

**GEITONIES – Generating Interethnic Tolerance and Neighbourhood  
Integration in European Urban Spaces**

**Warsaw – City Report Draft**

**September 2008**

## 1. The city in context

The late 1980s have been marked not only by political changes in Poland and in the CEE region but also by new phenomena relating to international mobility of people. Among them, remarkable outflow of millions of ex-USSR citizens (mainly petty traders in the early 1990s) aiming in the western direction in combination with inflow of investments from the West and following them highly-skilled experts coming to the CEE region, set up a context for the further immigration to Poland. Before 1989 immigration to Poland was scarce. The exception was student exchanges within the Communist bloc, which led, for example, to the formation of future Vietnamese community in Poland<sup>1</sup> (Kicinger, Koryś 2008). In comparison to virtually inexistent inflow of foreigners to Poland before 1989, the 'new wave' seemed to be big and visible especially in some cities where numerous petty traders from the former Soviet Union were offering goods to Polish people.

It is, however, almost twenty years now from the moment when first petty traders have crossed the Polish border and immigration to Poland has not reached the level that could be compared to volumes of migrants coming to the EU-15 countries. Apart from small numbers, another important characteristic of contemporary migration to Poland is its temporary nature. Starting from mobility of petty traders in the late 1980s and early 1990s circular mobility (especially from the ex-USSR) constituted an important if not dominant pattern of inflow to Poland. According to the census data, the stock of settled migrants was only 40185 persons in 2002 (GUS 2002). Similar conclusion can be derived from the data of Office for Repatriation and Aliens: according to them, in 01.09.04, the stock of settled migrants was approaching 40 thousand (see Fihel 2007)<sup>2</sup>. For the last two decades, process of immigrants' settlement can be considered as marginal and proceeding mainly via marriage migration (marriages with Poles). It can be argued that only Vietnamese constitute the exception to this rule settling in Poland with their families from Vietnam. Finally, in the context of this report, it has to be stressed that foreigners are not evenly distributed across Poland with Warsaw concentrating the biggest group of foreigners.

Since the collapse of the communist regime Poland has developed a complex set of laws that regulate inflow of migrants and their stay in Poland, although in comparison with many other European countries immigration to Poland continue to remain low. The development of

---

<sup>1</sup> Communist Poland also had some early, yet limited, experience of inflows of political refugees from Greece, between 1948-1956, and Chile after 1973 (Kicinger, Koryś 2008).

<sup>2</sup> Namely, 34934 foreigners were residing on the basis of settlement permit (for EU citizens it is permit for residence). This number does not include around 4000 children who did not possess their individual documents.

migration legislation in Poland can be roughly divided into three phases. The first phase starts in 1989 and ends in 1997 with the introduction of the 1997 Aliens Act that entered into force on January 1, 1998. Until then the situation of migrants in Poland was governed by the Act of 1963 which was created in a completely different geopolitical context. The 1997 Aliens Act dealt with new migration situation that had emerged after the opening of the borders in 1989, namely increasing numbers of immigrants arriving in Poland (mainly from the former Soviet Union countries) or crossing Poland on their way to the West Europe, and may be considered as a starting point in Europeanization of Polish migration legislation<sup>3</sup> (Weinar 2006). In addition, at the beginning of this period, in 1991, Poland ratified the Geneva Convention and New York Protocol, introducing to the Polish legal system the institution of a refugee, and providing for the possibility of granting refugee status in Poland.

The second phase of the development of migration legislation in Poland started in 1998 and ended with Poland's accession to the European Union on May 1, 2004. The harmonization of the national law with the EU requirements continued. During this phase comprehensive amendments to the 1997 Aliens Act were introduced, including the establishment in 2001 of the first separate government agency to deal with migration issues. The division between asylum and other immigration matters took place in 2003, with the introduction of two separate documents: the 2003 Aliens Act and the 2003 Act on Protection of Aliens.<sup>4</sup> The first regularization program was implemented, allowing irregular migrants who have continuously stayed in Poland for at least six years (since 1 January 1997) to apply for one-year temporary residence permit.<sup>5</sup> In addition, the first comprehensive document regulating resettlement of people of "Polish ethnicity or descent" living in the Asian part of the former USSR to Poland (the Repatriation Act) was enacted in 2000. Repatriates become Polish citizens (are granted Polish nationality) upon arriving in Poland. The second phase ended with the implementation of the new visa regime required by the EU with three neighboring countries (being at the same time major source immigration countries), namely Ukraine, Belarus, and the Russian Federation.

The third phase of the development of migration policy begins with the Poland's accession to the EU. In this phase adjustment of national legislation to the European Union standards

---

<sup>3</sup> The Act of 1997 was aiming at enabling the free movement of persons while preventing unwanted foreigners from arriving and staying in Poland.

<sup>4</sup> The latter included principles and conditions for extending various forms of protection to foreigners, adding the tolerated status to the existing catalogue of available forms of protection (the refugee status, the asylum status, the temporary protection status).

<sup>5</sup> 3,508 foreigners from 62 countries decided to apply, with Armenians and Vietnamese comprising two major groups of applicants, accounting, correspondingly, for 46% and 38% of the total.

continues. In 2007 amendments to the 2003 Aliens Act were enacted, introducing a number of European directives, and implementing a second regularization program for undocumented migrants. The new regularization was directed at those who did not manage to participate in the regularization of 1997. Conditions for applying were similar to the first program.<sup>6</sup> The same year after perennial debate the Act on the Polish Chart was passed, granting people of Polish decent living in the territory of former Soviet Union substantial rights.<sup>7</sup> On the night of December 21, 2007 Poland entered the Schengen zone and its Eastern border became the Eastern border of the European Union. Modification of legislation on asylum seeking in accordance with EU laws, namely introduction of the so-called subsidiary protection and assured access to integration programs to foreigners for whom such status will be granted (previously only to recognized refugees) took place in 2008.

At the same time, due to variety of reasons (the ongoing economic prosperity in Poland, large scale labor migration from Poland, the prospective 2012 European Football Championships and the necessary infrastructure investments), Polish authorities started to recognize the need to fill growing labor shortages in some sectors of the Polish economy by means of attracting foreign workers. Since 2006 special measures has been gradually introduced to make the employment of foreigners (third country nationals) easier. At first nationals of Ukraine, Belarus and the Russian Federation were allowed to take up employment in agriculture and horticulture for three months in the span of six months. In July 2007, the possibility to employ a seasonal worker from the three countries was extended to all sectors of the economy (also to construction), and in February 2008, the period for which seasonal workers can be employed was expanded to six months in the span of 12 months. In addition, in October 2007, the fee for granting a work permit was radically reduced.

Until then protection of the Polish labour market and the issue of high levels of unemployment were at the core of the policy of employment of foreigners in the Polish labour market. The main rule was that foreigners cannot compete for jobs with Polish citizens, and that, in general, a foreigner needs to obtain a work permit in Poland. As a consequence, the relevant procedures were costly and time-consuming, resulting in granting a work permit only

---

<sup>6</sup> Approximately 4,000 foreigners took advantage of the second regularization, mainly from Vietnam and Armenia.

<sup>7</sup> The owners of the Polish Chart are entitled to receive a Polish residence visa free of charge and to take up employment or conduct economic activity on the same basis as the nationals of Poland. They have right to benefit from free education system and in emergencies also from free health service.

to several thousand foreign workers a year.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, measures applied to counteract irregular employment of foreigners in Poland were largely ineffective. In fact, for many years Polish authorities and policy makers were turning blind eye to irregular employment of large numbers of Eastern workers in Poland (Kicinger 2005) due to economic benefits as these workers were filling labor shortages in Poland. Their employment in Poland, even if irregular, was also desirable from the point of view of foreign policy goals, which included developing good-neighborly relations with the East.

Since integration policy as such has become a priority in the EU, policy makers in Poland have become increasingly interested in the integration of foreigners in Poland. In September 2004 the Council of Ministers decided that the Coordinator for the integration of foreigners will be the Ministry of Social Policy (since October 31, 2005, the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy). In January 2005, the Council of Ministers adopted a document prepared in the Ministry, entitled “Proposals of actions aimed at establishing a comprehensive immigrant integration policy in Poland,” and in March following a decision of the Prime Minister the Inter-ministerial Task Force for Social Integration of Foreigners was created.

Despite the above novelties, so far not much has been done in the field of integration of foreigners (third country nationals). Nor Poland has developed a consistent and clear integration policy. What counts more, due to various reasons, one of them being financial constraints, Poland still does not have much to offer to incomers, and aid is rationed to selected group of foreigners. In fact, as rightly pointed out by Koryś (2005), at the initial stage of the foreigners’ integration process only small number of recognized refugees (since 2008 also foreigners who receive subsidiary protection) is entitled to one-year individual integration programs, that are granted upon a request submitted by the refugee after s/he receives refugee status.<sup>9</sup> The programs are administered at the local level, by the local Family Assistance Centres, most of them in the area of Warsaw, the principal destination for refugees

---

<sup>8</sup> In addition, selected categories of foreigners residing in Poland could find employment without a work permit. On the one hand these are recognized refugees, and other foreigners seeking protection in Poland who were granted the protection, and their spouses. On the other hand, third country nationals with settlement permits and with EU-long term residence permits and their family members, as well as family members of Polish citizens. Separate regulations allowed foreign employees of other categories to work without a work permit, for example, university teachers or foreign language teachers if they teach their native language.

<sup>9</sup> The scope of assistance to be given includes financial assistance for living expenses and Polish language courses, paying the health insurance contribution, and tailor-cut consulting (legal issues, job search, contacts with authorities and institutions, and so on). The program includes the spouse and minor children of the applicant, who also were granted the refugee status. The integration program is not available to refugees whose spouse is a Polish citizen. Refugees can also apply for welfare allowances. Foreigners who were granted the tolerated status are entitled only to social welfare assistance. It is provided in the form of various cash payments, in-kind relief, food stamps, nursing care, social security contributions, and shelter

in Poland.<sup>10</sup> However, as indicated by the non-governmental organisations dealing with refugees, the amount of the benefits and the limited period of the program do not typically meet the basic needs of the refugees, let alone their ability to acquire good Polish language-skills. The key problems is the search for inexpensive housing (especially in Warsaw area<sup>11</sup>) and for employment. The latter is very difficult despite the fact that recognised refugees are entitled to employment without a work permit. In reality, integration of refugees is mostly in the hands of NGO's.

The second privileged in terms of integration measures group of persons arriving in Poland are repatriates and their family members. In fact integration aid for the repatriates is considered to be the most complex. Before coming to Poland, a repatriate needs to have an invitation from a local government, which must commit adequate resources for assistance, including housing and job offer. They are also entitled to Polish language and culture training, as well as reimbursement of the costs of education in Poland of minors who are subject to compulsory education, and many others. Local governments may receive some help from the central budget and employers willing to hire the repatriates are offered tax discounts. However, the notorious economic situation in Poland limits the readiness of local governments to invite repatriates.<sup>12</sup>

Third country nationals other than recognised refugees, subsidiary protection holders and repatriates gain access to rights similar to the rights of Polish citizens only at the advanced stage of their stay in Poland (Koryś 2005). After living for some time in Poland (usually for five years) they are entitled to receive the settlement permit or the EU long-term residence permit, if they can prove that they have family or economic bonds with Poland, and that they are financially self sufficient. Such foreigners can work and set up businesses on equal grounds with Polish citizens. Similarly, they have access to medical service, provided that they have health insurance (on compulsory or voluntary basis), to welfare allowances, to unemployment benefits and to free education at all levels, including universities. In fact, access to schooling at the level of primary school (six years) and lower secondary school (*gimnazjum*) (three years) is secured for all children staying in Poland regardless of their nationality and legal status.

---

<sup>10</sup> In 2004, 167 families (486 people) enjoyed the provisions of individual integration programs, in 2005: 196 families (554 people) and in 2006, 244 families (741 people) (Kępińska 2006, 2007).

