in living standards. To expand the urban area, city planners in the 1890s initiated a project to incorporate the surrounding districts of Łazarz, Wilda, and Jeżyce. These plans also included the dismantling of the fortification walls, which proved to be a crucial step toward the modernization of Poznań (Skuratowicz, 1991, p. 111-117).

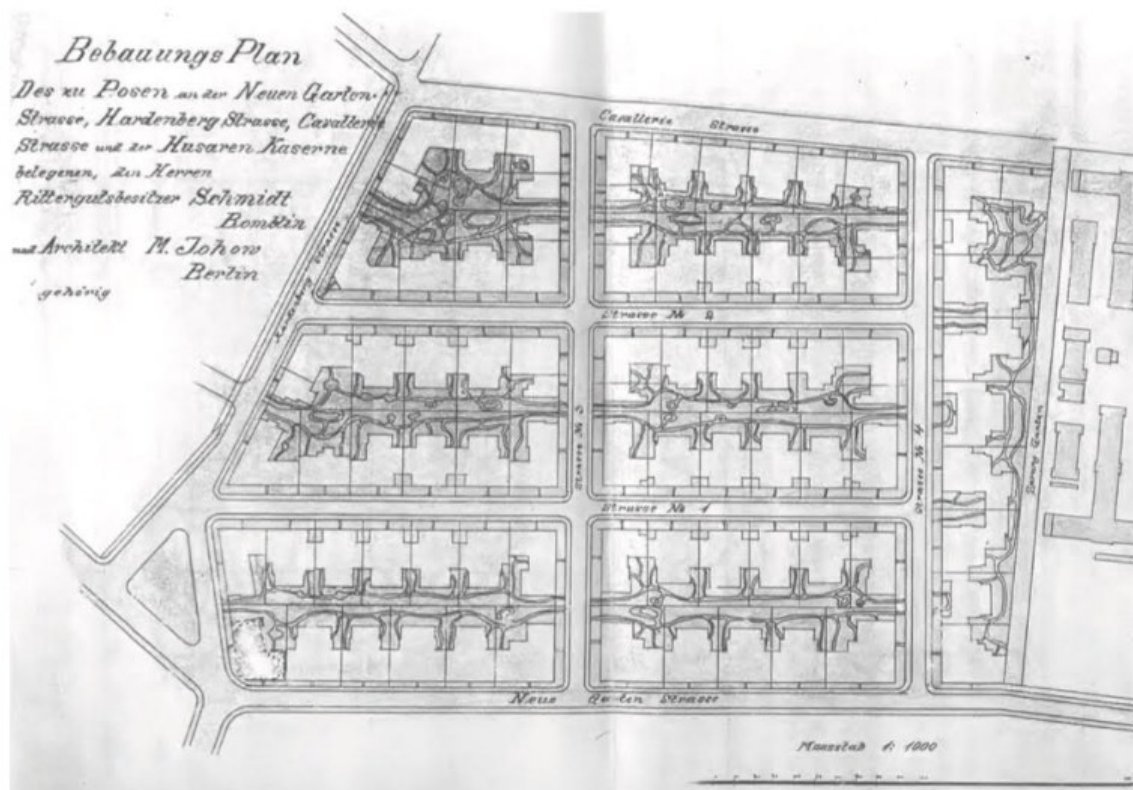


Fig. 2. Max Johow, construction projects of the district with gardens inside the quarters, front gardens and a reformist design of tenement houses, 1902 (source:

