



Governing Urban Diversity: Creating Social Cohesion, Social Mobility and Economic Performance in Today's Hyper-diversified Cities

Urban Policies on Diversity in Warsaw, Poland

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Authors: Ewa Korcelli-Olejniczak, Adam Bierzyński, Mirosław Grochowski, Grzegorz Węclawowicz
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1. Introduction

The Warsaw of 2013 is a metropolis marked by vitality and development dynamics, where the development bears the imprint of change, not simply growth. This is expressed by two simultaneously occurring phenomena: the transforming economic profile and changes in lifestyle and quality of life, reflected in behaviour, principles, legal regulations and policy framework, choices concerning workplace, place of residence, leisure, the variety, quantity of activities, venues and institutions (Korcelli-Olejniczak, 2012).

Warsaw's diversity is as much an old as a new phenomenon. In its complicated history the city has undergone various transformations of its urban fabric, functional structure and social composition. The once ethnically heterogeneous metropolis of the interwar period (1918-1939), and a physically dull, yet spiritually active city during the 1945-1989 period, in the 1990s has become the leader of socio-economic transformation in East-Central Europe, a dynamically developing, globalizing and, at the same time, diversifying city.

The city is the habitat of growing diversification caused by the re-opening to the world, by the growth of population mobility and internationalization of the economy, as well as by social stratification, spatial polarization and emerging urban conflicts. The belated and stepped-up modernisation of economy and society, the combination of traditional values and cosmopolitan flair, the burden of the past and the strongly future-oriented ambitions are among the factors, on the basis of which the specific character of Warsaw can now be defined.

The present chapter analyses the content of urban policies related to diversity in Warsaw, of their critical assessment by policy-makers themselves, as well as by experts and representatives of non-governmental organizations which participate in the creation of new urban spaces.

The background section (2) presents an overview of the political system and governance structure in Warsaw, pointing to aspects such as the weakly articulated metropolitan level and the newly introduced complex approach to the integration of urban policy at all levels of governance. Section 2.2 presents a brief periodization of key shifts in national discourses and approaches to migration and diversity policies. Section 3 offers a critical analysis of policy strategies and assessment of resource allocations – subsection 3.1 being a content analysis of governmental policies (strategies and programmes) related to matters of social differentiation, diversity, mobility and cohesion. Subsection 3.2 presents the non-governmental perspective on urban policy related to diversity, the diagnosis of the place-specific process of diversification, and opinions on the relationship between NGO activities and urban policy-makers with respect to urban policy.

The analysis of diversity policy in Warsaw reveals two key findings. The first is related to the formal character of the discourse which shows a clear hierarchy between postulates formulated in national-level policy documents and their direct reflection in the city-level directives. In this respect the discourse on diversity is consistent, although quite generic in its statements. Warsaw is presented as a city hospitable for visitors and new inhabitants, tolerance and equal treatment is promoted, while the actual focus within policy measures is the labour-market driven attraction of in-migrants from other parts of Poland and abroad. The second finding refers to the topics of diversity-related policies. These can be divided into three areas: *integration via education*, *inclusion via social support* and the *active pro-diversity policy*. The discourse highlights integration as the most complex area of diversity policy, while the focus on inclusion finds reflection in the profiles of city-level governmental programmes and in the allocation of resources. At the same time, there is only weak evidence of active pro-diversity policy – the latter being primarily the sphere of activity of non-governmental organizations.

2. Overview of the political system and governance structure in Warsaw

2.1. Governance structure for urban policy and institutional map

The legal framework for urban policy in Poland is made up of national legislation on administrative structure of the state (territorial units) and the division of powers and responsibilities among different tiers of governments, i.e. state administration and territorial government at regional (*voivodship*), sub-regional (county - *powiat*), and local (municipality - *gmina*) levels. At the state level, responsibilities for policies that explicitly pertain to urban areas, those concerning construction, spatial and housing management, rest within the Ministry of Infrastructure and Development¹. Its activities in this field need to be coordinated with the Ministry of the Interior and Administration. Other important aspects of urban development are dealt with by the Ministry of Environment, the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, and the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy. Some cross-departmental questions are addressed by units of the Prime Minister's Chancellery. These include the Office of the Plenipotentiary for Equal Treatment, which is especially relevant when problems relating to social diversity are on the agenda.

Urban policy is interpreted as a segment of socio-economic, as well as spatial development policy, to be conducted at all levels of governance. Its priorities, which are spelled out in the National Regional Development Strategy (2009), and the National Spatial Development Concept (2012), include, *inter alia*, preventing the 'marginalisation of city districts' that are affected by social and economic polarization, in particular of former industrial districts, as well as housing estates consisting of blocks of prefabricated units (Strategia Rozwoju Wojewodztwa Mazowieckiego, 2013). It is admitted, however, that 'there does not yet exist one key document to drive a strategy for urban areas' (OECD, 2011). Especially missing are instruments which encourage collaboration among individual municipalities at the level of metropolitan areas.

Policies that focus on social and economic issues within urban areas are formulated at both the central and the sub-central levels of governance. While these policies differ with respect to their scope and specificity level, it is the local government that is the main actor in the process of defining the detailed content of such policies. Local governments have to comply with standards and directives which result from documents prepared at the higher level, but they have a considerable amount of autonomy to tailor policies to specific needs of the local communities. Hence strategies, programmes and projects are the results of bringing together ideas, concepts and instruments from two or three decision making levels. These ideas and concepts are the subject of social consultations with citizens or their representatives, depending on the problem, tier of government, and level of specificity.

Regulations and standards concerning territorial development policies, as provided by legal acts (Law on Spatial Development, 2003) and strategic national documents set up a framework and guidelines for preparation of plans at lower levels. A basic rule to be obeyed is the programmatic coherence between different planning documents. The subsidiarity principle and coordination are especially important at the regional and local levels. This is where investment policies are elaborated and decisions made concerning specific locations and functions. The system of investments funding based on adopted rules and standards imposes the necessity of coordination efforts to be undertaken at different levels. The available policy and funding tools coming from the central government level, however, are insufficient to cope effectively with a number of

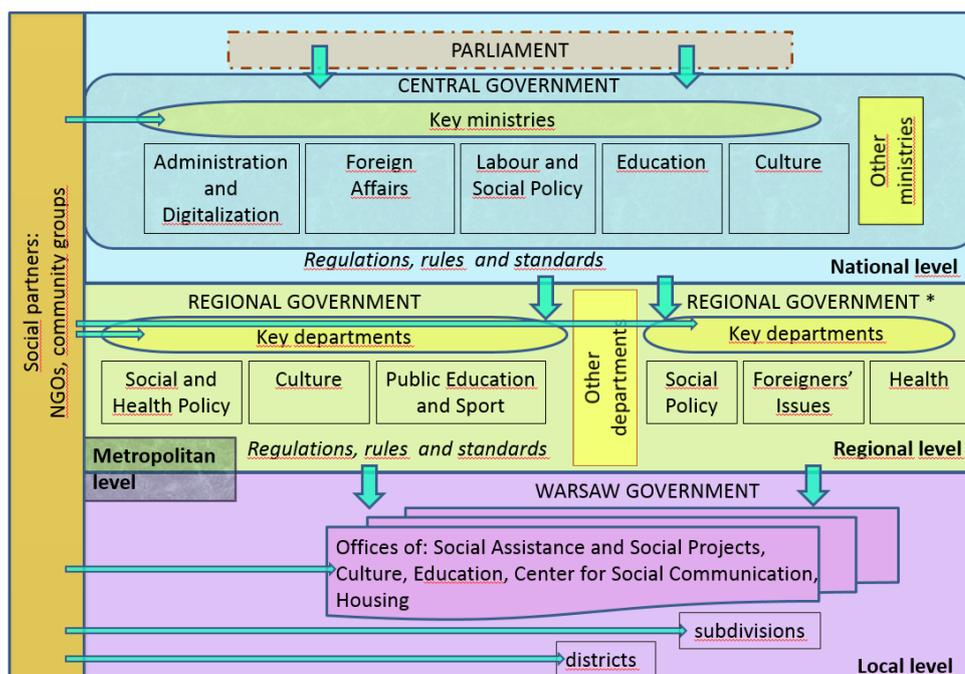
¹ It is a new ministry – product of recent merger as of November 2013 – of the former Ministry of Infrastructure and the Ministry of Regional Development.

urban issues, including those related to the revitalization of historical city districts, former industrial land and deteriorating housing areas. For carrying out such projects, municipalities often lack the necessary authority over urban land, and face difficulties in providing incentives for the involvement of private sector investors (OECD, 2011). This is also true in the case of efforts to prevent uncontrolled subdivision of vacant suburban tracts for residential and commercial purposes.

