

Intercultural policies and intergroup relations

Case study: Wrocław, Poland



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About CLIP

In 2006, the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, the city of Stuttgart and the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (Eurofound) established a 'European network of cities for local integration policies for migrants', henceforth known as CLIP.¹ The network comprises a steering committee, a group of expert European research centres and a number of European cities. In the following two years, the cities of Vienna and Amsterdam joined the CLIP Steering Committee. The network is also supported by the Committee of the Regions (CoR) and the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR), and has formed a partnership with the European Network Against Racism (ENAR).

Through the medium of separate city reports (case studies) and workshops, the network enables local authorities to learn from each other and to deliver a more effective integration policy. The unique character of the CLIP network is that it organises a shared learning process between the participating cities, between the cities and a group of expert European research centres, as well as between policymakers at local and European level.

The CLIP network currently brings together more than 30 large and medium-sized cities from all regions of Europe: Amsterdam (NL), Antwerp (BE), Arnsberg (DE), Athens (EL), Barcelona (ES), Bologna (IT), Breda (NL), Budapest (HU), Copenhagen (DK), Dublin (IE), Frankfurt (DE), Helsinki (FI), Istanbul (TR), İzmir (TR), Kirkcaldy (UK), Liège (BE), Lisbon (PT), Luxembourg (LU), L'Hospitalet (ES), Malmö (SE), Mataró (ES), Newport (UK), Prague (CZ), Strasbourg (FR), Stuttgart (DE), Sundsvall (SE), Tallinn (EE), Terrassa (ES), Turin (IT), Turku (FI), Valencia (ES), Vienna (AT), Wolverhampton (UK), Wrocław (PL), Zagreb (HR), Zeytinburnu (TR) and Zürich (CH).

The cities in the network are supported in their shared learning by a group of expert European research centres in:

- Bamberg, Germany (European Forum for Migration Studies, efms);
- Vienna (Institute for Urban and Regional Research, ISR);
- Amsterdam (Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, IMES);
- Turin (International and European Forum on Migration Research, FIERI);
- Wrocław (Institute of International Studies);
- Swansea, Wales (Centre for Migration Policy Research, CMPR).

There are four research modules in total. The first module was on housing – segregation, access to, quality and affordability for migrants – which has been identified as a major issue impacting on migrants' integration into their host society. The second module examined equality and diversity policies in relation to employment within city administrations and in the provision of services. The focus of the third module is intercultural policies and intergroup relations. The final module (2009–2010) will look at ethnic entrepreneurship.

The case studies on intercultural policies were carried out in 2009.

¹ See also <http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/areas/populationandsociety/clip.htm>.

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Introduction

The topic of the third module of the CLIP project is concerned with intergroup relations and intercultural policies, both in terms of relations between different groups living in the city and local authority policy towards these groups. Because the CLIP network is composed of cities with different population structures, for the purposes of this project, a group is broadly defined as an ethnic, religious, immigrant or national minority group. This kind of understanding of a group is particularly important in relation to eastern European countries where the presence of immigrant groups is still marginal. In place of immigrants, it is possible to talk about national minorities with differing cultural, religious and linguistic heritage, who are in the state as a result of conflict, wars or border changes. As Heckmann pointed out in the concept paper for this CLIP module:

intergroup relations ... have to do with both meanings [of a group]: for example, relations between an migrant association and a local branch of a political party or between a religious community and a department of the city administration. When, however, a mayor in a city, for example, wants to improve relations between natives and immigrants, between Christians and Muslims, between natives and a national minority present in the city, he is referring to categories and images of 'groups', often to relations of stereotypes that exist in the communication of the urban public. (Heckmann, 2008)

There are many actors involved in the process of intercultural dialogue including: the city administration, the city council, political parties, churches, labour unions, welfare organisations and local media. In reports on western European cities, particular attention is paid to the Muslim community and its relations with the local community. Where Muslims are not the most relevant group, the researchers are interested in other faith-based communities or national minorities.

Lack of knowledge among communities about other groups can provoke conflict. For this reason, another important aspect of this project is to gain understanding of the process of radicalisation in urban populations and to analyse intercultural policies aimed at avoiding or resolving group conflict at the local level.

The case studies in these projects are based on two sources of information: input by the city administrations via the Common Reporting Scheme (CRS) and a field visit carried out by the researchers to the participating cities. The CRS was sent to all cities in order to collect basic information relevant to the module. It seems to be a very important tool in cities where there is a long tradition of developing intercultural policies. In other cities, however, particularly those located in eastern Europe, the field visits and interviews with local stakeholders played an important role in learning about informal practices and actions.

Analysed documents include programmes and activities organised by the city; this is placed in the context of national policy. With regard to eastern European cities, existing practices in the field of intercultural dialogue must be considered alongside the question of why there are no policies on this issue, and how influential the informal activities are.

Each report is organised in the same manner, to facilitate the comparison of the cases. In order to provide a high quality case study, a quality assurance process was implemented as part of the project. One of the important goals of this project is to open a discussion and stimulate frequent contacts with different actors involved, which may lead to new projects in the future.

The issue of migration policy is prominent among western European cities with a large population of foreign migrants. Migration to Poland is still of a marginal nature and therefore this report is based on policies regarding different religious and ethnic groups which mainly involve national minorities. The case studies from eastern European cities are not directly comparable to those of western Europe.

History of migration to Poland

Poland has been a country of emigration for decades. This trend was strengthened following its accession to the European Union (EU) in 2004. Figures from different sources reveal that the overall number of Polish post-accession migrants may be about one million people. According to the Central Statistical Office, this figure is much higher: on 1 January 2008, the number of Poles living temporarily abroad was estimated to be as high as 1.95 million persons, which accounts for more than 4.8% of the total population. Poland can be described as a net emigration country where immigration does not appear to have noticeably accelerated. According to the population register, the number of foreigners who were permanent residents in Poland at the end of 2006 was approximately 54,800, 0.14% of the total population. These figures are far lower than those of western European countries. The Central Statistical Office collected data on foreigners who registered that their temporary stay exceeded three months. In the period from 2002 to 2005, there were between 42,000 and 45,000 temporary immigrants in the country. The nine most popular sending countries were as follows: Armenia, Belarus, France, Germany, the Russian Federation, Ukraine, the United Kingdom (UK), the United States (US) and Vietnam (Kepińska, 2007).

Table 1: *Number of immigrants in Poland, 2003–2006 (%)*

Year	2003	2004	2005	2006
Total	100	100	100	100
Former USSR	55	53	47	45
Europe*	28	27	29	32
Asia*	9	12	12	14
North America**	4	4	4	4
Africa	2	2	3	3

Notes: * Excluding the former USSR; ** US and Canada.