<sup>11</sup> Flats in Warsaw are very expensive and communal housing resources are scarce.

<sup>12</sup> Between 1998-2006 almost 2,000 families of repatriates (approximately 5,000 persons) settled in Poland, of which 375 families (822 persons) in *Mazowieckie* (Warsaw) province (Kępińska 2007).

In Poland, third country nationals, in fact all people without Polish nationality, are deprived from the voting rights at any level (presidential, parliamentary and local elections)<sup>13</sup>, which is considered to be an important element of the process of political inclusion of migrants. Non-citizens are also not entitled to membership in a political party. In addition, naturalization process which is part of the process of political inclusion is a difficult one. A foreigner can be granted Polish nationality when s/he lives in Poland, on the basis of a settlement permit, for at least five years. In practice, it is only after ten years of residence that a foreigner becomes eligible for Polish citizenship. Only a person married to a Polish national acquires, upon application, Polish nationality when s/he lives in Poland on the basis of a permanent residence and has been married for at least three years. In this way, a foreigner married to a Polish national can become eligible for Polish citizenship after residing in Poland 5 years.

For the last several years, immigration to Poland has not been a political issue and has not often attracted public attention. The first public debate took place at the end of 2001 and at the beginning of 2002. It raised concerns about the implementation of visa regime with Ukraine, Belarus and the Russian Federation, an important requirement in the process of the EU accession, and was considered to be the first serious debate on the introduction of the EU requirements into Polish legislation (Kicinger 2005, Iglicka et al. 2003). Among issues that were hotly discussed were negative economic and moral consequences of implementing visa regime for cross-border petty trade (its decline could hamper the economic development of the border areas), for Polish minority in the East, for the democracy in the East, and for maintaining good relations with the neighboring countries. The debate led to the postponement of the introduction of visa regime (till October 2003).

The second issue that called public attention was situation in the Polish labor market after Poland's accession to the European Union. The reaction of media to the ongoing large scale emigration from Poland, coupled with the economic growth and decreasing unemployment resulted in making the issue of labor shortages in Polish economy public. It put an enormous pressure on the Polish authorities to open the Polish labor market to foreign workers. In addition to media, most active in articulating their interests were employers' organizations in construction and agriculture, i.e. those suffering an acute shortage of workers. For the first time in modern Polish history, politicians publicly acknowledged that foreign workers –

---

<sup>13</sup> Poland did not sign the fundamental document encouraging political participation of foreigners, namely the Council of Europe's *Convention on the Participation of Foreigners in Public Life at Local Level*. The only exceptions are EU nationals, whose political rights are secured in the EU Treaty.

especially from Ukraine – are needed in certain branches of the Polish economy (Kicinger, Koryś 2008).

As Kicinger and Koryś rightly note (2008): “Comparative content analysis of press articles released in 1996 and 2002 in major Polish newspapers and weeklies confirmed the pro-immigrant orientation of media coverage: an apparent shift occurred from framing immigrants in terms of ‘dangerous locusts’ flooding the country, to emphasizing their contribution to society: their creativity and spirit of enterprise, range of skills, and cultural enrichment they represent (Mrozowski 2003: 230-233). The parallel shift from relying on unspecified group stereotypes regarding ‘the Aliens’ towards specific content (from more frequent cross-cultural encounters) and a positive perception of ‘the Other’ has been revealed in longitudinal trends in public opinion surveys” (see Łodziński, Nowicka 2003).

To sum up, Poland’s migration legislation in the last two decades was created largely as a response to external pressures. Among the most powerful factors shaping the development of relevant legislation was Poland’s commitment to harmonize its national law with the EU law. Ongoing processes of immigration (increasing number of migrants arriving in Poland) and emigration (large scale labor migration from Poland), together with recent changes in the Polish labor market followed. Polish migration legislation has been favorable for particular groups of incomers, such as people of Polish origins living in the former Soviet Union or foreign spouses of Polish citizens, and after Poland’s accession to the EU also for EU nationals and their family members. At the same time, more and more restrictive measures have governed admission of other foreigners (third country nationals) to Poland, with the recent exception of seasonal (short-term) workers from Ukraine, Belarus, and the Russian Federation.

## **2. Social territorial description of the city**

### **2.1. Short historical background**

Warsaw has been the capital of Poland since the end of the XVI century. Since there is no place to describe the development of the city over centuries, we focus on the history of the city in the XX century. Subsequent to the end of the World War I when Poland regained its independence (after partitions lasting nearly 150 years), Warsaw became the capital of the Second Republic of Poland. After the first period of stagnation related to the economic crisis, in the 1930s the city begun to develop dynamically. It substantially increased its territory and



population. A great deal of new modernistic buildings for individual housing and for public usage came into being, so as few modern settlements on Żoliborz, Saska-Kępa, Mokotów and Ochota.

At the time of Nazi's invasion of Poland in 1939 the city numbered about 1,300,000 inhabitants (including almost 400,000 Jews). It is worthwhile to mention that Jewish Warsaw existed for centuries as a resilient and indivisible part of urban fabric. During the inter-war time Warsaw was the largest Jewish city in Europe (where Jews formed, to a large extent, a separate structural, functional and territorial sphere) and Jewish minority made up 30 percent of the capital's population. However, The Warsaw Jews have disappeared irretrievably and their Warsaw was destroyed irrevocably. As a consequence of the holocaust, communist rule and emigration, the Jewish community in Warsaw has almost vanished. Currently only some 400 people are members of the Jewish Community in Warsaw (revived in 1997) and around 6,000 are registered with the Jewish Religious Association.

Under the German occupation, the city, as it was its tradition, became the centre of national resistance (military and institutional), and a heart of clandestine cultural and academic life. That, on the one hand, contributed to a national and country survival, but on the other hand led to large material and human losses. Apart from Nazi plan to transform the city into provincial German city, the city was destroyed during and after the Uprising in the Jewish Ghetto<sup>14</sup> in 1943 (resulting in a total annihilation of the Jewish district) and the Warsaw Uprising in 1944. After the defeat of the Uprising, the Germans began the systematic destruction of the town city. The population was expelled or deported to concentration camps.

As a result of the war, according to different estimations, between 75% and 90% of a urban fabric was destroyed. Aside from material losses, the population of Warsaw suffered severe human losses. Total losses of Warsaw population in 1939-1944 came to approximately 600,000 – 800,000 people (including 350,000 Jews and about 170,000 people killed during the Warsaw Uprising). There was not only a large loss in numbers, but also in the human capital of Warsaw inhabitants. Among war victims (fighting in the uprisings or being systematically exterminated by Nazis), so as among victims of the new communist rulers, people belonging to pre-war elites and the intelligentsia were overrepresented.

---

<sup>14</sup> In 1940 the Warsaw Ghetto was inhabited by 500,000 people, the majority of its inhabitants was transported to Nazi camps or died from different illness and emaciation before 1943. The uprising was a reaction to action of liquidation of the Ghetto numbered a last few dozen thousands of Jews.

In 1945 the rebuilding of Warsaw began. The Polish capital had to be quickly and almost entirely rebuilt after the damages caused by the World War II. In the first period ones of the most important tasks were: cleaning old and making new communication routs; restoring historic buildings and streets; creating new settlements and rebuilding public utility buildings (offices, shopping infrastructure). In the 1960s. and in the 1970. first large prefabricated housing complex in peripheral parts of the city were developed.

The spatial order, the character of a city fabric and the characteristics of its population were deeply influenced by politics and ideology under socialism. The rebuilding of the capital was used as a tool for propaganda, what is clearly visible in the history of the Palace of Culture and Science, a monumental Soviet gift for Poland placed in the heart of Warsaw. One of main factors shaping the portrait of the capital was central planning and using architecture for political functions. A part of this phenomenon was developing of cheap « egalitarian » large housing complexes and avoiding reconstruction of pre-war character of the city (beside some displaying examples), i.e. tenements and residential areas. It can be argued, however, that a comprehensive approach to town planning was never fully achieved and implemented in Warsaw. In spite of the Herculean rebuilding work that took place, walls with odd bullet scars remained till the 1980s, so as early to collapse pre-war tenements. Flimsy post-war buildings began to deteriorate quickly. There were many empty spaces in the city where historical buildings ought to be rebuilt or new investments were planned.

It is worthwhile to mention that social communities and neighbourhoods were completely destroyed after the World War II. The majority of inhabitants of the post-war city constituted internal immigrants (frequently of peasant origin). Moreover, the communist rulers applied policy of mixing different social groups, although there were also some special housing estates created for privileged groups (i.e. army, the police). Although there were attempts to develop industry in the communist city and its surroundings (i.e. by situating steelworks or car industry), Warsaw never became a real worker's city. Since the 1980s, much of the outdated industry has either disappeared or has been modernised. On the opposite, the capital, being the cultural and political centre of the country, began to play a role of the centre of the emerging democratic movement. In 1981 it led Solidarity movement which contributed to the fall of communism.

Since 1989, after the first free, democratic elections in the Eastern European region, which marked the end of the communist regime, Warsaw has been under the process of dynamic transformation, also social and territorial. Market forces started to play the main role in the

development of the capital. One of the first visible signs of political and economic changes was the emergence of plenty of shops, stalls and open markets. In the 1990s, the city attracted foreign investment into Poland and had a fast growing economy based on services and modern business. It was accompanied by new investments: modern office buildings, huge shopping centres, prestigious apartments areas and new inexpensive settlements for young families. There has been visible a process of city growth, transformation and differentiation.

## 2.2. Warsaw as the capital of Poland: its role and internal diversity

Warsaw (officially referred to as the Capital City of Warsaw) is located in the central-eastern part of the country. It is Poland's largest city with 1,690,000 inhabitants.



**Map 1. The geographical location of Warsaw (Warszawa)**

As the capital of the state as well as of the region, Warsaw is a city of great significance. It plays a major representative role alongside being the leading cultural, social, academic and economic centre in Poland. It is the seat of the president, the parliament and state authorities, and all the main state offices, as well as of foreign embassies, consulates, and international organizations. It is the country's chief cultural centre with the largest number of theatres, cinemas, art galleries, and museums. The city also plays the role of an important religious centre: the key institutions of various religious denominations are located there. Moreover, Warsaw is the country's leading academic centre, with over 80 institutes of higher education (universities, colleges, and technical schools). The capital is by far the strongest economic centre in Poland: its GNP per capita is three times bigger than the national average,<sup>15</sup> while the unemployment level is the lowest, making it the most wealthy and fastest developing city in the country where Polish headquarters of international corporation are frequently located.

<sup>15</sup> *Krajobraz Warszawski* No 77, December 2005



**Map 2. The area of the Mazowieckie Province (marked by darker green)**

Warsaw is, at the same time, the capital of the *Mazowieckie* province, and the seat of its authorities. The *Mazowieckie* province was formed in 1999, when the new administrative division of the country into 16 provinces was introduced. The *Mazowieckie* province encompasses the city of Warsaw and substantial surrounding areas (including 4 smaller separate towns: Ostrołęka, Siedlce, Płock, Radom). It covers an area of almost 36,000 square km, and is inhabited by over 5.1 mln people.

Relating to the City of Warsaw exclusively, there are presently three basic levels of administration: *powiat* (*powiat*), commune (*gmina*) and district (*dzielnica*) (for more on administrative division see Appendix 1). The district is the metropolis's smallest administrative unit. Now, Warsaw is divided into 18 districts including: Bemowo, Białołęka, Bielany, Mokotów, Ochota, Praga Południe, Praga Północ, Rembertów, Śródmieście, Targówek, Ursus, Ursynów, Wawer, Wesoła, Wilanów, Włochy, Wola, Żoliborz. district.



