



Combating Inequalities through Innovative Social Practices of and for Young People in Cities across
Europe

Cities in their national contexts

KRAKOW

Symptoms and causes of inequality affection young people

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This report is part of Work Package 2 of the research project entitled “Combating Inequalities through Innovative Social Practices of and for Young People in Cities across Europe” (CITISPYCE). CITISPYCE has been devised against the back drop of research which shows the disproportionate impact of the global economic crisis on young people across Europe. This includes excessively high rates of youth unemployment (particularly amongst those who face multiple social, economic and cultural disadvantages) and threats to the social provision enjoyed by previous generations. CITISPYCE partners are working on a three year multi-disciplinary, multi-sectoral programme to examine the current state of the art and ideas concerning social innovation against inequalities faced by young people, explore socially innovative practices being developed by and for young people in urban areas, and test the transferability of local models of innovative practice in order to develop new policy approaches. The CITISPYCE consortium covers ten European countries and is funded by the European Commission (FP7, Socio-economic Sciences & Humanities).



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1. The city – a presentation

Krakow is the capital city of Malopolskie Voivodship and the second largest city in Poland (after Warszawa), both in terms of its population and area. In 966, the city was first mentioned in written sources (Piekosiński, 1900). In 1320–1734, Krakow was home to the kings of Poland as well as the secular capital (Bujak 1999). The territorial development of Krakow after World War Two occurred mostly through the inclusion of neighbouring areas, particularly in 1951 of Nowa Huta, a workingmen's town, originally developed to provide housing for the large steel mill built from scratch (Mieziań 2004). Currently, the area of Krakow amounts to about 327 km². The city is divided into 18 districts.

According to Eurostat data, in 2012 the city had 758,400 inhabitants, while at the same time Malopolska was inhabited by 3 341,700 people. In Krakow, there are significantly more women than men; the gender ratio is about 114 to 100. According to Central Statistical Office Krakow is inhabited by 164,712 people aged 15–29, which constitutes 21,7% of the city's population (GUS, 2011). The official data concerning residency do not, however, reflect the true situation of the city, which ranks second to Warsaw as the largest academic centre in Poland (184,493 students in 2012), with the highest percentage of students per inhabitant (0.24) amongst all the large Polish cities.

Krakow is one of the richer Polish cities. According to Eurostat data, in 2007, its per capita GDP (PPP) amounted to 21,500 euro, which constituted above 150% of the national average.

Poland is a country with a small proportion of the population born outside its borders. This also applies to Malopolska, where, according to the general census, in 2011, there were fewer than 1% of the population born abroad. The largest ethnic minority in Malopolska is constituted by the Roma community, which, according to 2002 statistics, numbered 3,500 people (the largest community of all the other regions, or 17% of all Roma people in Poland). Since at least 2006 Malopolska has enjoyed a positive net internal migration index with population of the voivodship (Polish term for the area constituting NUTS 2 region)

rising by around 0,1% annually due to internal immigration. People aged 15-29 constitute around half of this figure.

Krakow, besides its status of an academic centre, is also perceived as a city with a rich cultural life and one of the main tourist destinations. The city boasts 41 museums and 13 theatres. The amount of tourist traffic is second only to Poland's capital city. According to Eurostat Urban Audit (2008), the total annual tourist overnight stays in Krakow amounted to 2,734,997.

Over recent years, Krakow has attracted companies from the business services sector (BPO, SSC). In 2012, in Krakow and its vicinity there were 65 outsourcing companies in operation employing about 26,000 people. Krakow constitutes the largest centre of this kind of companies in Poland, with 35% of all people employed in this sector in the country (Business in Malopolska, 2012). The mean age of people employed in outsourcing companies is quite low (28), and companies in this sector primarily employ women (70% of the workforce, *ibid.*).

On the basis of the definition of 'socially sensitive areas' contained in the Social Welfare Act of March 12, 2004, Krakow's authorities identified population groups requiring assistance and in 2007 adopted the Strategy for Solving Krakow's Social Problems for 2007–2013. The strategy identified four areas of support: 1. Social welfare (generally directed to people in financial difficulties), 2. Prevention and solutions to alcohol-related problems, 3. Support to disabled persons and 4. Prevention and countermeasures against juvenile delinquency. The strategy comprises a number of aspects geared at the support of individual development of children and young people, programmes to ensure attractive ways of spending free time, it includes mainly prevention and intervention (Strategia 2006).

Concerning geographical differentiation of such assistance, in 2010 the City Council adopted another document titled *Principles for the Rehabilitation of Multi-Family Housing blocks in the Area of Krakow Municipality* (Założenia 2010). Building on the analysis of six types of criteria – economic, social, environmental, technical, architectural, spatial and 'general' ones – 19 housing estates (in 12 separate areas) were selected for potential participation in the rehabilitation programme, of which nine were the primary targets of such intervention (Jeżak et al. 2011).

On the face of it, Krakow does not appear to have many social issues. As with all large cities, there are problems and these are mainly significant in their intensity in social, spatial and demographic terms. The data from a large cyclical study, the Social Diagnosis survey, carried out in 2011 allow for the calculation of the Gini coefficient for Krakow, which amounts to 0.36. The same index calculated for the entire country equalled 0.43. It appears thus that Krakow enjoys less inequality than Poland as a whole.

The social situation of Krakow (as well as Poland as a whole but to a greater extent) has to be viewed through a demographic lens. Polish fertility rate is dropping dramatically (from more than 2 children born per women in 1980's to 1,30 in 2011). This is due to many factors, one of the most pronounced being non-existent to bad demographic policies. The consequence is that, for example, the population of young Poles in Britain enjoys double the fertility rate of their domestic counterparts. This is due to many factors,

one of the most pronounced being non-existent to bad demographic policies. The consequence is that, for example, the population of young Poles in Britain enjoys double the fertility rate of their domestic counterparts. Experts argue whether the cause of that can be associated with the effects of democratic transition of the 1990-ties (showing that the same process can be observed in other post-socialist countries – Philipov, Kohler, 2001), or with relatively weak institutional support for families with children which seems to be more compelling line of argument (FT 2012). But whatever the cause it looks like Polish young people who live in the country are highly uncertain about the prospects of rising children. Nonetheless this fact creates a phenomenon known as the “demographic dividend” which creates some substantial, but quickly diminishing social and economic benefits for Poland, as well as Krakow. There is also a consistently negative rate of net migration (especially to the UK), which lowers the available supply of young workers, and in consequence, temporarily lowers unemployment figures (according to Eurostat data the share of people aged 15-29 among emigrants from Poland reached approximately 55% in 2008).