All towns in Poland (908 units, as of 31 December 2011) possess the legal status of a municipality (*gmina*), and the larger ones also the status of a county (*powiat*) – a NUTS 4 unit. This is the case of Warsaw which, as a national capital city, is also equipped with a number of additional responsibilities. Warsaw’s 18 districts are subsidiary units in the administrative structure with their own government bodies and budgets. Warsaw’s Mayor, named officially the President of Warsaw, together with the City Council, deal with the general development issues at the city level. The districts’ authorities focus on specific, local problems. The districts have limited competences, with the size of their budgets depending on a formula which is used to calculate the district’s share in the city budget, as well as on negotiations with the city-level authorities concerning funds required for the implementation of programmes and projects. The districts may establish additional, subsidiary units – subdivisions – when dealing with local development problems.

At every level of administration the involvement of social actors in policy making can be identified in different forms of relationships between public administration and other actors active at the public scene (information exchange, consultations, etc.) (Figure 1). Guidelines concerning standards and the overall framework for policy formulation are transferred from the level of central government to regions, and then directly or indirectly to the local level. Since the metropolitan level of administration is not legally recognized and does not function within formal structures the programmatic and organizational coordination of policies at this level depends on different forms of inter-municipal cooperation.

Figure 1. Public administration levels and key institutions / organizations with influence on policy formulation and implementation



* two governance structures co-exist at the regional level: state administration and regional self-government administration

The main subjects involved in the elaboration of place-based policies are city level authorities supported by other actors: NGOs, representatives of various interest groups, voluntary, non-registered associations, church organizations, and other community groups². This support takes the form of involvement in the policy discourse. In the case of Warsaw an important instrumental role is played by the Centre for Social Communication, which offers expertise and assists in organizing social consultations on policies, programmes and projects.

The current state of the administrative system in Warsaw is a consequence of the changes introduced by reforms within the governmental structures in 2002 and 2006, as well as the ongoing political discourse concerning the coordination and integration of activities within this system. Difficulties in policy coordination are to some extent related to the fact that Warsaw, apart from being state capital is also a separate municipality and the seat of a district (*powiat*).

2.2. Key shifts in national approaches to policy over migration, citizenship and diversity

Ethnic and cultural homogeneity is generally seen as a characteristic feature of contemporary Polish society. According to the Population and Housing Census of 2011, an ‘other than Polish’ nationality status was declared by 1.4 million persons, i.e. 3.7 per cent of the total population. In a majority of cases (842,000), however, it coexisted, typically as the second one, with Polish national identity. At the same time, a non-Polish citizenship was held by 383,000 persons³, out of whom 327,000 were also Polish citizens. Over 98 per cent of the total population were born in Poland (Central Statistical Office, 2012).

Admittedly, population composition by nationality, or by citizenship status is only one indication of the level of social diversity. After World War II, under the state socialism system, diversification of the population was seen first of all in terms of divisions between the social strata. With these division lines being perceived negatively, policies in areas such as housing allocation aimed at preventing the development of socially homogeneous neighbourhoods. These policies became gradually attenuated over time, which among others resulted in the persistence of notable differences with respect to socio-economic status among individual residential districts within cities (Węclawowicz, 1975). Also foreign migration policy, subjected to strict controls initially, underwent some liberalization starting from the late 1950s.

After 1989, following the systemic political and economic change, a new division line emerged within the Polish society, one between the ‘winners’ and the ‘losers’ of the transformation process. This division applied both to various societal categories (determined by education, occupation, age and other criteria), as well as to places, while separating the relatively successful, multifunctional urban agglomerations from most of the middle-sized and smaller towns and rural areas (Czyż, 1998). Policy responses to these phenomena covered a wide spectrum of instruments which are normally available and applied in market economies based on the welfare state

² These are: the St. Albertus Society for the Homeless (Towarzystwo Pomocy dla Bezdomnych im. Sw. Brata Alberta), the Foundation ‘Centre for Women’s Rights’ (Centrum Praw Kobiet), The Foundations: ‘Different Space’ (Inna Przestrzeń) and ‘Self-creation’ (Autokreacja), the ‘Forum for Responsible Business’ (Forum Odpowiedzialnego Biznesu), ‘Warsaw Development Forum’ (Forum Rozwoju Warszawy), the Association ‘You can do more’ (Możesz więcej) which supports the social integration of seniors and disabled persons, ‘Kind Entrepreneur’ (Uprzejmy Przedsiębiorca), the Jan Amos Komęski Foundation for Children (Fundacja Rozwoju Dzieci im. Jana Amosa Komęskiego), Foundation for Social Diversity (Fundacja na Rzecz Różnorodności Społecznej) and many others.

³ The biggest groups consisting of: German, American and Ukrainian citizens.

philosophy. These included a rather liberal provision of unemployment benefits, disability pensions, early retirement schemes, as well as family support measures.

An important feature of social policy change was decentralization. According to this model directions and priorities are formulated at the regional (*voivodship*) level. The labour market policy, policies pertaining to family support and activation of disabled persons are delegated to the county (*poviat*) level, while the municipal level is responsible for tackling the problems of poverty and social housing. Effective implementation of these policies has been impaired by the limitation of financial resources available⁴.

Starting from the early 1990s, and partly motivated by the prospect of accession to the EU, and, later to the Schengen zone, a number of legal, institutional and organizational initiatives were taken concerning the status of ethnic minorities, of aliens and the refugees, as well as the system of border controls. Between 1989 and 2012 the new Aliens Act, and the Law on Citizenship (in 1997, 2003 and 2009) were adopted, as well as and more than twenty additional amendments. The national minorities (those which were recognized as such, i.e. German, Ukrainian, Belorussian and Lithuanian) have been given a set of rights (together with financial means) related to the use of native language in education, local place names etc., as well as, above a certain population size threshold, representation in the Parliament (*Sejm*).

The foreigners who have been granted refugee status are entitled to social assistance, to free education in public schools and the right to health care on the same terms as Polish citizens. They can also gain financial support in order to help the process of their integration into society, though this does not include housing allowances. Additionally, according to the law on public education (*Dziennik Ustaw...*, 2004) children of all foreigners who stay legally in Poland are entitled to education until the age of 18. Although Poland is an ethnically relatively homogenous society, the concepts of anti-discrimination and equal rights are very strongly represented in the state law and in public debates.

Immigration policy has received limited attention until very recently. Although there were some attempts after 1989 to establish consultative bodies at the central government level, with the aim to establish principles and delineate the vision of Poland's migration policy, this work failed to materialize in the form of a high-ranking policy document. The government was the object of considerable critique by academic researchers and experts for a 'reactive' (rather than proactive) character of existing migration policy, and the lack of reflection on its goals and rules (Kępińska, Stola, 2004). Paradoxically, the widespread tolerance of employment of foreigners in the shadow sector of the economy is sometimes interpreted as the most effective instrument of Polish migration policy (Stola, 2012).

One aspect that does not fit into the picture presented above concerns an attempt to establish rules and instruments for repatriation of Polish nationals from the territory of the former Soviet Union, primarily from Kazakhstan. This programme, which started in mid-1990s, was popularized and gained a fair degree of public support in Poland. Nonetheless, in spite of the provision of a legal framework, together with the admission criteria, its results have proven to be rather meagre. This has to be attributed to insufficient financial involvement of the central government, including the transfer of repatriates' adaptation costs to the municipality level. The population forecasts which were released by the Central Statistical Office in 2008⁵, have provoked a broad discussion, both academic and political, concerning the demographic future of

⁴ Warsaw, together with several other largest cities in Poland are urban *poviats* (*poviat grodzki*).

⁵ According to these forecasts Poland faces a shrinkage of the total population from 38.5 million to 36.0 million until the year 2035, which will be accompanied by rapid population ageing.

Poland. The emerging discourse on population change, as well as its social and economic consequences, has received a high profile owing to the active involvement of the President's Chancellery (and of the President himself). The question of immigration has been brought back on the current agenda of several ministerial offices.

While today's Poland is a major origin of international migration (in fact the biggest one within the EU), and out-migration is a far more important social and political issue, it is anticipated that owing to rapid ageing of the population and the dwindling labour resources the balance may turn around in favour of in-migration within the next 15-20 years. Already at present, in spite of relatively high unemployment level and low labour participation rates, there are signs of increasing in-migration, though mainly of temporary, work-related character. This is documented by the growing number of work permits - some 280,000 in total in 2012 - issued to non-EU citizens by regional- *voivodship* - authorities (Sweklej, 2012).

In the strategic document *Polish Migration Policy – Current and Postulated Actions* (Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych., 2012), prepared by the Governmental Task Force on Migration Issues in 2012, immigration is perceived mainly from the labour market perspective. Aside from them, three other categories of potential immigrants are identified. These include: citizens of (other) EU countries, migrants coming from Poland's eastern neighbour countries, and migrants from those, mainly Asiatic countries that have already established their presence in Poland (mostly members of Vietnamese and Armenian diaspora), and with respect to whom several legalization (abolition) actions have been conducted in recent years.

