



UPLIFT – Urban PoLicy Innovation to address  
inequality with and for Future generaTions

## Deliverable 2.2

# Urban report

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## Summary

- Łódź, one of the largest Polish cities, located about 120 kilometres south-west of Warsaw, is still burdened by the heritage of its light industrial past, and continues to provide employment for the less qualified workforce while struggling to provide opportunities for highly qualified people, especially in the young cohort. While the unemployment rate is quite moderate, the average wage is lower than in other big cities of Poland. This situation in the labour market leads to significant outmigration to more prosperous areas in Poland and abroad. On the other hand, substantial labour force is moving into Łódź by means of temporary residence permits from Ukraine, Belarus or Vietnam to fulfil low paid positions.
- The financial crisis had moderate impact on Poland's GDP (it did not decrease like in other European countries), but it had a negative impact on unemployment rates in the country and also in Łódź. However, during the recovery period starting from 2013-2014, the employment rate improved. The second part of the 2010s were characterised by an economic boom, and the economic crisis due to Covid also seems to be followed by rapid recovery by mid-2021.
- Thanks to the favourable economic trends, the overall quality of life of inhabitants has increased and the living conditions of the lower-middle class have stabilised while incomes improved and poverty has been reduced in Łódź. In the meantime, it seems that the local welfare system has played a weaker role in influencing the quality of life of the local residents.
- Education: Good PISA results and a low rate of early school leavers demonstrates well the efficiency of the Polish educational system. The system also performs well in narrowing the gap in competences between students with different socio-economic backgrounds. The responsibilities are shared between the national and the local level. Primary and secondary education is operated by the local municipality, while the methodologies and requirements are set centrally, on the national level. The most significant tool against social inequalities in education on the local level is the extensive scholarship programme that supports thousands of students in Łódź.
- Housing: Poland is characterised by a general housing shortage, and the national programmes to increase availability and affordability have marginal impact. First time home buyers up to 35 years of age with a high income were amongst the most preferred by the central housing policy till 2021. The local level has competencies with regard to the municipal housing stock. However, even though the number of public housing is substantial in Łódź (nearly 12% of the whole stock is owned by the municipality), only half of it is contracted out due to the poor physical condition of the buildings, and the current waiting list contains about 7,600 applicants. The most important intervention in this sector has been the ongoing rehabilitation measures since 2011, which had a positive impact on the state of hundreds of housing units, but

resulted in a change in the composition of the residents in the inner city parts (gentrification in the municipal rental stock).

- Employment: The state provides the framework and the resources for active and passive employment policies, and its deconcentrated branches on county level are responsible for their implementation. Łódź county labour office is considered to be one of the most efficient in the country that implements national programmes financed from EU sources. The Youth Guarantee Programme is also substantial in Poland and in Łódź, but according to evaluations most of the NEET youth are not registered for these programmes, and the most vulnerable young people are hardly affected or only experience short-term impact.
- In social protection the situation is similar to the domain of employment: the state provides the framework conditions and resources, and the local government organisations implement the policies. Social vulnerability and social needs are not in the focus of local policy, and the municipality only implements the minimum interventions that are required by national legislations. About 3% of the local population are clients of the local social system, mainly old age pensioners and people living in segregated downtown areas.
- Youth policy, youth work, and vulnerable youth focused local interventions have less relevance in the city and region of Łódź. Mainly highly educated young adults are in the focus of the local policies to keep them in the urban area through specific housing and employment measures, while significantly less emphasis is placed on vulnerable young people. It should however be noted that young people overall cannot be considered specifically vulnerable in this region, as their unemployment rate is lower than that of older workers close to retirement, and ageing is an important phenomenon which creates new challenges for the social care system. Consequently vulnerable young people are nor specifically targeted; rather, they are indirectly affected by the local welfare system.

## Introduction

This report examines the scales and dimensions of inequality affecting the young population in the functional urban area of Łódź in Poland. The territorial scope of the analysis is the functional urban area of Łódź. However, as the functional area is not defined neither from a statistical nor from a governance point of view, most of the observations are valid only for the city of Łódź.

Our purpose is to understand how the drivers of socio-economic inequality operate in this local context, as well as the role of policy interventions in aggravating or reducing the impacts of inequality on the urban youth. Therefore, particular attention is paid to the room for action of local policies and the manners in which policy-makers and stakeholders conceptualize and respond to the existing challenges. This corresponds to the meso-level analysis in the UPLIFT project, i.e. between the macro-level analysis of inequality drivers (the focus of WP1) and the micro-level analysis of individual behaviour and strategy (the focus of WP3).<sup>1</sup> Building on previous deliverables of the UPLIFT project, this report expands data collection and analysis through additional desk research and interviews with local actors.<sup>2</sup>

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic all of the interviews were conducted online. It was difficult to reach out to interviewees due to the increased amount of responsibilities some of them had in mitigating the consequences of the crisis. Some interviews were conducted with the help of an interpreter, which allowed us to reach out to policy makers who do not speak English but have an access to valuable local knowledge.

The desk research was carried out throughout the year of 2021, with the aim of collecting and organising the relevant literature produced at the national, regional and local levels on the four thematic areas of analysis: education, employment, housing, and social protection. Special attention was given to studies that scrutinise the patterns and structures of inequality affecting youngsters in Łódź and policies influencing urban inequality since 2008, that is, since the beginning of the economic and financial crisis.

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<sup>1</sup> The specific guidelines for the reports on the sixteen FUAs under study in the UPLIFT project can be found in the WP2 Methodological Guidance and Work Plan. As established in that document, this report draws on results from four project tasks: Task 1.3 - National policies and economic drivers for inequality; Task 2.1 - Statistical analysis of inequality at the local level; Task 2.2 - Analysis of the main socio-economic processes and local policies influencing inequality during and after the financial crisis and the subsequent recovery; and Task 2.3 - Innovative post-crisis policies.

<sup>2</sup> All together eight interviews were conducted with sociologists from the local university, with the heads of the departments of education, housing and employment of Łódź municipality, and with employees of certain local programs implemented in Łódź (interviews were completed between December 2020 and May 2021).

# 1 General description of Łódź Functional Urban Area

Łódź, Poland's third-largest city, is located in the central part of the country and has a population of 672,185 inhabitants (as of 31 December 2020). It is the capital of Łódź Voivodeship (region), and is located approximately 120 km south-west of Warsaw.

As Figure 1 (in the Appendix) presents, the territory of Poland is divided into 16 voivodeships (regions<sup>3</sup>); these are further divided into 380 powiats (counties), and these in turn are divided into 2,478 gminas (municipalities). Major cities like Łódź usually have the status of both municipality and county. Since the transition starting in 1989, Polish cities have gained greater independence from the state, which was followed by the establishment of territorial governments. Regions are mainly responsible for planning and supporting long-term development. Since 2007, regions are exclusively responsible for the distribution of a significant amount of EU cohesion policy funds. Counties provide public services (e.g., health, secondary education, and public safety) that are exceeding the capacity and possibilities of municipalities. The municipalities, on the other hand, provide the basic public services.<sup>4</sup>

As mentioned above, Łódź is located in the Łódź voivodeship, which has been experiencing relatively significant population decline due to the negative natural growth and migration balance, which especially affects the youth and skilled professionals according to the Polish Central Statistical Office (see more details in Table 1, in the Appendix). This population loss is coupled with an ageing population in the region and a high mortality rate (the highest in the country), which results in low life expectancy. Although the problem is well-recognized, there no systematic policy addresses this issue as of yet. Within the region, Łódź's position is outstanding in a negative sense, which cannot be solved without the revitalization of the city (OECD, 2013).

The development of the textile industry and the associated demographic changes were the main factors that have been shaping the urban space of Łódź. The city's historical development has a profound impact on its current problems. The period of dynamic development of Łódź as an industrial city ended in the 1980s with the collapse of the textile market and the liquidation of large state-owned factories in the 1990s. The decline of the textile industry and the beginning of outsourcing manufacturing to Asian countries after Poland's political transformation have contributed to the shrinking population of Łódź (the city has lost 180,000 residents since 1980). The ongoing ageing and depopulation of Łódź is a major challenge for the future development of the city, putting strain on the social infrastructure and social,

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<sup>3</sup> The voivodeships in Poland have their own elected self-government, but they are also units of central administration. In their self-governing functions the voivodeships are responsible for creating and implementing spatial plans and development plans. On the other hand they do not have special roles in the domains of housing, education, employment or social protection.

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.oecd.org/regional/regional-policy/Decentralisation-and-multi-level-governance-in-Poland.pdf>

educational, and medical services. The local municipality recognizes the salient problem of shrinkage and endeavours to develop an urban management model in synergy with the closely located capital Warsaw (Szpakowska-Loranc and Mausik, 2020).