2. Inequality and the response to it

2.1. The economy and the labour market

Poland is a Central Eastern-European country with a population of approximately 38 million. Compared with other EU27 countries, Poland stands out in terms of its dynamic GDP growth: between 2004 (when Poland acceded to the EU) and 2012, the annual GDP growth totalled 4.3%, which was the second best result (behind Slovakia’s 4.6%), with the average annual growth rate for the period in EU27 reaching 1.2%. In this period Poland’s was the only economy in the entire EU without a decrease in GDP in any one year. In 2011, GDP per capita in PPS equalled 64% of the EU27 average.

Poland is the sixth largest labour market in EU27 with respect to the number of working people (15.6 million in 2012). In 2012, only 57.4% of the total workforce was employed in the services sector, 30.1% were in industry-related professions, while agriculture provided subsistence to as many as 12.5%.

The activity rate of young people in Malopolska is very low. In 2012, it was only 33.1% (M – 38.2%, F – 27.8%). These figures were only slightly lower than those for the whole of Poland. An explanation of such a low economic activity of young Malopolska residents is the fact that they devote most of their time to studying, both at the secondary and, especially, the tertiary level¹. When studying, young people do not usually take up jobs (even part-time occupations) or even look for employment². On one hand, this is related to lack of opportunity of young people finding gainful employment on the Polish labour market

¹ According to Eurostat, in 2009 average age when young people leaving formal education amounted in Poland to 22,3 years.

² Authors of the present report tentatively suggest that the activity rate in Krakow is actually higher than the figures for the entire region, since in recent years, university students (including full-time ones) have decided to combine studying with part-time or even with full-time employment and/or job search, which, in turn, should increase the activity rate. Such a development is possible thanks to the numerous companies operating in Krakow, which readily employ students (usually on the basis of freelance agreements that do not entail social insurance contributions).

(employers often offer them only unpaid ‘training’). On the other hand, it is due to the fact that young people in Poland tend to leave their families and become economically independent quite late in their lives. The level of analysed indicator is so low due to the shape of the obligatory education system in Poland which leaves a large part of young population outside the job market for relatively long period of time. Full-time school education is compulsory for children and young people aged 6–16, whereas part-time compulsory education (school or non-school) involves young people aged 16–18 (Eurydice, 2013). This is supported by data for narrower age bands available at the national level. In 2012, the activity rate among young Poles aged 15–19 was 7.2%, , while in the 20–24 age it was 56.1%.

Surprisingly, the delayed entry of young people into Malopolska’s labour market, resulting from the extended period of education, appears to have no negative impact on their economic activity in subsequent years. The indicators for the 25–64 age band are higher than the national average. This regularity appears even more clearly in the data concerning Poles aged 25–29. In 2012, the total activity rate equalled 84.2% (91.6% M, 76.4% F).

Data concerning the employment rates of young people in Malopolska corroborates the previous diagnosis concerning their late entry into the labour market. The youth employment rate in Malopolska was only 24% (with clearly higher figures for men), which was slightly less than the average for Poland. The data embracing narrower age bands explain the reasons behind such low employment rates. In Poland, only 4.5% of young people aged 15–19 are employed due to compulsory education until age 18, while in the 20–24 age band it was 41.9%.

Apart from the reasons identified previously, other factors that influence the low employment rates should also be given due consideration. Undoubtedly, one of them consists in the approach of Polish employers who take advantage of the current economic slowdown and the large supply of university graduates in Poland, and offer them fixed-term contracts. In the Polish labour market, as many as 66% of working young people are employed on the basis of such contracts. For over one-half of them, this situation is undesirable and due to the lack of permanent job opportunities.

Fixed-term contracts are associated with less employment stability and quite often with poorer pay, which are the reasons why young people tend to devote their time exclusively to studying in the hope of improving their situation within several years. Additionally, in Poland young people very rarely decide to work part-time. The lack of available full-time jobs and the lack of interest in part-time jobs are the other reasons for the low employment rate of young people in Malopolska. T Data on the older population (25–64) show that such a late-entry strategy is not associated with significant negative consequences. The employment rate in this age group in Malopolska is higher than the national average. This argument is supported by the employment rate for people aged 25–29. In 2012, it equalled 73.1% (81.2% M, 64.6% F).

Market research conducted in Malopolska in 2007 showed that the percentage of grey economy workers among people aged 18–24 equalled about 11%, but amongst those with at the most lower secondary

education was as high as 41% (Frączek, Laurisz 2007: 229). In the case of young people in Krakow, such unrecorded employment can be found primarily in catering and tourist services. Young men also tend to be employed in construction, while young women tend to supplement their incomes by baby-sitting and domestic help.

Undoubtedly, Krakow is one of best local labour markets in Poland. In terms of development opportunities for young people, this is a very favourable situation, because the unemployment rate is not as high as in other, smaller cities, in rural areas of Malopolska or nationwide. Since no data based on the LFS concerning unemployment rates are available in Krakow (either in general or for young people), we will quote registered unemployment figures³. In December 2012, the registered unemployment rate in Krakow was only 5.9%, which was the 8th best result across Poland amongst all the 380 administrative districts⁴. The statistics warrants the conclusion that the unemployment rate for young people in Krakow, based on the LFS, will be significantly lower than that for Malopolska (27.7 T, 24.9 M, 31.5 F) and Poland as a whole (26.5 T, 24.1 M, 30.0 F).

To elaborate further on the data concerning registered unemployment, it seems that Krakow is a labour market where unemployment of young people does not pose a serious problem. In 2012, people aged 18–24 constituted only 11.5% of those unemployed registered in Krakow, while respective figures for Malopolska totalled 24.6%, and for Poland – 19.9% (WUP 2013a: 50). At the time, the Municipal Labour Office in Krakow registered 2753 persons aged below 25 (50% of whom were women). Only 5% of them were eligible for the unemployment benefit, while for 42% it was a successive (at least second) registration in the Labour Office (GUP 2013).

Further to the high unemployment rate of young people identified in Malopolska, it should be stressed that this is also related to simultaneously low vocational activity levels and employment in this age band. The data concerning the youth unemployment ratio show that the extent of unemployment in the entire population of young people in Poland is lower than the EU average.