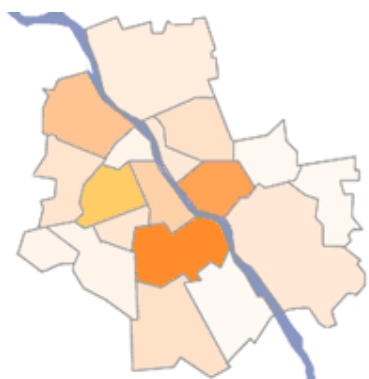
**Map 3. Warsaw's administrative structure since 2002: the 18 districts**

The district has a District Council, an advisory body headed by the District Mayor. Its responsibilities include<sup>16</sup>:

- maintaining and handling communal premises;
- maintain schools, cultural institutions, social care institutions, and institutions of sport, tourism and recreation;
- health care;
- maintaining green areas and communal roads;
- maintaining and handling district administrative premises;
- supervision over smaller administrative units formed within the area of the district;
- undertaking tasks aimed at satisfying the collective needs of the community of the district.

There are large disproportions in the size of the districts as well as in the size and density of their populations (see Maps 4 and 5), yet the relation between the two is not a proportional one. These disproportion reflect housing structure and district history in the districts. Generally, the older and more central districts are those of highest population density, while all the newer districts are relatively sparsely populated. Population density is also to some extent a measure of the prestige of given districts. This is highly visible in the case of the ‘better,’ more prestigious central districts on the left bank of the Vistula (Mokotów, Żoliborz), which are clearly less populated than those held in lower esteem (Śródmieście, Ochota, Wola).

**Map. 4. Size of population by districts (30.09.03)**<sup>17</sup>



**Map 5. Population density by districts (30.09.03)**<sup>18</sup>



<sup>16</sup> Source: the website of Urząd Miasta Stołecznego Warszawy (The Office of the Capital City of Warsaw) <http://www.bip.warszawa.pl/>

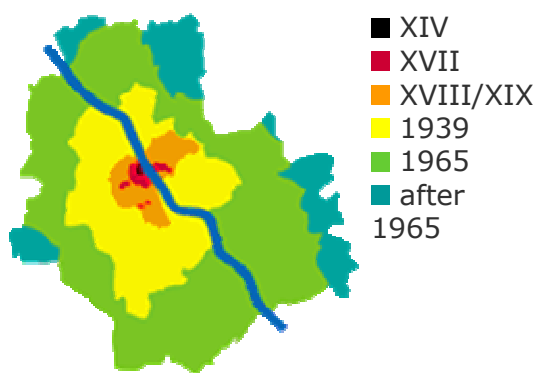
<sup>17</sup> Darker colours correspond with greater numbers of inhabitants in a given district. Source: website of “Virtual Warsaw”: the Capital City of Warsaw ‘s internet service <http://www.um.warszawa.pl>

<sup>18</sup> Darker colours correspond with higher density of population in a given district. Source: website of “Virtual Warsaw”: the Capital City of Warsaw ‘s internet service <http://www.um.warszawa.pl>

In terms of size, the smallest districts are Żoliborz (8.5 sq. km), Ursus (9.35), and Ochota (9.7); the largest – Wawer (80) and Białołęka (74). The biggest Wawer and Białołęka were incorporated into Warsaw only in 1994 and 1951, respectively. They are both located on the right Vistula bank, and are characteristic of intensive housing development. At the same time, they remain Warsaw’s least densely populated areas (Wawer with 760 persons per square km; Białołęka: 665), along with another ‘new’ district: Wesoła (659) and the district with the smallest population density (despite covering a relatively large area - 4<sup>th</sup> largest in size) and hosting historical summer palace surrounded by modern villas – Wilanów (355 persons per sq. km). In contrast, the most densely populated areas are the smallest ones and the nearest to the city centre: Śródmieście and Ochota, with 8772 and 8514 persons per square km, respectively. Thus, in each of these districts live around 24 times more people than in the exclusive ‘secluded’ Wilanów. An interesting case with respect to the size of the population and density ratio is that of the rather central district of Mokotów, which has by far the largest population in Warsaw (over 217000), yet is relatively sparsely populated (6372 persons per square km).

Territory and population size and density are but many differences between the 18 present-day Warsaw districts. Origins of these differences can be traced in the history of the town (see Map 6), on the one hand, and in the location of the Vistula river on the other.

**Map. 6. Warsaw’s geographical development**



Warsaw has undergone great geographical expansion since the end of the World War II, gradually incorporating successive areas into its borders. This resulted in doubling the city’s size and slowly changing its character. Consequently, a division into old and new districts exists in the minds of Warsawians. There is a common perception of the old districts as being

better because of their 'real,' traditionally 'Warsavian' character and better localization closer to the city centre, while the newer districts are essentially devoid of city character. The 'old' districts of the capital form a historical central ring around the Vistula river. These are: Śródmieście, Żoliborz, Wola, Ochota, Mokotów, Praga (Południe and Północ), and Targówek. The outer layer of the ring is formed by the newer districts (all incorporated into the city at some stage after the war): Białołęka, Bielany, Bemowo, Ursus, Włochy, Ursynów, Wilanów, Wawer, Wesoła, and Rembertów. The newer districts generally lack character, though can be divided along the lines of either being a predominantly family and small tenement houses area (Białołęka, Bielany, Włochy, Wilanów, Wawer, Wesoła, Rembertów) or blocks of flats area (Bemowo, Ursus, Ursynów). Among the newer districts, however, Wilanów enjoys a special status due to its beauty and historical ties with the city: once a village with a superb royal palace, for many centuries it played the role of the suburban residence to the sovereigns of Poland. In consequence, to this day Wilanów remains an exclusive district to live in.

Notwithstanding the historical division of the city, an equally, if not more significant segmentation is that connected with the Vistula river. The location with regard to the river forms a particular informal scale of prestige, with the "better" part of the city west of the river, and the "worse" part east of the river. The "western" side of Warsaw is generally considered as better since it is the more elegant and better developed part of the city. It is left of the Vistula that all the main state offices and foreign embassies are located. Also, the majority of monuments and museums, as well as theatres and galleries can be found there. Significantly, both road routes and public transport are better developed on this side of the river. As regards the latter, the underground, a very important means of transport to Warsawians commuting between the north and south of the city, has been built here.<sup>19</sup>

The "better," left-bank part of Warsaw thus consists of the following districts: Bemowo, Bielany, Wola, Ochota, Żoliborz, Ursus, Włochy, Śródmieście, Mokotów, Ursynów, Wilanów. Among these Wilanów is the most prestigious, followed by Mokotów, Żoliborz, and Ursynów. As earlier mentioned, Wilanów is a highly exclusive district; not only is it a historical gem, but also the least populated area of Warsaw. The distant and secluded Wilanów is followed by the more central and populated district of Mokotów on the informal scale of prestige. Mokotów is renowned for its many parks and villas and post-war tenements

---

<sup>19</sup> So far Warsaw has only one underground line, located on the left bank of the river, and running between north to south. Two other underground lines, cutting across the river and connecting east and west, are to be built in the future.

houses. Mokotów is highly popular since it is near the city centre, yet abundant in green areas. Presently, the majority of high-class apartment buildings are located in this district. Żoliborz is also popular because of being a relatively green and close to the city centre district. Many beautiful pre-war villas are located there. Another prestigious district on the left-bank is Ursynów. Interestingly, since Ursynów is dominated by blocks of flats. Nevertheless, it became highly popular in the late 90s, following the development of the Warsaw underground. The outskirts of Ursynów, which is considerably distant from the city centre, are covered by woods, thus providing a magnificent area for recreation. At the same time the metro enables its inhabitants to reach the city centre in less than 30 minutes. In consequence, Ursynów suddenly changed its character from a distant “sleeper” district, into the favourite of the young, well-educated and upwardly mobile.

East of the Vistula is the “worse” part of Warsaw. It comprises the old, infamous districts of Praga Północ (Northern Praga), Praga Południe (Southern Praga), and Targówek, as well as the attractive peripheral districts of Białołęka, Wesoła, Wawer, and Rembertów. The perception of the city’s right-bank as inferior has largely been shaped by its historical districts, i.e. Praga (Północ and Południe) and Targówek. These are infamous among Warsawians for being the impoverished and most dangerous parts of the city. It is in this area that the largest number of pre-war building survived, especially in the district of Praga Północ. These, however, have been seriously neglected over the years, and in result are in very bad condition. Consequently, it is only the poorer inhabitants of Warsaw that live there. Nevertheless, over the last few years a revitalization of this district has been taking place, interestingly initiated mainly by artists who are attempting to add a new dimension to Praga Północ (chiefly by opening galleries and artistic clubs there, and working on new art forms with the local community). The other two old eastern districts, Praga Południe and Targówek, are slowly shaking off their negative image, due to having become fairly attractive for housing development. Both these districts encompass a considerable amount of green areas (parks and allotments in the case of Praga Południe, and also woodland in the case of Targówek) and, most importantly, the price of land, and consequently of housing is much lower there than on the right side of the river. Although the newer districts off the right bank of Vistula do not share the infamous opinion of the old ones, they are still considered less prestigious than the districts to the west side of the river, which is also in their case reflected in the lower prices of land and housing.



Significantly, as we pass the oldest bridge connecting the two banks of the river (Most Poniatowskiego) eastwards, we come to the Stadium Dziesięciolecia, an icon for immigrant salesmen and smugglers. The stadium is a huge, derelict object, which has functioned as the city's (and reportedly also Europe's) largest open-air bazaar since 1989. Over the years it has attracted thousands of small tradesmen, many of foreign origin (for further details on all districts see Appendix 2).

### **2.3 Social portrait of contemporary Warsaw<sup>20</sup>**

The most complex research on Warsaw was taken in 2001 by Institute of Social Studies at Warsaw University, and was called Warsaw Area Study (WAS)<sup>21</sup>. One of the research issues was to find out scale and mechanisms of social diversity in Warsaw and answer the question whether this diversity is in any way specific for Warsaw as a big city.

#### **2.3.1. Population**

According to the WAS less than a half of Warsaw population was born in the city (47%). What is understandable, new districts as well as districts with new dwellings have a lot more inhabitants not born in Warsaw: in Ursynów and Bemowo only 37% was born in the city – these are also peripheral areas. In the opposite corner are Wawer with 64,5% born in Warsaw, Wilanów – 63,8%, Żoliborz – 55,7% and Rembertów – 55,1%. Most inhabitants of Białołęka and Ursus (almost 40%) brought up in country areas, while the average for Warsaw was 19%. In both districts housing is developing dynamically, as we have there large areas of not inhabited land yet.

Average age of Warsaw inhabitant was 47 years and average period of living in the city was 34. The oldest population lived in Wawer (average age – 57) and Białołęka (55) and the youngest in Rembertów (41) and Ursynów (42). According to Statistical Office 53% of people in Warsaw constituted non-working age population in 2004. Record-breaking were central and the old districts: Żoliborz, Śródmieście, Ochota and Wola – about 70-65 percentage of not-working age population. Districts that had been dynamically developed for

---

<sup>20</sup> This part presents mostly the outcomes of Warsaw Area Study (WAS, conducted in 2001), compared with general data for Poland: Polish General Social Survey (PGSS, conducted in 1999 and 2002), and also latest available data from Statistical Office in Warsaw.

<sup>21</sup> Warsaw Area Study's research population were 1004 people. It was conducted in 2001 when there was old administration structure (11 communes). For some communes there were fewer than 25 people interviewed.

few years and possessed most newcomers among their inhabitants as Bemowo, Białołęka and Ursynów had also the least percentage of not-working age population – slightly above 30<sup>22</sup>.

### **2.3.2. Education**

Warsavians had two times more often higher education than an average Pole, three times rarer had primary education and two times rarer secondary education. Average Warsaw inhabitant learnt two years longer than an average Pole. WAS has shown that the favourable relation of Warsaw population to Polish population in the realm of higher education is to a much degree thanks to internal migration. While 17% of people born in Warsaw had tertiary education, among people born outside the capital there were almost 25% with higher education.