Łódź is no longer a city of industrial monoculture specialized in textile, although the light industry still plays a major role in the local economy (cotton, knitting, clothing and wool). Another specialization is the electromechanical industry (electrical and textile machines as well as medical and measuring equipment). Other important branches of the local industry are significant domestic plants in the energy, chemical, food (brewing and spirits), printing and construction sectors. About 25% of the workforce is employed in industry and construction (2019), while 34% in administration and public services.<sup>5</sup> The economy of the city is still based on the cheap labour force, providing employment for low-qualified workers, but lacking opportunities for the highly qualified workforce. The city leadership makes constant efforts to 'rebrand' the city to a knowledge, advanced technologies, innovation, and creativity based hub, but these efforts seem not to be successful as of yet.<sup>6</sup> Still, this objective seems to shape of the national and international perception of the city: Łódź is well-known for being the home town of 19 higher education facilities, and offering a wide range of cultural events such as the Expo, artistic events, and film and music festivals (Szpakowska-Loranc and Mausik, 2020).

Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita in Łódź has been continuously increasing over the past years. In 2014, the GDP per capita was 124.6% of the per capita GDP for the country, in 2016 122.6%, and in 2018 128.3%. This rate is lower than that of other big cities in Poland (like Warsaw, Wrocław, Poznań, or Krakow), but still above the national average; and it is stagnating rather than decreasing. As one of the interviewees expressed: *'Łódź is the poorest big city in Poland'*.

The decline of industrial production, privatisation and the liquidation of certain parts of the industry contributed to the deficient spatio-economic cohesion of Łódź, which was only later realized, when revitalization of the inner parts of the city has begun. Persistently socially marginalized areas – known as poverty enclaves – are mainly located in the city centre.

Ethnic minorities and families with a migrant background have a very different connotation in Łódź than in big Western European cities: outmigration is the relevant trend (primarily to the Łódź agglomeration and to Warsaw, Szpakowska-Loranc and Mausik, 2020)). Only 0.16% of the inhabitants in the region stated to have other than Polish nationality (Census, 2011). On the other hand, the official statistics do not take into account as inhabitants persons who hold a temporary residence permit and came to Poland for work. In Łódź region alone there are an estimated 80,000 temporary workers mainly from Ukraine, Belarus and Vietnam, employed in the construction and retail sectors.

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<sup>5</sup> Local Data Bank

<sup>6</sup> Interview with researchers at the Institute of Sociology of the University of Łódź

Łódź Functional Urban Area does not formally exist in the Polish administrative and legal system. The lack of a formal legal basis also means a lack of statistical data for this area as a whole. The available statistical data concern either the entire Łódź region (voivodeship) or the city of Łódź itself. When considering the area of Łódź and its surroundings in terms of functionality, we can recognise several dependencies and connections, especially between Łódź and its neighbouring counties: Zgierski, Brzeziński, Pabianicki and Łódzki Wschodni (Bartosiewicz, 2016).

## 2 Findings

### 2.1 Education

#### 2.1.1 National trends and policies

Poland is one of the best performers in Europe in terms of effectively preventing early school leaving. Since 2001, when data was first published on Poland by the Eurostat, there has been a systematic improvement in this area. In 2001, the ELET<sup>7</sup> index in Poland was 7.1%, which declined until the financial crisis in 2008, followed by a slight increase, after which it started to decline again from 2012, and decreased to 5.2% in 2019. In recent years the rate of early school leaving has stabilized at a still lower level of approx. 5%. At the same time, a closer analysis of the group of young people aged 18-24 in Poland with low educational attainment (lower secondary school at most) who are not participating in education or vocational training indicates challenges for education and social policy. Most of these people are unemployed, and the unemployment rate in this group is clearly higher than the European Union average for the same demographic group.

According to the 2011 National Census, 23.5% of the population had a degree in higher education. The share of the population with tertiary education (ISCED 5-8) has increased from 15.7% (in 2007) to 28.2% (in 2019). In 2011 3.4% had post-secondary, 17.8% general secondary and 18.7% secondary vocational education.

In October 2018, UNICEF published the report 'An Unfair Start. Inequality in Children's Education in Rich Countries' (UNICEF, 2018), which found that the gap between the best and the worst reading scores of 15-year-old children in Poland is among the smallest in Europe, which places the country among the international leaders regarding equality in education for students at the age of 15. Also, the family background (occupation of parents) has low influence on the reading skills of students in both primary and secondary education. Consequently, the education system up to the end of secondary education acts as a social equaliser in Poland. On the other hand, there is a huge gap in the expectations of 15 years old about completing tertiary education. 60% of students with high professional status parents declared an intention to complete tertiary education, compared to only 39% among the children of parents with low professional status. This gap is the largest among all the surveyed countries, which indicates that the inequality gap widens when tertiary education is considered.

The general performance of the Polish education system is considered high quality. In the PISA 2018 study, compared to the previous edition of 2015, Polish students achieved better results in all the areas studied: reading comprehension, mathematical reasoning and reasoning in

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<sup>7</sup> Early Leavers from Education and Training

natural sciences. In all three areas covered by the study, the results of Polish students were above the OECD average, and are among the world's best (10<sup>th</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup> position globally). Nonetheless, there is a noticeable difference between advantaged and disadvantaged students (in terms of socio-economic status); moreover, 12% of the variance in reading can be explained by socio-economic status (OECD, 2018). Poland is among the countries with a more inclusive education system, with a low proportion of poor achievers and a relatively small gap between low and high achieving students (Eurydice, 2020).

The Polish education system has been reformed many times over the last two decades. The most significant reform was carried out in 1999. The most important element of this reform was the decentralization of public education, which practically meant that besides a redesigned national core curriculum, the decision on pedagogic methods and tools were left to teachers and schools. Under the administrative reform introduced at the same time, the operation of schools was transferred to local governments. It was then decided that counties would run upper secondary schools, while communes (municipalities) will maintain primary and lower secondary schools. As a result of the reforms, only the education policy of the entire state is prepared and implemented centrally, while the management of education and the management of schools, kindergartens and other educational institutions is decentralized.

These reforms have brought the country's educational outcomes among the best in Europe. Decentralization was to be accompanied by the democratisation of education, including the transfer of decision-making powers to the local community, primarily to parents and residents of a given region (e.g., citizens were to co-decide whether a given school should be closed down or maintained, they could request the local government authorities to dismiss an ineffective headmaster etc.). This co-decision power of parents remained in place until 2017, when it was limited by increasing the role of government intermediaries in the local education system.

Despite the promising PISA results, there were shortcomings as well, such as students' difficulties with basic competences, which led to another reform by the Ministry of Education in 2008. This affected students in vocational schools and pre-school education (see Figure 2 in the Annex). Following the recent reform of education in 2016, the system of primary schools (6 years) and lower secondary schools (3 years) were unified to an 8 year primary school. After graduation, students can choose a secondary school track: secondary grammar schools (4 years), technical schools (5 years) or vocational training (3 year)<sup>8</sup>. (The applications of primary school graduates in Łódź between these three types was 76%, 35% and 5% respectively for 2021/2022, showing extensive interest in secondary grammar schools.) Students are obliged to stay in education until the age of 18. The aim of the 2016 education reform was to 'raise

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<sup>8</sup> First-cycle industry schools were launched in the Polish education system on 1 September 2017, replacing the previously operating vocational schools.

the level of education', but in practice it was mainly of an administrative and organizational nature.

Public education has the highest share in the system. In total, in Poland in the 2019/20 school year, there were 8,713 non-public kindergartens, primary schools, high schools and technical schools. They constitute more than a quarter of all education institutions in Poland. Even if public education is free of charge from kindergartens to universities, all extra-curricular activities (apart from programmes that apply to all students) are additionally paid by the parents, which creates social inequalities. In primary education 84.6% of the pupils attended in public schools in 2018/19. Funding is generally equal among public and non-public entities; non-public schools can also receive public funding either from the municipality or the county, or directly from state budget.<sup>9</sup>

As regards the general rules against school segregation in primary schools, zoning is obligatory, the school must admit all students from a given district to promote equal opportunities. The parents also do not have free choice of primary school (although more affluent parents tend to find their ways around this rule). On the other hand, the distribution of children between classes can lead to segregation in primary school. In some schools the board prefers having the same 'level of difficulty and opportunity' for each class. Therefore, they unconsciously strive to ensure that each class has children with different socio-economic backgrounds. In other schools, the divisions are based on the preferences of parents who want, for example, for the child to continue education in the environment of children he knows from kindergarten, or children who live in the immediate vicinity. The results of the research on teachers' behaviour showed a fairly obvious correlation: in schools with a low segregation rate, teachers attach more importance to the equalisation of education. Conversely, where the segregation rate is the highest, teachers feel that the school should have the right to make selections according to its own criteria (Woźniak, 2014).

In Polish politics, the priority is to improve the quality and increase the attractiveness of vocational education as an ELET prevention strategy. Systemic changes are being introduced in the field of vocational education, including individualized approach focused on the student (counselling, mentoring, individual learning plans and paths, the so-called case management); increasing the attractiveness and flexibility of education; adjusting vocational school curricula to the needs of the labour market; and introducing short courses for adults.

### **2.1.2 Local trends and policies**

Łódź region has a considerable potential for offering high quality education; however, the relative closeness to Warsaw somewhat reduces its potential in the field of tertiary education.