When analysing long-term unemployment, one may notice that within the last 10 years the situation on the Polish labour market has definitely improved. In 2012, only 30.3% of unemployed young people (30.0% M, 30.7% F) had sought work for longer than 12 months (a decade before it was almost one-half of the unemployed population). It means that unemployed young people in Poland constitute a dynamic group – those who become unemployed tend to remain unemployed for a relatively short time, finding new (or first) jobs fairly quickly. This fact reduces the risk of negative long-term consequences of unemployment, which have a particularly strong impact on young people, such as diminishing the likelihood of finding a job, poverty, social marginalisation or exclusion. The analysis of Krakow's labour

³ In Poland, registered unemployment statistics are based on the number of unemployed people registered in poviat labour offices. Owing to methodological differences, registered unemployment data may differ from that obtained by the LFS (Labour Force Survey) with the former usually higher by several percentage points from the latter.

⁴ By way of comparison, the unemployment rate thus calculated for Malopolska was 11.5% and for Poland as a whole – 13.4%.

market indicates that long-term unemployment is even less pronounced than that at the level of Malopolska and Poland⁵.

Positive changes in the position of young people on the Polish labour market are also reflected in the evolution of the youth unemployment ratio. Inasmuch as in 2002 as many as 16.1% of all people aged 15–24 were unemployed (17.4% M, 14.8% F), 10 years later the ratio fell to 8.9% (9.3% M, 8.5% F). It must be noted, however, that this decrease was primarily due to the marked weakening of economic activity among young people in Poland at the time. On the other hand, when comparing the present situation with that in 2007, the youth unemployment ratio has markedly increased as a result of economic slowdown.

One of the most significant problems affecting young people on the Polish labour market is the quality of available contracts. There is a shockingly high percentage of young people employed on the basis of fixed-term contracts. In 2012, in Poland as many as 2/3 of all employed young people aged 15–24 had no permanent employment contracts (64.7% M, 69% F)⁶. In this respect, the Polish labour market is extremely unfavourable for young people, very much below European standards. This situation cannot be explained by the crisis and harder times for businesses, because very similar rates were noted both during the peak of prosperity in 2007 and in the crisis 2012. Although fixed-term contracts for young people who have only just entered the labour market can, and often do, help them to acquire valuable professional experience, permitting them to obtain in the future regular employment, to a large extent they mean poorer employment conditions in terms of stability and social security. The negative results of unstable employment are felt particularly strongly by young people with lower qualifications and skills.

Young people in Poland very rarely decide to undertake part-time employment, since in 2012 only 16.7% young people (12.6% M, 23.1% F) worked on a part-time basis. Part-time employment is usually an unconstrained decision made by Polish young workers, which is supported by the relatively low proportion of people working part-time due to their inability to find full-time employment. In 2012, this was the case with 26.1% of all those working on a part-time basis. The rate of involuntary part-time employment among young women in Poland (29.3%) is, however, significantly higher than that for young men (22.4%), which appears to suggest that the existing job offers are somewhat better matched to the expectations of young men.

Policy response

In terms of activation of young people on the Polish labour market, we should mention the Promotion of Employment and Labour Market Institutions Act of 20th April 2004. It specifically deals with young

⁵ Relatively good indicators of young people unemployment in Krakow can partially be explained by intense labour migrations. Polish youth, especially the one less educated, not being able to find a job in the country, took an advantage of the fact that Poland joined EU and thus EU labour markets openings. This way the unemployment has been partially “exported” from our country.

⁶ 56.3% of them (59.3% M, 52.2% F) are employed on the basis of fixed-term contracts because they are unable to find permanent jobs. This constitutes solid evidence for a high degree of mismatch existing on the Polish labour market (which is also the case with people aged 25–64).

people under 25 who are unemployed. People under 25 are offered additional forms of support which are not available to all the unemployed, such as internships. In Krakow, these activities fall under the responsibility of the Municipal Labour Office, which offers, among others, training courses, internships (opportunities to acquire hands-on skills), apprenticeships for adults and scholarships for those adults who decide to continue their education at post-primary or post-secondary level. An important element of support is also the promotion of entrepreneurship among young people by certain labour market instruments, such as grants to the unemployed who are planning to become self-employed, to establish or join a social cooperative. Additionally, young people over 18 are invited to consult Centres for Information and Career Planning based in regional labour offices (Poland 2012).

Important institutions supporting young people (especially from disadvantaged groups) are the Voluntary Labour Corps (VLC). The VLC is a state organisation functioning under the supervision of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy. It offers an educational model that combines school education and vocational training. While attending public elementary or grammar school, young people are trained in a particular profession or acquire occupational qualifications at basic vocational school level. VLC participants are paid for both work and study time (employers can have wages paid to the students refunded) (Poland, 2012). In Krakow, the VLC oversees the Centre of Education and Work for Young People (including Labour Club, Youth Job Centre, Mobile Centre for Vocational Information, Labour Corps, Local Labour Corps) and the Regional Centre for the Vocational Training of Young People.

From the vantage point of Krakow's young people and their present and future on the labour market, the actions undertaken by regional authorities are quite important. The framework of the Malopolska Voivodship Development Strategy for 2011–2020 includes a Strategic Programme – Intellectual Capital and the Labour Market. Thanks to the programme, the Malopolska young people can take advantage of the following measures:

- The Malopolska Talent Support Programme;
- Extended education centres for children and young people in the area of skills;
- Development programmes for schools geared at the modernisation of their vocational training and its adaptation to the needs of the regional labour market;
- Occupational guidance for school children;
- Employment support for young people.

In Malopolska since 2008, the above-mentioned measures directed to adults aged up to 25, catered for 102,000 people, including 19,000 people in 2012 alone. Furthermore, educational projects for school children were offered to 265,000 young people. People aged up to 25 are the preferred recipients of programmes and projects financed with public funds (the European Social Fund and the Labour Fund). Young people are assisted in finding employment, acquiring vocational experience and setting up business activity. In 2012, 10,000 people aged up to 25 took advantage of such support, with 51,000 since

2008. People aged up to 25 are eligible for preferential support offered by poviats labour offices. Since 2008, the labour agencies offered training to 51,000 people in this age band, including 9,000 in 2012. 65% of this group took advantage of the opportunity for vocational training. In 2012, Malopolska had 31 programmes financed with the Labour Fund underway, geared at vocational activation of people aged below 30 (WUP 2013a: 89-90).