Source: *Kepińska, 2007*

National policy context

As already noted, Poland is still an emigration country where migration policy is at an early stage of development and where intercultural policy needs to be further explored. At a local level (perhaps with the exception of Warsaw), the presence of small groups of immigrants mainly from countries of the former Soviet Union or highly skilled workers in multinational companies is not perceptible to other community members. Nonetheless, there are some national minority and ethnic minority groups that have been living in the country for a long time; this report will focus on the experience of these communities.

The Act on National and Ethnic Minorities and Regional Language (*Ustawa o Mniejszościach Narodowych i Etnicznych oraz Języku Regionalnym*), dated 6 January 2005, identifies the following nine groups living in Poland as national minorities: Armenians, Belarussians, Czechs, Germans, Jews, Lithuanians, Russians, Slovaks and Ukrainians. There are four ethnic minorities: Karaims, Lemks, the Roma community and Tatars. All of these groups have been living in Poland for decades and constituted part of its multiethnic population before the Second World War. No new categories, such as the Vietnamese community, were mentioned in this act.

The act mentioned above represents the main regulation for issues related to national and ethnic minorities. It imposes an obligation on governing bodies to implement certain measures to support activities aimed at protection, maintenance and development of the cultural identity of the minorities. It enables the authorities to provide minorities with grants and earmarked subsidies. Following the implementation of this act, a Joint Commission of the Government and National and

Ethnic Minorities was appointed as an advisory body. The Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration became the authority responsible for issues connected with minorities. This ministry includes the following organisational units: the Division of National and Ethnic Minorities, the Department of Religious Denominations and National and Ethnic Minorities, and the unit for Culture of National and Ethnic Minorities.

In the offices of the governor, special plenipotentiaries have been appointed for national and ethnic minorities. The Foreigners' Affairs Departments also have responsibility for these matters.

Table 2 shows the number of national and ethnic minorities in Poland, according to the national census 2002.

Table 2: *National and ethnic minorities in Poland, 2002*

Detailed	Number	% of Poland's population
Population of Poland – in general	38,230,080	100
Minorities – in general	305,938	0.8
National minorities – persons with Polish citizenship declaring the following nationality:	234,202	0.6
Armenian	262	0.001
Belarussian	47,640	0.125
Czech	386	0.001
German	147,094	0.385
Jewish	1,055	0.003
Lithuanian	5,639	0.015
Russian	3,244	0.008
Slovak	1,710	0.004
Ukrainian	27,172	0.071
Ethnic minorities – persons with Polish citizenship declaring the following nationality:	19,071	0.050
Karaite/Karaim	43	0.000
Lemkish	5,850	0.015
Roma	12,731	0.033
Tatar	447	0.001
Communities using regional language:	52,665	0.138
Kashubian	52,665	0.138

Note: Data based on criteria set out in Articles 2 and 19 of the Act on National and Ethnic Minorities and Regional Language, 6 January 2005.

Source: *National Register, 2002*

There are special programmes geared towards the Roma community in Poland that aim to prevent their social and economic exclusion. These programmes support Roma children in the process of education and offer various health services to this group.

After the implementation of the Act on National and Ethnic Minorities and Regional Language and Poland's accession to the EU, issues connected with the cultural, religious or traditional differences became more prevalent in public debate. Due to the general policy of the city of Wrocław, which is based on a strategy to promote multicultural and multiethnic heritage, this Polish city is a very interesting example.

Profile of Wrocław

Brief description of the city

Wrocław is the capital of the Lower Silesia region in Poland and is the fourth largest city in the country, with 634,000 inhabitants, rising to about one million when suburban areas are included. In terms of geographical location, municipality documents often use the term *genius loci*, referring to its close distance to five European capital cities (Figure 1). The city's traditions are a thousand years old, and stem from a variety of nations, religions and cultures.

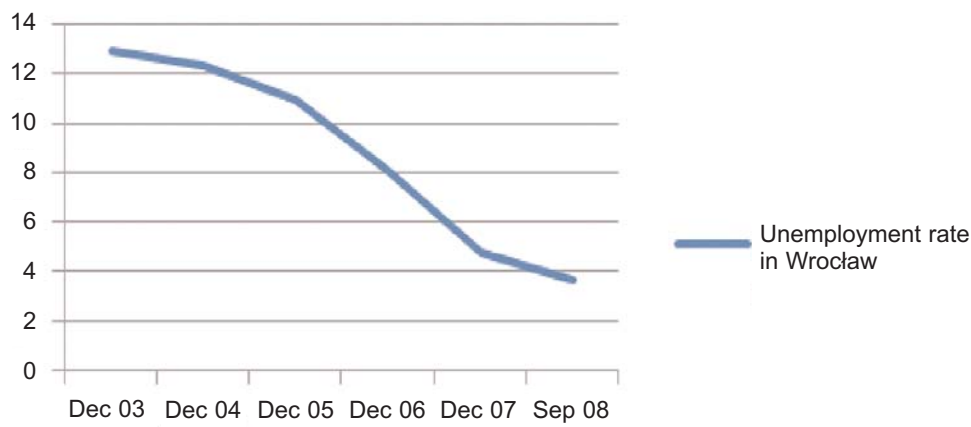
Figure 1: Location of the city of Wrocław



Source: Wrocław Agglomeration Development Agency (ARAW), 2008

Currently, Wrocław is one of the fastest developing cities in Poland. In recent years, many economic and political factors have contributed to the increase in foreign direct investments in the surrounding districts of the city and the decrease in unemployment, which was 3.6% in September 2008, according to the Central Statistical Office.

Figure 2: Unemployment rate in Wrocław (%), 2003–2008



Source: Central Statistical Office, 2008

Due to its convenient proximity to Germany, the Czech Republic, and the A4 motorway connecting Germany with Ukraine, Wrocław may become the leading logistics centre in this part of Europe. Table 3 illustrates the 10 largest investment companies in the area of Wrocław. Apart from the factories of a range of businesses, there has also been growth in the knowledge-based sector. Major companies such as Hewlett Packard, Google, UPS, Siemens, to name just a few, have opened branches in Wrocław.