Best educated were inhabitants of Ursynów (37,8% with higher education), Wilanów (36,3%) and Żoliborz (34,3%). While two latter are traditional prestigious areas of Warsaw, the first one is a newer district and gathers rather young and highly educated Warsawians. Some authors indicate smaller areas of Warsaw that are mainly inhabited by highly educated and can be connected with middle class society. They include: Żoliborz *Oficerski*<sup>23</sup> (southeast part of Żoliborz), *Sadyba*<sup>24</sup> (in southern Mokotów), part of upper Mokotów, *Saska Kępa*<sup>25</sup> (west part of Praga Południe).

Accordingly in general, Warsaw population is better educated than population of the rest of the country and best educated are the latest newcomers. Alongside traditional prestigious and well-educated areas are emerging new high-status neighbourhoods often with apartments and closed housing estates (Jałowiecki 2000: 123).

### **2.3.3. Occupation and status in the labour market**

WAS analyses revealed that a level of education is the most important factor in keeping a job in Warsaw. The comparison of occupational structure of Warsaw inhabitants with that of the whole Polish population – see Table 1 – unveiled that Warsaw occupational structure noticeably varies. There is more people from first four categories of International Standard Classification of Occupation: legislators, senior officials and managers, professionals, technicians and associate professionals and also clerks. The opposite pattern is found for last four groups like: skill agricultural and fishery workers, craft and related workers, plant and

---

<sup>22</sup> [http://www.stat.gov.pl/urzedy/warsz/publikacje/dzielnice\\_stolicy/ludnosc/10\\_04.pdf](http://www.stat.gov.pl/urzedy/warsz/publikacje/dzielnice_stolicy/ludnosc/10_04.pdf).

<sup>23</sup> Currently as a unit of lower order with colony status in Żoliborz district.

<sup>24</sup> Currently as a unit of lower order with estate status in Mokotów district.

<sup>25</sup> Currently as a unit of lower order with estate status in Praga Południe district.

machine operators and assemblers, plant and machine operators and assemblers and elementary occupations.

Table 1. Major groups of International Standard Classification of Occupation in Warsaw and in Poland according to Warsaw Area Study (2001) and Polish General Social Survey (1999-2002)

<b>Major group of ISCO</b>	<b>Warsaw (WAS) <i>in %</i></b>	<b>Poland (PGSS) <i>in %</i></b>
Legislators, senior officials and managers	10,3	6,6
Professionals	17,9	8,9
Technicians and associate professionals	22,4	10,5
Clerks	13,4	8,3
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	10,6	10,0
Skill agricultural and fishery workers	0,7	11,9
Craft and related workers	10,0	21,4
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	6,1	10,8
Elementary occupations	8,6	11,6

*Source:* Cichomski (2004: 23-24).

It is important to note that the most prestigious occupations belong to inhabitants of traditionally exclusive districts, as Żoliborz, Wilanów and to Warsawians of expanding peripheral ones – Ursynów and Włochy (almost 50 points on the Treiman scale of occupational prestige) and the least prestigious to the these from Ursus, Bemowo, Praga Północ (between 40-43 points), regions that are considered traditional working-class areas. That division is also parallel with frequency of holding occupations from first three ISCO groups in the most prestigious districts.

#### ***2.3.4. Housing conditions***

The most common type of property in Warsaw were cooperative dwellings – 60% of Warsaw population lived in such dwellings (40% in cooperative-prioprietorial, the rest in cooperative-occupant). Every fifth person lived in council flat, and less than every tenth – in detached houses (Batorski 2002). According to WAS about 45% of research population declared that their houses were built between in 1961-1980, in 80ies. – 12% and in the last period – about 10%. Another relevant data source in the field – National Census 2002 (NC) gives the total

number of dwellings in Warsaw – 654 077. National Census data are converging with WAS outcomes. In NC we get more precise picture of dwellings inhabited by year of building:

- before 1918 – 16 970 ( 2,6%)
- 1919-1944 – 69 093 (10,5%)
- 1945-1970 – 267 788 (40,9%)
- 1971-1978 – 128 020 (19,6%)
- 1979-1988 – 83 314 (12,7%)
- 1989-2002 – 84 781 (13,0%)
- under construction – 2 301 (0,4%)
- not fixed – 1 810 (0,3%).

Majority of Warsaw population lives in rather old houses, and over a half of dwellings dates back to years before 1970. We had also a lot dwellings inhabited that come from the short period 1971-1978 – so called “Gierek period”, characterised by fast industrial and housing developments (huge block of flats)<sup>26</sup> thanks to western loans. At the moment of the census 25,7% of inhabited dwellings were built in last 23 years.

Most dwellings built before World War I existed in Praga Północ and Śródmieście – these are old tenement houses and apartments. Ochota, Śródmieści, Wola and Wawer have a lot of buildings from the period after World War II to 1970 – rebuilt after the war. In “Gierek period” were, in terms of housing, developed: Targówek, Ursus, Bemowo, Bielany, Mokotów – besides the last one all peripheral districts. New dwellings in the capitalism period (after 1989) have been built in predominance in Białołęka and Ursynów, but very few in central and old districts as Śródmieście, Żoliborz, Wola.

It is worth to notice that WAS has shown that almost three quarters of research population did not have a chance to choose the place of habitation. Therefore living in fairly old dwellings is a sort of compulsion for Warsawians and reflects stagnation on the housing market (in spite of housing development of some areas, as Białołęka or Ursynów), as well as a lack of means to buy a new dwelling due to its relatively very high price. Finally, most of WAS research population answered “rather no” and “absolutely no” (about three quarters) while estimating their real chances for changing dwelling in next two years. Those that would consider removal very often indicated the same neighbourhood as a place of new habitation. That may

---

<sup>26</sup> There were 300 thousand dwellings built a year in Poland, mostly defective and low standard.

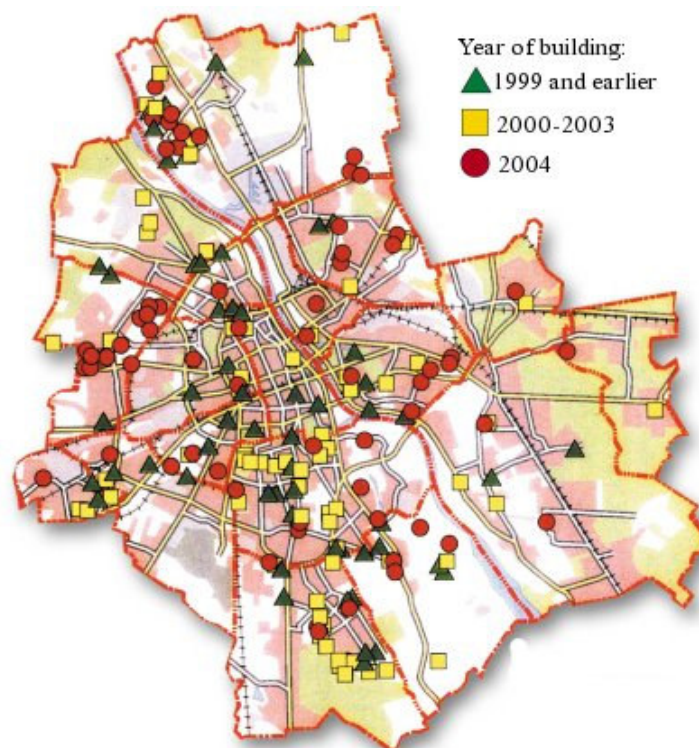
be an evidence that Warsawians are immobile population and spatial segregation processes in the city are strongly time consuming in the case of the native people.

#### **2.3.4. Apartments and closed housing estates**

In the last decade, after the collapse of Iron Curtain and years of capitalism transformation, Warsaw has become more similar to European metropolises taking into consideration social polarization of society. There coexist areas inhabited by wealthy social strata and areas of deeply poor people living in unfavourable conditions, some even forming underclass. Warsaw city is not a full metropolis yet, but there can be found distinctive features of metropolisation processes, as:

- internationalization of work force;
- developing services for international clients;
- metropolitan effect – predominance of Warsaw over another Polish cities regarding earnings (Jałowiecki 2000: 27);
- gentrification – returning wealthy strata to downtown;
- arising new apartments and closed housing estates (Jałowiecki et al. 2004).

**Map 7. Closed estates in Warsaw**



Source: Werth 2004.

The city becomes more and more differentiated with regard to socio-economic factors. It is mostly seen in peoples living condition and in arising signs of spatial segregation of high class. According to Bohdan Jałowiecki's research taken in the old Centrum commune, we had about 30 apartments or complexes of apartments in 2001 (Jałowiecki et al. 2004)<sup>27</sup>. In 2004 German student Henrik Werth has counted Warsaw's closed estates (compare Map 7). He found out about 200 of them, and what is astonishing, at the same time he found in Berlin only 1.

Layout of closed estates in Warsaw is extremely remarkable. It shows, for example, that Białołęka district does not attract as a whole, but in predominance in northwest part of the area there can be found a cluster of such estates. There are also noticeable two clusters of closed apartments in Bemowo district and a cluster between Ursus and Włochy districts. In Ursynów (south Warsaw) – closed estates are built along the underground line. In northern and central Mokotów as well as in northern Wilanów such clusters also exist. Scarce number of closed estates is in Wawer, Praga Północ, Wesoła and Włochy (besides small part northward).

Location of apartments in Warsaw corresponds with previous layout of prestigious areas in the city – apartments are built mostly in areas where highest strata of society have already lived (Jałowiecki et al. 2004: 145). It can be a sign of spatial concentration of the strata, however some evidence of spatial dispersion of that group are visible, process reinforced by housing market mechanisms. New high-status areas have arisen also in peripheral districts such as Ursynów, Białołęka, Bomowo, Ursus and northern Włochy. On the other site, some features of revitalization of central zones are becoming visible, especially in northern Mokotów and southern Śródmieście, northern Śródmieście and eastern Wola, where new closed estates and apartments are more often built.

What clearly differs Warsaw from Western Europe and especially American cities is the character of socio-spatial structure: while in the first is met principally zonal structure, for Warsaw typical is mosaic structure (Jałowiecki 2000: 123). For example, in Praga Południe district we have prestigious areas as Saska Kępa, and poor and socio-economically deprived areas with low standard living conditions as Grochów. Both areas are inhabited by Warsawians with opposite socio-economic status – a dual spatial distribution is specific for many municipal units. For that reason, among others, districts are not sufficient units for the

---

<sup>27</sup> In B. Jałowiecki's research apartment was defined as a dwelling at the cost of 4 000 złotych per m<sup>2</sup> or more and isolated and protected (guard, monitoring, fenced, porter, reception ect.).

city's internal diversity analysis. To diagnose proper (qualitatively) social structure it is necessary to take lower units into consideration.

### **3. Migrants in the city**

#### **3.1. General picture<sup>28</sup>**

According to Kępińska and Okólski (2004) foreigners constituted 2% of the Warsaw population in 2001, whereas the respective share for the whole Poland derived from the census data for 2002 has been only 0.2%. Thus, Warsaw constitute an exceptional area on the Polish immigratory map with particularly high concentration of foreigners and relatively attractive labour market, but also with special social setting for integration of migrants stemming from extensive internal immigration of young people coming to the capital city in search for work and better salaries.

Most studies on immigrants carried out in Warsaw are of qualitative character. Some general characteristics of immigration to Warsaw can be, however, formulated basing on fragmented data. Most important type of inflow to the capital city is labour migration related to the high demand for various skills in the dynamically developing area. At the same time, Warsaw receives around a half of foreigners legally employed in Poland and for some years it is even more than a half (compare Kępińska, Okólski 2004). Another important group of foreigners staying in Warsaw constitute foreign students whose high concentration in Warsaw stems from the presence of academic institutions.