It is emphasized in the subsequent discussions that the prevailing labour market-led policy implies the adoption by the immigrants, depending on their cultural background, of either individual market adaptation strategies, or ones based upon the ethnic-specific contact networks (Kazmierkiewicz, 2012). It may be pointed out that active measures for the integration of immigrants in Poland are still to be introduced. An exception are projects co-financed by the European Fund for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals. A new complex document referring to the integration of foreigners, prepared by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy is still in the phase of elaboration and consultations (Ministerstwo Pracy., 2013).

Table 1. Periodization of key shifts in migration policy, citizenship policy and diversity policy since 1989

| Historic period | Main characteristics |
|-----------------|---|
| 1989-1996 | Dynamic increase in migration flows with low borders' security and control; lack of criteria of entry for foreigners; lack of details and procedures of expulsion; no conditions to issue the permit to settle; basic refugee protection provisions established along with the ratification of the Geneva Convention in 1991. |
| 1997-2003 | Decrease in migration flows as a result of widening of migration flows controls; creation of a set of criteria for refugee status; expulsion rules; enhancement of protection of the Eastern border; toughening of entry rules; limitation of asylum abuses. |
| 2003-2012 | EU accession (2004) and Schengen Agreement (2007); growth in the scale of 'temporary migrations'; a moderate increase in the number of 'permanent migration' outflows; amendments in line with EU regulations resulting mainly in an increase of intra-EU movement of people and workers. |

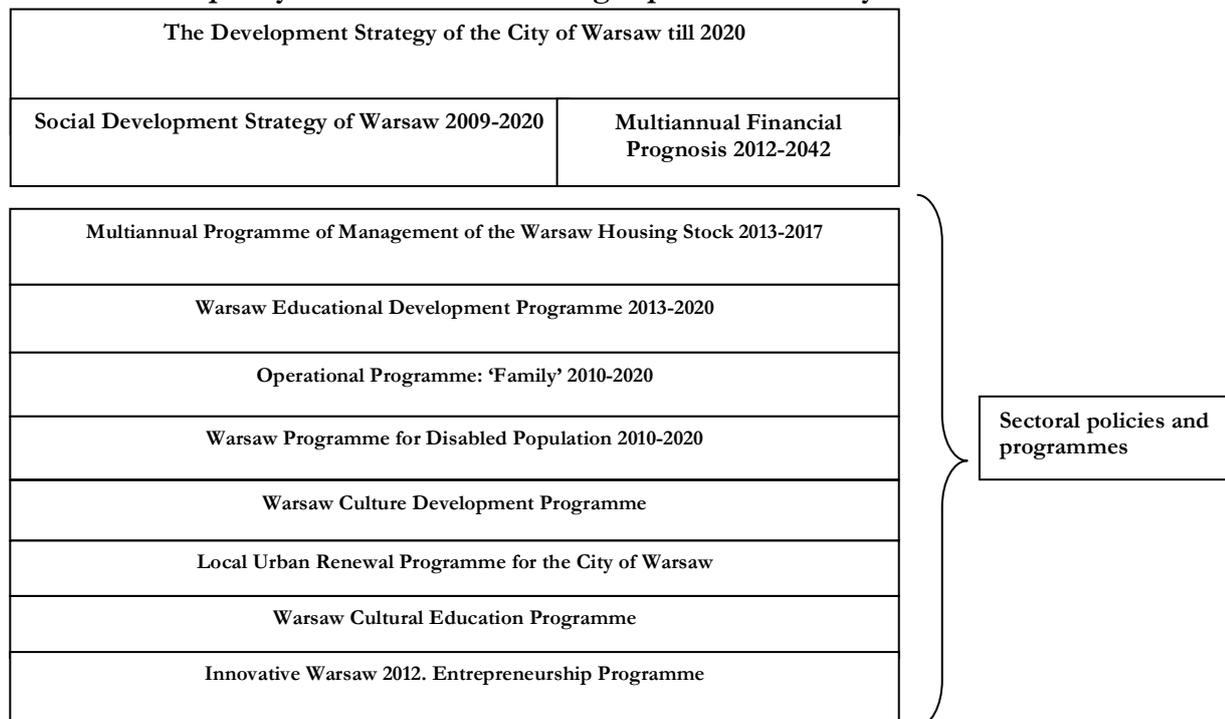
3. Critical analysis of policy strategies and assessment of resource allocations

3.1. Dominant governmental discourses of urban policy and diversity

As Poland’s capital and its largest city (1,708,000 inhabitants in 2011; 3.2 million within the metropolitan area) Warsaw constitutes the main magnet for migration flows, both internal and international. Out of the total number of foreigners who received work permit in Poland in 2011 (40,808 persons), the region of Warsaw (the Mazowieckie voivodship) accounted for more than 55 per cent (Central Statistical Office, 2012, p. 174). With respect to some immigrant groups the share is much higher – 85 per cent in the case of Vietnamese for example (Rządowa Rada Ludnościowa, 2012, p. 186). Warsaw also attracts a disproportionate share of migrants coming to Poland from the EU countries. The same applies to the category of foreign students. As there are no city-level policies concerning the regulation of migration issues, Warsaw’s migrations are regulated by rules that apply at the national level. Questions that emerge are tackled by the Representative for Equal Treatment who is nominated by the Mayor.

Figure 2. (see below) presents an overview of key policy strategies and documents which are relevant to diversity issues in Warsaw. The scheme presents a hierarchy of documents – a structure which has been followed in our analyses. The Strategy for Social Development of Warsaw is the key document that provides binding guidelines for social policy. Complementary to this is the Programme of Urban Renewal. Both of these documents are the result of comprehensive social consultations. The same concerns the Strategy of Culture Development, which addresses the complex issues of access to culture and cultural diversity. Final decisions on the content of both the Strategy and the urban renewal programme were taken in the partnership manner at the local level. Using the potential of social actors, the city and district authorities work together to tailor the policies to specific needs and preferences of local communities.

Figure 2. Classification of policy documents concerning aspects of diversity in Warsaw



As often reflected upon in the governmental discourse and formulated by a representative of the Warsaw Office of European Funds and Economic Development, ‘diversity’ is

“not a prior filter creating urban policy. There is an awareness of diversity but when compared to other European cities it is minor and therefore finds little direct reflection in this policy”.

Nevertheless in the Polish context Warsaw constitutes a testing ground for the recognition, understanding and implementation of diversity policy. Therefore the ‘diversity’ notion is present in policy documents, it is however not a mainstream topic. At the same time it should be noted that:

- a. diversity is an issue directly and indirectly called upon by policy-makers, urban activists, the participating public (residents) as well as other organizations and institutions dealing with urban and social development; it is understood as the result of an evolving process of social awareness, a consequence of globalization and metropolisation;
- b. the issue of diversity is touched upon within other notions and concepts, such as ‘strive for equality of opportunities’, ‘disparities’, ‘inequalities’, ‘common good’ ‘equal treatment’, ‘diversification of space and society’, ‘discrimination’.

The main strategic document of the City of Warsaw presents the vision of Warsaw as:

‘an attractive, modern, dynamically developing metropolis with a knowledge-based economy, the financial centre of Central Europe, a city of significant standing among the most important European capitals’ (Strategia Rozwoju..., 2005: p. 14).

It also includes the following statement connected with diversity and integration: (Warsaw is) ‘*an open and accessible community*’ (p. 15). The above idea is elaborated within one of the operational objectives concerning Warsaw’s tradition based on its cultural and national heritage. It says:

‘The status of capital city results in Warsaw being the most dynamically growing Polish metropolis, offering the greatest access to good jobs, good salaries and prospects of overall development and thereby attracting new inhabitants from all regions of Poland. Newer inhabitants of Warsaw are largely young and well-educated. They are motivated to succeed and gain high material rewards. They offer Warsaw the opportunity to grow, therefore we will strive to make them think of the capital as a place to live, work and relax’ (Strategia Rozwoju ..., 2005: p. 35).

Referring to in-migrants from Poland and abroad the document also states that: ‘*people are free to choose their occupation and residence, making decisions about their own lives and sharing decisions about their surroundings*’ (ibid p. 14). It should be explicitly noted at this point that Warsaw’s policy to attract migrants is in the first place stimulated economically, related to the demand and possibilities of the Warsaw labour market on the one hand, and the needs of the city budget on the other. Newcomers are seen as those who contribute to the general development of the city. In the view of the city authorities, however, the contribution of in-migrants as prospective taxpayers is also taken into account⁶.

⁶ In line with this issue, the city introduced measures to encourage those who work in Warsaw to pay income taxes according to their place of work. A controversial, and heavily contested issue is the so called ‘Warsaw resident card’ which the City is introducing. According to this regulation residents of Warsaw (those who pay income tax in Warsaw) pay less for public transportation than those residents who are not formally registered. According to many opinions this rule may produce a divide between ‘*good resident*’ (those who register and pay income tax in Warsaw) and ‘*bad residents*’ (Gazeta Stołeczna, 2013).