Compared to the entire Łódź Voivodeship, the inhabitants of Łódź have a much higher level of education. The highest share of women living in Łódź completed higher education (24.7%)

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<sup>9</sup> [https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-policies/eurydice/content/organisation-private-education-56\\_en](https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-policies/eurydice/content/organisation-private-education-56_en)

or general secondary education (20.2%). Men tend to have a degree in higher education (22.0%) or secondary vocational education (21.1%). The NEET rate (aged 15 to 24) in the Łódź region was 7.6% in 2019, which is a significant decrease since its 2012 peak at 12.3%. Women are more likely to be NEET between age 15-24 (7% of young men and 8.3% of young women were NEET in 2019). According to the 2011 National census 15.5% of the inhabitants of Łódź attained basic vocational education and 16.7% have completed only primary education. 1.0% of the adult residents did not complete primary school.

The municipality of Łódź supervises educational and child care institutions in the city, i.e. nurseries, kindergartens, and primary, secondary general and special schools. It also supervises Psychological and Pedagogical Counselling Centres, including specialist clinics: Vocational Counselling and Counselling for Children with Developmental Defects, Development Support and Therapy. The role of the central government in education is to set the requirements regarding the content, while the local authorities (such as Łódź) maintain the infrastructure. From its own resources the city may provide extra services, such as classes on violence or drug prevention.

As Łódź is a regional centre, it provides educational services not only for locals but also for people living in its approximately 50 kilometres radius. Consequently, the secondary schools have dormitories. There are also sufficient dormitory facilities for university students, so they do not generate significant pressure on the private rental market.

In 2018, there were 218 kindergartens in Łódź, accommodating 21,707 small children (10,586 girls and 11,121 boys). There were 22,974 places available, which shows that the capacity for kindergartens is sufficient. 19.1% of children and young people (aged 3-24) in Łódź are in the 3-6 year-old age group, i.e. in pre-school education (18.9% among them are girls and 19.3% are boys). Out of 1,000 children in preschool age, 961 attend pre-school institutions. There are 0.72 pre-school children per one place in pre-school education institutions.

There are 65 secondary grammar schools in Łódź, with 14,469 students (8,054 women and 6,415 men) studying in 556 classes. In 2018, 3,982 graduates were registered. For comparison, in 2008 in Łódź, there were 87 general secondary schools with 20,586 students (11,013 women and 9,573 men) in 784 classes. This means that both the capacity and the demand for secondary grammar education is falling sharply. There are 29 technical schools in Łódź, where 7,000 students (2,523 women and 4,477 men) studied in 321 classes. For comparison, in 2008, there were 25 technical schools in Łódź, where 5,300 students (1,630 women and 3,670 men) studied in 224 classes, which shows the growing interest for specialised education.

Addressing social inequalities within and between schools is not in the focus of local policy making. There are no local data published on early school leavers or other performance indicators.

As regards students affected by social vulnerability, there is a substantial scholarship programme. The right to financial assistance of a social nature is granted to students of public schools, private and non-public art schools with the rights of public art schools and students

of colleges for social service employees who live in the City of Łódź (regardless of their place of education) until they complete their education, but only until the age of 24. The basic condition for a student to receive a school scholarship is the difficult financial situation of the student, resulting from low income per person in the family, in particular when the family is affected by unemployment, disability, severe or long-term illness, many children to support, lack of ability to fulfil care and educational functions, alcoholism or drug addiction, *force majeure*, and/or the family is incomplete. The monthly income per person in the applicant's family may not exceed net PLN 528 per month (app. EUR 116). The amount of scholarship depends on the family income, but it ranges from 21-49 EUR/month. In 2020 1,240 students benefited from this scholarship programme, but as the interviewees indicated, the number of beneficiaries has been constantly decreasing (two years ago it was 2,500) as the average income level of families has increased, and also because the eligibility thresholds are not indexed properly.

The special programmes of the city also concentrate on keeping highly educated students in the city. For this reason there is a programme called "Młodzi w Łodzi" (The Youth in Łódź Programme), which has been providing internships and an internship portal, paid holiday internships, scholarship programmes, free training, company visits, or a discount card since 2008. It is implemented by the Office for Economic Development and International Cooperation of the City of Łódź Office in cooperation with the largest universities and over 300 companies in Łódź. Also, there is an art scholarship programme that supports the artistic development of the candidates and covers the implementation of the projects they have created. The scholarships are awarded in the following fields: visual arts, design arts, movie, theatre, music, dance, literature. In the academic year 2021/2022, the programme's founders are offering students 18 scholarships up to PLN 1,000 (220 EUR) per month, 4 dormitory places, English, Russian and German language courses, as well as a Business English course for 45 people.

There is a special division at the city hall of Łódź called 'Plenipotentiary for children and youth at the Mayor of the City', which monitors the problems related to children and youth, and has a coordinating and educating role in this field.

## 2.2 Employment

### 2.2.1 National trends and policies

The employment rate of population aged 15 or more has been increasing for both genders, although the rate of women lags behind that of men. In 2017 the rate for women was 45.8%, while for men it was 62.2% (compared to 43.4% and 58.9% in 2011; Statistical Office of Poland, 2018). The registered unemployment rate in Poland systematically decreased from 2013 (14.2% in January) to 2020 (5.5% in January) thanks to the overall economic recovery that occurred all over Europe after the financial crisis. The unemployment rate is often higher among working aged females than males: in 2019 it was 3.1% among men and 3.8% among women. The youth unemployment rate (aged 15-29) fluctuates approximately in line with the

unemployment rate of the entire population. The highest value of this indicator was recorded in the first quarter of 2003 (46.5%), and the lowest in the first quarter of 2020 (8.7%).

In 2014 Poland had the highest proportion (27%) of temporary workers in dependent employment among all EU countries. Temporary work in dependent employment (a form of semi self-employment) is a common feature independently of the type of the sector, gender, age and educational level of the employees. The job quality was systematically lower among temporary workers than permanent workers (Lewandowski et al. 2017).

The financial crisis had a limited impact on Poland in terms of GDP (Poland was among the few countries that did not experience a significant drop in GDP), but had a severe effect on the unemployment rate. Up until 2014 the unemployment rate stayed high and then began to drop.

Poland was able to recover from the Covid pandemic at a much faster pace.<sup>10</sup> Currently, after the third wave of the pandemic (and before the fourth) the labour market is stable and has not responded to the crisis to the extent many had anticipated. After the deep slump in 2020, the labour market has already returned to its pre-pandemic state and has been steadily gaining momentum for several months. 307,500 job offers were published in July 2021, which is not only higher than in 2020, but even comparable to that of July 2019, when 303,800 job offers were published. Nonetheless, 14.9% of all job losses were still caused by the pandemic in the second quarter of 2021 (Statistics Poland, 2021).

The NEET rate (for young people aged 15 to 29) was 14.4% in 2007, which increased to 15.7% by 2012, after the financial crisis. The recovery seems to have successfully reduced the rate to a lower level than it was before 2008, to 12.0%. The NEET rate has always been substantially higher in case of women than men. This is partially the result of the still predominant normative approach on the functioning of families: women are expected to fulfil the caregiving roles.

It is important to mention that while young women are overall better educated than young men, according to a recent OECD report, gender gaps persist in labour market outcomes. Although the gender payment gap at median earnings, for instance, is one of the lowest in the OECD countries (10%), women spend two and a half hours more daily on unpaid work than men (OECD, 2020).

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<sup>10</sup> Due to the pandemic, crisis relief and stimulus packages were implemented under which companies could receive financial support, provided that the level of employment is maintained. Actions aimed at reducing unemployment during the crisis include exemption from contributions to the Social Insurance Institution (ZUS) for 3 months; standstill benefit for entrepreneurs whose revenues have decreased; low-interest (or non-repayable) loans for entrepreneurs; co-financing of employee salary costs; revolving loans for the payment of wages and salaries; cancellation of tax arrears; option to pay reduced tax advances; discounts on certain fees; payment in instalments; retail sales tax exemption; EU loans; and preferential financing from the Polish Development Fund. For those who lost their jobs, however, the unemployment benefit remained unchanged.

The unemployment benefit system, which is the most common passive labour market measure, has a limited impact due to its strict eligibility criteria (about 10-15% of registered unemployed receive it<sup>11</sup>) and its limited volume. An unemployed person can receive a financial allowance if there is no suitable job, internship, apprenticeship for adults, training or public work position available. In order for an unemployed person to be eligible for the benefit, he/she should also be employed for a total of at least 365 days during the period of 18 months immediately preceding the date of registration as jobseeker, and receive a remuneration of at least the minimum wage, from which there is an obligation to pay contributions to the Labour Fund (except for the specified exceptions). From September 1, 2020, the standard unemployment benefit amounts to PLN 1,240 (approx. EUR 270) per month for 90 days, and then PLN 974.40 (approx. EUR 210) per month during the next three months. Based on the time spent in the previous employment the unemployed person may get 80 to 120% of the standard unemployment benefit.