The urban planning strategy associated with the expansion project envisioned the construction of a modern infrastructure and the presentation of Poznań as a model Prussian city. This vision materialized in the redesign of the city center and the development of the so-called Imperial District (Kaiser-Viertel), whose central architectural landmark was the Imperial Castle (Zamek Cesarski), built on the orders of Emperor Wilhelm II. This new district was intended to serve both as the representational core of German Poznań and as a symbol of the German Empire's dominance over the Greater Poland region. The main architect of this ambitious transformation was Josef Stübben, one of the most prominent urban planners of his time, responsible for the modernization plans of numerous German cities. His redesign of the city center involved the redevelopment of areas previously occupied by military fortifications and the spatial integration of the historic core with the newly incorporated suburbs. Amid the broader context of urban modernization, Johow-Gelände emerged as a modern and luxurious residential district designed for the wealthiest and most prominent inhabitants of Poznań (fig. 1). As stated in governmental planning assumptions, "the urban composition was intended to serve as a framework for architecture with a programmatic, Germanising ideological agenda, and to illustrate the high quality of German urban culture. The construction activities following the defortification of the city further intensified the national polarization within Poznań's society." (The national polarization in Poznań at the beginning of the 20th century referred to the growing conflict between the Polish and German populations, driven by intensified Germanization policies implemented by the Prussian state. In response to the threat to their cultural identity, the Polish community began to develop its own institutions—such as schools, banks, cooperatives, associations, and press—creating a closely knit national environment. As a result, a clear socio-political and ethnic division emerged within the city, leading to the parallel existence of two distinct communities: Polish and German., orig.: "kompozycja urbanistyczna miała tworzyć ramy dla architektury o germanizacyjnym programie ideowym, ilustrować wysoką jakość niemieckiej kultury urbanistycznej. Działalność budowlana w ramach rozbudowy poznań po defortyfikacji wzmocniła narodowościową polaryzację społeczeństwa miasta". (Kodym-Kozaczko, 2009, p. 437.) Address books suggest that the majority of residents were German officials and military personnel; however, Polish surnames also appear in these records. It is important to note, though, that national identity is a highly complex issue and cannot be determined solely based on the sound of a surname, even if state policies at the time clearly favored German settlement (Barłóg, 1989, p. 61-63). The architect responsible for the urban planning of the estate, and the owner of most of its land, was Max Johow. The area was divided into seven building blocks (fig. 2), intersected by streets running parallel to today's Matejki Street (then Neue Gartenstrasse): Chełmońskiego (Helmholtzstrasse) and Kossaka (Schlütterstrasse), as well as by the perpendicular streets: Wyspiańskiego (Linnèstrasse), Grottgera (Liebigstrasse), and Siemiradzkiego (Hardenbergstrasse). The plots located along Matejki Street bordered the Botanical Garden (today's Wilson Park).

A true innovation in Johow's design was the elimination of rear wings (officines), which allowed for the replacement of traditional inner courtyards with landscaped gardens featuring winding paths. The apartment buildings, set back slightly from the street and preceded by small front gardens, formed a cohesive building frontage. Each façade was designed in a distinct aesthetic mode, drawing from historicist and Art Nouveau (Jugendstil) traditions. While individual façades were designed by various architects, the overall building mass and spatial arrangement were required to conform to Johow's master plan (Barłóg, 1989, p. 38). On the courtyard side, the articulation of the façades was diversified through risalits that were offset relative to the adjacent buildings, improving air circulation and natural light access. This spatial configuration exemplified innovative thinking in early 20th-century urban residential Johow-Gelände; garden layouts were carefully designed to blend seamlessly with the architecture, both at the front and courtyard sides. Beyond providing luxurious recreational space, the development incorporated a range of modern solutions aimed at meeting the highest sanitary standards. Only residential buildings were permitted within the estate, and strict construction regulations precisely defined the appearance and structure of the development, in accordance with Johow's master plan (Barłóg, 1989, p. 47). These rules governed the layout of each plot, the residential program, and the architectural form of the tenement houses. Each building was required to have four storeys (a ground floor and three upper floors) and a basement (Barłóg, 1989, p. 26-34). Only one third of the attic space could be used for residential purposes. Each floor contained seven- or eight-room apartments, with a drawing room at the front, bedrooms and a bathroom at the rear, and service rooms in the center, connected to a lightwell ("Luftschacht"), which provided ventilation to the kitchen. All units were equipped with electricity and central heating. Some apartments reached up to 250 square meters in floor area. Anyone wishing to construct a building within the estate was obligated to comply with these strict guidelines. While the interior layout was standardized across all buildings, the external appearance was not uniform, as the architectural articulation of façades was not subject to regulation. This allowed individual architects to express stylistic variation and creativity, contributing to the visual diversity of the district while maintaining spatial coherence (Barłóg, 1989, p. 108-135).