The Social economy development programme, combating unemployment and vocational activation in the Krakow labour market adopted by the City Council in 2006 constitutes an example of synergistic actions undertaken by municipal authorities and the social economy sector whose beneficiaries also include young people. Krakow and Malopolska are considered by many researchers to be the capitals of Polish social economy. For a large number of social economy entities operating in the region (including social enterprises), young people constitute one of the most important recipients of activities (among others, those aimed at their inclusion in the labour market).

The organisational structure of Krakow's City Office (within the Department of Social Affairs) contains designated posts with responsibilities for young people, but none of their remits actually includes matters directly related to problems faced by young people on the labour market.

2.2. Welfare regimes

Poland is a postcommunist country and as such differs in terms of its welfare regime orientation from the "old" EU countries. It has been argued, that in spite of visible differences between eastern European countries in the structure and amount of welfare spending, they form a distinct "Post-communist European type" and as such cannot be clearly classified using Esping Andersen typology (Fenger 2007). That being said, we can describe Poland as a country with both moderate level of social spending on the one hand, and moderate inequality in various dimensions on the other.

2.2.1. Access to social income, social and health services

Social situation

The risk of poverty for young adults tends to be highest in regions where young adults can afford to live on their own, either with or without parental help. There is, however, an increasing proportion of young adults who continue to live in their parents' homes and are, therefore, less likely to be recorded 'at-risk-of-poverty,' since they share in their parent's income. (Golinowska 2007) This does not necessarily reflect their true situation, which may often be characterised by a lack of access to a decent income of their own.

The average age of young people leaving their parental in Poland is higher than the European average.- M-29,6%, F-28,4% (Eurostat 2009). It may result from the fact that young people often work on a fixed

term contracts, and are not eligible to meet the loan criteria. Cultural factors can also be of a crucial importance.

The general picture that emerges from the Eurostat data illustrates the contrasting tendencies in the level of social inclusion in Malopolska, still lower than the average in Poland. The at-risk-of-poverty-rate for the region has been risen steadily from 15,5 to 20,4. In the same period the index for the whole country is oscillating slightly below 18. The at risk-of-poverty-or-social-inclusion indicator shows positive tendency more or less in line with the one for Poland. It decreased by almost 20 (from almost 48 in 2005 to 28,6 in 2011) and is not very remote from the EU-27 average – 24,2. Severe material deprivation rate features similar trends and in 2011 it was lower than the average for Poland (10,7 and 13 respectively). Overall in the period 2005-2011 Malopolska region has noted the three-fold fall in the severe material deprivation rate.

The critical objective in counteracting the tendencies of social exclusion among the youth is the institutional support given to people brought up in families with alcoholic or other pathological problems. By the end of the first decade of this century, there were about a million young people being brought up in the families where alcohol addiction was present, dysfunctional, poorly educated and featuring a lot of social deficits (Jarosz, 2008). Each of those groups of young people is particularly susceptible to social exclusion, labour discrimination, alienation and social atrophy. The need to support such disadvantaged young people poses one of the most important challenges for public policies implemented in the big cities in Poland.

Policy response

Social assistance in Poland is regulated by the Law of 12th March 2004 on Social Assistance and is organised by units of central and local administration in cooperation with organisations such as foundations, associations, the Catholic Church, other churches, religious groups, employers and both natural and legal persons.

According to the legal provisions, social assistance is granted to people and families, particularly for the following reasons: poverty, those who are orphaned, homelessness, need protection of motherhood, unemployment, disability, prolonged illness, incompetence in childcare matters or in running a household, particularly in the case of incomplete and large families, alcoholism or drug addiction, difficulties in adjusting to life after discharge from prison, natural or ecological disasters.

The domination of cash benefits and the marginal role of social work as an effective instrument for social services workers have provoked debates on welfare dependency syndrome and its consequences for society. The system of social services is criticised for being expensive and inefficient while poverty is widespread and strongly connected with state budget crises (OECD 2012).

Investments in social infrastructure unleash the regional potential and prevent further growth of inequalities as well as contribute to social inclusion. They also translate directly to enhancement of social

cohesion by providing equal access to high quality services. It is, therefore, of crucial importance to ensure general accessibility to high quality public services, and hence allow both individual social groups and individuals to benefit, as well as limiting the scale of professional inactivity, counteracting exclusion from the labour market and accelerating the comeback to professional activity.

The main tendency of social policy reform in Poland seems to be devolution, with its main goal being to increase the involvement of local governments, communities and nongovernmental agencies in the design, delivery and evaluation of social welfare programmes. Key elements in devolution reform include local partnership of public and private agencies, community members and service users to combat social problems; and effectiveness and efficiency of social services achieved by a process of market-type mechanisms, e.g. contracting. (Golinowska 2007)

Health care

The current health-care system was developed as a result of reforms that were conducted between 1989 and 2004. The National Health Fund (NFZ) was created in 2003. The NFZ has the primary not-for-profit task of providing access to publicly insured health-care services. The NFZ is fully responsible for needs assessment, and medical services, contracting and control. It operates 16 regional branches, which have some autonomy, as, for example, in the tendering process for health-care services. The NFZ also finances selected public-health programmes, prescription medicines in care available to patients who are not bedridden, experimental programmes, rehabilitation and spa treatments, as well as long-term care. Since 2008, the list has been broadened to include certain specialised procedures, which were previously financed directly from the general government budget.

Improvement of the health care system is the area of key importance to the quality of life of the citizen. In recent years we can observe constant or slightly increased number of doctors in Malopolska, (from 219,9 in 2005 to 226,1 in 2010 – Eurostat 2012) Pomorskie, Slaskie and Mazowieckie, while in Wielkopolska the decrease is quite sharp. (from 176 to 151 respectively). This is probably due to a high regard for the competences of Polish doctors abroad who emigrate in search of a better pay. Dental care has remained at a similar low level in Polish voivodeships, even slightly decreased in Wielkopolskie and Dolnoslaskie, with Malopolska which has retained the number of dentists. (almost 40 per 100 thousand inhabitants in 2010, same as in 2006). It also needs to be added that the number of hospital beds per 100,000 inhabitants in Malopolska has steadily dropped in recent years by almost 100, from 973 in 2007, when it was surveyed first, to 894 in 2010.