Basing on the Warsaw Area Study and various analyses of Centre of Migration Research, Kępińska and Okólski (2004) made an attempt to summarise the most important characteristics of immigrants in Warsaw. They argue that, at the beginning of 2000s:

- Warsaw was the only Polish city that had recorded positive migration balance in period 1998-2000 and foreigners were visible and important in the city's life;
- legal migration to Warsaw has considerably risen up;
- high proportion of immigrants was in the productive age: around half of them was at the age of 25-44;
- majority of immigrants had tertiary education;

---

<sup>28</sup> Most data on immigrants available in Poland pertain to the *Mazowieckie* voivodeship not Warsaw itself. Taking, however, into account that Warsaw attracts the biggest groups of foreigners in this voivodeship, informations concerning the voivodeship level can shed some light on the situation in Warsaw itself.

- around two thirds of immigrants came from European countries (mainly France, Germany and ex-USSR countries), every fifth from North America and about every tenth from Asia;
- immigrants working illegally (without and adequate work permit and/or residence permit) were likely to prevail in the immigrant population in Warsaw.

### **3.2. Main categories of immigrants in Warsaw**

When we take into account the goal of a foreigner's arrival to Poland, two important categories of immigrants should be mentioned in the Warsaw context: labour migrants, including entrepreneurs and specialists (compare Portes, Rumbaut 1996), and foreign students. The third group deserving attention is asylum seekers and refugees who are relatively well represented in Warsaw due to presence of several refugee centres in the Warsaw area.

#### ***3.2.1. Labour migrants, entrepreneurs, specialists***

In 1993-2002, a number of legally employed foreigners (granted individual work permits) has risen up two times in Poland: 9643 work permits were issued in 1993 and 22776 in 2002 (Golinowska 2004: 137). In 2003, in the whole Poland, around 30 thousands work permits and promises were issued. Every second work permit issued in Poland has been issued by *Mazowieckie* province Labour Office. In 1993-2002 around 14.5 thousand (including 5.2 thousand of promises) work permits were issued in *Mazowieckie* province. Though the total number of migrants working in Warsaw is unknown, especially the number of illegally working foreigners, it is clear that labour migrants constitute an important group of foreigners coming to Warsaw.

In later years the respective numbers were lower but mainly due to the fact that, starting from 2004 - the Polish accession to the European Union – more and more EU citizens were allowed to work in Poland without a need to apply for a work permit. According to the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, in 2007, the total of 12153 work permits have been issued in Poland and almost half of them has been issued in *Mazowieckie* province (5372 permits). As in previous years, the highest number of work permits went to Ukrainian citizens (1500). In the absence of the EU-15 nationals, visible in the past in the top five national groups receiving work permits in Poland, other national groups became visible in the statistics. They include Vietnamese (831), Chinese (532), Belarusian (382), Turkish (267), Indian (259) and Korean (243) nationals. In 2007, foreigners employed legally in *Mazowieckie* province worked first of



all as managers, consultants and experts (45%). However, the group of skilled blue collar workers employed in the capital city and its surroundings is also high accounting for 20% of the total. It is worth noticing that one third of them originated from Ukraine. Then, Ukrainians are overrepresented in the group of unskilled manual workers constituting as many as 80% of such workers. It is in contrast with, for example Vietnamese, who work in the *Mazowieckie* province mainly as managers, consultants and experts (71% of Vietnamese workers).

### ***3.2.2. Foreign students***

Foreigners constitute only a small fraction of the population of students in Poland. For example, in the 2006/2007 academic year their share did not reach 1%<sup>29</sup>. However, an interest in studying in Poland increased in last years. Between 1999/2000 and 2006/2007 the number of foreign students in Poland doubled: from 6563 in 1999/2000 to 13695 in 2006/2007 (Central Statistical Office 2008). Among other things, this increase is a consequence of Poland's integration with the European Union and adjusting Polish education system to the European standards. At the same time, Warsaw seems to have been losing its leading role as the destination for foreign students coming to Poland. In the 2003/2004 academic year, share of foreign students teaching in Warsaw had been around one fourth, whereas in 2006/2007 academic year the respective share reached only 16%.

In 2006/2007 academic year majority of foreign students originated from Europe (65%) and 12% from the EU-15 countries. The biggest national groups were students originating from two neighbouring countries: Ukraine (2470 students) and Belarus (1676 students). The specific feature of inflow of foreign students to Poland is an importance of students with Polish roots taking advantage of various types of financial support from Polish institutions with the scholarship of the Polish Ministry of Education on the first place. In 2006/2007 over one third of foreigners studying in Poland had some Polish roots and in selected groups their share was even higher: 86% among Lithuanian students and 54% among Belarusian students. As European integration and globalization processes proceed, Warsaw becomes more and more attractive for foreign young people, but still a huge part of them choose Poland, because of support that they can receive as descendants of Polish nationals.

---

<sup>29</sup> Number of students of all nationalities in Poland in 2006/2007 was 1 937 404 including 13695 foreign students, so foreigners accounted for 0,7% of the total.

### **3.2.1. Refugees**

The volume of asylum seekers has been increasing since the beginning 1990s in Poland, though it has not been a stable trend. While, in 1992, the number of asylum seekers had been only 567 persons, in 2003-2005, 7 thousand applications for refugee status were submitted in Poland each year. In 2005, over 90% of applicants came from Chechnya (6244 persons). Other less numerous national groups included: Ukrainian (84 persons), Belarusian (82), Pakistani (69), Georgian (47) and Indian (36) citizens. Only 335 persons were granted a refugee status and 1822 a tolerated stay status in 2005. The successful applicants were, first of all, Chechens: 91% and 98% of foreigners granted refugee status and tolerated stay status, respectively.

Warsaw has three refugee centres: in northwest Wola (Ciołka Street), southeast Mokotów (Antoniewska Street), central Bielany (Improwizacji Street) and one Orphanage for children-refugees without custody in northern Białołęka (Bohaterów Street). In the southwest to Warsaw is central receptive refugee centre in Dębak. There are also other smaller centres in the vicinity of Warsaw. In 2005, 144 individual integration programmes for refugees were prepared for 370 addresses (including 175 children). For the capital city itself the respective numbers were 108 and 248<sup>30</sup>. Main recipients of those programmes were Chechens.

### **3.3. Main ethno-cultural groups of immigrants in Warsaw: adaptation and settlement patterns**

Several ethno-cultural groups can be identified in Warsaw (and in Poland as a whole). These groups differ in terms of socio-economic and cultural characteristics, as well as social and economic status. Consequently, it can be argued, they tend to chose different neighbourhoods in Warsaw to live in. Taking into account ethno-cultural and socio-economic characteristics of migrants we can distinguish the following groups:

- Eastern Europeans from Ex-USSR
- Vietnamese
- Western Europeans and North Americans
- Chechens

---

<sup>30</sup> In previous year there were: 2001 – 68 programmes and 147 recipients, 2002 – 93 and 24, 2003 – 119 and 295, 2004 – 118 and 325. See more: <http://www.mazowieckie.pl/wps/uchodzcy>.

### *3.3.1. Ukrainian immigrants as an example of Eastern Europeans from Ex-USSR*

Recent migration of Ukrainian citizens to Poland is substantial in terms of numbers and encompasses a variety of migratory forms and adaptation strategies. Petty trade and various types of unskilled menial piecework have been the main income-generating activities performed by Ukrainians in Poland since the late 1980s. Before 1998, performing unskilled worker had been less popular than a petty trade involving selling inexpensive goods on the Polish open-air markets at the beginning and transferring goods from Poland to the Ukraine in the later periods. However, since 1997, the Ukrainian trade business has been declining, due to legislative and economic changes both in Poland and in post-Soviet countries, and restrictions on the admittance of foreigners into Poland. As a result, more and more Ukrainian migrants started to undertake manual piecework in a shadow economy occupying certain segments of the Polish informal labour market such as domestic services, construction and farming.

Assimilation, integration, transnational social spaces and surface accommodation can be considered as the most prevalent adaptation strategies among Ukrainians. They, due to well-established connections with Polish society and a small level of cultural distance to the host society, can easily adjust to a life in Poland. It is further support by the fact that many Ukrainian migrants have Polish families (via marriage with a Pole or via old contacts of their Ukrainian families) and/or have Polish roots. Consequently, assimilation and integration constitute particularly frequent adjustment patterns among Ukrainian migrants in Poland. Assimilation occurs particularly frequently among Ukrainians married to Polish citizens (a visible group among Ukrainians). It is, however, likely also among other Ukrainians since they tend not to form a distinguishable Ukrainian migrant minority in Poland.

A small geographical distance between Poland and Ukraine, gives Ukrainian migrants, even those settled in Poland, an opportunity to maintain extensive contacts with the Ukraine. Till October 2003, when visas (though free of charge) for Ukrainians were introduced, citizens of Ukraine had been able to easily enter Poland as tourists, taking an advantage of a visa-free regime, after presenting confirmation of a booked hotel accommodation and proving that they possessed a sufficient amount of money. Thanks to cultural and physical closeness, Ukrainian migrants who easily adjust to life in Poland, have been able to operate simultaneously in both Polish and Ukrainian environments and societies without serious problems (Górny 2002). Using a concept developed by Thomas Faist (2000), it can be argued that Ukrainians have formed transnational social spaces crossing physical and national borders, in which

individuals have been connected in networks encompassing Poles, migrants from the Ukraine and foreigners from other post-Soviet countries.

Surface accommodation seems to be another important adjustment strategy among citizens of Ukraine involved predominantly in short-term and circular migration to Poland. Such patterns of mobility fit in the concept of incomplete migration proposed by Marek Okólski (2001), that applies to temporary movement between the countries where migrants do not respect administrative rules by undertaking, for example, illegal employment. Incomplete migration has a quasi-migratory character and sojourns abroad usually a few weeks (Okólski 1997; Wallace, Stola 2001). Migrants pursue economic activity to earn money for consumption or investments in the country of origin where usually their families live. Such the form of international mobility is characteristic for the transition period and constituted an important source of bread-winning for many households in CEE in the 1990s.

The relatively numerous “old” Ukrainian minority in Poland does not constitute an important reference for contemporary Ukrainian migrants although the areas of Ukrainian minority’s concentration are frequently chosen by Ukrainian newcomers and it appears that there are some links between members of both groups (Jerczynski 1999, Górny 2002). Weak use of the “recognized” minority by new migrants can be explained by dissimilarity of the experiences of the two groups, limited contacts in the past and the fact that Polish citizens of Ukrainian origin are disintegrated, subject to intensive assimilation and marginalized in socio-economic terms in the Polish society (Babiński 2001).

Lack of concentration into one or several migrant groups among Ukrainians is portrayed also on the Map 8 demonstrating spatial distribution of Ukrainian settled migrants in Warsaw in 2004. Presumably Ukrainians rent flats and rooms in the cheapest parts of the city (in large blocks of flats and in old tenements). However, the places of concentration of Ukrainians in Warsaw and in its vicinity are poorly present and visible. Moreover, they are practically invisible due to their similarity to Poles. Mixed marriages, that are very often within this group, lead to integration and structural assimilation of Ukrainians in Warsaw in spatial terms. However, the analysis of spatial distribution of Ukrainian settled migrants in Warsaw reveals some places preferred by this group (located in city centre and on near Praga along main communication routes). Places in Warsaw and its vicinity that are the most important for Ukrainians include Ortodox church on Miodowa Street and Łomianki – town close to Warsaw where Ukrainian priest celebrates special masses for Ukrainians.

Map 8. Spatial distribution of Ukrainian settled migrants in Poland in 2004<sup>31</sup>.



Source: Grzymała-Kazłowska, Piekut (2007: 92).