The garden city concept, formulated by Ebenezer Howard at the turn of the 20th century, envisioned a balanced environment that combined the advantages of urban and rural life (Howard, 2015). In practice, this meant designing settlements with extensive greenery, low-rise and dispersed housing, shared communal spaces, and a functional urban layout that promoted both privacy and social integration. The guiding idea was to create a healthy, aesthetic, and community-oriented environment as an alternative to the overcrowded and polluted industrial cities. The first implementations of this vision were Letchworth Garden City (1903) and Welwyn Garden City (1920) in the United Kingdom, designed by Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker. Although Howard's original concept was meant for large-scale urban developments, its principles were widely adapted for smaller residential areas, particularly working-class housing estates. In the case of Johow-Gelände, we observe a unique adaptation of these ideas: a concept originally rooted in socialist reform was applied to a luxurious residential district, accessible only to the wealthiest inhabitants. Moreover, only the aesthetic and sanitary aspects of Howard's model were retained, while elements related to community life and access to services were omitted—wealthy residents did not require commercial infrastructure within the district, as domestic staff handled everyday errands such as shopping. Located in Poznań's Łazarz district, Johow-Gelände reflects several core principles of Howard's theory: low-density development, abundant greenery, and semi-private gardens intended to foster neighbourly relations. Ultimately, one of Howard's key propositions—the integration of green spaces into the urban fabric as a response to rapid industrial urbanization—is clearly visible in the estate's design. However, while the garden city was envisioned to improve the living conditions of the working class, in Johow-Gelände the theory was used to construct a prestigious enclave for the urban elite. Grzeszczuk-Brendel posits that this historicism may stem from the ideological cohesion of the broader Imperial District, which favored monumental forms associated with prestige and imperial authority. The national identity of the district's residents also remains a subject of debate. While address books suggest that most inhabitants were German officials and military personnel, the presence of Polish residents challenges the oft-repeated claim in literature that Poles were forbidden from residing in these new districts (Grzeszczuk-Brendel, 2018, p. 104). Barłóg (1989, p. 108-135) emphasizes that the elite nature of the housing—not formal exclusion—likely limited Polish residency, although state policy certainly favored German settlement. Kodym-Kozaczko (2009) supports this interpretation, arguing that segregation was actively enforced through urban planning that reinforced national division. This represents a significant moment in the evolution of the tenement block (rental apartment) as a typology in modern European cities. By the outbreak of World War I, only three of the seven housing blocks planned by Max Johow had been realized—along Matejki and Grottgera streets. The further development of the district was halted by the war and subsequent structural changes related to the postwar reconstruction of Poznań. After Poland regained independence in 1918, the construction of buildings continued according to earlier guidelines. As a result, the character of the estate was preserved throughout the interwar period. After the end of World War II, Poznań was left in ruins, with approximately 55% of its urban fabric destroyed, and the historic city center nearly obliterated (Mazur, 2020). Particularly devastating was the loss of municipal infrastructure—including water supply, sewage systems, gasworks, and power plants—which significantly hampered the city's reconstruction efforts. Over half of all buildings were damaged, and 20% of residential units were rendered uninhabitable, creating a major housing crisis, especially amid population influx and the shortage of construction materials (Kempiński, 2020). In response, the authorities of the Polish People's Republic were compelled to develop a comprehensive reconstruction strategy—one that not only addressed immediate needs but also aligned with the long-term ideological and economic objectives of the new socialist regime (Crowley, 1994, p. 87-203). The communist government adopted an urban planning model rooted in the modernist paradigm of reconstruction and urban industrialization. Drawing inspiration from Le Corbusier's principles as well as Soviet spatial planning models, the state aimed to create functional residential estates that served both practical and ideological purposes (Juszkiewicz, 2023, p. 46-81). This was not merely a technical solution, but a tool for shaping the new socialist citizen—an individual embedded in a collectivist, standardized living environment that sought to eliminate class and economic inequalities. A key solution in this vision was the implementation of large-panel (prefabricated) construction technology, which enabled the rapid, mass-scale production of standardized apartment blocks. The housing estates designed in the 1950s and 1960s, such as Rataje and Winogrody in Poznań, were conceived as self-sufficient residential units equipped with essential public services, including schools, clinics, and shops. This model—inspired by Clarence Perry's "neighborhood unit" theory—sought to optimize living space in terms of efficiency and functionality (Lawhon, 2009, p. 111-132). These new districts also became symbols of social mobility, offering improved living conditions and the promise of a better future for working families. As a result, prewar districts such as Johow-Gelände, once a symbol of urban luxury, gradually lost their appeal. Moreover, most properties in these areas were transferred to municipal ownership and repurposed under state housing policies. Formerly spacious apartments—some nearly 200 square meters—were subdivided into communal flats ("komunałki"), where multiple families shared a single kitchen and bathroom (Kotus, 2007, p. 140). This significantly reduced the standard of living, especially in contrast to the new apartments built with large-panel prefabricated technology, which came to symbolize progress and modernization for many Poles, who used to live in the countryside before. Interviews conducted with residents as part of this research indicate a substantial socio-demographic shift in the population inhabiting Johow-Gelände after World War II (An interviews with: Mr. Paweł