Active government measures to tackle unemployment include co-financing activation programmes (public works, activation of graduates, internships from the employment office); financing the training of the unemployed and jobseekers; supporting industry (liberalization of regulations, creation of special economic zones); subsidizing companies for creating new jobs; creating conditions for foreign investors (tax breaks); granting benefits; obtaining EU subsidies; and lowering the retirement age.

There are several ALMPs (Active Labour Market Programmes) targeting young unemployed people: 1) on-the-job trainings (Staż); 2) Classroom training (Szkolenie), 3) Wage subsidy (Prace interwencyjne); 4) Public works (Roboty publiczne); 5) On-the-job training voucher and classroom training voucher (Bon stażowy i bon szkoleniowy). In 2015-2016 altogether 220,000 young people participated in on-the-job training, while only 64,000 people in classroom training. The other three programmes were implemented on a much smaller scale (Madoń et al., 2021). According to an analysis, ALMPs only have a small, relatively short-term effect on young people's employment career. Among these programmes public works has a negative effect, especially on disadvantaged young people (YEpartnerSHIP, 2021<sup>12</sup>; Madoń et al., 2021). Besides this, on-the-job trainings seem to be the second less efficient among ALMPs, while classroom training vouchers seem to have more positive outcomes for young people (Madoń et al., 2021).

Most of the programmes for combating unemployment are financed from the Labour Fund. The fund exists since 1991, and has remained under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Labour. Its budget consists of compulsory contributions paid by employers and employees. These funds are distributed through County Labour Offices (PUP) in the form of unemployment benefits, intervention works, public works, training and retraining of the unemployed, career

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<sup>11</sup> Many people register for unemployment even if they are not eligible for unemployment benefit, in order to retain eligibility for free health care.

<sup>12</sup> <http://yepartnership.ibs.org.pl/content/uploads/2021/02/WP3-Policy-Brief.pdf>

development counselling, and the development of IT systems and labour market research. In recent years, activation programmes for the unemployed have also been co-financed from EU Funds, but these are also run mainly by County Labour Offices. The regional or local offices are implementing new programmes and projects, targeting mainly the most disadvantaged young people, funded under ESF through the Operational Programme Knowledge Education Development (OP KED) scheme in cooperation with other institutions and organizations (EC, 2017).

Outreach to the young unemployed is inefficient in Poland. For instance, only 26.2% of NEET youth were registered in any employment office in 2019, which means 2 out of 3 young people do not benefit from the support of employment offices. This varies across regions, from 19% to 35%. Łódź voivodeship's NEET rate is equal to the country average in this regard. A study carried out within the YEPARTNERSHIP project claims that employment office employees struggle with reaching out to economically most disadvantaged people (Smoter, 2021).

The Youth Guarantee (YG) scheme is coordinated by the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policy, in cooperation with the Ministry of Investment and Economic Development, Voivodeship Labour Offices, Voluntary Labour Corps, labour market partners and the National Development Bank. 75% of the activities implemented under the Youth Guarantee are funded by the Youth Employment Initiative (EU funds). The fund was available in regions where the unemployment rate of young people (aged 15 to 24) exceeded 25% in 2012. This meant 10 regions in Poland, including Łódź region (Youth Impact, 2020). The implementation of the Youth Guarantee scheme aims to improve the efficiency of implementation by individualised service provision, and by introducing new tools such as vouchers for training, employment, traineeships and relocation; start-up loans; and tripartite training agreements. It has been implemented in Poland since 2014, to tackle the consequences of the financial crisis on young people's employment (Smoter, 2021). YG concentrates on young people aged 15-29, especially NEET youth. Monitoring data shows weak longer term performance (only 23.1% of the participants were in an improved situation over 6 months after the programme, which is well below the EU average), but this is highly questionable due to the relatively high share of unknown data (EC, 2020).

### **2.2.2 Local trends and policies**

As mentioned in chapter 1, Łódź is a city with a light industry tradition, experiencing serious problems in the transition after the collapse of the socialist regime. The city did not recover perfectly from this economic collapse and was only able to create a new economic structure to a limited extent, even though Łódź is a university town and 'produces' highly qualified labour force. However, as Łódź is located in the proximity of Warsaw (1.5 hours by train), the internal 'brain drain' has a serious effect, resulting in the outmigration or commute of the most qualified labour force to the capital. The lower overall wage level is reflected in the average salaries. Even if Łódź is closing up to the country average (in 2008 the average salary in Łódź was 95% of that of the country, and grew to 99.9% by 2019), this rate is lower than that of other large Polish cities.

The city of Łódź also experienced the effects of the financial crisis: the number of registered unemployed reached 42,180 in 2013 (meaning a 12.3% local unemployment rate<sup>13</sup>). It has been decreasing since then; the number of registered unemployed was 16,917 in 2019 (4.8% unemployment rate), and 20,927 at the end of 2020. The unemployment rate fell below the national average by 2019, while the number of economically active people was constantly increasing – from 225,337 in 2013 to 251,496 in 2019 – which reflected the positive economic trends after the financial crisis.

The share of unemployed people under 30 in the total number of unemployed in Łódź at the end of 2019 dropped to 13.6%, the third lowest in the country, with a national average of 25.7%. Moreover, the rate of decline in unemployment in this age group was more dynamic in Łódź (-13.6%) than in Poland in 2018 (-10.8%). On the other hand, 2020 brought a reversal to this trend. At the end of December 2020, the number of unemployed under 30 was 15,131 people in the Łódź region, higher than at the end of December 2019 by 2,526 people (20%). At the same time, it should be emphasized that the number of the unemployed up to the age of 30 grew faster than the total number of the unemployed in the Łódź Region. This means that the Covid pandemic had a stronger negative effect on young people than on other age groups.

The most vulnerable groups among unemployed people are the lower educated (40.9% of the unemployed have lower secondary education as their highest educational attainment); pre-retirement age people (32.4% of the unemployed are over 50); and the long-term unemployed (54.3% of all unemployed). According to Eurostat,<sup>14</sup> Łódź voivodeship is among the regions the least affected by youth unemployment in Europe in 2020.

The implementation of active labour market policies is decentralised to the county level government offices. From 2007 there were several employment programmes financed from EU funds and implemented by the labour offices. There were programmes that combined internship training with contribution to salaries; and programmes to support the start-up of new businesses. In the 2007-2013 period about 4,000 young people were involved in these projects. In the 2014-2020 period 5,200 young people participated in different programmes, which extended the formerly applied measures with providing vouchers for relocation. Most of these interventions are considered as standard, and are applied all over the country. However, the local labour office has some room for manoeuvre to implement its own additional programmes, e.g., labour office workers visit school classes to present on

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<sup>13</sup> Most of the statistical information for this chapter was provided directly by the Łódź county labour office.

<sup>14</sup> [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Unemployment\\_statistics\\_at\\_regional\\_level#Regional\\_variations\\_in\\_youth\\_unemployment](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Unemployment_statistics_at_regional_level#Regional_variations_in_youth_unemployment)

entrepreneurship possibilities; they also set up a website in which they provide possibilities to visit companies and gain scholarships.<sup>15</sup> The office also organises job fairs and conferences.

The city hall (local municipality) does not have a clearly defined role in the subject of employment/unemployment policies; however, they are in constant consultation with the county labour office. Such initiatives for new actions, such as training programmes for unemployed people, can be required by local authorities from the national Employment Office.

## 2.3 Housing

### 2.3.1 National trends and policies

Poland traditionally has a housing shortage compared to the size of its population. However, the situation has improved recently, thanks to the increase in construction, and to outmigration from the country that affects more or less all regions of Poland. Due to this shortage, one of the main housing problems of Poland is overcrowded dwellings. Eurostat data indicate that the overcrowding rate in Poland in 2019 was at 37.6%, compared to the 17.1% EU average. In this respect, only 3 countries are worse off than Poland: Bulgaria, Croatia, and Romania. Also, the number of flats per thousand inhabitants is among the lowest in Europe, 392.3 in 2019, compared to 458 in Hungary or 514.9 in Germany.<sup>16</sup> In order to provide everybody with a dwelling, at least 200,000 new flats and houses should have to be built every year in the coming decade (2021-2030).

Housing costs (rent, maintenance, repair and so on) are the lowest in Poland among OECD countries. Similarly, the housing cost overburden affected 21.8% of the households in 2019, which is significantly lower than the OECD average (OECD, 2021).<sup>17</sup>

Poles value home ownership: as much as 84% of them live in owner-occupied housing. The remaining 16% is living in rented premises. For several years, there has been a downward trend in the share of municipal housing in the overall tenure structure. In 2011, municipal housing accounted for 8.7%, in 2015 6.3%, and in 2018 only 5.7% of the total stock. Flats belonging to other entities, like non-profit housing associations (TBSs), employers, and the State Treasury are invariably of a marginal importance in the housing stock, in total they constitute 1.4% of it. Residential mobility is lower than the OECD average: 10.43%, compared to 21.63%.<sup>18</sup>

Housing policies in Poland intend to improve the efficiency, inclusiveness and sustainability of the housing sector. The central government introduced several programmes for this end, which did not have relevant impact so far:

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<sup>15</sup> Information from the interview with the county labour office.