In the Warsaw governmental discourse, diversity-related issues appear both in normative and positive statements and describe phenomena of different value. One can clearly make a distinction between two dimensions of diversity – on the one hand the rarely referred to positive phenomenon of social, ethnic or cultural diversity, usually presented in a normative perspective⁷; on the other, the prevailing approach, i.e. the negatively perceived diversity, referring to exclusion, polarization or disparities. This corresponds to the arguments of Fincher and Iveson (2008), who draw a clear line between perceived ‘*desirable*’ and ‘*undesirable*’ diversity (p. 2).

In line with the contents of the Development Strategy (Strategia Rozwoju..., 2005), other documents analysed, as well as the interviews conducted, the following types of diversity-related phenomena are identified, here ranked according to their place in the political discourse:

- Socio-economic differentiation
- Inter-generational diversity
- Disability-based diversity
- Ethnic and cultural diversity
- Gender-based diversity

An issue also present in the discourse is Warsaw’s potential as a magnet for in-migration related to its labour market and tertiary education institutions. This is to be interpreted as a key expression of the city’s economy-oriented pro-diversity policy.

The above issues, as well as the governmental policies oriented at them reflect a clear picture of Warsaw’s diversity policy, which is predominately focused on integration and inclusion of different social groups, and to a lesser extent on the recognition of various forms of diversity, especially interpreted as an asset for urban development. This may be related to the fact that diversity as an issue within urban policy is treated as a considerably new phenomenon. As a representative of the Office of European Funds states: “*diversity of Warsaw is multi-dimensional and is being discovered these days. We still do not know enough about how diverse Warsaw is*”.

In most of the policy areas the equilibrium between the focus put on addressing respective diversity-related issues (acknowledgement) and the attention with which these issues are tackled (intervention) is slightly distorted. According to a representative of the Warsaw Office of Education there are for example: “*a dozen of executive documents related to the Social Strategy of Warsaw – which is an overloaded, overregulated document – though each of them has a different form of implementation*”.

When referring to the three social logics of planning for diversity – redistribution, recognition and encounter as proposed by Fincher and Iveson (2008), the lack of equilibrium concerns to a greater extent the instruments of planning for recognition than for redistribution and encounter, and relates predominately to pro-diversity policies (*diversity as asset – active pro-diversity policy*), the latter being in the first place the area of activity for NGOs. This means explicitly that pro-diversity policies aimed at the recognition of diversity are mostly declarative. There are more concrete activities undertaken within integration policies (*integration via education and integration via housing policy and urban renewal*) and inclusion policies (*inclusion via support*) which aim at the redistribution of resources and creating spaces of encounter.

It is rarely the case that programmes have a cross-sectoral character and aim at both integration and social inclusion. An example of such a policy arrangement is the national-level programme for the Roma minority implemented in a number of regions and cities in Poland, including

⁷ In statements of declarative character Warsaw is presented as an open, accessible and hospitable city.

Warsaw. The programme introduces measures pertaining to eight areas of intervention: education, civil society development, prevention of unemployment, health, living conditions, safety, prevention of ethnically motivated crime, preservation of culture and ethnic identity, as well as knowledge concerning the Roma community. The majority of funds within this programme (64 per cent) are allocated for education.⁸

The analyses of the performance-based budget of Warsaw (*Wieloletnia Prognoza Finansowa...*, 2012; *Projekt Budżetu M.st Warszawy...*, 2013) indicate that the majority of tasks and resources is related to those aspects of diversity policy which concern programmes within *inclusion via social support*.⁹ On the other hand education policy is one of the major components of the expenditure structure of Warsaw – it consumed approximately 18 per cent of all expenditures in 2013. The amount, however, includes such costs as the maintenance of education infrastructure at primary and secondary level, teaching staff etc., while activities related to diversity issues constitute only a small part of the total funding of education.

Integration via education

By far the majority of policy documents analysed highlight the need for social integration via education and cultural development of different social groups (children, the youth, foreigners, elderly population, the disabled, the homeless). According to a representative of the Warsaw Office of Education, programmes conducted by the Office are aimed at intercultural, intergenerational and social integration through education, “*they support such attitudes as openness, tolerance, respect towards difference, counteracting hatred and violence*”. The Office is involved in the implementation of various own programmes. It also organizes yearly over a hundred competitions for tasks delegated to NGOs, which includes programmes directed at the children of foreigners in Poland. As the above interviewee states:

“educational policy is friendly to newcomers from other parts of Poland and abroad. This is natural for a metropolis which is inherently created to a large extent by in-migrants”.¹⁰

This opinion remains in line with the Warsaw programme related to the development of education (*Strategia Rozwoju...*, 2005), within which policy aims at equalizing the learning and out-of-school educational opportunities of children and the youth, including those which are at risk of social dysfunctions. The activities are to be conducted ‘*by educational institutions, community centres, municipal cultural establishments and sports and recreational centres*’ (p. 20). This question is further elaborated upon in the Warsaw Educational Development Programme (*Program Rozwoju Edukacji...*, 2013), which diagnoses, analyses and draws directions of educational development in the face of the changing demographic situation, uneven level of education, the changing labour market.

In its objectives, the Warsaw Educational Development Programme (*Program Rozwoju Edukacji...*, 2013) follows national and EU directives, which concern the equal and fair accessibility of

⁸ The elaboration of the programme for the Roma minority stems from international commitments: legal measures aimed at combating racism and intolerance in the member states of the Council of Europe - ECRI, as well as a critical report from the European Commission concerning the Polish policy towards the Roma population. The programme was introduced by the Polish government in 2003 and is coordinated by the Ministry of Administration and Digitalization.

⁹ The precise allocation of city funds related to different dimensions of diversity to different offices for the purpose of realization of tasks is difficult to estimate, as the structure of expenditures is presented in accordance with the classification referring to the statutory obligations of the municipality. Nevertheless it is possible to formulate general estimations, on the basis of costs allocated to respective offices and programmes.

¹⁰ This refers to at least two waves of in-migration to Warsaw from other regions of Poland with peaks in the late 1940s and in the 1970s respectively.

education at every stage of life. The educational system is to comply with egalitarian rules, which guarantee an early start to education, educational development and quality of education as components of social cohesion. The Warsaw Educational Development Programme refers to the Development Strategy which indicates a growing quality level and accessibility of public services, among them education. It also points out three strategic objectives set by the Social Strategy of Warsaw. These postulate social and professional integration and reintegration, that is cohesion between education and other dimensions of urban social policy – culture, labour market, social support, health care.

The educational programme represents a truly pluralistic approach stressing the need for the coexistence of various types of social groups, aimed at a cohesive, inclusive and sustainable society within the country (Poland) and city (Warsaw). It introduces various forms of economic, social and cultural integration for ethnic migrants. As a representative of the Warsaw Office of Education states:

“here are programmes conducted which are directed at the integration of various social groups: children from different countries, disabled, elderly people. We are trying to attract non-governmental organisations as partners in our attempts. The programmes aim at integration, at the same time they respect other traditions and cultural behaviours”.

Also the Warsaw Office of Culture represents an analogous viewpoint, as reflected by one of its representatives:

“One may say that we have old and new in-migrants from abroad in Warsaw. The old ones function well in the city, they are rooted here. The new ones still have to find their place. Cultivating their national culture helps them to keep their identity; other inhabitants of the city may learn more about them. We are open to grassroots initiatives and cooperation with NGOs. Sometimes we act as brokers bringing together different parties i.e. different cultural groups and organizations“.

Similarly as the Warsaw Cultural Education Programme (Warszawski Program Edukacji Kulturalnej..., 2009, p. 2) which promotes ‘*intercultural or multicultural education*’, the Warsaw Educational Development Programme points to cultural and intercultural education as a component of the development of multicultural society. Also the activities of the Warsaw Office of Culture highlight the need of integration of individuals and groups representing different cultural backgrounds.

The governmental policies stress the role of education in integration policies, where special attention is paid to the equalization of educational accessibility and quality for all social groups. Those are for example the following issues:

- recognition of inter-generational diversity, reflected in the access to education and culture, as well as activities aimed at supporting inter-generational solidarity (Strategia Rozwoju..., 2005; Społeczna Strategia Warszawy..., 2008; Program Rozwoju Edukacji..., 2013). The policies find implementation in programmes such as the ‘University of the 3rd age’ in the framework of which a variety of activities for the elderly population is organized, or the programme ‘Warsaw - Friendly to Seniors 2013-2020’;
- the need to increase professional mobility (Strategia Rozwoju..., 2005, p. 21), in particular via support in obtaining education. Indirectly, the residents and migrants are to be given a chance of professional development and advancement, through other policies aiming at the development of a knowledge-based economy using Warsaw’s scientific potential, at extending and modernizing academic centres, creating favourable conditions for business

and investment – Warsaw Educational Development Programme 2013-2020 (Program Rozwoju Edukacji..., 2013);

- supporting positively perceived diversity as a way to promote Warsaw as a European centre of education and science, this being a magnet for in-migration from other regions of Poland and abroad. The international project: ‘*Study In Warsaw*’, supports the recruitment of foreign students and the internationalization of Warsaw’s educational institutions¹¹;
- intercultural integration of foreign migrants in the society through education, reflected for example in training for teachers, preparing handbooks for intercultural education, organizing educational centres operating in national languages. The majority of the activities within the Programme for Cultural Education (Warszawski Program Edukacji Kulturalnej..., 2009) aims at teaching tolerance and the acceptance of ‘difference’ and ‘diversity’ (ex. *Diverse Warsaw* – programme supporting children of foreigners in Poland and their parents in their integration in the new environment; *Warsaw Multicultural Centre* – educational programme and information exchange centre).