The services delivered by the NFZ to the inhabitants of large cities seem to be meeting their medical needs. In Krakow the level of use of public health services is quite similar among young people as well as old people. The biggest difference between those two groups can be observed in Warsaw, where other channels of medical care service are used more frequently by young people – possibly paid for by the

employer. Similar differences, although not that big, can be noticed in Poznan and Gdansk. (the author's analysis based on Social Diagnosis Survey).

Policy response

In order to improve the health-care system there is an urgent need to secure an adequate level of financing, better allocate resources and expand them as needed. It also requires the extension of the social insurance contribution base to earnings currently uncovered by the system. According to strategic documents, the most important issue is to ensure broader access and increase access to hospital resources hospital resources in a way which reduces waiting times, including by linking pay to this objective. The increase in health care access requires extension of dental services covered by public insurance, introduction of co-payments on medical services and a limit on out-of-pocket expenditure, by introducing a ceiling for such payments in terms of annual income (OECD 2012)

Controversial, but a measure of reform, is the promotion of the development of hospital management skills, including through linking remuneration to performance, with the planned "commercialisation" of hospitals, emphasising carefully the way that does not threaten equal access to care, especially across regions.

Policies in the health care system focus on improvement of accessibility and institutional capability, as well as on enhanced functioning of the health care system. The process deals with a change of the principles of organization and management in the health care system and the operation of entities involved in health care services. It is supported through investments improving the quality and competitiveness of health care services (i.a. modernization of health care institutions, purchase of state-of-the-art diagnostic and rehabilitation equipment).

2.2.2. Housing

In the 1990s Poland's traditionally low rents rose drastically when government subsidies for fuel, electricity, and housing maintenance ended. The long-term goal of housing reform was to let rents rise to market levels. A housing benefits programme was to help the poorest groups in society, and new rules were put in place for financing housing purchases. Rising rental and purchase prices, the new obstacles created for housing construction firms by competitive conditions, and the economic downturn that began in 1990 also contributed to this gap. To function efficiently, the housing industry also required more substantial investment in modern technologies, particularly in chronically wasteful areas such as cement production and building assembly.

On the basis of available data it can be concluded that the living area per person in major Polish cities is bigger than in large cities of Central Europe, apart from Bratislava, where such area is relatively huge, amounting to almost 30 m². Within Poland, Krakow ranks in the last place but the differences are not very big – in comparison to the leader of Polish ranking – Warsaw – it is a bit more than 3,5 m². It

testifies to the fact that the size of apartments per person in highly urbanised areas are similar and does not influence the quality of life of their inhabitants (Urban Audit Cities, 2010).

In 2010 housing resources in Poland amounted to 13,4 mln of dwellings – 9,0 mln in cities/towns, 4,4 mln in rural areas. Five biggest cities (Warsaw, Lodz, Krakow, Poznan, Wroclaw - 18,9% of population) – include 22,2% of dwellings. The number of dwellings per 1,000 citizens: amounts to 327,6 - one of the lowest numbers in the EU. Social housing is about 10% of all housing resources in Poland – in comparison it is 33% in the Netherlands, 25% in Scotland, 24% in Denmark. Shortfall of social housing resources in Poland is estimated at 220-230,000 (Werner et. al. 2009) and the total shortfall of housing in Poland has been over 1.5 mln in 2002 (national census 2002).

Policy response

Housing in Poland is regulated by the following legislation: – Constitution of the Republic of Poland – art. 75 par. 1 provides that public authorities are required to conduct a policy in favour of "satisfying the housing needs of citizens, particularly combating homelessness, promoting the development of housing and supporting activities aimed at acquisition of own dwelling" – Act of 8th March 1990 on the Local Government – "satisfying the collective needs of the community should be the duty of the municipality. Among the tasks of local government, management of the municipal residential assets shall be included".

Further national legislation includes the Act of 26th October 1995 on supporting residential construction; – Act of 21st June 2001 on the protection of the rights of tenants, municipality housing resources and amending the Civil Code; – Act of 8th December 2006 on financial support for social housing creation, sheltered housing, and houses for the homeless; – Act of 8th September 2006 on financial support for families; in purchasing their own housing; – Act of 15th December 2000 on housing cooperatives and the Act of 24th June 1994 on premises ownership

Housing policy addresses two different tasks. The first one dealing with the development of a banking system capable of efficiently serving consumers and investors in the real estate market -Support to Finance. The second task comprises of pump-priming the sagging investment in the housing sector at a time of rapidly changing consumer preferences, increasing migration and social segregation - Support to Investment. Existing policy documents of the different housing policy departments give little guidance as to what was the basic policy concept during transition. Some are dominated by unrealistic plans to revive public housing production. In Poland process of support to investment enrolled only in slowly, old institutions such as co-operatives and public housing investors remained strong. In all reviewed countries, an almost complete communalization of public housing stock holdings, or a transfer to publicly owned corporations with the purpose of later privatization took place. New non-for-profit forms of investment succeeded only slowly, despite the relatively swift creation of a legal basis.

Activities in the area of housing aim at elimination of the current deficiencies in housing resources in the segment of premises accessible to people whose income is insufficient to meet their housing demands on their own.

2.2.3. Education and training

The crucial issue that impedes a full and reliable analysis of inequalities in the area of education of young people in Krakow is the lack of adequate indicators at the local level, i.e. gmina (commune) or powiat (district). For this reason, the available statistics were aggregated mainly at regional level and nationwide.

When compared with the other countries in Central Europe studied, the situation of Poland with respect to the early leavers from education and training is relatively favourable. The figure in 2012 was 5.7%, which means that Poland ranks 3rd amongst the relevant Central European countries (behind Slovenia – 4.4% and Czech Republic – 5.5%). At the same time, it is an alarming fact that Poland, apart from Czech Republic, Slovenia and Hungary, belongs to a group of only a few countries where this indicator in 2012 actually increased on 2007 (when it was 5%).

Characteristically, in all EU27 countries apart from Bulgaria, the percentage of people aged 18–24 with at most lower secondary education who are no longer in education or training is higher in the case of men than women. With respect to the indicator under discussion, the situation in Poland is not dissimilar from the overall EU trends. Moreover, when compared with the EU27 average in 2012 (T - 12,8%, W - 11%, M - 14.5%), the situation in Poland was better in all sections under scrutiny (T - 5.7%, W - 3.5%, M - 7.8%). The increase in this indicator, however, in 2007–2012 is disturbing. At the same time, the figure is higher for men than for women, which reflects a more general pan-European tendency.