Table 3: Largest investment companies in Wrocław area

Investor	Investment (€ million)	Country of origin	Sector
Allied Irish Bank	750	Ireland	Banking
Credit Agricole	740	France	Banking, finance
Électricité de France International	600	France	Heating
LG Philips LCD	430	Korea	Consumer electronics
LC Corp	400	Poland	Real estate
Toyota	250	Japan	Automotive
Prologis	125	USA	Logistics
Heasung Electronics	120	Korea	Consumer electronic
LG Electronic	105	Korea	Consumer electronics, white goods
Echo Investments	100	Poland	Real estate

Source: ARAW, 2008

Due to an increase in the number of cheap flight connections, Wrocław has also experienced a boom in the tourist industry. In 2006, about two million foreign tourists visited the city (the third highest after Warsaw and Kraków), which also contributed to the decline of unemployment in the city.

In contrast to other Polish cities, over the last 18 years Wrocław was governed by the same political group and the same strategy for development was implemented, without any significant changes. This is also the case for the policy of building an image of Wrocław as a friendly, open city.

City's migrant population

As mentioned before, Poland is still an emigration country where the number of immigrants remains at a very low level. The level of intercultural dialogue in Wrocław is not comparable to western European cities where the population of immigrants is much bigger and more diverse. However, there is a specific context of the city that must be clarified.

Throughout its history, the city of Wrocław (also called Breslau or Vratislavia) was inhabited by a number of nationalities (Czechs, Germans, Jews and Poles) and was an important historical capital of Silesia. The city was lost by some sovereigns and regained by others; the diverse cultures and traditions have left their mark on the city. For a long time, Wrocław was a peaceful home to different religions, including Catholicism, Protestantism, Orthodox and Judaism. This is reflected in the historic district in the city centre, called the District of Four Religions. After the Second World War, the populace of Wrocław changed completely through the process of post-war resettlement of many people, due to border changes in this part of Europe. During this period, the German city of Breslau was transformed into the Polish city of Wrocław.

The most intense process of displacement of Germans took place between 1945 and 1949. After 1950, this process continued, and was referred to as family reunion. During the 'Operation Swallow', some 1,298,000 Germans were displaced from the entire territory of Lower Silesia (Encyclopaedia of Wrocław, 2000).

By the end of 1945, there were 43,000 people living in Wrocław. This grew to 185,000 people by the end of 1946, and to 224,000 by 1947. Between 1954 and 1950, the profile of the population of Wrocław reflected the process of migration, namely inflows of people from other parts of the country. Only in 1981 did the number of inhabitants increase to 621,000 persons, which corresponded to the number of inhabitants of pre-war Wrocław (Davies and Moorhouse, 2002; Thum, 2006).

The new inhabitants of Wrocław, who migrated to the city, demonstrated different cultures and traditions, and strongly represented the culture of former Polish provinces in the eastern region of the country; the Lvov tradition predominated. It is important to add that the Polish state was very multicultural before the Second World War, particularly in the eastern region of the country. To those people, Wrocław was a new, unfamiliar place where they were expected to build a new life. The newly settled inhabitants put down roots in Wrocław but it was a long process.

Moreover, the communist regime made an attempt to create a homogeneous society of equal citizens and a common Polish culture. Thus, there was no space for the multiethnic traditions of Poland that existed in the pre-war era.

According to the 2002 population register, only 2,872 people living in Wrocław declared themselves as non-Polish. The exact numbers of declared minorities are listed in Table 4. There are differences, however, between the figures taken from the population register and the numbers presented by interviewed representatives of various organisations.

Table 4: *Population of Wrocław*

	Inhabitants	Declared as Polish	Declared as non-Polish
City of Wrocław	640,367	621,153	2,872

Source: *Population Register, 2002*

Currently, the following groups of citizens with a minority ethnic, cultural or religious heritage can be identified in Wrocław:

- Ukrainian minority (about 200 families, 412 people according to the population register);
- Roma community (472 people according to the population register);
- German minority (482 people according to the population register);
- Greek minority (about 300 people in Wrocław and its vicinity, 200 people according to the population register);
- Lemks (*Łemkowie*) (101 people according to the population register);
- Jews (320 in the Lower Silesia region, 125 people in the city, according to the population register);
- Tatars (10 people in the Lower Silesia region, according to the population register, and 100 people of ancestry, according to one organisation);
- Karaims (46 people in Poland, according to the population register);
- Bulgarians.

Due to its economic growth, the city of Wrocław has become a destination for different groups of mainly highly skilled migrants. There is one immigrant organisation in the city, the International Friends of Wrocław Club, which is a club for expatriate families. Although immigrants are not going to be included in this analysis, it is worth showing the profile of immigrants in Wrocław. According to official statistics of the governor's office for Lower Silesia, which are based on residence permits of various kinds, by the end of 2008 there were 3,980 foreigners living in the region of Wrocław. The structure of this group is diverse and may be divided into subgroups, such as the following:

- students from countries to the east of Poland, mainly Ukraine, Belarus, Russia and Kazakhstan;
- students from western countries coming to Wrocław for six to 12 months as part of the European Exchange Project or for full-time undergraduate or graduate studies;
- workers of multinational corporations based in the region, with South Koreans comprising the biggest group, and others coming from Germany, Sweden and France;
- Muslims from different countries who are living in Wrocław and actively participate in the Muslim Centre.

Obviously, it is very difficult to estimate the exact number of illegal immigrants living and working in the city and region. Interviews with legal and illegal migrants show that illegal migrants in Wrocław come from the former Soviet Union countries and are working in the domestic sector as, for example, cleaners and nannies. Most of them declare that Wrocław city is not an easy place to find a job; more illegal workers have been working in the agricultural and building sector in small towns in the surrounding region.

The number of permits for a temporary stay in Lower Silesia has remained at around the same level (Table 5). However, in the period preceding Poland's EU accession, there was an increase in the level of interest in all kinds of permits for staying in Wrocław; this was due to stricter visa regulations for residents from neighbouring countries, especially those from Ukraine.

Table 5: *Number of permits for temporary stay, Lower Silesia, 2002–2008*

Year	Number of permits
2002	2,009
2003	2,697
2004	1,945
2005	2,173
2006	2,037
2007	2,636
January–July 2008	1,377

Source: *Lower Silesian Governor's Office, 2008*

When comparing the number of permits for temporary stay in the region of Lower Silesia and in Wrocław (Tables 6 and 7) it is clear that the majority of foreigners live in Wrocław. Students form the biggest group among the foreign holders of permits for temporary stay. It should be noted that not all international students living in Wrocław are registered in Lower Silesia. Many of them, mainly those from western European countries, are not aware of the need to register. Therefore, the data available from the governor's office differ from the statistics of the universities. According to the universities, there are currently about 1,500 foreign students in Wrocław.