### 3.3.2. Vietnamese immigrants

Completely different patterns of adjustment to the receiving society are encountered among Vietnamese migrants in Poland. In this case we deal with a well-integrated elite and majority of migrants who can be subject to the processes of separation. The socio-cultural, and often financial, elite consists of the Vietnamese migrants who came to Poland as students under intensive exchange and training programs during the communist past. The group numbers 200-300 Vietnamese concentrated around the organization ‘Socio-Cultural Association of the

<sup>31</sup> Map 8 and Map 9 were created on the basis of data on addresses of settled Ukrainian and Vietnamese migrants in Mazowieckie province in 2004. Data derive from official registry of Office for Repatriation and Aliens (for more on method of mapping see Grzymała-Kazłowska and Piekut 2007).

Vietnamese in Poland' (TSKWP). Representatives of this first wave usually have Polish citizenship or at least permission for settlement and own prosperous small businesses. They are well-integrated in the Polish society both in cultural terms, by knowing the Polish language and being graduated from Polish universities, and also in social terms since some of them are married to Polish nationals. Some of them even converted to Roman Catholicism. On the other hand, even being integrated into Polish society, the Vietnamese still cultivate their own ethno-cultural identity and maintain strong ties with the other Vietnamese (Halik 2000; Halik, Nowicka 2002).

The intensive influx of the Vietnamese to Poland, in the 1990s, has led to the formation of thriving community which plays an important role on the labour market in Poland, especially in the textiles sector and catering industry and can be regarded as a model of prosperous entrepreneurial migrants (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2002b). Over the course of time, mechanism of migration from Vietnam to Poland were less and less selective in terms of migrants' education and social status. Besides individually and socially conditioned adaptation abilities, at least several other reasons contribute to that fact that Vietnamese group have been evolving into an ethnic enclave. Large dissimilarities between Polish and Vietnamese societies made the processes of learning the Polish language and culture particularly difficult, especially in the face of the lack of institutional support for integration. A great cultural and geographical distance between Poland and Vietnam and high propensity of Vietnamese migrants for in-group co-operation have contributed greatly to formation of an ethnic enclave. Additionally, the majority of Vietnamese migrants of the 1990's did not perceive their migration to Poland as a permanent settlement. Therefore, they gave priority to earning over investing time and money into language courses. In addition, the socio-cultural adaptation of many Vietnamese migrants is limited by their illegal status and peripheral position in Poland, such as in the example of trafficked workers (Głębicka et al, 1999). Finally, a substantial community of the Vietnamese in Poland with exceptionally well developed networks and ethnic institutions allows migrants to retain their own culture and to operate almost exclusively within their own ethnic group.

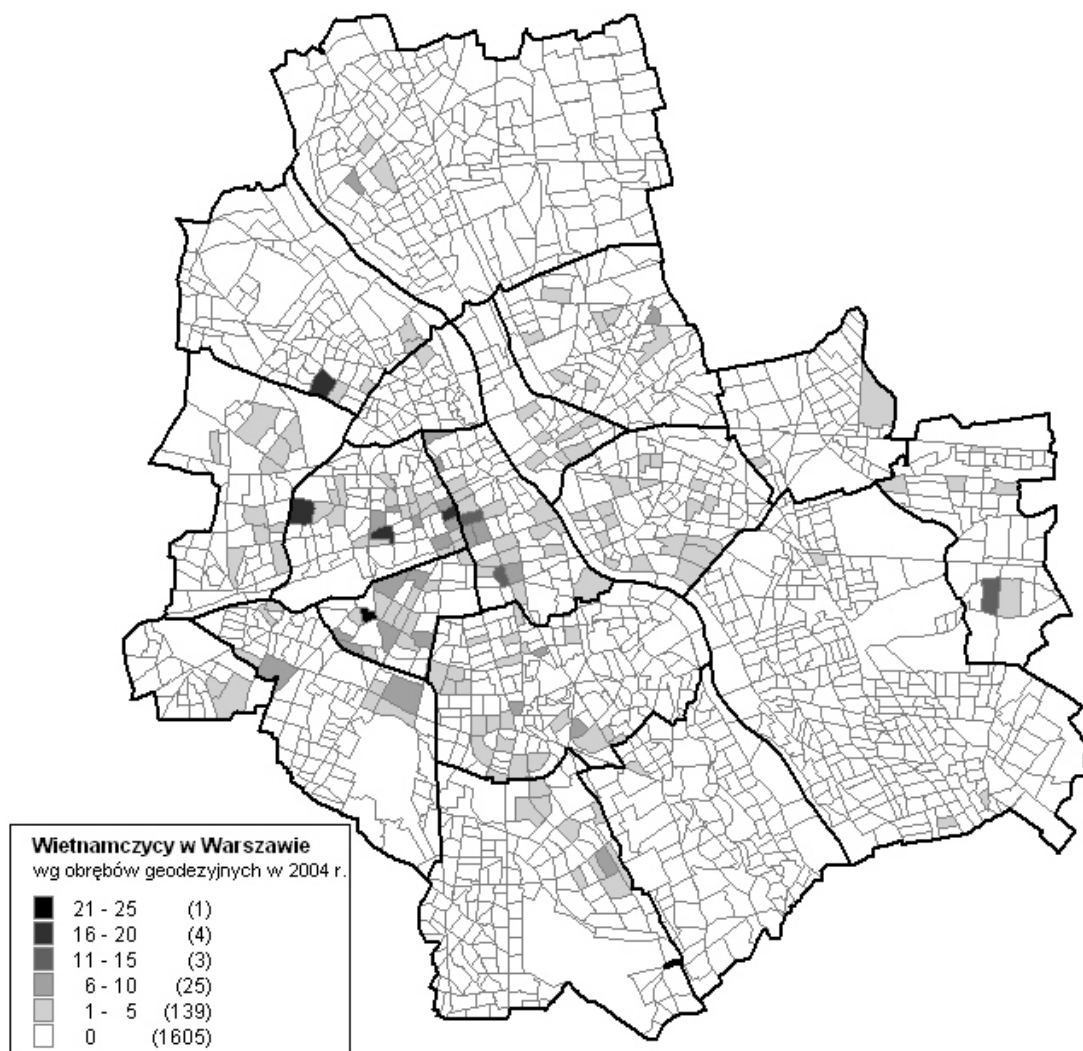
Vietnamese in Poland can be characterized as a migrant group with a high level of ethnic co-operation and self-organization. Besides being culturally conditioned the level of social trust and ethnic cooperation is also, to a large extent, an effect of the activity of the Vietnamese leaders and ethnic associations. Besides TSKWP, another important organization is the association "Solidarity and Friendship" that has the aim of gathering and organizing all

Vietnamese migrants in Poland. The leaders of the associations operate as official representatives of the whole Vietnamese population in Poland. They act as mediators within the community and between the Vietnamese and the Polish society. The leaders remain very concerned with the image of the Vietnamese in Poland (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2002a).

Vietnamese children born in or brought to Poland tend to well integrate with the Polish society. Vietnamese parents attach great importance to their children acquiring high competencies in the Polish language and cultural skills, even when the return to Vietnam is planned. Therefore, Vietnamese often employ Polish neighbours-pensioners as baby-sitters in order to have children brought up in the Polish culture. Such efforts along with a high level of motivation of Vietnamese children for learning result in the fact that Vietnamese are frequently the best pupils at Polish schools. It has led to a situation that some members of the immigrant second generation assimilate into the Polish culture what causes problems with intergeneration communication and creates a need for the institutional support of Vietnamese identity (i.e. through a special supplementary Vietnamese school that was organized by the community).

In general the Vietnamese remain the most visible as regards spatial and structural characteristics among immigrants in Poland and in Warsaw. Our research on settlement immigrants shows that above half of Vietnamese households are located in the centre of Warsaw in three districts: Śródmieście, Ochota and Wola (compare Map 9).

Map 9. Spatial distribution of Vietnamese settled migrants in Warsaw in 2004



Source: Grzymała-Kazłowska, Piekut (2007: 93).

In spite of Vietnamese leaders counteracting clustering processes, immigrants tend to concentrate in the same estates, streets and buildings. Apart from ethnic networks, the most significant factors for choosing a place for residence are: nearness to the city centre and places of concentration of Vietnamese business activity and ethnic services (i.e. stalls on large open markets, fast-foods in the city centre), and safety. Representatives of the well integrated elite and migrants who achieved financial success frequently moved into new luxurious gated apartment estates or villas on the suburbs.



### ***3.3.3. Western immigrants to Polish Society***

Foreigners from Western countries provide another interesting example of migrant adjustment. Among migrants from Western society, there are managers, experts and professionals, whose migration is highly institutionalized. Specific immigrant institutions are political organizations, multinational companies and language schools. They are usually employed by embassies, medium-sized or large companies, often branches of large international corporations, at managerial or expert positions. Managers and professionals working for multinational companies move in internal labour markets of these companies. Some are recruited externally via head-hunters – as candidates for highest positions.

They come from UK, US, France, the Netherlands and Germany what corresponds with value of foreign direct investments in Warsaw. The relatively numerous migrants from the United States might be regarded as a counter-flow resulting from the numerous and longstanding emigrations of Poles to that country and as an effect of strong interpersonal links which have developed between Polish and American societies. A high proportion of Western migrants is composed of the remigrants of Polish origin.

Western migrants seem to be easily capable of accommodating to the life in Poland due to their socio-demographic characteristics; high incomes and education, large social capital, valuable cultural and professional competencies and high prestige position in Poland as well as contracts which assure a stable and comfortable life in the host society. Even when they come on their own to Poland, as many American language teachers, their language skills are valuable resources both in professional and private spheres. Western migrants attract Poles who actively search for contacts with foreigners due to curiosity, opportunity to practice foreign languages, job perspectives, and possibility to visit foreigners after their return to the country of origin. A large portion of Western migrants feels no need to learn Polish since they can afford shopping and services in places where English is widely spoken. Both at work and in their spare time they are surrounded by persons speaking foreign languages whether Poles or other foreigners.

Therefore a large portion of specialists from the West remain separate from the external social world and remain only in their circle of compatriots and work mates, living in gated estates and luxurious villas. All matters connected with life in Poland are arranged for them by their companies and agencies which specialize in services for foreigners. Foreign managers remain in an universal managerial culture which is isolated from the reality of countries of their

temporary residence (Szwąder 2002). Therefore, in the case of unexpected problems, migrants may become completely helpless. In daily life, they can encounter difficulties in understanding their subordinates, feel lonely and insecure among people with whom in fact they maintain only superficial contacts. The type of adjustment represented by Western migrants can be defined as surface accommodation, that is external adjustment to permit functioning at work in a new country accompanied by little identity reconstruction and acculturation effects.

Immigrants from the West or generally from the most developed countries, have not been a subject of any comprehensive research in Warsaw. They are omitted by researches, because: 1) their mobility sometimes is excluded from migration analyses, as they circulate in internal markets of multinational companies; 2) the group is not numerous and is being substituted by locally recruited Poles; 3) they are also hardly accessible, as they have high status and also time consuming occupations. It is doubtful whether they constitute any particular homogenous neighbourhood. More probably, that they are just a part of high-status inhabitants of Warsaw, living in closed estates or apartments, moving freely around the city, as inability to speak Polish is not a barrier for them, eating in prestigious restaurants and attending luxury places. Remigrants, also Poles born abroad, much more often than foreigners acculturate with Warsaw society, because they eagerly learn Polish language and more frequently decide to stay for longer in Warsaw.

Not all Western managers and experts are real expatriates in the sense that they get “expat-package”. There is another category of foreigners with “hybrid”-status: have the same positions as the expatriates, but do not benefit from extras. The “hybrid”-status highly skilled migrants had been already in Poland before they started working for an international company. Another visible group of highly skilled immigrants from the West in Warsaw are teachers of foreign languages, called in Poland „native speakers”. Some of them come to Poland on their own – without help of any organization, e. g. because they had met a Pole while she/he (rather she) was abroad or while visiting Poland. They come here and find out, that without knowing Polish language there is nothing they can do except for example teaching English. Others moved to Poland because: boredom (of life, previous job), looking for a challenge and something new in a life, desire to live for a while in culturally different place, need to go on vacation/holiday. Taking up an occupation as a native language teacher is an easy way for them to work in the country without knowing its language. Many of them

come to Poland by accident – because they got first job offer here. Some are generally interested in Polish or Slavic cultures and want to develop the interests.