Cieliczko, resident of Matejka 55, conducted by the Authors on March 28, 2025; Mrs. Maria Stankiewicz-Strzykała, the manager of the tenement house at Wyspiańskiego 10 from 1960 to 1989, conducted by the Authors on April 15, 2025.; Documentation of the interviews in the form of notes is in the possession of the Authors). While these tenement houses had previously been occupied by members of the educated and socially advantaged social class members and middle class, the postwar urban reality brought an influx of working-class residents and rural migrants, many of whom were unaccustomed to urban life. This contributed to the progressive degradation of inner-city districts, in sharp contrast to the panel block estates, which attracted young families and became emblems of socialist modernity. According to records held by the Office of the Municipal Heritage Conservator, the original design of the tenement houses provided for two spacious apartments per floor (Municipal Heritage Conservator's Office in Poznań, heritage records (conservation cards) of tenement houses located at 50–61 Matejki Street and 1–16 Grottgera Street.) Fieldwork conducted during site visits to residential buildings on Matejki and Grottgera Streets revealed material traces of these spatial transformations. The functional layouts of these units bear clear marks of adaptation to the postwar housing crisis, including shifted partition walls, additional subdivisions, and ad hoc technical installations, all indicative of the subdivision of original apartments into smaller living units (The Office of the Municipal Conservator of Monuments in Poznań, documentation of the tenement houses at Matejki 51, Matejki 55, Grottgera 2, applications regarding renovation and construction, and project documentation).



Fig. 3. Example of spatial degradation: the originally planned green courtyard between tenement houses has been replaced by a concrete yard used for parking and waste disposal. This tendency began after 1945 and continues to this day, 2025 (photo by the author).



Fig. 4. View of the façades of tenement houses at 55–60 Matejki Street, 2025 (photo by the author).

Although these changes were made with the aim of utilizing space more efficiently, they ultimately led to the degradation of both spatial coherence and quality of life. The nationalization of property also brought about a major shift in property management (Zakrzewski, 1985, p. 405). Prewar owners, even if permitted to remain in their buildings, were relegated to the role of caretakers, stripped of ownership rights and denied rental income, which resulted in a progressive transformation of ownership structures. The absence of clear accountability for building maintenance led to systematic physical decline, a trend that became particularly visible in the 1970s and 1980s, when years of neglect in maintenance and conservation caused the architectural substance of many buildings to deteriorate (fig. 3). The lack of effective funding mechanisms, fragmented tenant structures, and a chronic shortage of building materials further contributed to the loss of both the functional value and aesthetic integrity of historic tenements. A notable exception to this pattern is the tenement at 10 Wyspiańskiego Street, which uniquely preserved its original interior layout (An interview with Mrs. Maria Stankiewicz-Strzykała, the manager of the tenement house at Wyspiańskiego 10 from 1960 to 1989, conducted by the Authors on April 15, 2025. The interview documentation in the form of written notes is held by the Authors.) The absence of significant spatial alterations is due to ownership continuity—the building remained in the hands of the same family throughout the postwar period, enabling it to avoid the typical changes associated with municipalization and nationalization. This case supports the thesis that continuous private ownership and the ability to exercise effective management are critical factors in the preservation of architectural authenticity. It was not until after the political transformation of 1989 that the complex process of reprivatization began. However, protracted legal proceedings and ambiguous regulations surrounding property rights greatly hindered the restitution of real estate to prewar owners or their heirs.

Contemporary revitalization efforts indicate a gradual, albeit uneven, improvement in the technical condition of historic tenement buildings. According to documentation from the Office of the Municipal Heritage Conservator in Poznań, the period 2015–2025 saw a number of comprehensive restoration projects, encompassing both structural modernization and the conservation of architectural details. (fig. 4) A notable example of successful revitalization is the group of tenement houses on Matejki Street, which underwent extensive renovation in 2023. At the same time, however, many buildings—including those at Matejki 54, 57, and 58—remain in poor technical condition and are in urgent need of large-scale conservation interventions. The past decade has witnessed a visible intensification of renovation activities, yet a comprehensive restoration of the Johow-Gelände urban complex still faces significant obstacles. These include financial constraints as well as the complexity of administrative and legal procedures.