Table 6: *Number of permits for temporary stay in Wrocław, 2002–2008*

Year	Number of permits
2002	1,095
2003	1,421
2004	1,029
2005	1,158
2006	1,061
2007	1,600
January–July 2008	822

Source: *Lower Silesian Governor's Office, 2008*

Table 7: *Number of settlement permits for foreigners living in Wrocław, 2002–2008*

Year	Number of permits
2002	44
2003	95
2004	130
2005	122
2006	160
2007	170
January–July 2008	71

Source: *Lower Silesian Governor's Office, 2008*

The current population of immigrants living in Wrocław is too small and too varied in terms of its interests for it to be recognised by the local authorities as a partner for creating policy or a dialogue. The biggest group consists of highly qualified migrants working for international companies who are not interested in settling in Wrocław and in making any contacts outside their own community. The second biggest group comprises migrants from neighbouring countries to the east of Poland, who have a similar culture and who can integrate in a quick and successful manner. Neither group poses problems from the authorities' point of view.

It is tempting to analyse policy regarding different minority groups in Wrocław as part of the development policy of the city and its process of building a multicultural image of the city. The policy of recognising and supporting the cultural and religious differences of national minorities might provide guidance in dealing with immigrant groups in the future.

Currently, there are some minority group organisations actively cooperating with the local administration, mainly in the fields of culture and education. In 2008, the Group for National and Ethnic Minorities and International Cooperation was established in the municipality of Wrocław. This group consisted of representatives of the city authority and minority organisations. Its main goal was to support activities that were based on the promotion of cultural traditions of ethnic minority communities in the city. In 2009, the group was expanded when a representative of the governor's office joined. Cooperation with representatives of local, regional, governmental structures might assist the organisation in acquiring information on different financial sources available for their activities. The list of the organisations actively participating in the group is available at the end of this report.

In Wrocław, both cultural and religious organisations exist. The Wrocław branch of the Association of Ukrainians in Poland has a long tradition in cultural activities, promoting the culture, language and tradition of their community among the inhabitants of the city, and may therefore be included in the Group for National and Ethnic Minorities and International Cooperation. This organisation representing Ukrainians is well known to all institutions in the city, not only the city authorities but also the governmental and regional authorities. Its activities are partly financially supported by the city. Their most important event takes place every year in January, when the Orthodox Church celebrates Christmas. In 2009, at the thirteenth occasion of this event, all the important public institutions were represented, such as the city administration, secondary schools, regional administration and the local media. The event was co-organised by the German consulate and financially supported by the city of Wrocław, the Bulgarian and Ukrainian consulates. Undoubtedly, this cultural event was a meeting of different cultures, religions and nations living in the city, at which other small ethnic and cultural groups, such as the Greek and Bulgarian communities, were also able to present their culture.

The German Social and Cultural Society (*Deutsche Social- und Kulturelle Gesellschaft in Breslau*) is one of the main cultural organisations in the city of Wrocław. This organisation has a long history of 50 years in the fields of culture and education and is currently involved in many projects promoting the German language and culture as well as the multiethnic history and tradition of the Lower Silesia region. According to the organisation, it has 1,400 members. Among its cultural events, two initiatives are worth mentioning: the Festival of German Minority Culture, which in 2006 brought 8,000 visitors to Wrocław's Centennial Hall, and the annual Lower Silesian cultural meetings, organised at the meeting house in Krzyżowa. The German Social and Cultural Society actively works with other minority organisations and is a member of the Ethnic and National Minorities Working Group in the Municipality of Wrocław, as well as Kaleidoscope, a partnership of ethnic minority groups in Wrocław. The German minority organisation receives financial support from both German and Polish resources.

Two religious minority organisations also deserve a mention: the Jewish Community and the Muslim Cultural and Educational Centre. The Muslim community will be described in the next section of this report.

The Jewish Community in Wrocław is the second largest community in Poland. The main goals of the community are as follows:

- restoring and maintaining the Jewish cemetery;
- renovating the synagogue;
- operating a viable community and religious centre;
- providing vital social services for the ill and elderly in the community;
- educating children;
- promoting a positive Jewish identity through outreach and educational programmes;
- preserving Jewish monuments and sites throughout Silesia;
- collecting and preserving commemoratives of the community's proud and tragic history.

The Jewish Community is organised around the synagogue, but there are several Jewish organisations, each with different objectives. The Jewish Community and the Polish Union of Jewish Students are religious organisations and are orientated towards the Jewish religious community and providing religious services to the community. The Jewish Community is rather closed but there are activities geared towards the public. It has its own private school, the Lauder Etz-Chaim School, which is open to all children, not only those of Jewish origin. Due to its high standard of education, the school is known among non-Jewish parents in the city.

Cultural activities of the Jewish Community are organised by two foundations: the Foundation of Jewish Culture and Education and the Bente Kahan Foundation. Every month, Havdallah (a Jewish ceremony that marks the end of the seventh day of the Jewish week or Shabbat) concerts are organised and the Simha-Wrocław Festival of Jewish Culture takes place once a year. The Bente Kahan Foundation regularly organises theatre performances about Jewish-Polish history and Jewish issues, which are performed for students from schools. This foundation is orientated towards the promotion of Jewish culture and tradition among the inhabitants of the city and region.

In summary, the minority organisations in Wrocław can be divided into two categories: religious and cultural. All of the active organisations focus on the promotion of their own culture and tradition among the inhabitants of the city. The municipality supports minority organisations through its concept of 'Wrocław – the meeting place', where diversity is valued. Apart from this general concept, there is no evidence of any strategy specifically geared towards minority groups or intercultural dialogue.

City's Muslim population

The Muslim community in Wrocław is organised around the Muslim Cultural Centre – the only Muslim organisation in the city. No official data are available pertaining to the structure of the community but interviewees detailed some characteristics of this group. The Muslims living in Wrocław are mostly educated and young, aged between 20 and 40 years. They came to Wrocław to study, mainly from Algeria, Palestine, Syria and Turkey. Some of them are from western European countries and came to Wrocław because of its lower study and living costs. According to the data provided by the Muslim Cultural Centre, there are about 800 to 1,000 Muslims living in the Lower Silesia region, between 600 and 800 of whom live in Wrocław itself. The majority of Muslims living in Wrocław are Sunnis.

There is at least one noticeable difference in the demographic structure of the Muslim community in Wrocław compared with those living in western European cities. In western European cities, most Muslims arrived through the process of guest worker recruitment; they and their family members were unlikely to speak the language of the destination country and tended to have low levels of education. These factors led to a low social status among Muslim people, which affects their opportunities for social integration. As regards Wrocław and, more broadly, Poland, the majority of Muslim people have third-level education and have a good knowledge of the Polish language. Most of them are also married to a Polish person. All of these factors play an important role in their integration, as well as in the level of recognition Muslim people have among the rest of the population of Wrocław.