Immigration of other language teachers, in the contrary to those who come on their own, is totally organized and prepared by language schools and their representatives abroad. Migrants' journeys are arranged, they got a flat, help with all legal issues and with getting to know the city. Language schools play a role of migration institutions in the sense that they act as a go-between for immigrants. "Native speakers" live and function in a central zone of Warsaw. They move between a language school, some pubs and trendy places they spend spare time and flats. Usually these places are in central and prestigious parts of the city: around Krakowskie Przedmieście, Nowy Świat, Chmielna or Plac Bankowy.

#### ***3.3.4. Chechen migrants***

For last few years Chechens have been a group who constitutes one of the most numerous and important immigrant group. Although the majority of them apply for a refugee status in Poland, predominantly they are not able to settle in the Polish country and try to seek luck in other (usually Western) countries. Apart from the fact that they have large difficulties in getting refugee status or even tolerated status, even if they succeed, they can not count on systematic and adequate integration aid: financial and organizational support provided within a one year adaptation programme are not sufficient. Chechens encounter many prejudices and discrimination what makes, for example, finding a dwelling particularly difficult for this group. Those who try to start a new life in Poland, are ready to live in any place where they are accepted and offered good financial terms. As a result, they land in the most deteriorated and remote parts of the city and its vicinity. It can be assumed that neighbourhoods of refugee centres where Chechens live located in the city and its surroundings may be places around which Chechens concentrate.

#### **4. Some closing remarks**

Immigration to Poland can be still described by its amorphous nature characteristic of the period of transition between the first and second stages of influx into Poland. After the first stage, characterized by a highly dynamic inflow, a lack of state immigration policy, and a novelty in immigration for the host society, currently, Poland is in its second stage, during which phenomenon of immigration is stabilizing, the influx is being controlled, a coherent

immigration policy is being elaborated, attitudes towards the foreign populations are being shaped, and immigrant communities are slowly emerging.

*Mazowieckie* province (Warsaw and its vicinity to be more exact) continues to be the main destination for migrants in Poland and the major place of their concentration. In general in last years about ¼ of all non-Polish residents of Poland were registered in this province (out of sixteen others). Thus the majority of administrative activities and integration programmes are conducted in the city and its surroundings. Consequently, the majority of immigrants coming to Poland is drawn to this city and chose to stay or settle here. Notwithstanding, the immigrant community of Warsaw is relatively small.

Although Warsaw is the major destination for migrants in Poland, their number, the nature of their migration, and their ethnic origin (the majority of residents are migrants from the former Soviet Union who relatively easily assimilate or integrate without forming an ethnic enclave), cause that in spite of their public visibility, immigrants are not very important “clients” for institutions (educational, medical, social security etc). The spatial clusters of immigrants are poorly visible and developed. At the most we deal with “the germs” of ethnic concentration.

## **Bibliography**

- Babiński G. (2000), "Ukrainians in Poland after the Second World War" in I. Hamilton & K. Iglicka K. (eds) *From Homogeneity to Multiculturalism: Minorities Old and New in Poland*, London: School of Slavonic & East European Studies.
- Batorski D. (2002), "Sytuacja mieszkaniowa w Warszawie" in T. Zarycki, J. Grzelak, *Raport z badań: Warsaw Area Study*, Warsaw: Institute for Social Studies, University of Warsaw.
- Cichomski B. (2004), "Zróżnicowania społeczne mieszkańców Warszawy w perspektywie porównawczej", in J. Grzelak, T. Zarycki (eds) *Społeczna mapa Warszawy. Interdyscyplinarne studium metropolii Warszawskiej*, Warsaw: Scholar, pp. 11-24.
- Faist, T. (2000) *The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces*, Oxford: Calderon Press.
- Fihel, A. (2007), „Cechy społeczno-demograficzne i rozmieszczenie przestrzenne cudzoziemców w Polsce”, in A. Górny, A. Grzymała-Kazłowska, E. Kępińska, A. Fihel, A. Piekut "Od zbiorowości do społeczności: rola migrantów osiedleńczych w tworzeniu się społeczności imigranckich w Polsce", *CMR Working Papers*, No. 27/85, Warsaw: Centre of Migration Research, University of Warsaw, pp. 11-38.
- Central Statistical Office (2008), *Szkoły wyższe i ich finanse*, Warsaw.
- Central Statistical Office (2003), *Migracje zagraniczne ludności*, Warsaw.
- Golinowska S. (2004), *Popyt na pracę cudzoziemców. Polska i sąsiedzi*, Warsaw: IPSiS.
- Górny, A. (2002), "The Role of Social, Economic and Political Networks in Settlement Migration to Poland: the Case of Ukrainian Migrants", School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College London, unpublished PhD thesis.
- Grzymała-Kazłowska, A., A. Piekut (2007), "Społeczno-przestrzenne wzory osiedlania się i funkcjonowania imigrantów w metropolii warszawskiej" in A. Górny, A. Grzymała-Kazłowska, E. Kępińska, A. Fihel, A. Piekut "Od zbiorowości do społeczności: rola migrantów osiedleńczych w tworzeniu się społeczności imigranckich w Polsce", *CMR Working Papers*, No. 27/85, Warsaw: Centre of Migration Research, University of Warsaw, pp. 39-54.

Grzymała-Kazłowska, A. (2002a), "The Formation of Ethnic Representations: The Vietnamese in Poland", *Working Paper*, No. 8, Sussex Centre for Migration Research, University of Sussex.

Grzymała-Kazłowska, A., (2002b), "Cudzoziemcy z krajów słabiej rozwiniętych w Warszawie", in A. Grzymała-Kazłowska, K. Iglicka, E. Jaźwińska, P. Kaczmarczyk, M. Okólski, A. Weinar, "Wpływ migracji zagranicznych w Warszawie na sytuację na stołecznym rynku pracy", *ISS Working Papers. Migration Series*, No. 44, Warsaw: Institute for Social Studies, University of Warsaw.

Grzymała-Kazłowska A., A. Piekut (2007) "Czy mamy już w Polsce małą Ukrainę i polskie Viettown? Społeczno-przestrzenne wzory zamieszkiwania imigrantów w metropolii warszawskiej", *Studia Lokalne i Regionalne*, Vol. 30, No. 4, pp. 77-99.

Halik T. (2000) "Vietnamese in Poland", in F. Hamilton, K. Iglicka (eds), *From Homogeneity to Multiculturalism: Minorities Old and New in Poland*, SSEES Occasional Papers No. 45, London: School of Slavonic and East European Studies; pp. 225-239.

Halik T., E. Nowicka (2002), *Integracja czy izolacja: Wietnamczycy w Polsce*, Warsaw: Instytut Orientalistyczny Wydział Neofilologii UW.

Iglicka K., P. Kaźmierkiewicz, M. Mazur-Rafał (2003), *Zarządzanie migracją. Przypadek i doświadczenia Polski w odniesieniu do dyrektyw Komisji Europejskiej*,. Warsaw: Institute of Public Affairs / Center for International Relations.

Jałowiecki B. (2000), *Społeczna przestrzeń metropolii*. Warsaw: Scholar.

Jałowiecki B., M. Krajewska K. Olejniczak (2004), "Klasa metropolitarna w przestrzeni Warszawy", in J. Grzelak, T. Zarycki (eds), *Społeczna mapa Warszawy. Interdyscyplinarne studium metropolii Warszawskiej*, Warsaw: Scholar, pp. 132-146.

Jasiakiewicz A., W. Klaus, B. Smoter (2005), *Sytuacja cudzoziemców posiadających zgodę na pobyt tolerowany*, Warsaw: Institute of Public Affairs.

Jerczyński, M. (1999), "Patterns of spatial mobility of citizens of the former Soviet Union" in K. Iglicka, K. Sword (eds), *The Challenge of East-West Migration*, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kepińska E. (2006), "Recent Trends in International Migration. The 2006 SOPEMI Report for Poland", *CMR Working Papers*, No. 15/73, Warsaw: Centre of Migration Research, University of Warsaw.

- Kępińska E. (2007), "Recent Trends in International Migration. The 2007 SOPEMI Report for Poland", *CMR Working Papers*, No. 29/87, Warsaw: Centre of Migration Research, University of Warsaw.
- Kępińska E., M. Okólski (2004), "Zagraniczne migracje zarobkowe w Warszawie" in J. Grzelak, T. Zarycki (eds), *Spoleczna mapa Warszawy. Interdyscyplinarne studium metropolii Warszawskiej*, Warsaw: Scholar, pp. 426-455.
- Kępińska, E. (2005), "Recent Trends in International Migration. The 2005 SOPEMI Report for Poland", *CMR Working Papers*, No 2/60, Warsaw: Centre of Migration Research, University of Warsaw.
- Kicinger A. (2005), "Between Polish Interests and the EU Influence – Polish Migration Policy Development 1989-2004", *CEFMR Working Paper*, No. 9, Warsaw: Central European Forum for Migration Research.
- Kicinger A., I. Koryś (2008), "A new field to conquer and manage: migration policy making in Poland after 1989" in G. Zincone, R. Penninx, M. Borkert (eds) *Migratory Policy-Making in Europe*, IMISCOE Joint Studies. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press (forthcoming).
- Koryś I. (2005), "Dimensions of Integration: Migrant Youth in Poland", *CEFMR Working Paper*, No. 3, Warsaw: Central European Forum for Migration Research.
- Łodziński S., E. Nowicka (2003), "Zmiana czy stabilność? Polacy wobec siebie i innych w latach 90. XX wieku", in W. Burszta, J. Serwatyński (eds), *Migracje – Europa - Polska*. Poznań: Zakład Badań Narodowościowych PAN.
- Mrozowski M. (2003), "Obrazy cudzoziemców i imigrantów w Polsce w prasie polskiej" in K. Iglicka (ed.) *Integracja czy dyskryminacja? Polskie wyzwania i dylematy u progu wielokulturowości*. Warsaw: Institute of Public Affairs.
- Okólski M. (1997), "Najnowszy ruch wędrowniczy z Ukrainy do Polski, *ISS Working Papers. Migration Series*, No. 14, Warsaw: Institute for Social Studies, University of Warsaw.
- Okólski M. (2001), "Mobilność przestrzenna z perspektywy koncepcji migracji niepełnej", in E. Jaźwińska, M. Okólski (eds), *Ludzie na huśtawce. Migracje między peryferiami Polski i Zachodu*, Warsaw: Scholar.
- Portes A., R. Rumbaut (1996), *Immigrant American*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Rudolph H., F. Hillmann (1998), "The Invisible Hands Need Visible Heads: Managers, Experts, and Professionals from Western Countries in Poland" in K. Koser, H. Lutz (ed.), *The New Migration in Europe*, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Szwąder A. (2002), "Migracje menedżerskie" in M. Ząbek (ed.) *Miedzy pieklem a rajem. Problemy adaptacji kulturowej uchodźców i imigrantów w Polsce*, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Trio.

Wallace, C., D. Stola (eds), (2001), *Patterns of Migration in Central Europe*, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Weinar A. (2006), *Europeizacja polskiej polityki wobec cudzoziemców 1990-2003*. Warsaw: Scholar.

Werth H. (2004), "Berlińczyk bada warszawskie osiedla zamknięte", *Gazeta Wyborcza* (02.11.2004).