Integration via education should be considered as the most complex area of diversity policy in Warsaw due to the fact that it corresponds to all three social logics as presented by Fincher and Iveson (2008), i.e. redistribution, recognition and encounter. It proposes various kinds of arrangements, programmes and initiatives which relate to the integration of different social groups, including children, elderly people, foreigners, disabled population, students (ex. *Education for everybody* within the Warsaw Educational Development Programme; *The European House of Encounter for the Youth* – a public institution which supports and initiates international cooperation of young people; The Warsaw City Programme *Summer/Winter in the City* organized by the Office of Education and the Office of Sports and Recreation). The variety and complexity of the area however is not quite reflected in the allocation of budgetary resources.

Inclusion via social support

General rules concerning social support are drawn in the Development Strategy, finding thorough elaboration in the Social Strategy (Społeczna Strategia Warszawy..., 2008) and in operational programmes which touch upon selected aspects of social support related to inclusion. The Development Strategy (Strategia Rozwoju ..., 2005), within operational objective 1.1. initiates the programme concerning the expansion of the social support system.

The main aims of this policy are to assist the self-supporting activities of various groups and communities. Social services’ institutions are to support the activities of individuals and families aimed at resolving life problems (establishment of a network of crisis intervention centres). Social support is to be provided for children in dysfunctional families, as well as outpatient clinical treatment and rehabilitation of people addicted to alcohol, drugs and other stimulants. Beneficiaries of social support are also disabled and elderly people. All legal in-migrants who meet the above criteria are also subject to such support.

Social policy postulates the elimination of any existing architectural and communication barriers for disabled and supports the employment of disabled population.. Moreover, families with disabled children are protected and to be assisted within this programme (ibid, p. 21). Most of the programmes related to the support of the needy social groups are stimulated by the threat of social exclusion, a factor that weakens social capital. The quality of social capital is regarded to be

¹¹ In 2012 r. Warsaw higher education institutions hosted approx. 6,5 thousand foreign students, among whom Ukrainians, Belarusians and Norwegians accounted for major shares. Altogether there is a 2.3% share of foreign students within the total group of students in Warsaw.

among the most important factors that drive social and economic development processes (Społeczna Strategia Warszawy..., 2008).

The issue of *inclusion via social support* is the key subject to the following programmes:

- the programme 'Family' (Program Operacyjny Rodzina ..., 2010), which concerns objectives such as providing assistance to people not capable of taking care of themselves, to those excluded from the society, or endangered by exclusion, socio-professional reintegration of families touched by poverty, addictions, unemployment, homelessness or criminality;
- the programme 'Disabled' (Warszawski Program Działania ..., 2010), the main concept of which concerns the creation of an open and accessible city in which suitable conditions for disabled people and their families are provided - these allowing them to be fully integrated in the life of their local communities, securing their access to information, labour market and public services. . The share of disabled students grows steadily, in 2011 it equalled 1.2%;
- the housing policy (Strategia Rozwoju..., 2005, p. 23; Wieloletni Program..., 2012), which touches upon the problem of council flats.

Inclusion via social support refers strictly to those policies which aim at addressing issues related to the negative aspects of social diversity, such as social exclusion and spatial polarization. Its main focus is on redistribution (Fincher and Iveson 2008), although in many aspects it also touches upon recognition of various needy social groups and also, to some extent on encounter, when concrete organizational and institutional forms are created to support the groups threatened by social exclusion.

As highlighted above, the majority of tasks and programmes related to diversity-related issues concern social policy. Those include projects and financial mechanisms aimed at people at risk of poverty and social marginalization. The activities within social policy encompass different types of diversity: socio-professional, family, ethnic origin and disability issues. In 2013, the budget for social policy in Warsaw accounted for 180 million EURO, i.e. approximately 5% of the city budget. Assistance to foreigners within social policy amounted to approximately 180 000 EURO which in relative terms is about 0.13% of the budget related to social assistance. Funds allocated to offices for the programmes concerning social support to unemployed and to professional activation amounted to 7 730 000 EURO, which accounted for approximately 0.2% of the city budget, while the assistance of people with disabilities amounted to 1 850 000 EURO, and 0.1% of the total budget.

A large category of programmes are financed by the EU. In 2013 – 575 000 000 EURO (Projekt Budżetu M.st Warszawy..., 2013) were spent on such projects, where a considerable share concerned the inclusion of vulnerable social groups, including: the activation of older people: *Active professionally 50 +* (26 000 EURO), the increase of professional skills of unemployed: *Warsaw inspiration to work* (300 000 EURO), professional activation of the disabled: *I can do more - social mobilization of the disabled* (50 000 EURO), *Modern technologies of opportunity for professional development and activation of people with disabilities* (3 140 000 EURO), professional activation of women: *Fulfilled, happy, employed* (4 000 EURO), equal educational opportunities for pupils *Children's Academy of the Future* (55 000 EURO), professional activation for young parents *Mom and Dad go back to work, and I go to nursery school* (530 000 EURO).

Housing policy and urban renewal and their relationship to diversity in Warsaw

In the Warsaw Development Strategy (Strategia Rozwoju..., 2005) housing issues are addressed under Programme 1.3.1. The policy declares that in order to assist the poorest inhabitants of the capital, the city authorities shall continue to develop the programme of council flat construction

and support the activities of the municipal Social Housing Associations¹² by granting them land on advantageous terms. The main objective of the Multiannual Programme of Management of the Warsaw Housing Stock is the provision of housing to those low income households which occupy sub-standard flats. The criteria used for assessing the standard of dwellings include: availability of running water, sanitary facilities, central heating and gas installation. The level of monthly income that qualifies a household for a social flat is approx. 300 EURO per household member. Exceptions to the above criteria pertain to repatriates, refugees as well as households whose dwellings are subject to demolition.

Owing to a low share of municipality-owned flats within in the total housing stock, the Warsaw city authorities have limited possibilities of conducting any effective pro-diversity policy in this area. The long-term programme for public housing in Warsaw for 2008-2012 sets the objectives of increasing the number of municipal dwellings (including social dwellings)¹³. The second, revised edition of the long-term programme for public housing in Warsaw covers the period of 2013-2017. According to the information provided by a representative of the Warsaw Housing Office, the growing supply of municipal dwellings in the coming years should fulfil the housing demand for social housing by 2020.

Urban renewal is listed among the operational tasks of the Warsaw Development Strategy (Strategia Rozwoju..., 2005). Concerning this task, 21 renewal projects were carried out in the framework of the Local Urban Renewal Programme for the years 2005-2013 in 14 out of 18 districts of Warsaw and covered over 11 per cent of the city area, inhabited by almost 32 per cent of the city population. The projects implemented were of different character. A number of these focused on physical improvements. The projects included the organisation of local cultural centres, educational activities, programmes dedicated to integration of local communities and the protection of cultural and historical heritage.

A new, Integrated Programme of Urban Renewal for the 2014-2020 period is now in the final elaboration phase. The programme is targeted at the *'systematic, long-range improvement of living conditions in selected, deteriorated areas of Warsaw'* (Założenia..., 2013, p. 2). The operational goals include: improving the quality of public space, providing facilities for the development of tourism and cultural activities, increasing public safety level, and preventing social exclusion of economically weak groups and groups without access to public services i.e. education, culture, and health care services. The measures planned to be used to prevent social exclusion are projects aimed at social mobility, the utilisation of available educational resources in order to support social inclusion of poverty-stricken children, the improvement of public space, as well as social activation of inhabitants.

The projects presented are expected to contribute to the overall improvement of attractiveness of the area, while maintaining social diversity and local identity. The programme is focused upon a part of Warsaw's inner zone situated on the right bank of the Vistula river, more specifically, the districts of Praga Północ, Praga Południe and Targówek. The programme is financed from the budget of the City of Warsaw. Provisions of the Integrated Programme are an indication of the

¹² The provision of council flats during 2000-2012 accounted for less than 3 per cent of the total number of dwellings constructed

¹³ Social dwellings constituted approximately 2.5 per cent of all municipal dwellings in Warsaw in 2007. By 2011 the share increased to 4.8 per cent.

growing role that is attached to policies addressing the questions of urban decay and urban renewal¹⁴.

The districts identified above are experiencing a step-wise process of social and physical gentrification. This phenomenon is by no means neutral from the perspective of social diversity issues. According to a representative of the Warsaw Housing Unit:

“..this is quite understandable that the arrival of affluent newcomers causes socio-spatial conflicts. The old residents feel excluded within their own living environment, left without any measures to counteract this situation. They don't perceive their new neighbours, the new buildings in the surrounding as a progress or advancement, and as new opportunities for their district, but as an act of disrespecting their rights to the place”.