Discussion

The first and, to date, most comprehensive publication dedicated to the Johow-Gelände residential complex on Matejki Street in Poznań was authored by Jolanta Barłóg in 1989 as a master's thesis titled *The Residential Complex on Matejki Street in Poznań on the Site of the So-Called Johow-Gelände, 1900–1918*. It was this study that first introduced the subject into academic discourse. It is striking that for several decades, the topic remained largely unaddressed. On one hand, the 1990s marked the beginning of broader interest in residential architecture; on the other, the omission may have been tied to the communist authorities' reluctance to engage with urban heritage closely associated with German cultural legacy. In the era of propaganda emphasizing the "eternal Polishness" of territories incorporated into the Polish state after 1945, references to a district commonly known as "Johow-Gelände" would have been politically inconvenient. Among scholars, the greatest uncertainty concerns the authorship of the district's master plan and individual buildings. Barłóg (1989, p. 54–61) noted that attributing the urban plan to Max Johow is not definitive; it is possible that Josef Stübben—a key urban planner, chair of the Royal Commission for the Expansion of Poznań, and author of the city's Ring—may have been involved, but due to the absence of archival documents, this cannot be confirmed. In *Architecture of Poznań 1890–1918* (1991, p. 105–107), Jan Skuratowicz (1991) emphasizes that Stübben's involvement should be analyzed more closely, given the district's elite character and its close ties to state planning. He argues that the area was inhabited primarily by senior state and military officials and that Stübben was likely responsible for plotting Matejki Street (then *Neue Gartenstrasse*) and organizing the newly incorporated districts of Poznań. This argument is reinforced by Jolanta Goszczyńska (1998) in her *Investors and Residents of the So-Called Johow-Gelände*.

In later studies, authors offer more nuanced views of the architectural authorship. In broader syntheses such as Janusz Pazder's *Atlas of Poznań Architecture* and Grażyna Kodym-Kozaczko's *Space, People, Ideas: Urban Planning of Poznań in the 20th Century* (2008), Johow is typically credited as the primary planner. However, scholarly debate continues, particularly regarding the eclectic design of the façades. One central issue is classification: whether the architecture should be considered Art Nouveau or represents a more complex stylistic situation. Barłog notes that while the buildings borrow ornamental motifs associated with Art Nouveau, the structural forms themselves do not conform to the principles of that style. In a later publication, she analyzes select tenement houses within the complex in relation to both historicism and Art Nouveau (Barłog, 1989, p. 82-104.). Skuratowicz identifies the façade at Matejki 51 as inspired by Viennese Secession, while Grzeszczuk-Brendel suggests the presence of Scottish influences in the building at Chełmońskiego 9, though without providing specific supporting evidence. Among the more historically styled examples are the Neo-Baroque villa of Max Johow at Matejki 50 and the tenement at Matejki 54, which evokes medieval architectural forms. The national identity of Johow-Gelände's residents remains debated. While German officials and military personnel were predominant, the presence of Polish inhabitants challenges claims of outright exclusion, with scholars like Grzeszczuk-Brendel, Barłog, and Kodym-Kozaczko suggesting that elite housing and urban planning reinforced German settlement and national segregation. Much uncertainty still surrounds the Matejki Street complex, and many questions will likely remain unresolved due to the loss of archival materials during the 1945 Battle of Poznań. To date, the subsequent fate of the district has not been comprehensively studied. Previous works have primarily focused on the initial development phase of Johow-Gelände. This article aims to suggest further research possibilities by offering a broader historical narrative that takes into account the later stages of the district's transformation.

Conclusion

The history of Johow-Gelände serves as a poignant example of how urban space can become a stage for the realization of political, ideological, and social projects that extend far beyond the realm of urban planning. The case of this district shows that space is not neutral—on the contrary, it is inscribed with the history of power shifts, social transformations, and struggles for the identity of the city. From a luxurious settlement designed in the spirit of Prussian modernism and German cultural dominance, through post-war degradation resulting from PRL policies, to contemporary attempts at revitalization—Johow-Gelände reveals the long-term consequences of urban planning decisions rooted in specific political and ideological contexts. Changes in the functional, ownership, and social structure of this district are a testament not only to the history of Poznań but also to the broader transformational processes that took place in Central and Eastern Europe in the 20th century. Johow-Gelände thus becomes a case study that allows us to understand how regimes—both authoritarian and democratic—use space to shape society, design everyday life, and impose visions of social order. This district is not merely a collection of buildings; it is a living narrative about the tensions between the past and the present, about continuity and ruptures in the urban landscape. The analysis of Johow-Gelände highlights that spatial decisions are never purely technical—they are, above all, political. Contemporary revitalization efforts must take this complex history into account and treat heritage not as a collection of monuments, but as a dynamic process of interpreting and co-creating urban identity. Finally, the conclusion may end with a forward-looking statement, proposing directions for further research, potential applications, or unresolved questions that merit deeper exploration. This leaves the reader with a sense of continuity and relevance, showing that while the chapter has reached its end, the topic remains dynamic and open to further development within the academic or professional discourse.

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Conflict of Interests

The author(s) declare(s) no conflict of interest.

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