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.statista.com/statistics/867687/total-number-dwellings-per-one-thousand-citizens-europe/>

<sup>17</sup> <https://housingpolicytoolkit.oecd.org/www/CountryFiches/housing-policy-Poland.pdf>

<sup>18</sup> <https://housingpolicytoolkit.oecd.org/www/CountryFiches/housing-policy-Poland.pdf>

- 'Mieszkanie Plus' (Apartment Plus Programme) under the National Housing Programme.<sup>19</sup> The programme consists of two pillars: market and social. The market pillar is aimed at middle-class people who do not qualify for commercial mortgage, nor are eligible for social or communal housing, but can pay rent on a regular basis, which is determined based on market rates. Within this segment, it is possible to purchase the rental apartments after a certain time period. The social pillar is aimed at the less affluent, who are classified based on two categories: unmet housing needs, and low household income per family member. Within this pillar, there are preferential repayable financing for entities interested in the construction of apartments for limited rent, and non-repayable financial support from the state (these entities are mostly local governments). As part of the Apartment Plus programme, 11,900 apartments were built in Poland by the end of January 2021, compared to the planned 100,000.
- 'Mieszkanie na Start' (Starting Apartment programme). Within this government-run programme launched in early 2019, rent subsidy is granted for those whose income does not meet the threshold set for state-aid programmes in 2018. This programme aims to help households and incentivise investments in the construction of rental apartments.
- Towarzystwo Budownictwa Społecznego (TBS – Social Building Societies) are state-owned or private non-profit companies or cooperatives that were established from the resources of the National Housing Fund, and have the right to construct housing on land owned by local governments. The main task of the TBSs is the construction of affordable apartments intended solely for rent to natural persons. The tenants of flats in TBSs are people whose income is too high to be eligible for municipal housing, but at the same time too low to access mortgage credit or rent at market price. The premises in TBS buildings can only be used for residential purposes; tenants are not allowed to sublet or lease. On the other hand, the privatisation of the TBS stock is already undergoing, which leads to further decline in rental units. This programme has been operating since 1995.

There was an important programme for supporting home ownership for young people before 2016: 'Mieszkanie dla Młodych' (Housing for the Young), which was the successor of the 'Rodzina na Swoim' (Family's Own Home) (2007-2012), but the allocated budget fulfilling the open liabilities was expected to run out in 2021. Housing for the Young is a co-financing mechanism that was administered by the former Ministry of Infrastructure and Development. It targeted first-time home-buyers aged under 35 to support buying an apartment up to a pre-defined floor area. Families with at least 3 children received priority, for which reason it was

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<sup>19</sup> The National Housing Programme is a strategic and operative document that sets out the main directions for the implementation of the state's housing policy until 2030. It was adopted on September 27, 2016 by Resolution No. 115/2016 of the Council of Ministers. The programme defines the priorities of the state's housing policy and the basic tools for solving housing problems in Poland. The program provides solutions to involve the potential of the entire housing market, both public and private investors, in order to improve the availability of housing and improve living conditions.

considered a pro-family programme (OECD, 2016). The programme was implemented on a different scale in different cities because the fund was not equally allocated among the regions. For instance, in the first quarter of 2014, 80% of the purchased flats were supported under this programme in Łódź, which was the highest proportion among all big cities. The programme boosted demand by almost 39% within 2 years (Kirejczyk, 2015). Young people were only eligible for the programme if their income was between the seventh and eight income deciles.

On the lower end of the income scale, a significant portion of young people are not targeted by any housing policies. For instance, less than 20% of young people aged 25-34 are eligible for housing allowances and/or renting a municipally-owned social housing unit. Young adults with an income between the third and seventh decile are not targeted by any housing policy (OECD, 2016). This implies that housing inequality among young people is not addressed by national policy.

### 2.3.2 Local trends and policies

The imbalance between the housing demand and supply is less serious in Łódź than in other big cities of Poland. (The average number of inhabitants in Łódź is 1.82 per flat, compared to 1.83 in Wrocław, 1.89 in Krakow, and 1.96 in Poznań.<sup>20</sup>) In general, it is possible to find and afford a modest accommodation for most of the population, even though the students of the University of Łódź create extra demand (which is served mostly by dormitories<sup>21</sup>); however, the most vulnerable part of the population struggles with severe housing problems.

Local governments are major housing actors in Poland. They manage the local public housing stock, and they have a legal obligation to provide flats for those who have very low income but have no accommodation and/or are evicted from their homes. However, the local municipalities cannot solve these problems as quickly as they emerge: in Łódź, the waiting period for municipal housing is about 5 years, which means they cannot provide proper crisis management solutions. (In the last 5 years, the city has rented out over 2,300 social flats, of which approx. 1,500 are premises for people who were admitted by the court after eviction from the previously occupied apartment.)

In 1990, after the transfer of the state-owned housing stock to the municipalities, Łódź obtained 133,000 housing units, most of which were privatised to the sitting tenants. The Łódź Housing Policy 2020+ (Polityka mieszkaniowa Łodzi 2020+) programme, elaborated in 2012, reformed the issue of privatization. Since 2015, the municipality of Łódź has stopped the sale of apartments in buildings that are completely owned by local authorities. On the other hand,

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<sup>20</sup> Source: Local Data Bank of the Central Statistical Office

<sup>21</sup> In addition to these housing needs there is a somewhat hidden sector: the thousands of temporary workers live in workers' hostels.

privatization has been promoted in buildings where the share of public stock is less than 25%. Privatisation with a price discount is still ongoing (Ogrodowczyk, 2020).

There are 368,909 dwellings registered in the city of Łódź, of which 43,200 are in the ownership of the municipality, which is the highest share (11.7%) among the five biggest cities of Poland. These are mostly formerly state-owned housing units, as there are only 1,779 new council flats built by the city after 1990. Over 25,000 of the city's units are apartments in buildings which are 100% municipally owned, and over 17,000 are in mixed-ownership apartment buildings. From the 43,200 units the municipality intends to keep 39,000 in the long run.<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, according to the Local Data Bank of the Central Statistical Office for 2020, there were only 22,729 apartments in Łódź for which a municipal rental contract was signed. This means that about half of the municipal dwellings (47%) are in an extremely poor state of repair and are vacant. For instance, flats located in the downtown often lack basic sanitary equipment. Moreover, 47% of the flats are registered for demolition or major repair. These numbers clearly reflect the physical condition of the public housing stock.

The municipal flats have two major categories: 1) public housing and 2) social housing. The rent level of the first category is still below the market rate (appr. EUR 2.2-3/m<sup>2</sup>, while the market rent is about 4-8 EUR/m<sup>2</sup> per month). Social rental would cost about EUR 0.4/m<sup>2</sup> per month; however, these flats are in very poor technical conditions. From the 22,729 occupied dwellings, only 2,300 are rented out at a social rate.<sup>23</sup> In 2020, 7,597 households were on the waiting list for municipal housing in general, out of which over 7,000 people were waiting for a social rental, so the demand is substantial.

Besides the provision of social housing, the local municipality provides housing allowance granted for a period of 6 months to tenants of municipal, cooperative and private premises, if their monthly income does not exceed 30-40% of the national average salary (PLN 1,560-2,066), depending on the number of co-habitants. The national average salary in 2020 was PLN 5,167 (approx. EUR 1,140) per month.

The arrears in rent of people living in municipal apartments in 2019 amounted to approximately PLN 6 million (EUR 1,320,000) in Łódź. The debt was accumulated by 6,205 households (27% of all tenants). The overall debt pool has decreased recently, because debt collection became stricter despite the Covid-19 pandemic. Tenant with rent arrears can participate in a debt compensation programme. So far, about 500 people have paid off almost PLN 2.4 million (EUR 528,000) in arrears. This group includes both current and former tenants of municipal apartments.

The housing programmes of the municipality of Łódź, in the framework of the 'Housing Policy 2020+' strategy, put high emphasis on renovating the municipal building stock in the city

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<sup>22</sup> Interview with the housing department of Łódź.

<sup>23</sup> <https://dzienniklodzki.pl/nowa-spolka-miejska-zajmie-sie-mieszkaniami-komunalnymi-w-lodzi-zarzad-lokali-miejskich-sobie-nie-radzi-jaka-jest-polityka/ar/c1-15793292>

centre ('Mia100 Kamienic' programme) and supporting young people with higher education and income ('City of Students' programme).

Poverty enclaves emerged after 1989 in the downtown part of the city, mainly as a result of pauperization of the former employees of the liquidated state factories. Enclaves do not constitute large, spatially contiguous areas, and they do not coincide with the boundaries of the city districts. In the affected streets and areas, not all residents have low socio-economic status. The 'poverty enclave' can be several apartments in a single building, one tenement house, or a whole yard with outbuildings, attics, and basements. Otherwise, it could be a group of buildings on one street or at their intersection. The affected areas are clustered around the former peripheral railway, i.e., within the boundaries of historic Łódź from before the First World War. The ongoing reconstruction of the city centre is causing the invisible boundaries of the clusters to slowly shift, and their inhabitants are moving around, but remain within the city centre.