Hence, the urban renewal programmes are designed so as to counteract the negative aspects of neighbourhood gentrification. The strengthening of economic situation and social mobility of the local residents should prevent the dominance of the area by newcomers and benefit the area in the transition process.

Diversity as asset – active pro-diversity policy

Following Wirth's 'Urbanism as a way of life' (1938) social heterogeneity (social diversity) is one of the four characteristics that define cities. The mainstream of the city government's discourse in Warsaw does not picture this criterion as a value *per se*, and focuses, as a representative of the Warsaw Office for European Funds and Economic Development puts it: “*rather on the identification of the inhabitants and new inhabitants with the city than directly on various aspects of diversity*”. The stimulation of identity-feeling (belonging) is however also related to the recognition of the role of 'diverse' local communities and their 'diverse' cultural activities which integrate the residents and attract visitors to the city. It is highlighted in the Development Strategy that:

Warsaw owes its local colour to the cultural activities of smaller communities: districts, estates and streets. Numerous concerts, artistic events, festivals, fetes, street and district celebrations contribute significantly to the integration of the city's inhabitants, in addition to attracting visitors to the capital' (Strategia Rozwoju ..., 2005, p.16).

The Warsaw Culture Development Programme (Program Rozwoju Kultury..., 2013) envisages Warsaw as a city hospitable for visitors and new inhabitants. It states, quite generally, that it promotes 'diversity' and is interested in, and open to 'difference' as such. In line with the findings presented above, the programme supports diversity through the development of local identity enriched by tradition and the coexistence of different cultures and social groups. As a representative of the Office of Culture states:

“Culture is still underestimated when it comes to its role in integration of different social groups. Problems of social exclusion are not just problems of economic nature. Culture helps to build territorial identity, makes people feel responsible for the city and neighbourhood, makes them proud of being citizens, belonging to a specific community”

¹⁴ This was not necessarily the case until recently. For example, the urban renewal projects of 2013, concerning the districts of Praga Północ and Praga Południe consumed only 70 000 EURO which accounted for less than 0.002 per cent of the total city budget.

Diversity as an asset is also reflected in the governmental discourse related to the promotion of Warsaw as a magnet for in-migration. This is connected with two arguments present in urban policy documents:

- support given to positively perceived diversity through the promotion of Warsaw as a European centre of education and science, this being a magnet for in-migration from other regions of Poland and abroad (in line with the Development Strategy and Programme of Educational Development);
- economy-driven attraction of in-migrants from other parts of Poland and abroad, where newcomers are treated as those that support Warsaw's economic performance, and, at the same time, the city budget by paying taxes (Strategia Rozwoju..., 2005; Innowacyjna Warszawa 2020..., 2012).

It should be noted that most activities within integration and inclusion policies (Społeczna Strategia Warszawy..., 2008; Program Rozwoju Edukacji..., 2013; Warszawski Program Edukacji Kulturalnej..., 2009) undertaken by the local government are mainly restricted to awareness-raising activities about the recognition and tolerance of various social groups; to the economy-driven need for in-migration, as well as to the establishment of conditions which would stimulate economy-driven in-migration.

Diversity is treated as a considerably new phenomenon in Warsaw and, as reflected by policy-makers, should be subject to monitoring. The city finds itself at a less advanced stage with respect to international migration-related social and ethnic diversity than most other cities in the European Union. The aspect of ethnic and religious diversity is highlighted in various documents which adopt very general and declarative forms (Strategia Rozwoju..., 2008; Społeczna Strategia Warszawy..., 2008). Active policies aimed at diversity recognition are, however, considered less important, while the implemented policies of integration and local identity creation constitute the mainstream of diversity policy.

In spite of the above findings, some policy-makers interviewed express the need to raise awareness amongst residents about diversity issues, including the acceptance of ethnic diversity, gender issues and sexual orientation. A representative of the Warsaw Office of Education claims for example that the results of public opinion polls which indicate a rather low level of tolerance are “*still very unsatisfactory*”. According to the respondent, the whole issue of ‘difference’ is a mission which should be thoroughly tackled by non-governmental organizations, or in the framework of such social platforms as the Commission for Public Communication or the Centre for Public Dialogue which constitute a form of cooperation between the city and other, non-governmental bodies.

There seems to be a lack of explicit diversity policy at the city level in two areas. First, insufficient emphasis is put on the question of equality of the position of men and women in society. There are only a few programmes mentioned in the policy discourse (Wieloletnia Prognoza Finansowa... 2012) related to the professional activation and promotion of women on the labour market, while the projects implemented are low-budget ones (ex. ‘Professional Activation of Women – fulfilled, happy, employed’ - 4 000 EURO). In contrast, there are notable positive changes in this respect at the national policy level (Dziennik Ustaw..., 2013). Second, there is a lack of legal regulations and no reflection in urban policy on the heterogeneity of sexual orientations in Warsaw.

Pro-diversity policies aimed at the recognition of diversity in Warsaw are mostly of declarative character. More specific activities are undertaken within integration and social inclusion policies which aim at the redistribution of resources and creating spaces of encounter. The following

table uses Fincher and Iveson's (2008) typology to provide an overview of the relationship between urban policies and diversity issues in Warsaw.

Table 2. Warsaw policies to create redistribution of resources, recognition of multiple voices and spaces of encounter

| Category of policies | Examples of Policies | Targeted objective(s) |
|--|---|--|
| Policies for equity/(re)distribution of resources | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Education for everybody</i> – an inclusive policy counteracting social segregation (within the Warsaw Educational Development Programme); - <i>Professional Activation of Women – fulfilled, happy, employed</i> – programme of the City of Warsaw - <i>Integration and Independence</i> – project directed at supporting workplace and development for disabled population, financed by the City of Warsaw and organized by the Centre ‘Integration’; - <i>Active professionally 50 +</i> – programme aimed at the increase of professional skills of unemployed population of over 50 years of age; - <i>Warsaw inspiration to work</i> – professional activation of the disabled; - <i>Children's Academy of the Future</i> – programme aimed at creating equal education opportunities for pupils; - <i>Mom and Dad go back to work, and I go to nursery school</i> – programme of professional activation for young parents; - Voivodship-level integration programme directed at the Roma population (implemented in Warsaw); - <i>I can do more - social mobilization of the disabled</i> – programme financed by the EU; - <i>Local Urban Renewal Programme</i> – conducted by the City of Warsaw | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Socio-economic opportunities and social mobility (primarily) - Economic performance (primarily) - Social cohesion (as a consequence) |
| Policies for diversity/recognition of multiple voices | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Diverse Warsaw</i> – programme supporting children of foreigners in Poland and their parents in their integration in the new environment (within the Warsaw Educational Development Programme); - <i>Study In Warsaw</i> – an international programme supporting the recruitment of foreign students and the internationalization of Warsaw’s educational institutions; - Educational project in the frame of the programme ‘Comenius Regio’ aimed at the integration of foreign children via education (co-project of Warsaw and Cardiff, which involves non-governmental organizations in both cities) aiming at the development of public dialogue and multicultural education in schools and educational environments (Programme presented within the Social | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Social cohesion (primarily) - Socio-economic opportunities and social mobility (primarily) - Economic performance (as a consequence) |

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Development Strategy); - <i>Warsaw Multicultural Centre</i> – educational programme and information exchange centre offering language courses for foreigners, training for teachers concerning Warsaw’s multicultural heritage, consultations for foreign students | |
| <p>Policies to create spaces of encounter and spaces of democratic deliberation between groups</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Programme <i>Warsaw - Friendly to Seniors 2013-2020</i> aimed at the integration of elderly people and inter-generational dialogue; - <i>The Warsaw identity’ – multicultural heritage</i> – project within the Warsaw Programme of Cultural Education aimed at the inclusion of elderly population in the ‘learning all life’ programme, exploiting the resources and capacity of the network ‘universities of the 3rd age’ - a cultural and educational programme oriented at the education of elderly people and the creation of spaces of encounter; - <i>The European House of Encounter for the Youth</i> – a public institution which supports and initiates international cooperation of young people, supports the accommodation in Warsaw, promotes knowledge on the European Union, based on collaboration with NGO’s which support development of the civil society; - The Warsaw City Programme <i>Summer/Winter in the City</i> organized by the Office of Education, Office of Sports and Recreation) – an interdisciplinary, cyclical programme for school children aimed at supporting an attractive way of spending time and developing interests during summer and winter holidays. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Social cohesion (primarily) - Socio-economic opportunities and social mobility - Economic performance (as a consequence) |

3.2 Non-governmental views on diversity policy

The knowledge concerning the perception of diversity policies within the local governmental arrangements in Warsaw derives predominately from interviews with representatives of various non-governmental organizations dealing with social, cultural and educational diversity. Additionally, some issues are to be found in the Polish version of the Diversity charter¹⁵. The above document interprets diversity as a

‘collective of visible and invisible features which differentiate the society (...). Among them are sex, skin colour, ethnic origin, fitness, health condition, age, sexual orientation, family status, life style, socio-economic status’ (Andrzejczuk, 2012).