In June 2004, the Muslim community in Wrocław established the Muslim Cultural and Educational Centre. This centre has three main goals:

- fulfilling the needs of the Muslim community from the Lower Silesia region;
- promoting interfaith and social dialogue;
- propagating knowledge of Islam and Islamic law.

The centre has a school run by the Polish Muslim League which is attended by children and young people. There are also courses on the Arabic language designed for the public. The centre is open to visitors and organises a variety of events such as lectures, meetings, seminars and lessons for schoolchildren of the non-Muslim Polish community in order to inform them about Islam and Muslim traditions. Due to the centre's close proximity to the Catholic Church, there are friendly relations between both organisations.

The most popular event organised by the Muslim Centre in Wrocław is the Muslim Culture's Day. According to the organiser, this involves a set of activities leading to intercultural dialogue based on contacts and communication. This event was supported by the city authorities and was organised in cooperation with the University of Wrocław, the Academy of Fine Arts, local media and local non-governmental organisations (NGOs). In 2008, the fourth Muslim Culture's Day took place. It is also noteworthy that the Muslim Centre has been active in all educational events organised by educational institutions, in order to provide information on Islam and avoid the development of stereotypes regarding this religion and culture.

The Tatars comprise another Muslim community in Wrocław, which has been established in Poland for centuries. It is an ethnic minority and, according to the population register of 2002, only 447 Polish citizens declared their affiliation to this group. The Tatars came to Poland from Crimea (the only autonomous republic of Ukraine) in the fourteenth century. They lost knowledge of their native language and integrated into society while remaining faithful to the Muslim religion. The Islam practised by them is considered by Polish society to be 'a Polish, known version of Islam'. In Wrocław, the Tatars do not have their own religious community and neither do they visit the mosque of the Muslim Cultural Centre. Despite declarations of friendship in interviews, there seems to be a conflict concerning the position of this group and its capacity to represent Islam in Poland.

Local intercultural policies in general

Responsibility in the city and general approach to ethnic and religious groups

There is no officially formulated intercultural policy in the city of Wrocław. However, some objectives regarding minority groups and intercultural dialogue may be identified in different policies of the city. It seems important to emphasise the fact that after 1989, the development policy of Wrocław was grounded in two aims: building an image of the city as ‘a city of meetings, a city that unites’ and an ‘investment-friendly city’ (Galar et al, 2006). Using different methods, the city authorities began in the early 1990s to attempt to build up the identity of the city as a culturally tolerant, multireligious, intercultural and open society. One should remember that the communist regime had a serious problem with the German history of the city and with its multinational heritage and made attempts to introduce a homogenous Polish tradition and identity, without any space for minority groups or cultural differences.

This strategy was consequently applied to various marketing campaigns and cultural and educational policies of the city. The municipality was active in different fields, such as international exhibitions, and the national and international media, in order to promote the city as an investor-friendly place. Efforts to win international events such as EXPO 2010 and EXPO 2012, as well as participation in initiatives of the European Institute of Technology, were meant to promote the city and enhance its economic position. In all these activities, the multiethnic, multicultural and multireligious aspects of the city were promoted. It is not surprising therefore that all minority organisations were supported by the city during the 20 years following its transformation.

Issues, demands and interests

There is no official department dedicated to dealing with issues connected with minority groups. However, as already mentioned, a Working Group for National and Ethnic Minorities was established in 2008 in order to analyse the needs of these groups and to provide a platform for exchanging experiences and building cooperation between the minority groups. The working group also set up cooperation with regional and governmental administration. In 2009, a new institution was established by the municipality of Wrocław, namely the Centre of Information and Social Development. This centre was supposed to support the activity of different minority groups as part of civil society development and to protect the multiethnic heritage of the city and region. The first outcome of the working group and the rising interest in minority issues was the creation of a partnership of ethnic and national minority organisations.

Despite these developments, interviews with representatives of the minority organisations revealed one main observation: the municipality is using the term ‘meeting place’ to promote the city and the District of Four Religions as a symbol of the city, but there are no contact persons or departments directly responsible for issues related to intergroup relations or intercultural policy of the city. Many initiatives of the minority organisations are supported by the city but there is no coordination of this support within the municipality. Neither do the authorities contribute to the development of a broader dialogue between the organisations and other actors involved.

Forms of dialogue

As discussed previously, there is no official, explicitly formulated policy regarding national, ethnic or religious minorities, with the exception of a general declaration of a friendly attitude towards all inhabitants of the city and the municipality’s willingness to support the multiethnic heritage of the city (Galar et al, 2006). The institutionalisation of contacts is at a very early stage of development but there have been some initial results of this process. The working group has led to more regular communication between the minority organisations and the city and between the organisations themselves. So far, liaison between the city authorities and the organisations has been limited to the cultural field and the representatives of these organisations have not been invited to participate in other consultation bodies. There are no special policies to prevent issues such as economic or social exclusion as members of minority

populations are not at risk of experiencing these social problems. The Roma community is the only minority group that the city supports in the fields of health and education. Due to their low socioeconomic position, this group is at risk of exclusion. Teaching assistants for Roma children are employed in some schools and a programme for the improvement of the health of Roma students and their parents has been implemented by the Department of Health of the municipal office; both programmes are part of the government support programme for the Roma community.

Due to the rather small number of ethnic and national minorities in the city, the activities of their organisations are limited to the promotion of their own culture and tradition. However, initial attempts to promote the collective contribution of minority groups to the multicultural heritage of the city have taken place. This was initiated by the city with the establishment of the abovementioned working group. In addition, on 21 June 2008 the ethnic and religious minorities presented their culture to the wider public in the city centre, in an event known as *Kaleidoscope of Cultures*, which took place on Wrocław Day (*Święto Wrocławia*). This event was quite successful, and the municipality and the minority organisations have decided that this event will take place annually.

Relations between different ethnic groups in the city

All minority organisations in Wrocław are rather small. Interviews with their representatives indicate that there is no competition between them for support or attention from the city. They know of each other but there is little communication or cooperation between different groups as they tend to be more concentrated on their own activities than on intergroup relations. The city authorities have recently introduced some visible changes in this regard. As mentioned already, the Working Group for National and Ethnic Minorities was established as a platform for cooperation and exchange of knowledge and experiences between the administration and minorities. As a consequence of this, in 2008 the minority groups, with the support of the city, organised the joint event *Kaleidoscope of Cultures*, a presentation of national and ethnic minorities in the city.²

Its aim was to promote the multicultural tradition of the region and its minority communities, and to avoid discrimination or the development of stereotypes. With the support of the city, this partnership may be the first step towards the creation of developed intergroup relations in the city.