In the framework of the 'Mia100 Tenement House – Kamienic' programme the municipality has renovated 100 municipally owned housing blocks since 2011.<sup>24</sup> As a result of the renovations and restructuring, many social rental flats were unified and social tenants were relocated to the outskirts of the city, while new tenants moved in.<sup>25</sup> Between 2011 and 2014 PLN 200 million was invested. The programme is currently ongoing; PLN 10 million – appr. EUR 2.2 million – was allocated to its budget for 2021. The project was initiated originally by the municipality. It was further strengthened by using available EU funds since 2016 with the goal of revitalising 900 additional apartments and their urban environment. Although there is an interdisciplinary team working on the field closely together with the citizens so that the consequences of the process for the citizens would be as favourable for everyone as possible, social exclusion is seemingly unavoidable. As the rent is set centrally in the city, based on the comfort level of the flats, there are citizens who can no longer afford the rent after the renovation (higher comfort level), hence get excluded from the inner parts of the city. (More information on the renovation process is provided in chapter 3).

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<sup>24</sup> Interventions included thermal modernization, complete replacement or reinforcement of ceilings, demolition of shared toilets, renovation of facades, gates, and staircases. Often, renovated buildings require connection to district heating, and the modernization of plumbing and electrical installations. The project is not limited to buildings only; it also covers the development of public space in the real estate, which means the installation of new covering for courtyards, and the development of green areas around the living complex.

<sup>25</sup> After revitalization, the tenement house is no longer the same building. There are fewer flats with a larger floor area, and they are equipped with installations that improve the quality of life, but increase operating costs. Social housing is provided to people with very low incomes, and the housing supplement to the rent itself does not significantly increase their income. Life in a tenement house after revitalization is less affordable, and therefore most of tenants cannot return to their former home.

The 'City of Students' programme is an attempt to retain highly qualified students and graduates in Łódź by providing them with housing. Students and graduates of Łódź universities, after receiving the recommendation of the rector of the university and after presenting an employment certificate, may apply for renting an apartment in one of the buildings renovated under the 'Mia100 Tenement House' programme. Up to this point, the project has covered over 170 flats. The programme is very popular, since 2013 it has been offering young people mostly studios and two-room apartments with an average area of up to approx. 50m<sup>2</sup>. The rent for an apartment of this size is approx. PLN 10/m<sup>2</sup>/month, or approx. 2.2 EUR/m<sup>2</sup>/month.

Another programme is the 'STRYCH' project, which has been implemented since 2013 by the Office for Revitalization and Development of City Buildings in cooperation with the City Architect's Office. So far, 5 editions of the 'STRYCH' programme have been carried out, which addressed people who live in Łódź, do not have their housing needs met, and are ready to adapt the attic at their own expense. Under the programme, the future tenant will be reimbursed in rent reduction up to 80% of the costs incurred for the conversion of the attic into a dwelling. By 2016, a total of 39 properties with attics intended for adaptation have been selected for creating 76 apartments.

The city also cooperates with developers by providing them municipally owned plots for housing development, and getting a number units in the new condominiums. So far the municipality gained about 100 new units that it rent out for middle-income inhabitants.

## 2.4 Social protection

### 2.4.1 National trends and policies

Poland is considered to perform better than the EU average regarding the social inequalities regarding the difference between the richest and poorest 10% of the society (Gini index), and the at-risk-of-poverty rate (share of people with lower than 60% of the national median income). Both indicators have improved in the last years, and remained stable even at the time of the financial crisis. Other indicators measuring absolute poverty (e.g. material deprivation rate) place Poland close to the EU average. This indicator has improved substantially in the last 12 years as well (from approx. 17% in 2008 to below 5% in 2018).<sup>26</sup> The Ministry of Family and Social Policy reports that the extent of extreme poverty decreased to 4.2% by 2019, i.e., to its lowest level since 2007. It concerned practically all socio-economic groups. However, groups such as children, single parents, large families, households with disabled children, households with no work income, farmers and pensioners, as well as inhabitants of small towns and villages are considered to be at a higher risk for vulnerability.

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<sup>26</sup> Deliverable 1.3 of UPLIFT: Atlas of Inequalities.

The improving trends are mostly explained by the favourable economic environment. On the other hand, the social welfare system also had a substantial effect. 16.4% of the GDP was used for social protection in 2019 (EC, 2020). The social welfare system is tasked with tackling poverty, social exclusion, homelessness, unemployment, disability and many other issues that shape the difficult life situation of individuals, especially material conditions. Thus, the beneficiaries of social assistance include the homeless, the unemployed, the disabled, dependent people, the poor, the elderly, families and children, and victims of natural and ecological disasters. According to most experts,<sup>27</sup> the social system in Poland is an organisationally complicated, ineffective structure focused mainly on financial transfers, and less on providing efficient programmes for tackling complex social problems.

The Social Assistance System in Poland is regulated by the Law of 12 March 2004 on Social Assistance, and operated by a three-tier governance system with the cooperation of entities such as non-governmental organisations, churches, foundations and both legal and natural persons: 1) voivodeships – regional social policy centres; 2) counties – county family support centres; 3) municipalities and communes – social welfare centres.

- Municipal Social Welfare Centres (MOPS) operate in each local municipality, providing assistance in the form of social work, cash benefits, service and material support provision, and linkages to support centres;
- County Family Support Centres (in cities with county rights: municipal welfare centres) run social welfare homes, provide services for children in care, in social pre-school institutions (i.e. orphanages, emergency care centres) and in foster families;
- Regional Social Policy Centres deal with the coordination of social policy on the regional level, and supervise the implementation of the tasks of local municipalities, counties, and regional self-governments.

Formally there are three main types of services provided within the social assistance system:

- Permanent assistance in care institutions such as social welfare homes, care and pre-school institutions;
- Temporary assistance facilities, incl. community centres, support centres (i.e. day homes, emergency shelters, homeless shelters, community self-help homes for people with severe mental illness);

Financial and material assistance and services provided by social welfare centres.

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<sup>27</sup> E.g. <https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/default/files/2020-european-semester-country-report-poland-en.pdf>; <http://pospolita.eu/walka-z-bieda-wyzwaniem-rozwojowym/>; <https://praca.gazetaprawna.pl/artykuly/835656,pomoc-spoeczna-w-polsce-jest-nieskuteczna-bieda-jest-dziedziczna.html>

These different forms of support are funded from different sources, and run by different institutions. (According to experts this is one of the reasons of its ineffectiveness: a lack of clear division of roles and responsibilities within the whole system.)

There are three major types of cash benefits set by the Act of 12 March 2004 on Social Assistance:

1. Permanent benefit for those unable to work. The amount of the benefit cannot be lower than PLN 30 (cca. EUR 6.6) per month, and cannot exceed PLN 604 (cca. EUR 133) per month for a single person.
2. Temporary benefit for low income persons and families. The amount of the benefit cannot be lower than PLN 20 (cca. EUR 4.4) and cannot exceed PLN 418 (cca. EUR 92) per month.
3. Targeted benefit (including special forms of it) can be granted in justified cases, e.g. for clothing, necessary household items and so on.

In the case of cash benefits, the income threshold for eligibility for a single household is PLN 634 (cca. EUR 140), while in households with more people, income per person cannot exceed PLN 514 (EUR 113).<sup>28</sup>

In line with the attitudes of current conservative government of Poland, the welfare benefit system has a strong emphasis on families with children, providing different types of allowances for all children, and for families (specifically mothers) raising children. Family policies have been relying heavily on financial support since 2016, with the introduction of the Family 500+ programme and parental benefit. Along with this, the eligibility thresholds for family allowances were changed and the 'złoty for one złoty' family benefit was also introduced.

The Family 500+ programme was first introduced on 11 February 2016 in the State Aid for Child Support Act. This scheme is considered to be the most influential among all social programmes, although this has been highly debated. It provides PLN 500 (approx. EUR 110) per month for each child below the age of 18 without any set income threshold. This programme is perceived as a generous support programme, and has proved to successfully decrease the poverty rate of families with children since 2016; however, it did not fulfil prior expectations for increasing the fertility rate. The program supported 3.97 million children in 2.6 million families in May 2017 (Brzezinski, 2021). The outcomes of the amended and extended program in 2019 were interpreted on one hand as positive; on the other hand, a critical analysis claims that it may not be as successful as the overall spent state budget would imply (Krawczyk, 2021).

The 'Good Start' programme, introduced in 2018 and provided by the Ministry of Family and Social Policy, is considered to be another component of the comprehensive family policy in Poland. This programme provides PLN 300 (approx. EUR 66) for all students at the beginning

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<sup>28</sup> <https://archiwum.mriips.gov.pl/en/social-assistance/>

of the school year until age 20; or until age 24 for students with a disability. Similarly to the Family 500+ scheme, there is no income threshold.

There are other programmes targeted at creating new nurseries, and supplementary benefit forms for mothers raising at least four children.