According to most of the NGO representatives these aspects find only selective reflection in the political discourse in Warsaw. According to a representative of the Foundation for Socio-Economic Initiatives:

¹⁵ an international initiative supported by the European Union which promotes diversity and counteracts workplace discrimination. The initiator of introducing the charter to Poland was the Warsaw-based Forum of Responsible Business, one of the interviewed organizations. The firms which decided to implement this tool contribute to cohesion and social equity.

“in most cases the ideas formulated in the documents are declarative in form, which in principle only scarcely contributes to the practice of daily life. The elaboration of many documents aims at demonstrating that the city authorities are active with respect to solving social problems”.

This means that most of the operational programmes are de facto non-operational, as they refer usually to catchy slogans. Another problem touched upon by non-governmental respondents is the non-holistic approach towards urban policy which also includes diversity-oriented or rather diversity-related policy. As a representative of the Association of Polish Town Planners states:

“some features of which the phenomenon of diversity is composed of (gender-type, life style, religion) are in most cases treated as problems of awareness rather than issues to be tackled by urban policy, therefore they don’t constitute separate aspects of labour, housing or social policy programmes”.

On the other hand, new phenomena related to social diversity in Warsaw are arising, and the city government is obliged to take a position with respect to these issues or get engaged in activities connected with them. An example of such a phenomenon is the so called ‘rainbow’ landmark, exhibited in one of the central districts of Warsaw. The rainbow (*tęczą*), according to its author is a symbol of rising awareness, of tolerance, love and hope, but also of emancipation of sexual minorities. Recently, the presence of this symbol has been contested by groups of conservative radicals.

Interesting findings are related to the idea whether diversity is treated as an asset in urban development. The elaboration of the Social Strategy (2008) was for example dominated by the viewpoint that Warsaw can profit from in-migrants (if they take on education or work), not necessarily directly because they contribute to diversity. Therefore, as claimed by a representative of the Foundation for Socio-Economic Development, *“the political discourse highlights projects aiming at intercultural communication, integration, supporting the obtaining of knowledge, language courses for in-migrants etc.”*

The main concept to be derived from this part of the discussion is that on the one hand Warsaw policy documents do prohibit every kind of intolerance; on the other, the frame for creation of openness and accessibility is too wide (too general) to find concrete programmes actually promoting diversity as an asset. This can literally mean that positively perceived diversity is not treated as an asset *expressis verbis* and there is no active pro-diversity policy in Warsaw. This finding remains explicitly in line with the conclusions of the analysis in section 3.1.

Contradictions between policy and action

According to a representative of the Town Planners Association *“the main strategic documents envision Warsaw as a city which wishes to be inhabited by young, preferably well-educated in-migrants seeking education, work and leisure in the Polish capital.”* At the same time, there are no affordable housing programmes for young couples, which would encourage in-migration of the desired groups. On the contrary, the city invests in ‘park and ride’ systems on the outskirts of Warsaw which promotes commuting to work from the metropolitan ring instead of implementing migration-stimulating policies.

There are further contradictions between the general and declarative openness of policy to diversity (Strategia Rozwoju..., 2005) and programmes which aim at sustaining local identities (on

the sub-local, i.e. district-specific level). A way of solving this conflict is proposed by a representative of the Foundation for Socio-Economic Development who claims:

“social policy identifies local identities, the realization of spatial policy should correspond to that. This means that certain areas within the city should not be subject to strong gentrification and that newly constructed housing estates ought to have a diversified social composition”.

Diversity policies should on the one hand aim at sustaining some elements of spatial-functional urban structure which are treated as ‘upscale and posh’ - ex. districts of Saska Kępa, or old residential Żoliborz (this for the sake of local identity), and, at the same time, prohibit the wide spreading of the ‘dual city’ phenomenon. The above is reflected to a certain extent in the local urban renewal programme (see subsection on Housing and Urban Renewal in section 3.1.), which aims at a socio-spatial integration. There are however housing programmes, for example those targeted at young people (also young in-migrants) that contribute to an opposite process by supporting new private housing investments in suburban locations rather than affordable (including social) housing in the inner districts. The latter, according to a representative of the Association of Polish Town Planners *“would create desirable socially and generationally diverse places”*.

Migrations and ethnicity – ‘glass jars’ and Vietnamese

According to most of the interviewees there exists no actual city-level policy which attracts in-migrants to Warsaw, including specifically labour policy. If any policy is to be considered, it is incoherent and inconsequential. Although there is a department dealing with aliens, it is a national level institution. The policy which exists in Warsaw is purely declarative; on the other hand it is very liberal, as for example the domicile registration is not enforced. The residents are encouraged to register their domicile but practically non-registering is not penalized. For example, de facto residents can freely make use of the plethora of public services in the city such as medical and educational facilities (kindergardens, schools, medical services). This concerns mostly in-migrants from other regions of Poland, but indirectly it is an unplanned way of stimulating diversity.

Another problem which is connected with the attractiveness of the Warsaw labour market for temporary in-migrants is the so called ‘glass jar phenomenon’. The notion refers to those in-migrants who interpret their stay as temporal, this finding reflection in the mode of travelling back and forth (between their origin-home and destination-Warsaw) approximately on a weekly basis. The term ‘glass jars’ refers to food supplies that this group bring in from their home towns, which reflects their temporality with respect to maintaining their household. This category of migrants is sometimes blamed by the long established citizens for changing Warsaw into a ‘big village’. In reality some of its representatives, once succeeding on the labour market, decide to treat Warsaw as their permanent place of residence.

As a representative of the Foundation for Socio-Spatial Development states: *“it is believed that there are also aspects of ethnic migration not articulated in the policy discourse”*. For example, according to the interviewee, in the last seven years in the district of Grochów (on the right-bank of the Vistula) there has appeared a relatively large group of migrants from abroad. There is a trend towards the development of ethnic settlement clusters of Roma people, Vietnamese or in-migrants from the Balkans. The most numerous are, however, migrants from Eastern Europe, representing predominately young population groups, most often workers and students.

According to a representative of the Warsaw Development Forum, *“religious and ethnic diversity is obvious, but the city gives no effort to recognize it or benefit from it”*. The respondent claims that diversity should be considered an important attribute of Warsaw, due to its multicultural heritage and its geographical situation. According to a respondent from the foundation Autokreacja, *“for foreign migrants Warsaw is often treated as a temporary destination on the ‘route to the West’*”. It should be noted at this point that the city authorities should work on changing this.

Ethnic diversity and the importance of migration is highly recognized by non-governmental organizations which contribute to a multicultural dialog by organizing numerous occasional events, workshops, exhibitions, and which at the same time, conduct their own activities on a regular basis aimed at integration, not necessarily assimilation. According to an interview with a representative of the foundation Autokreacja: *“migrations contribute to the overall knowledge; people learn via natural contact with each other”*. The organization invests a lot in workshops concerning multiculturalism (understood as acceptance of different cultures) in the workplace. The workshops are usually oriented at migrants who, due to cultural differences, encounter some employment difficulties when seeking employment.

The foundation Autokreacja has elaborated a leaflet under the catchy title: *“Dialogue in the first place”*, which presents the experience of participants with the workshops they have attended. It should be stressed at this point that the foundation has never received any funding from the city, although such financing concerning the integration of third country migrants is possible, and the NGOs may apply for it. As a representative of the foundation claims: *“the overall interaction between city-level policy and the activities of non-governmental organizations in the sphere of diversity is still weak”*.

One of the actors who tries to break through this deadlock is the foundation ‘New Space’, which arranges groups of public dialogue and - via such activities – influence attempts to urban policy. It should be noted that, while there is no special change with respect to diversity policy since Poland’s accession to the EU, there has been a lot of progress with respect to the perception of in-migrants themselves. Foreign in-migrants are more active in executing their rights, at the same time they are more aware of the expectations of the labour market. The attitude that the right to work and stay are independent of each other, is becoming a much more seldom way of thinking.

Inter-sectoral cooperation and interaction within diversity policy

While the activities of a majority of the NGOs concern a certain space within diversity policy, either related to the promotion of cultures, social dialogue the identity of ethnic groups, social assistance and integration policy, or to the promotion of positive attitudes to diversity in certain environments (workplace or place of residence), there is no clear evidence of cooperation between the local governmental activities and non-governmental actions. As much as it is declared in documents (Social Development Strategy, Development Strategy, Warsaw Educational Development Programme), according to a representative of the Foundation for Responsible Business:

“the cooperation with city authorities is limited to general initiatives, connected with the ‘smart city concept’. The city also organizes ‘soft’ initiatives and bodies such as the Commission for Public Communication or the Centre for Public Dialogue. Within such platforms the city engages and clusters non-governmental organizations dealing with selected issues”.