As regards students (all ISCED levels) aged 17 at regional level as percentage of general population of corresponding age, the indicator for the Malopolskie Voivodship in 2011 amounted to above 96.3%, which placed the region only in 4th place among comparable Polish regions (behind Mazowieckie, Wielkopolskie and Slaskie, and ahead Pomorskie and Dolnoslaskie). Additionally, the statistics show a downward trend which is disturbing.

Taking into account the percentage of persons aged 18–24 who can be classified as NEETs, we can say that in 2012 in Malopolska the figure was more favourable than in 2002 (14.3% compared with 22.4%). This puts the region in a better situation than Dolnoslaskie, Pomorskie and Wielkopolskie voivodships, but behind Mazowieckie and Slaskie voivodships. It must be emphasised, however, that this data applies to regions, not just to their large capital cities within them. For this reason, it may be thought that these figures as applicable to Krakow are, in fact, lower. Still, a disturbing fact is the increase in the percentage of NEETs in 2012 from 2007. Even if the issue does not affect Krakow (which cannot be verified on the basis of analysed statistical data), the tendency is nevertheless noticeable even in Malopolska, which means that its capital will not remain unaffected.

Malopolska is characterised by a high and steadily increasing share of students in tertiary education as a percentage of the population aged 20–24 (ISCED 5-6). According to 2011 data it amounted to 91%, which means that Malopolska ranks second among the compared regions in Poland (behind Mazowieckie Voivodship with 118). The vast majority of people in the region have chosen the educational offer of its capital city – Krakow – which, apart from Warsaw, is considered to be the highest-ranking university

centre in Poland (according to GUS data, the share of students as a percentage of the population aged 20-24 in Krakow was 306% in 2012).

Policy response⁷

The Krakow Municipality and other locally-based institutions are actively involved in the integration of young people through education. Individual measures in this area include the following:

- Approximately 35 study centres run by local non-government and church-affiliated organisations provide services to about 2,000 young people. These study centres support families, children and young people with educational and behavioural problems.
- Educational campaigns aimed at the prevention of addictions among children and young people.
- Activities and services for young people entering the labour market on completion of education. In this respect, the most dynamic are university careers offices offering training and consultancy services to their students and graduates. These are also offered by the Krakow Centre for Information and Professional Career Planning operating as part of Municipal Labour Office. Other information centres offer vocational guidance to young people with a particular focus on secondary school students.

In terms of training available to young people and aimed at encouraging them to enter sectors where growth in demand is forecast (e.g. the green sector, the digital sector and the creative sector) training is mostly organised by the universities. One excellent initiative in this area is a project aimed at attracting women to study subjects that have traditionally been perceived as male-dominated. For example, the University of Science and Technology in Krakow has participated in a campaign titled 'Girls – go for polytechnics, girls – go for sciences!' As a result, the number of young women studying sciences in Poland has increased by 10,000 people in just three years. Another example of an initiative promoting new trends in education is the Doctus Scholarship programme offered to doctoral students. Likewise, in order to help develop opportunities in the creative sector, once a year Krakow offers ca. 15 scholarships for talented individuals to implement their projects in artistic sectors.

Malopolska's institutions of higher education (located primarily in Krakow) participate extensively in student and research staff exchange programmes. Students from Malopolska are involved primarily in the Erasmus programme. In the 2009/2010 academic year, 1,760 students from Malopolska went to study at other universities, which constitutes the second best result nationwide (behind Mazowieckie Voivodship with 2,619 students). Malopolska is also attractive for international students. In the 2008/2009 academic year, it was chosen by 867 students (2nd place behind Mazowieckie Voivodship with 1,170 students). In terms of participation of academic teachers in the programme, Malopolska was somewhat further behind. In the 2009/2010 academic year, there were 338 of them, which puts the region in the 3rd place behind Mazowieckie (496) and Dolnoslaskie (385) voivodships.

⁷ This part of the analysis draws extensively on the report (Active, 2011).

2.3. Power, democracy, citizenship and civil participation

Poland is a democracy with a government formed by the parliamentary majority, with direct elections to the bicameral Parliament, municipal elections (three levels: gminas/cities, poviats and regions; elections at the lowest, gmina, level include both members of legislatures and single persons as executives). Moreover, direct elections also apply to the President and to the European Parliament. The voting right is acquired at the age of 18. In Poland, many of the biggest cities comprise their own city counties (formally "cities with county rights" or "cities with powers of a district") – Krakow is one of them. It means, that in Krakow we have two tiers of local administration (gmina and powiat), which are integrated.

In Poland, there is an institution of public consultations both at the level of local and central governments, however, their practical implementation still leaves much to be desired (Wojciuk, ed. 2012).

The political and social participation of Poles is traditionally low even in comparison with the other 'new' European Union members and with countries that chose to transform their political systems in the 1990s. Researchers cannot identify structural or institutional reasons behind this state of affairs, hinting that it is difficult to identify the factors that should be changed in order to improve the situation. At the same time, they argue that voter turnout in political elections in Poland does not show the features of path-dependency (Czeński 2009).

Flash Eurobarometer (2011) shows quite a different picture. Results of the survey indicate that Poland boasts one of the highest proportions of people aged 18–30 who, within three years preceding the survey, voted in elections at the local, regional, national or EU levels from among all the EU countries (74.1%)

The survey results do not correspond, however, with the other sources describing the voting habits of Poles. Leaving aside the consistent and well-recognised tendency to overestimate the proportion of people voting in political elections by all the questionnaire surveys (CBOS 2011a)⁸, the people polled may have also included the parliamentary elections of 2007, which was characterised by exceptionally high turnout, also among young people. Data coming from the European Social Survey carried out in 2010 indicate that the turnout of young voters was really high and stood at about 63% (close to the EU average, but still not higher) (ESS 2010). The analysis carried out by the Centre for Public Opinion Research in 2011 (CBOS 2011a) shows that in the year of the last parliamentary elections (in 2011) significantly fewer young people actually voted nationwide (ca. 54% of young people aged 18–24), which demonstrates that the 2007 elections can really be treated as an exception.