#### **2.4.2 Local trends and policies**

With regard to the social protection system, the central government provides the framework and the financial resource, while the distribution and organisation is implemented on the local level. As one of the interviewees from the University of Łódź mentioned, *'social welfare is the most decentralized aspect of public policy in Poland, localized to local communities'*.

Still, the *'Strategy for the development of the city of Łódź 2030+'* does not devote almost any space to social issues, and does not address the most important social problems of the inhabitants. Although the living standards and the share of the financially stable lower-middle class have been increasing, and social indicators improved (e.g. the at-risk-of poverty rate was 15.2% in 2007, 13.4% in 2012 and 10% in 2019 in Łódź region, below the country average in all cited years), cases of extreme poverty persist, especially and most visibly in the segregated urban areas in Łódź.

Feminization is a significant phenomenon in Łódź compared to other Polish cities, thanks to the significant share of female workforce in the previously dominant textile industry, and also as a consequence of ageing, as women have higher life expectancy (Cudny, 2012). An important social problem in Łódź is the feminization of poverty, the phenomenon whereby girls and women are statistically more at risk of poverty than boys and men. According to the EIGE report in 2021, the at-risk-of-poverty rate was 17% among women and 16% among men in Poland (EIGE, 2021). The 'female' dimension of poverty results from a wide variety of factors, starting from the still very relevant share of low-paid work in the light industry, followed by the traditional roles in the family that put extra burden on women.

In 2020, 21,368 people were the clients of the local social service provider (3.1% of the local population), mostly single people with very low incomes. The institution responsible for social support in the city is the Municipal Social Welfare Centre (MOPS), which implements the tasks specified in the Act on Social Assistance. MOPS supervises the foster care system, nursing homes and educational and care centres, facilities for elderly, day-care homes, community centres, and adaptation centres. It evaluates applications and issues administrative decisions on granting social assistance benefits. It implements decisions in the field of financial and material aid as well as in the form of care services. MOPS completes the documents for placing a person in a social care home. It acts as an intermediary in subsidizing the provision of orthopedic equipment and aids to disabled people.

The local welfare centre targets two major groups of beneficiaries with their services: people in severe material deprivation (mainly living in the city centre, which is under rehabilitation), and the elderly, because of the ageing of the city population. As it was pointed out by one of

the interviewees from the social welfare centre, *'our clients do not want to benefit from our activation services, they rather complain about their housing situation'*.

Some of the activities of the Municipal Social Assistance Centre are delegated to NGOs. There are several NGOs in the field of elderly care (e.g. House of Alzheimer patients), foster care, or social assistance. These NGOs are able to obtain EU funds directly. As an example: 'currently, about 20,000 people benefit yearly from the help of the church charity Caritas. This number has not changed for several years. On the other hand, the structure of the beneficiaries has changed. Families with children have almost completely disappeared from the group of Caritas clients, which clearly is the result of the 500+ Programme. On the other hand, the number of single chronically ill people in need of money for medicines is growing faster and faster'. (Interviewee from the welfare centre)

As previously mentioned, social policy is not specifically a priority for the local municipality. An example of a programme for the problem of homelessness (affecting around 2,000 people in Łódź): the city responded with delivering hot meals by a bus in wintertime. According to experts, this is only a charity action that actually preserves the state of homelessness, and does not solve the problem itself. Recently, a bathhouse for the homeless has also been opened, which is a similar way of thinking – it perpetuates, rather than solves, the phenomenon.

Formally, most of the allowances (targeted, temporary, permanent, housing) are distributed by the Municipal Social Welfare Centre, while in some of the cases the benefit depends exclusively on the central level. For instance, the city does not have any influence on the amount of the temporary benefit. The City Council would have the authority to raise the amount of, for example, the targeted benefit, but it does not do so; it rather points to central government authorities that do not transfer sufficient funds. The city authorities follow the provisions of the Social Welfare Act to the extent of the applicable minimum.

### 3 Innovative post-crisis policies

The following chapter shows an example of a public led inner city revitalisation programme that we consider innovative in certain aspects. Although there are many revitalization programmes happening across Poland and Europe, this one stands out thanks to its innovative elements with regard to the tailor-made approach implemented in the process: communication and cooperation with the local residents, and the aim to achieve socially heterogeneous communities in buildings and in the residential area. We have to emphasize however that not all aspects of the revitalisation process can serve as a good practice – e.g. many of the former residents cannot afford to return to their home due to the increase in rents and housing costs after renovation. It is also important to emphasize that the revitalisation process and its innovative components do not have a specific youth focus; but they do have elements that have a strong impact on vulnerable young people, like the inclusion of youngsters coming from foster care, or the establishment of youth and backyard clubs.<sup>29</sup>

The city centre of Łódź consists mainly of old tenement houses, built around the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century or at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This means that the buildings are in an obsolete technical condition, often lacking basic sanitary installations. The renovation of the building stock as described in the 'Mia100 Tenement House – Kamienic' strategic plan was not only about renovating the buildings, but also revitalization, thus creating and bringing new functions in the inner city of Łódź. It emphasized close cooperation between the inhabitants of degraded buildings and local communities, some of which have been called by Łódź sociologists as 'enclaves of poverty'.

The renovation process has been implemented since 2011, but it was modified and further expanded through an EU supported revitalisation programme from 2016. The national legal framework for this process was included in the Revitalization Act of 9 October 2015. One of the most important elements of this Act is the declared endeavour manifesting in certain tools to involve local communities in the process. According to the Act the municipalities have to designate Special Revitalization Zones, which allows special measures, such as the possibility for the commune to grant subsidies to owners for the renovation of buildings. According to the provisions of the Łódź Municipal Revitalization Programme, the total value of revitalization projects in the city will be almost PLN 3,700,000,000 (EUR 814 million) between 2017 and 2026. The implementation of the programme receives financial support from European Funds.

The revitalisation area of Łódź covers 1,783 ha, i.e. over 6% of the total area of the city, and is inhabited by approximately 22% of its population, i.e. over 152,000 people. There are about 10,000 properties in the central area of Łódź. Only 9% of the residential buildings in the revitalisation area are owned exclusively by the city, and it has partial ownership in another 15%, the vast majority of which requires major renovation. Reconstruction activities in the city

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<sup>29</sup> <https://urbact.eu/transfer-story-%C5%82%C3%B3d%C5%BA-birmingham-toulouse-three-paths-mediation>

centre are divided into 20 areas with separate regeneration sub-projects. Comprehensive activities cover entire city blocks, and involve not only the thorough renovation of buildings and surrounding public spaces, but also the creation of new roads, bicycle lanes and green areas.

The renovation process also endeavours to tackle local social issues, both those in the revitalized areas and the newly emerging ones resulting from the revitalization process. For this end, new employees were hired at the city hall: 'area managers' (8 people) and 'personal managers' (8 people). These officials work in the field, directly with the residents. Their task is to support residents in solving various types of problems, e.g. housing, family issues. The so-called 'community lighthouse keepers' form a support network composed of various institutions and organizations, such as the social welfare centre, the police, the employment office, which are able to respond to the various problems and needs of residents. Problems are diagnosed in the field, through conversations with residents. Cases requiring intervention are also reported by the area owners and the neighbours of people in need of support.

The Revitalization Office also supports entrepreneurs who will have to transfer their business or encounter difficulties due to the revitalization.

One of the goals of the revitalization process is to make the environment youth friendly. Thus, young people living in the revitalization areas are affected by the renovation, but are also involved in the new youth centres and clubs. Another issue related to young people is wide spread drug use and trafficking in the area. Experts hope that the revitalization efforts can help curb these issues.

### **Examples of revitalization projects:**

#### 1) 79 Sienkiewicza Street: Daily Residence for Seniors.

There are 4 council flats, 1 protected flat for people with physical disabilities, and 10 art studios in the building. In addition, a room for physical activity was created on the ground floor with one completely glazed wall, massage chairs and exercise bikes, and a club room with a piano. A spacious common dining room was created on the first floor. On the 2<sup>nd</sup> floor, a fully equipped, modern kitchen and food storage rooms were equipped. On the top floor, a common room and a big terrace were made.

#### 2) 142 Piotrkowska Street:

The building was completely renovated and connected to the heating network. On the ground floor of the building there are commercial premises, including one adapted for running a restaurant or café. The first floor and part of the ground floor is converted into a Daily Residence for Persons with Disabilities. An elevator was installed in the building to make it wheelchair accessible. There are apartments on the upper floors, each equipped with a bathroom and a kitchen or kitchenette. The backyard was also reconstructed. A terrace was added to the building for the Daily Residence, which is also a roof for part of the courtyard. The old farm buildings were demolished. New concrete covering and a terrace board were laid

in designated places. There garden was also redesigned with flowering plants, shrubs, trees and climbing plants. The building includes 9 council flats, 3 commercial premises, and a Daily Residence for Persons with Disabilities.