## **Appendix 1: Political and administrative structure of the city with regard to available statistical information on immigrants in the city**

### **1.1. Short history of Warsaw's administrative divisions**

Warsaw is the only Polish city whose administrative system is based on separate legal act (the Act of Warsaw's Administrative System, 1994). Four levels of administration within Warsaw's metropolitan structure include: province (*województwo*), poviát (*powiat*), commune (*gmina*), district (*dzielnica*). According to the Nomenclature of Units for Territorial Statistics, the first three units (province, poviát and commune) correspond with NUTS 1, NUTS 4, and NUTS 5 levels respectively.

Between World War I and World War II nearly four times smaller Warsaw was divided into 26 parishes (called commissariats) and 4 counties as general administrative units. Post-war administrative reforms were led with the aim of centralization of administrative activities that was typical for communist regimes. Consequently, division of Warsaw into 7 districts, introduced in the reforms of 1960, was conducted in isolation or in weak relation with historical socio-territorial division of the city.

In the last 20 years, Warsaw has been a subject to several structural reforms creating somewhat an administrative chaos. Unfortunately, these reforms were to a large extent based on the post-war, to some extent "artificial", 7-districts division. In 1990, the 7 districts were transformed into communes. In 1994, 10 new communes were added enlarging the territory of the city, whereas the 7 pre-1994 communes were aggregated to only 1 commune, making Warsaw the city of 11 communes. In 2002, with so called "Warsaw Bill", administrative division of Warsaw was changed once again. Warsaw became one commune with the power of the county, encompassing 18 districts: 1 central previously aggregated commune was divided into 7 districts, 10 remaining communes were transformed into 10 districts and one more district – Wesóła district – was incorporated into Warsaw in 2002.

### **1.2. The perfect unit of analysis**

Most data on Warsaw are collected at the level of district which might then seem to be a perfect unit of spatial analyses. The above description of Warsaw's administrative reforms is, however, to show how unstable the administrative division of Warsaw has been for the last 20 years. Moreover, the present district-division originates from the communist central planning era being in loose relation with historical socio-territorial division of Warsaw. Consequently, districts are highly diversified in terms of city life and infrastructure. Then, it can easily

happen that borders of districts divide “natural” neighbourhoods. Final argument against districts as units of analysis relates to their size – they cover sometimes a very large areas – and their diversity in terms of size of their territory and population.

All in all, a unit smaller than a district is necessary for GEITONIES analyses. We propose a statistical region which cover 999 dwellings and 2700 inhabitants in maximum. There are ca 1500 statistical regions in Warsaw. The alternative for statistical region could be a census tract, but it is too small in our view: 200 dwellings and 500 inhabitants in maximum. Bearing in mind a small number of foreigners in Warsaw, deciding for such a small unit would create a danger of acquisition of incomplete information on foreigners on the area corresponding with the census tract due to statistical confidentiality.

### **1.3. Potential sources of data on foreigners to be used**

While deciding for statistical region as a unit of analysis we limit potential data sources that can be used to the census data. Two population censuses can be taken into account: 1988 census and 2002 census. Data from the first one can be used only for the description of Warsaw population in statistical regions. The only information pertaining to international migration, collected in this census, is division of people into mobile and immobile. The 2002 population census provides information on citizenship(s), country of birth, migration (permanent and temporary). These data are not, however, available for public, especially on the low level of statistical region. Thus, they have to be purchased for the purpose of GEITONIES analysis.

Other statistical data on foreigners are collected on the level of province<sup>32</sup>. Consequently they are of limited use for the GEITONIES purposes and can provide only the background information on immigration to Poland. The same can be said for various studies conducted on migrants in Warsaw. Among them, study “From settlement towards community: the role of settlement migrants in formation of immigrant communities and multicultural society” conducted by Centre of Migration Research in 2005 can be especially useful. It is a survey on Veitnamese and Ukrainian settled migrants in *Mazowieckie* province.

Finally, databases of some smaller administrative units can be used in the analyses for GEITONIES. These units include:

---

<sup>32</sup> The only possibility that is beeing explored is purchasing data on addresses of foreigners (by citizenship) residing in Warsaw from Office for Repatriation and Aliens. On the basis of that analysis of spatial distribution of foreigners in Warsaw can be made. Obtaining these data may occur, however, a very expensive and time consuming operation.

- units of town-planning
- school districts
- areas of municipal information system
- electoral districts and parishes
- dekanats and parishes of the Catholic Church.

Bearing in mind that in most cases, there are no electronic databases integrating information from these units on the level of the whole Warsaw, they can be used as data sources mainly for studies on particular neighbourhoods.

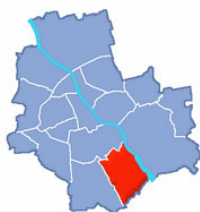
## Appendix 2. Characteristics of districts

### Mokotów



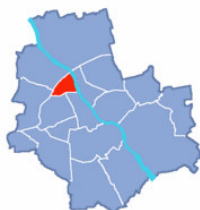
One of the most prestigious left-bank districts is Mokotów. This district is a predominantly residential district known for its parks, and small water reservoirs. Mokotów consists of areas of old villas and post-war tenement houses, as well as blocks of flats (though their number is relatively small) and new luxurious housing estates. According to real estate experts, over 50% of the highest class apartment buildings in Poland are located in this particular district. Many embassies are also located here, as well as Polish radio and television studios, and a considerable number of international companies' headquarters.

### Wilanów



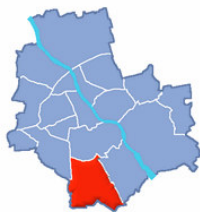
Wilanów is one of the most famous districts in Poland, widely known for its beautiful historical palace and gardens. It is also a highly prestigious residential area (consisting of family houses or modern apartment flats), of the least number of inhabitants and lowest population density among the Warsaw boroughs. Many well-known personalities live there, including politicians, artists, diplomats, and business people.

### Żoliborz



Żoliborz is another highly popular residential district on the left bank of the river. Because of its many green areas, it is also popular among Warsawians seeking rest and recreation. Żoliborz is an old part of Warsaw, with many elegant villas and pre-war tenement houses. It is considered as one of the safest districts of Warsaw. Żoliborz was traditionally inhabited by the city's cultural and intellectual elites, and to this day is perceived as the district of the intelligentsia.

### Ursynów



Ursynów is one of the 'newer' districts of Warsaw, recognized as a separate administrative unit only since 1994. This district is populated predominantly by young, well-educated people. For years Ursynów has been known as a 'sleeper' district, of a specifically residential character, with no industry or businesses, but its character has been undergoing change recently. This district has a very distinct architectural image: the definite majority of buildings are blocks of flats, with older and higher blocks to the north, and newer and lower blocks to the south. The southern outskirts of Ursynów are constituted by a very green woodland area.

### Śródmieście



Śródmieście encompasses the oldest part of Warsaw and is the heart of the city. It is the location of many hotels, monuments and museums, as well as galleries, cinemas and theatres, pubs and restaurants. It is thus the most popular Warsaw district for those seeking culture and entertainment. Śródmieście is the most densely populated district of Warsaw with 8772 inhabitants per square kilometre. Its population is highly diversified.

### **Bemowo**



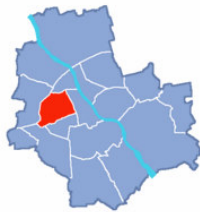
Bemowo is one of the ‘newer’ districts of Warsaw, incorporated into the city as late as 1951. It is characterized by estates of high blocks of flats, a large woodland, and encompasses areas of agricultural land. At present this district is one of dynamic development of housing, mainly lower blocks of flats. Bemowo also consists of large areas of army grounds, including the (nowadays almost unused) Bemowo Airport.

### **Bielany**



Bielany is another of the green districts of Warsaw. It is located next to the Kampinos National Park, a unique type of large forest. Generally, green areas constitute 28% of the area of the district. Bielany is characterized by its relatively young population: around 20% of inhabitants are of pre-productive age, and over 60% of productive age. Bielany are architecturally largely diversified with all types of housing: family houses, old villas, tenement houses, low and high blocks of flats.

### **Wola**



Wola, one of Warsaw’s historical districts, has many monuments, and encompasses the territory of the Warsaw Ghetto. Formerly a traditionally industrial city suburb, at present it is changing its character and moving from industry to the services. Wola is a densely populated district, of post-war tenement houses and high blocks of flats, inhabited mainly by the working class.

### **Ochota**



Ochota is another of the older districts of Warsaw, and the smallest district of the city. The population of Ochota is a very young one: every fifth inhabitant of this district is under 15. Due to its vicinity to the city centre, this is a highly popular district of Warsaw, also for new housing investments. The architecture of the older part of Ochota is characterised mainly by tenement houses, the newer part by estates of high communist-type blocks of flats and lower modern blocks of flats.

### **Ursus**



Ursus is another of the ‘newer’ districts of Warsaw, having become part of the metropolis only in 1977, and one of its separate administrative units since 1993. It is one of the smallest Warsaw districts, both in terms of space and population density. It is also one of the safest districts of the city. Since the industrial revolution, the development of Ursus has been largely spurred by its industrial plant: a large vehicle factory, in operation till this day. Generally one fifth of the area of Ursus is covered by industrial plants. Nevertheless, the borough still has a large number of agricultural land, constituting 25% of its area.

### **Włochy**



Włochy was incorporated into Warsaw in 1951, and became a separate administrative unit of the city only in 1992. Owing to the Okęcie Airport which is located within the district, the district is characterized by a complete lack of high buildings. Another characteristic feature of this borough is the largest number of jobs per capita offered: there are 30,000 jobs available locally to its 36,000 inhabitants. Włochy is thus a highly attractive area for companies, and one of fast economic development.

### **Praga Północ**



Praga Północ is one of the oldest Warsaw districts and one of the few whose historical character has been preserved. It is characterized by a large number of pre-war housing, a rarity in Warsaw, where 90% of buildings had been destroyed during the war. The majority of Praga's historical buildings, however, are in a rather bad state and are populated by the poorest inhabitants of Warsaw. Praga Północ is thus known not so much for its interesting monuments as for its high poverty levels, bad living conditions, and its reputation of the most dangerous district in Warsaw.

### **Praga Południe**



Praga Południe in turn is characterised by a high percentage of green areas (parks and allotments), and an increasingly mixed nature as far as its housing and population are concerned. Earlier known as an impoverished district with the exception of the rich enclave of Saska Kępa, it now has many areas of high-standard housing estates inhabited by the upwardly mobile.

### **Targówek**



Targówek consists of two distinguishable parts: one of housing and one of industrial plants. The former consists of two older estates of huge blocks of flats and a newer estate of houses. Earlier perceived as a rather poor district, now due to the development of housing the district has been shaking off its negative image. The area is attractive because of its nature resources; around 30% of this district is covered by green areas: woodland, parks and allotments.

### **Białołęka**



Białołęka, which is the second largest district of Warsaw, can be divided into three distinct parts: industrial, housing of blocks of flats, housing of family houses. The industrial part encompasses many big industrial plants: factories, a sewage treatment plant, a printing house, a number of building companies. The western part of the district is one of blocks of flats, while individual family housing predominates in the northern and eastern parts. Białołęka is one of the currently most dynamically developing boroughs of Warsaw in terms of housing, due to its still largely peripheral character and large areas of free land.

### **Wesoła**



Wesoła is the 'youngest' district of Warsaw, having been incorporated into the city only in 2002. Formerly, Wesoła was a separate town. It is a largely peripheral district, 60% of which is covered by green areas, mainly pine woods. The borough is characterized by estates of family houses.

### **Wawer**



Wawer is an even more peripheral district, very green (35% of woodland) and predominantly of family housing estates. It was incorporated into the municipal structure of Warsaw as late as 1994, when it became one of the city's communes. This district has a considerable number of modern council houses.

### **Rembertów**



Rembertów was incorporated into Warsaw in 1957. Another of the green and peripheral districts of Warsaw, the district of Rembertów is covered by woodland in over 30%. This is a district of low population density and is characterized by family housing.