Two other initiatives should be considered as symbols of the process of building good intergroup relations. In 2008, the Muslim Cultural Centre, on its own initiative, organised the Wrocław Convention for Interreligious Dialogue. This involved the participation of representatives of Judaism, Christianity, Islam and Karaism, all of whom signed a declaration on mutual respect and planned joint activities aiming to prevent and counteract any forms of discrimination or racism. In 2009, a second version of the convention was being prepared at a conference.

² The participants of the event were as follows: Mariola Abkowitz from the Association of Polish Karaims in the Republic of Poland; Igor Salamon and Olga Chrebor representing the Association of Ukrainians in Poland; Ewa Solska and Jakub Einhorn from the 'Gesher' Foundation for Jewish Culture and Education; Irena Lipman and Renata Zajęzkowska from the German Cultural and Social Association; Anna Adamidu and Anastazja Stasiak from 'Odysseas', the Association of Greeks in Poland; and Musa Czachorowski from the Association of Tatars of the Republic of Poland, Dariusz Tokarz, plenipotentiary of Lower Silesian Governor for National and Ethnic Minorities and Dorota Kozak-Rybska from the municipality's Centre for Information and Social Development were also present.

The cooperation between different churches and religious denominations has had a long tradition in Wrocław, the symbol of which is the District of Four Religions. The District of Four Religions and daily liaison resulted in the formation of the Foundation for Mutual Respect of Four Religions, involving the Roman-Catholic parish, the parish of the Lutheran Church of the Augsburg Confession, the parish of the Orthodox Church and the Jewish religious community. The foundation promotes the cultures of minority national groups and has two objectives. The first is to propagate dialogue between religions, as well as shared ethical and moral values. The second objective is to create conditions for cooperation in various fields, particularly charity, cultural activities and the protection of the rights of minority groups. Another interesting programme carried out by the foundation is known not only in Wrocław, but also outside the city. This is referred to as 'Children of one God' and its aim is to educate children from Wrocław schools about different religions and traditions. This project was financially supported by the city of Wrocław, the European Commission and the National Centre of Culture. Another project called 'Children from the District' was organised by the foundation for the children living in the District of Four Religions.

Despite having a very positive attitude towards these projects of the District of Four Religions and providing support for the foundation, the city authority has not created a specific programme or a long-term strategy regarding this area. On many occasions, the District of Four Religions has been used as a symbol of the multiethnic heritage of the city. The municipality has also been investing in the revitalisation of this area. Nonetheless, there has been no evidence of any attempts at improving cooperation and social activities between the minority groups living there. Representatives of organisations based in the district said that there was no contact person responsible for this project, which, as mentioned by the authorities many times, appears to be very important to them. The representatives of the organisations also noted that the cooperation and communication between the four religions occurs at a high level within the hierarchy of each church and is not reflected among the people who follow these religions. They stressed the role the authorities could play in creating specific actions connected with the district.

Public communication

During the process of building the image of Wrocław as a 'meeting place', the media became interested in the city's history, its previous inhabitants and its multicultural traditions. There have been numerous articles in local newspapers and magazines about the history of the city, which refer to the notions of tolerance, multicultural dialogue and multiethnic traditions. In many cases, the media were invited by the city to take part in promotional campaigns of the city. All representatives of minority groups who were interviewed emphasised the positive interest of the local media in their activities. All representatives alluded to the fact that they had regular contact with journalists, in order to inform them about organised events.

As already mentioned, the municipality does not have any specific strategy for public communication relating to ethnic, national or religious minorities living in the city. The multiethnic heritage of the city is often referred to in the information and marketing products published by the city. However, in most cases, this relates to the history of the city and not to existing groups and organisations. The activities of the minority organisations are not used by the city in order to inform the wider public about their contribution to the life of the city.

Summary and lessons learnt

In conclusion, it must be emphasised that intercultural policy and intergroup relations are not formulated in the official policies or strategies of the city. The multicultural traditions of the city are referred to on many occasions, however, this tends to be on a symbolic level, or to market the city.

There are no visible tensions between different groups living in the city; this explains why intergroup relations and intercultural policies are not high on the political agenda. The minority groups living in Wrocław mainly consist of Polish citizens with different ethnic or cultural backgrounds, and are not at risk of exclusion or marginalisation. The only group with a low social and economic position is the Roma community; the needs of Roma people are addressed in government programmes in the fields of health and education.

Relations between national and religious minorities and the city administration are good and the projects run by minority organisations are often supported by the city. However, the minority groups tend to be seen as single actors, rather than a network of cultural and religious minorities. While there are no problematic areas in the fields of interculturalism and intergroup relations in Wrocław, it would be advisable for the city to prepare guidelines on this issue, should problems arise in the future. The provision of a contact person in the municipality who is responsible for intergroup relations and projects involving minority groups is a priority, and seems to be a very feasible one.

Local intercultural policies towards Muslim communities

Major issues, demands and interests

The Muslim community in Wrocław is rather small and is well integrated with the local community. There is no specific policy towards Muslims in Wrocław. Referring to the concept of 'Wrocław, the meeting place' and to the multiethnic heritage of this city, the city authorities and particularly the city mayor declare friendly relations with the Muslim Cultural and Educational Centre and with the imam. Cultural events that involved presenting the Muslim community to the wider public were supported by the municipality.

General approaches and policies to improve relations with Muslim groups

Due to the small number of Muslim people in Wrocław and its socio-demographic structure, there are currently no conflicts to be resolved between the Muslim community and other ethnic or religious groups, or with indigenous Polish inhabitants of the city. The rest of the population in Wrocław has probably been very slow to recognise the presence of the Muslim community in the city.

The Day of Muslim Culture is a good example of cooperation between the Muslim community and the municipality. It is important to add that the imam, as a representative of the Muslim community, is often invited by the city mayor to various official events, just as other religious representatives are. It is a sign that this new community in Wrocław has been accepted and recognised by the city officials.