When analysing the situation in Krakow, it must be remembered that it is one of the largest cities in Poland, where traditionally voter turnout is clearly higher than throughout the rest of the country (in the last parliamentary elections it was ca. 10 percentage points higher).

⁸ The data quoted below (from ESS) indicate that over 70% Poles voted in the elections of 2007, but the figures released by the State Election Commission indicate that the actual figure was 54%.

In general, the analysis of data concerning the involvement of people aged 18–30 in the elections does not indicate significant differences between Krakow and the remaining largest cities in Poland. As can be expected, the involvement of this age group in all the aspects surveyed is lower than the older age band and marginally exceeds 60% (Social Diagnosis 2009). Municipal elections tend to have similar participation rates among largest cities in Poland (Social Diagnosis 2011) In the 2007 elections, young voters from Krakow, apart from Wroclaw, noted the lowest turnout from among the cities selected for comparison (Warszawa, Gdansk, Wroclaw, Krakow, Poznan, Lodz). Both in the case of municipal and parliamentary elections, the turnout of young voters is lower than in the 31+ generation for all the cities analysed (Social Diagnosis 2011).

Civil Participation

The involvement of Poles in the activities of non-government organisations compares very unfavourably with other countries surveyed, regardless of their residence or age. According to Flash Eurobarometer (2011) only 15.8% of young people in Poland participate in organised voluntary activities (EU average is 24.2%).

According to the Social Diagnosis results, Krakow does not differ from the other large cities in Poland with respect to the involvement of young people in socio-political activities or even from other parts of the country. The analysis of the index developed on the basis of questions related to political and social involvement asked in the Social Diagnosis survey indicates that about 30% of young people remain uninvolved in any sort of activity, while above 70% show little involvement. It appears that these responses do not warrant conclusions regarding a high level of inequality in the area of socio-political activities, they rather testify to a general passivity in this dimension.

Previous analyses indicate, however, that the relatively lower civil participation index among young people is neither a new phenomenon nor a sign of the present times. A more accurate interpretation would suggest that in line with increasing age and experience, involvement in this field increases noticeably. In other words, no differences are perceived between the cohort studies, with the independent variable in this equation being the age of the person studied (KPRM 2011, pp. 281–282).

Policy response

Throughout Poland, numerous initiatives are regularly undertaken in order to combat social, political and cultural passivity, including many state-sponsored advertisements run before every election in order to boost participation. Involvement in social activities pursued by civic organisations is supported first of all through the instruments made available within the framework of the Operational Programme: Human Capital, which means that to a considerable extent they are supported by the EU.

In order to strengthen political participation, not only among young people, the city of Krakow started two projects: Krakow Talks aimed at the strengthening and facilitation of public consultations using the portal <http://www.dialogspoleczny.krakow.pl> and, starting next year, a pilot participatory budget scheme

in three of the city's districts. Residents of these districts will be able to decide how to spend 250,000 zloty (ca. 60,000 euro). 2011 saw the appointment of a Commission for Civic Dialogue entrusted with the task of involving more Krakow's residents in the political decision-making process.

Krakow initiates numerous activities in order to support the activities of the third-sector organisations. In 2012, the Krakow Public Benefit Activity Council was established. During the last several years a series of events have been organised, including the granting of the title of Philanthropist of Krakow 2010 or the organisation of a Non-government Organisation Day as part of the European Year of Volunteering.

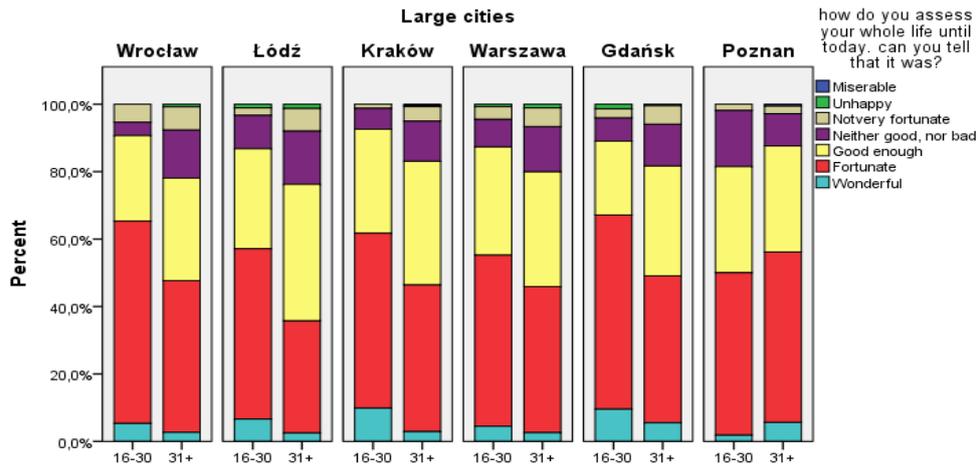
Among all the programmes targeting young people, the most important appears to be that established in 2009 called the Young Krakow (Młody Kraków) (<http://www.mlodziej.info/>). It caters for students at all levels of education and comprises three components:

- a. The youth forum of civic education: a cycle of campaigns in support of social and civic involvement of young people in activities for the benefit of the local community and the environment.
- b. The children and young people support system: consists in, among other things, the organisation of extracurricular activities, the running of day support centres and the promotion of inexpensive and mass sports.
- c. The partnership for young people: consists in an exchange of information and skills with experts and involvement of external entities in organising activities for young people.

3. Life for young people in the city

A picture of Krakow that emerges from the analyses presented in the main body of the report is one of a city friendly to young people who are keen to settle there, primarily due to the rich educational and cultural life and an attractive labour market. Young residents of Krakow, in comparison with those of other large Polish cities, tend to be satisfied with life. Krakow has the largest share of young people choosing the highest score when asked: "How do you assess your whole life until today?" in 2011 (Fig. 3). The figure also shows that generally young people tend to be more satisfied with their lives than older part of the population (except in Poznan).

Fig. 3. Quality of life assessment in two age groups in largest Polish cities



Source: Authors' own analysis based on the Social Diagnosis survey.

As was noted previously, Krakow is the second largest academic centre in Poland whose universities earn high positions in domestic rankings (just as Krakow's secondary schools). It is a city where young people, particularly university students, make their presence distinctly felt, which is especially easy to notice when looking at passengers of municipal transport services during the academic year.