According to a representative of the Warsaw Development Forum the cooperation between the NGOs and the city with respect to diversity has different dimensions. There are programmes and

funds for supporting various kinds of activities which can be applied for. The city also offers complementary grants to organizations which receive financing for large projects from other organizations, such as the Stefan Batory Foundation. On the other hand, the city frequently benefits from the activity of the NGOs when aiming at achievement of its own objectives, so the cooperation cannot be in most cases described as based on true partnership.

According to a respondent from the Foundation for Responsible Business:

“the most important diversity-related questions with respect to the labour market concern: the disabled population, the gender-related equity policy and generational diversity. Other dimensions of diversity such as ethnic origin or sexual orientation are treated marginally”.

An interesting aspect which polarizes the governmental and non-governmental attitudes, as well as public and private space connected with the labour market is the perception of discrimination at work. The Diversity Charter (2011) has activated over 20 NGOs, academic circles, organizations dealing with all sorts of discrimination, while the Warsaw authorities have fully neglected the initiative. The Charter has been signed by many private firms and non-governmental organizations, and practically by no public actors. The Forum for Responsible Business is however in the course of negotiating the conditions for establishing an interaction platform between the Warsaw Office of the Mayor and the Charter initiative. The city authorities have declared readiness to sign the Charter and to promote the idea among other public institutions: schools or cultural centres.

4. Conclusions

Diversity as an issue of urban policy is a multi-dimensional and complex phenomenon – still more at the stage of being discovered than investigated. This finds a reflection in the governmental discourse and in the opinions presented by non-governmental organizations and independent experts. As the state capital and a large metropolitan centre, Warsaw constitutes an important magnet for in-migration. This refers however to a greater extent to population from other regions of Poland attracted by the city’s large and diversified labour market, than to in-migrants from abroad. This is reflected in considerably low ethnic and cultural diversity when compared with most of the large cities of the ‘old’ European Union. Warsaw, with merely 8,200 inhabitants declaring an ‘other than Polish’ nationality (2002) is still one of the ethnically most homogenous capital cities of the European Union (Central Statistical Office 2008).

The official policies of the city of Warsaw related to diversity are predominately a reflection of statutory obligations¹⁶; at the same time the city does not demonstrate a lot of legislative and practical activity in this respect. The analysis indicates that although the municipality is the central actor in the development and implementation of policies addressing urban diversity in Warsaw, the city government itself has a rather limited initiative in this field. The legal documents and their postulates find concrete expression in the tasks supported by the city, also in grants and projects provided to non-governmental organizations.

¹⁶ Law on the guarantee of freedom of conscience and religious belief (17 May 1989); Law on ethnic minorities and regional language; Law on social assistance (12 May 2004)

In spite of a relatively limited level and spectrum of diversity, the governmental discourses on urban policy and diversity envisage Warsaw against Poland as a whole as a testing ground for the recognition, understanding and implementation of diversity policy. Simultaneously, Warsaw's specificity with respect to diversity issues finds expression in the predominance of socio-economic diversity which results in the elaboration of cross-sectoral place-based policies such as the urban renewal programme related to diversity within, as well as between individual neighbourhoods. Unfortunately however the importance of such programmes is not quite reflected in the allocation of budgetary resources. Such resources are primarily dedicated to social support (*inclusion via support*), and to a lesser extent to integration. The programmes within the inclusion policies are directed at needy social groups and focus predominately on the redistribution of resources, targeted at stimulating the social mobility and socio-economic opportunities of these groups.

On the other hand, integration policy, implemented within educational and cultural programmes (*integration via education*) can be treated as the most complex of all policies, due to the fact that it refers as much to redistribution as to recognition and encounter. Within the framework of integration, the policy offers various kinds of arrangements and programmes, targeted at different social groups, including children, elderly people, foreigners, disabled population and students. The governmental policies stress the role of education in integration policies, where special attention is paid to the equalization of educational accessibility and the quality of education. The policies relate to education as a measure for addressing social cohesion (ex. through the recognition of inter-generational or socio-economic diversity), social mobility (through the support in obtaining education and the improvement of skills) and Warsaw's economic performance (through promoting the city as a European centre of education and science, being the magnet for in-migration).

The analysis conducted reflects limited evidence of active pro-diversity policy in Warsaw. The governmental discourse focuses rather on the concept of 'identity' than 'diversity'. The aspect of ethnic and religious diversity is highlighted in various documents which adopt very general and declarative forms. While generic statements in policy documents envisage Warsaw as a hospitable city for visitors and new inhabitants, state their support of 'diversity' and openness 'difference' as such, and promote tolerance and equal treatment, the actual focus within policy measures is the labour-market driven attraction of in-migrants from other parts of Poland and abroad.

Ethnic diversity is not significantly represented in the policy discourse. The policy towards ethnic minorities is restricted mainly to social support to migrants with refugee status, and to the ethnic minorities listed in the Act of Ethnic and National Minorities. Other minority groups, which are not included (i.e. the Vietnamese in Warsaw) are not subject to special attention and support. Equally, there is a lack of proactive approach to gender- and sexual orientation-related diversity.

The non-governmental perspective on diversity policy highlights the weak interaction between different actors responsible for urban governance, an overrepresentation of documents of declarative character, poor social participation and a lack of coordination between institutions. The attitude towards diversity is reflected by the notion of 'passive good will', which incorporates the identification and understanding of diversity issues – at least with respect to chosen aspects - but little active policy directed at the use of diversity as an asset.

Most recent aspects of diversity, including ethnic or gender-type diversity are still rarely addressed in urban policy. The issue of dealing with such diversity aspects are often delegated to non-governmental organizations, which are extremely active in the field. Especially the entrepreneurial and culture-related environments, apart from conducting their own initiatives, constitute a

communication platform between society and state. It may be anticipated that via NGOs, as well as informal resident initiatives, diversity will become a more recognized urban policy issue.

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Appendix 1. Main changes in Polish legislation on migration and citizenship

Table 3. Main changes in Polish legislation on migration and citizenship

| Year | |
|------|---|
| 1962 | Citizenship Act Decision of obtaining citizenship issued by the President of Poland. Possibility to acquire citizenship after five years of residence in Poland. Foreigners granted citizenship after at least three years of marriage to Polish citizen. |
| 1963 | Act on Aliens Borders considerably sealed, very limited mobility and marginal number of immigrants in country (under strict control and supervision of the police). Rules of conduct for migration policies not explicit; decisions purely arbitrary. |
| 1989 | Transformation of political system (new guidelines for interpretation of the law) Borders open and dynamic increase in migration flows. Lack of criteria for entry of foreigners, for permit to settle and procedures of expulsion. |
| 1997 | Act on Aliens Enhancement of the border protection and toughening of entry rules, widening of the catalogue of criteria of entry refuse and the catalogue of expulsion rules. |
| 2001 | The amendment of Act on Aliens New institutions: marriage of convenience together with regulations aiming at combating this practice and the temporary protection (mass inflow of persons fleeing war or serious human rights violations). |
| 2003 | Act on Aliens and Act on Granting Protection to Aliens Adjusted Polish law to EU requirements. Regulates the rules of conduct on visas, invitations and visa-free stay, residence permits for a fixed period of time and to settle obligations of foreigners to leave Polish territory, their expulsion from the territory, maintain a list of foreigners (including side effects), the provisions concerning ownership of the foreigner who enters the territory of the Polish. |
| 2009 | Citizenship Act No restrictions concerning the length of residence in Poland in order to acquire citizenship, decision is issued by the Polish president, foreigners granted citizenship after at least two years of marriage to Polish citizen. |
| 2012 | The amendment of Act on Aliens The new regulations introduce a number of facilities on the conditions of entry and residence of third-country nationals for the purposes of highly qualified employment. Common standards and procedures in Member States for returning illegally staying third-country nationals, including prolongation of to commit them to leave the territory of the Republic of Poland to 30 days and the possibility to revoke the ban on re-entry Poland. |

Appendix 2. List of interview respondents

Non-governmental organizations:

1. Society of Polish Town Planners (Towarzystwo Urbanistów Polskich);
2. Foundation for Socio-Economic Initiatives (Fundacja Inicjatyw Społeczno-Ekonomicznych);
3. Warsaw Development Forum (Forum Rozwoju Warszawy);
4. Foundation 'Selfcreation' (Fundacja Autokreacja);
5. Forum for Responsible Business (Forum Odpowiedzialnego Biznesu).

Warsaw authorities:

6. Department of Housing Policy, City of Warsaw, (Biuro Polityki Lokalowej);
7. Office of European Funds, City of Warsaw (Biuro Funduszy Europejskich, Urząd M.st. Warszawy);
8. Office of Education, City Of Warsaw (Biuro Edukacji, Urząd M.st. Warszawy);
9. Office of Culture, City of Warsaw ((Biuro Kultury, Urząd M.st. Warszawy);
10. Office of Culture, Department of International Cooperation, City of Warsaw (Biuro Kultury , Urząd M.st. Warszawy, Wydział Współpracy Międzynarodowej).

Appendix 3. List of documents

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