Public communication

The Muslim Cultural and Educational Centre in Wrocław displays a friendly attitude towards the non-Muslim inhabitants of the city. This is demonstrated by its activities that are addressed to the public, such as lectures for pupils and students, fairs and the Day of Muslim Culture. The objective of the centre's activities is to transmit knowledge on Islam as a religion, promote the culture of Muslim countries and to represent the Muslims living in Wrocław. The idea of the Muslim population as an organised community is a relatively new phenomenon in Wrocław; for this reason, the local media intently keep track of the activities of the centre. Even though Wrocław's authorities are very friendly towards Muslim inhabitants of the city and the imam is invited to all kinds of celebrations, there is no specified strategy for 'using' the centre and new community as an example for educational purposes. In the age of growing tensions between the receiving societies and Muslims in western countries, introducing multicultural education at school in order to avoid the creation of stereotypes regarding cultural or ethnic differences seems to be a good idea.

Summary and lessons learnt

It is very difficult to draw conclusions about the relations between the city authorities and the Muslim community or between Muslims and other groups living in the city. This is because these relations are at an initial stage of development. It seems important that the city has already recognised the new community on the map of the city's organisations and is supporting the activities of the Muslim centre on the same basis as those of other organisations. The Muslim centre has friendly relations with other organisations participating in collective events.

The city should use the experiences of the centre and the Muslim population of Wrocław by building a real concept of multicultural policy and intergroup relations right away, instead of referring to the historical ideals and using this concept as a marketing device. The biggest gaps are those of multicultural education and the establishment of a real dialogue between various minority groups and inhabitants of the city.

Intergroup relations and radicalisation

Radicalisation within the majority population

Due to the small number of immigrants and ethnic or religious minorities in the city, the radicalisation process, as understood in the context of western European societies, has not yet occurred. Radicalisation, racism and xenophobia are relatively new concepts in the public discourse in Poland. This country, as was already mentioned, is a largely mono-ethnic society, with minorities forming only 1.23% of the total population. In recent years, Poland began to implement the anti-discrimination law of the European Union (EU) and adopted the National Programme for the Prevention of Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Manifestation of Intolerance for 2004–2009 (*Krajowy Program Przeciwdziałania Dyskryminacji Rasowej, Ksenofobii i Związanej z nimi Nietolerancji 2004–2009*). This programme covers all groups that could be the victims of racism. The Ombudsman records about 30 complaints each year concerning discrimination, in terms of cultural activities.

As mentioned before, only a small number of violent acts take place against minority groups or members of these groups in Poland. This does not include all displays of prejudice; both national minorities living in Poland as well as foreigners residing there are more likely to be confronted by a lack of friendliness or lack of understanding than by acts of aggression. However, there is no evidence or research in this field. This is mainly because there is a very limited understanding of discrimination in Poland, and the possibility of taking legal action on this issue is very low. The Roma community is most vulnerable to acts of racism or xenophobia in Poland. This minority group is a socially excluded group; it has an unemployment rate of 90% and most of its members do not even have primary education, which leads to their marginalisation in many areas of life. Cultural differences and the absence of contact between the Polish and Roma community result in stereotypes of this community being repeated and spread. Regarding acts of violence, Afro-Americans are the most vulnerable group, whereas Jews experience anti-Semitism in the form of hate speech such as writing on walls.

The only organisation that incites people to aggression and propagates anti-Semitic, Nazi and anti-European ideas seems to be the National Revival of Poland (*Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski*, NOP). This group has been trying to organise a march in Wrocław each year to manifest its beliefs. The activities of such organisations are obstructed by the authorities, as inciting others to aggression or violence is legally prohibited in Poland. Anti-Semitic views in Poland may be compared to a certain extent to anti-immigrant views and beliefs in the countries of western Europe. In pre-war Poland, there were about three million Jewish people living there. Cultural and religious differences led to tensions. The NOP invokes the pre-war nationalistic traditions.

The commemoration of Crystal Night in Wrocław and other Jewish celebrations are guarded by the police at the request of the municipal authorities, in order to avoid any possible acts of verbal or physical aggression.

General approach, policies and measures towards these groups

Anti-discrimination law and discussion of racism and xenophobia in Poland are rather new developments and the monitoring of these processes is poor. NGOs plan an important role in this field, especially in monitoring but also in educating society. A largely mono-ethnic society must be educated in interculturalism. The element that is most absent is the education of children in this field, which shows that people are different, believe in different religions and have the right to represent their otherness within a public space.

Relations between groups

There are no noticeable conflicts between groups but cooperation at this level is at a very early stage of development. In fact, it tends to occur among smaller minority organisations in Wrocław. The Jewish Culture and Education Foundation cooperates with an organisation with a similar background to the Edith Stein House. Due to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, it is hard to imagine close cooperation between Jewish organisations and the Muslim Cultural Centre, which is

chaired by a Palestinian. One can also observe a lack of cooperation between the Muslim Centre and the Tatar community, a group of Muslims who have been living in Poland for centuries. The tension here relates to an ongoing dispute as to who should represent the Muslim population in Poland on a national level.

Radicalisation within the minority population

As already noted, the number of minorities and immigrants living in Poland remains very low and there are no radical groups or organisations among them. No policies have been developed on the issue of radicalisation.

No conflict occurs between different ethnic groups living in the city. Certain attempts at cooperation can be observed, both in order to win stronger positions in relations with the administration and to become more perceptible in social and cultural dialogue in the city. As the minority organisations are small, contacts are friendly and relatively easy to maintain.

Communication strategy concerning radicalisation

The local media report on incidents involving the participation of foreigners, but the municipality has no communication strategy on this issue. The fact that such articles occur results more from their rare nature and the curiosity they provoke. In recent times, the local newspaper *Gazeta* launched a campaign entitled 'We are racists' with the aim of drawing attention to the problem of reluctance towards foreigners among indigenous Polish people. A few interviews with immigrants were published under provocative titles. They spoke about their bad experiences in Wrocław. Referring to the figures of the police headquarters in Wrocław and data collected by the Ombudsman, such cases may be referred to as 'individual'. The action launched by *Gazeta* provoked discussion, which is an important element of the public debate (*Gazeta Wyborcza*, March 2009).

Radicalisation: summary and lessons learnt

Radicalisation has not occurred in Poland, either among minority groups or the majority population, at least to the worrying extent that it has been observed over recent years on the political agenda and in the public life of western European countries. The number of national minorities and immigrants is very small and most of them are culturally similar to the majority population. Research shows that the attitude towards foreigners in Poland has been undergoing positive changes; through both EU integration and post-accession migration, Poles have grown more open to cultural differences. However, it is still a largely mono-ethnic society where people who look 'different', such as Afro-Americans, may face a lack of acceptance among the majority population. Due to the small size of the minority population, it is very difficult to analyse other forms of discrimination, such as institutional or structural discrimination in education or in the labour market. Immigrants who were interviewed indicated that public services are not prepared to meet the needs of non-Polish speakers and those who are unfamiliar with life in Poland.