Processes occurring in the educational market and those related to the implementation of appropriate public policies targeted at young people in Krakow are affected both by positive and negative developments. The report shows that there is a decrease in the number of people who continue studying past the age of 17. At the same time we can see an increase in the number of people classified as NEETs.

As regards the competences of the analysed age groups in Krakow, it can be said that too few young people have a good command of foreign languages and too many people follow a liberal arts education. Experts from HR consultancy companies in Malopolska also mention the need to develop skills in the building of long-lasting relations, analytical thinking and independent problem solving (Sendrowicz 2013). Another problem is posed by the mismatch between the skills acquired by young people and the needs of the labour market. The results of the study commissioned by the Voivodship Labour Office (WUP 2013b) demonstrate a diminishing demand for graduates of the most popular university specialties such as economics and administration, social sciences, liberal arts and teaching. The same study shows that the Krakow labour market is still short of specialists in the following areas: analysts and operators of data systems, car diagnostics specialists, truck drivers, financial and book-keeping staff with a good command of foreign languages, computer programmers and website administrators, database designers and administrators, welders, applied computer science specialists and chefs.

The problems and weaknesses affecting the economic activity of young residents of Krakow reviewed in this report do not translate directly, however, into difficulties on the local labour market, a robustness which is possibly influenced by the internationally acknowledged image of the city as a BPO centre. In consequence of the favourable educational and economic position of Krakow, the city boasts one of the lowest youth unemployment rates in Poland. Young people living in Krakow can be said to represent two

fundamental approaches: most of the population remains economically inactive due to the long-lasting process of education, in turn, those few who do work, are employed mainly on the basis of fixed-term contracts and tend to work full time (in commerce, catering, tourist services and in BPO centres). Nevertheless, despite their late entry into the labour market (which, as a matter of fact, constitutes a characteristic feature of the entire labour market in Poland), young people in Krakow, once they turn 25, cope pretty well on the labour market. Conversations with young people in Krakow, however, reveal that lack of jobs seem not to be the problem for them but the cost of living, difficulty to acquire bank credit and absence of affordable housing (the cost of a standard flat in Krakow exceeds 100 mean gross wages).

In terms of the access to social welfare, Krakow positions itself in a quite favourable situation, although it features all the general problems that can be observed in urban areas, i.e. violence, alcoholism, drug-addiction and poverty. The institutional infrastructure assigned to counteract those phenomena carry out several social programmes aiming to alleviate the social problems. Nonetheless, despite funding from the European structural funds, the financial and human resource needs of those organisations have not been met yet. The problems of young people, especially coming from poorer and less educated families can pose a future threat to the city social situation, in particular in old urban areas. On the other hand, the report *Malopolskie Voivodship 2012* (UM, ROPS 2012) indicates the fairly good and improving situation of the poorest families in Krakow and in Malopolska. The poverty index and numbers of families eligible for social welfare in the entire voivodship have consistently decreased and now rank amongst the lowest nationwide (in 2011, 3,7% residents were eligible for social welfare in Krakow). It has to be noted though that even social workers privately suggest that this figure may be biased due to the fact that it includes mainly people who come to social assistance centres by themselves with too little institutional proactivity.

The fairly good situation of young people in Krakow does not translate into their socio-political involvement. Krakow does not compare favourably with other large cities in Poland with respect to voter turnout in parliamentary and municipal elections or activity in non-government organizations. There seems to be an emerging trend with some educated young people involved in a host of somewhat spontaneous activities using programming and social media to counteract social problems (during so-called hackathons in a similar manner to Code for America⁹), but the public perception of this movement is still low.

It can be seen that rather positive image of Krakow as a city friendly for young people obscures a significant disparity of development opportunities and does not always reveal problems and pathologies that affect all the age groups in all large cities. The Children of the Streets Report compiled in 2006 at the behest of the Urban Programme for Combating Juvenile Crime in Krakow (Sierocka, Drewniak 2006) showed that at that time in various places throughout Krakow (housing estates, supermarkets, the central station and its vicinity, streets and squares associated with prostitution) were regularly attended by several hundred people aged 15–18 who were wandering there aimlessly for a long time. This phenomenon was

⁹ see e.g. <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Otwarta-Ma%C5%82opolska/206854136124515>

related to an increase in the occurrence of negative phenomena such as theft, drug trafficking, cruelty to animals, prostitution, cases of assault and battery as well as contacts with criminal groups. The report associated the appearance of entertainment-seeking children in the streets with the lack of infrastructure for parties, games or other outdoor pursuits, with the low quality of social infrastructure (certain services were offered on payment of a fee or were contingent on the fulfilment of certain conditions) , with the low quality of social capital in housing estates (no public response to young people drinking alcohol and smoking tobacco, no restrictions on the sale of alcohol and cigarettes in local shops) and in social housing areas. It is not the case that “children of the street” are homeless or don’t attend school. They just spend significant portion of their time on the street which they treat as a way of socialising and getting things they need. Among the causes of becoming the child of the street poverty, alcoholism and domestic abuse are being quoted. According to the report being a child of the street reduces ones chances to attain educational success (higher drop-out rate) and consequently to cope well on the labour market.

Despite specifically naming young people in the Strategy for Solving Krakow’s Social Problems, the city does not sufficiently address the issue of NEETs (whose numbers have increased over the recent years), neither does it show a desirable commitment to supporting university graduates in their transition from education to employment. This state of affairs may have two explanations. First, most students do not ‘officially’ live in Krakow since they are not registered there. Secondly, issues related to higher education do not constitute the main remit of municipal authorities. This kind of situation, and the lack of coordination between different levels of authorities make some young groups targeted by no social policies.

One final remark. When assessing the situation of the city one cannot forget the consequences of the demographic dividend that produce many short term benefits, but can cripple the society in the long run in the following areas:

- labour market – relatively lower supply of younger workers now/lower demand for them in the longer run,
- social care – with changing patterns of fertility, the families with the higher number of children become scarcer causing the drop in the rate of dysfunctional units,
- health-care and pension system – higher amount of resources may be temporarily allocated to the care for old people – until the time when baby-boomers retire raising the dependency-ratio,
- schools – the indexes of number of children in a class or per teacher tend to look good, however in the long-term, many schools and jobs in education will be closed down – the school infrastructure had been built in the 1970’s to account for higher number of students.

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