Key challenges and lessons for CLIP

The coexistence of different religious, cultural or linguistic minority groups has always been strongly manifested at local level. Municipalities have been confronted with the day-to-day communication between people of diverse cultural backgrounds. The establishment of a cultural dialogue within the community seems to be the most useful tool against potential conflict and misunderstandings, or even radicalisation. For western European cities, this dialogue applies to that occurring between immigrants and the indigenous population, as well as that between different immigrant groups. As shown in this report, Poland remains an emigration country. Nonetheless, some immigrant groups are becoming increasingly visible, particularly in big cities. Wrocław's entire population changed completely following the Second World War, as a result of displacement. Its new population structure, comprising people of diverse cultural traditions, seems to be an interesting case in Poland.

The local authorities in Wrocław are quite flexible in terms of creating their own cultural and educational policy towards different groups living in the city. In the field of intercultural policy, they may liaise with various actors. In doing so, they raise public awareness regarding issues relating to cultural or religious differences within the community. Local authorities may and should be focused on programmes and activities connected with minorities and the multicultural tradition of the city.

Working with the ethnic, religious and national minorities, the city of Wrocław can develop a strategy for future immigrant integration policy. The economic growth of the city is and will continue to be the pull factor for new immigrants arriving in the city. The municipality is in a position to develop positive activities in a range of areas. For example, in the field of multicultural education, initiatives could involve preparing citizens for meeting people from diverse cultures and providing historical education about the multicultural heritage of the city. They could provide educational assistance for immigrant children and in fact teaching assistants for Roma children have already been introduced. Other developments could include adapting services so that migrants can access them, developing an information system on legal opportunities for immigrants, and developing an efficient Polish language learning support system for immigrants, particularly those who intend to settle in Poland.

There has been no noticeable increase in the level of interest in diversity, multicultural tradition or intergroup relations in Wrocław. Poland's accession to the EU and the resulting outflow of Polish citizens to other Member States have stirred up a wide-ranging debate focusing on both emigration from and potential immigration to the country. For the first time during this debate, this question has become a public issue. It is clear that Poland's accession to the EU has activated both local authority and minority groups to develop different activities that are financially supported by European institutions. The Roma community seems to be the main target group for these activities in the field of culture but also education, health and labour.

In Wrocław, a set of promotional practices have been developed, based on the concept of the multicultural and multireligious heritage of the city. The development and marketing concept of the city is founded on the motto, 'Wrocław, the meeting place' promoting the idea of it being a place that is open and friendly to everyone. This gives the city authority scope to support cultural and religious minority organisations in their work. Until recently, the municipality's involvement in intercultural dialogue was limited to financial support for events organised by various minority organisations. Cooperation with those organisations was divided between a number of departments in the municipality. Now, a group has been established for the purposes of promoting contact and cooperation between the municipality and ethnic minority communities. Members include representatives of ethnic minority organisations and officials from the municipality. Interestingly, the group liaised with the governor's office, which is not common practice in Poland. One cannot but wonder whether this group might be the platform for cooperation with immigrant organisations in the future.

Interviews with representatives of cultural and religious organisations in Wrocław reveal the absence of a contact person within the municipality, who would coordinate programmes launched with the financial support of the city. The city should identify the District of Four Religions as playing a significant role in the process of promoting the multicultural nature of the city.

As the number of immigrants in the city is relatively small, the local authorities have not been confronted by tensions between them and the indigenous community. The minority organisations mostly comprise Polish citizens who are integrated into the local community (the Roma community might be an exception). They express their culture in a peaceful manner. No radicalised attitudes are held towards any members of the community.

Immigrants are welcome in the city as they are mainly from developed countries and do not pose a threat to Polish employees. They come mainly from South Korea and appear to be associated with the development of the region.

This unique interest in migration issues at a local level is interesting. It might be valuable to observe the direction this process takes, the actors who are interested in creating migration policy, and whether the interest in this topic shall be transformed into policy that aims to attract immigrants or be limited to promotional activities and the development of the ‘multicultural city’ label which has recently been so popular among European cities.

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List of persons and organisations interviewed

Muslim Cultural and Educational Centre (*Muzułmanskie Centrum Kulturalno- Oświatowe*)

Rafał Dutkiewicz, City Mayor of Wrocław

Paweł Panczyj, Chair of Wrocław Agglomeration Development Agency (ARAW)

Henryk Ziętek, Chief of Police in Wrocław

Lilianna Jaroń, Director of Education Department, City of Wrocław

Tomasz Bruder, Lower Silesian Governor's Office (Department for Foreigners)

Maciej Potocki, Director of the City of Wrocław Mayor's Office

Dorota Kozak-Rybska, member of the Working Group of National and Ethnic Minorities, in the municipal office and governor's office

Beata Pierzchała, Centre for Information and Social Development (*Centrum Informacji i Rozwoju Społecznego*)

Tomasz Wysocki, a journalist at *Gazeta Wyborcza*

Leszek (Musa) Czachorowski, Association of Tatars of the Republic of Poland (*Związek Tatarów RP*)

Mariola Abkowicz, Association of Karaims in Poland (*Związek Karaimów w Polsce*)

Igor Salamon, Association of Ukrainians in Poland (*Związek Ukraińców w Polsce*)

Grażyna Kania-Misiak, Bente Kahan Foundation (*Fundacja Bente Kahan*)

Katarzyna Jędrzejczak-Kuliniak, PhD student at the Institute of International Studies, University of Wrocław

List of minority and religious associations

Association of Ukrainians in Poland; Branch in Wrocław (*Związek Ukraińców w Polsce koło we Wrocławiu*)

German Cultural and Social Association in Wrocław (*Niemieckie Towarzystwo Kulturalno-Społeczne we Wrocławiu*)

Polish Karaim Association (*Związek Karaimów Polskich*)

The Union of Lemks (*Zjednoczenie Łemków*)

Odysseas Association of Greeks in Poland (*Odysseas Stowarzyszenie Greków w Polsce*)

Romani Bacht Association (*Stowarzyszenie Romani Bacht*)

Association of Tatars of Poland (*Związek Tatarów RP*)

Jewish Culture and Education Foundation (*Fundacja Kultury i Edukacji Żydowskiej Gesher*)

Bente Kahan Foundation (*Fundacja Bente Kahan*)

Muslim Cultural and Educational Centre (*Muzułmańskie Centrum Kulturalno- Oświatowe*)

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