### 3) 39 Kilińskiego Street:

After the renovation of the apartment building at 39 Kilińskiego Street, part of the building was retained for apartments, and part was converted into creative and service premises. An elevation with windows and balconies was created on the previously windowless gable wall. An elevator and a main entrance from the street level were also installed. An attic was added to the outbuilding. The building was connected to the municipal district heating network. Trees and climbing greenery were planted in the yard. The market was developed on the corner of Jaracz and Kiliński Streets. The roof of the market was replaced with an Art Nouveau style steel structure, and the place was equipped with a sanitary point. The building includes 7 council flats, 1 protected flat for people with physical disabilities, 2 creative studios, and 3 service premises.

The revitalized buildings have various social functions, which is a positive development. However, most of the former residents either do not want to or cannot afford return to their former apartments due to the rent increase. The revitalization of buildings in the city centre is carried out in part to improve the living conditions of the poorest inhabitants, but also to improve the image of the city. The result of these activities is inevitably gentrification, as most of the poorest inhabitants have to move outside the programme area. This, of course, does not detract from the value of this programme for the city, but it undermines its social character.

On the other hand, the personalised approach of communicating with the residents is a locally new and innovative approach. The city has recognised that there is a need to find the proper language and create trust in the local community. The employees of the Rehabilitation Office knocked on every door and made personalised interviews with all residents to find out what their problems and future visions were. The methodology (e.g., representatives of different disciplines visit residents in pairs, and define area-based and person-based responsibilities) was developed locally. So even if the rehabilitation cannot be called 'social', it may at least be called 'humane'.

## 4 Discussion and conclusions

As described in chapter 1 and 2, the economic performance of Łódź is much weaker than that of other Polish cities of similar size, mainly due to its mono-functional industrial past, from which it was not able to recover properly after the collapse of the socialist system. The employment structure of the city is still based on the comparative advantage of low wages, but it is partly offset by the low unemployment rate.

The economic boom after the financial crisis of 2007-2013 resulted in decreasing poverty, and although this was temporary curbed by the Covid pandemic, the Polish and the local economy seems to be recovering by mid-2021. The employment statistics follow similar trends: unemployment dropped to 4.8% in 2019, increasing somewhat in 2020, and then decreased again in 2021. The young generation does not seem to be among the most vulnerable on the labour market, and can also benefit from a wide range of active employment programmes.

The relative economic weakness of the city and the outmigration of the population is reflected on the housing market, where demand seems to be less pressing than in other large Polish cities. In addition, the local municipality is the biggest landlord on the local housing market (owning approx. 12% of the housing stock); however, only about half of the public stock is rented out due to its very poor overall physical state. Consequently affordable housing is available for most of the young population, except for those living in generational poverty (the waiting list for social housing includes 7,000 families).

The education system produces good outcomes, such as the outstanding PISA results, a low rate of early school leavers, and also the relatively equalizing nature of the overall school system. The city of Łódź is an important regional and national hub of education thanks to its secondary schools and to the University of Łódź with its approx. 26,000 students. Since the education system in general seems quite efficient, and also due to political considerations, no substantial measures against social inequalities are officially identified on either the national or the local level (e.g. second chance programmes, special courses, innovative methods to increase basic competencies).

All these facts indicate that despite some economic problems, social inequality in the city is relatively low, with a stable lower-middle class that has an improving quality of life. Most of the welfare services (education, housing, employment, social protection) are able to reach the 'less difficult' segment of vulnerable people. However, none of the welfare sectors have proper tools to address the most marginalised population with multiple difficulties.

There are marginalised social groups in the city, whose position has hardly changed in the last decade: first, families in generational poverty, mostly living in the downtown area in run-down municipal buildings; and second, a growing number of elderly people with low pensions, whose living conditions are not a priority for the national welfare policies that rather focus on families with children.

The city municipality does not have a clear social policy direction – social issues are hardly mentioned in its strategic documents. The programme that has the biggest impact on the life of marginalised communities is the inner-city revitalisation process, which focuses on the improvement of the physical condition of the buildings and the public spaces; still, it also has a social orientation through seeking tailor-made solutions for all families that are moving out or into the area.

Most of the policies that are relevant from a social perspective (employment, housing, social protection, special education programmes against inequalities) are financed from EU funds in Poland, and Łódź urban area is strongly benefiting from these. Thus the performance of the city with regard to social measures is somewhat independent of its economic performance, as it is mostly financed from central resources (except for housing).

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## Annex

Figure 1. Administrative divisions of Poland



Source: Statistical Office of Poland, 2020

Table 1. Population dynamics in Lodz

	Population 2007	Population 2012	Population 2019
Łódź	753,192	718,960	679,941
Out of which aged 15-29	157,542	127,260	89,357
Out of which aged over 65	127,471	133,497	162,084

Source: Central Statistical Office

Figure 2. Changes in the provision of preschool education

Age	3-4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Before 1999	Voluntary preschool with no government guarantees		*0*	Primary								
After 1999	Voluntary preschool with no government guarantees		*0*	Primary						Lower secondary		
Changes 2008 to 2015	Place guaranteed	Compulsory	Primary						Lower secondary		One year of common curriculum	
Since 2016	Place guaranteed		*0*	Primary school								

**Fig. 5** Changes in the provision of preschool education and compulsory education with the general curriculum (in green)

Source: Jakubowski, 2021

The table below contains data/indicators that are able to display social inequalities in a way that is the most comparable with other urban areas. Each urban report includes this data table, which is also intending to show not only the scale and dimensions of inequalities in the functional urban area of Lodz, but indicates also the scale of missing data that makes any comparative research difficult to implement.

	National data	Regional data (Łódzkie) NUTS2	City level data (Łódz)
Population in 2007	38,115,641	2,542,436 (2010)	753,192
Population in 2012	38,533,299	2,493,603 (2015)	718,960
Population in 2019	38,382,576	2,454,779	679,941
Population aged 15-29 in 2007	9,075,493	569,918	157,542
Population aged 15-29 in 2012	8,072,857	496,339	127,260
Population aged 15-29 in 2019	6,343,661	389,933	89,357
Gini index 2007	34	-	-
Gini index 2012	33	-	-
Gini index 2018	30.2	-	-
Gini aged 18-35	-	-	-
Average monthly available disposable income per capita 2007 (PLN)	894.51	872.78	-
Average monthly available disposable income per capita 2012 (PLN)	1,232.85	1,216.56	-

	National data	Regional data (Łódzkie) NUTS2	City level data (Łódź)
Average monthly available disposable income per capita 2019 (PLN)	1,768.65	1,750.05	-
At risk of poverty rate 2007, %	17.3	17.1	-
At risk of poverty rate 2012, %	17.1	19.1 (2011)	-
At risk of poverty rate 2019, %	15.4	14.3	-
At risk of poverty aged 15-29 2007, %	36.3	-	-
At risk of poverty aged 15-29 2012, %	27.7	-	-
At risk of poverty aged 15-29 2019, %	20.0	-	-
Share of households living in housing below market rent 2007, %	34.9	-	-
Share of households living in housing below market rent 2012,%	13.6	-	-
Share of households living in housing below market rent 2019,%	11.6	-	-
Share of municipally owned housing units 2007, %	9	11.66	20.4
Share of municipally owned housing units 2013, %	6.74	9.4	15.56
Share of municipally owned housing units 2018, %	5.75	7.88	12.3
Average housing price/average income 2007/2008	-	-	-
Average housing price/average income 2011/2012	-	-	-
Average housing price/average income 2019	7.7	-	-
Early leavers from education and training 2007 (18-24)%	5.0	4.9	-
Early leavers from education and training 2012, (18-24)%	5.7	7.1	-
Early leavers from education and training 2019, (18-24)%	5.2	3.9 (2018)	-
Share of inhabitants aged 15-64 with a maximum ISCED 2 education 2007, %	20.4	16.3	-
Share of inhabitants aged 15-64 with a maximum ISCED 2 education 2012, %	16.7	11.9	-

	National data	Regional data (Łódzkie) NUTS2	City level data (Łódz)
Share of inhabitants aged 15-64 with a maximum ISCED 2 education 2019, %	13.3	8.0	-
Enrolment into upper secondary school 2007, %	91.87	-	-
Enrolment into upper secondary school 2012, %	80.17	-	-
Enrolment into upper secondary school 2019, %	92.79	-	-
NEET youth aged 15-29 2007, %	14.4	13.6	-
NEET youth aged 15-29 2012, %	15.7	15.4	-
NEET youth aged 15-29 2019, %	12.0	10.9	-
Employment rate 2007, %	57.0	59.0	-
Employment rate 2012, %	59.7	61.0	-
Employment rate 2019, %	68.2	69.2	50.3
Unemployment rate 2007, %	9.8	9.3	-
Unemployment rate 2012, %	10.2	11.1	-
Unemployment rate 2019, %	3.4	3.7	3.3
Part time employed (% of total employment) 2007	21.94	-	-
Part time employed (% of total employment) 2012	23.49	-	-
Part time employed (% of total employment) 2019	25.66	-	-
Life expectancy 2007	Men: 71 Women: 79.7	Men: 68.7 Women: 78.7	Men: 68.0 Women: 77.9
Life expectancy 2012	Men: 72.2 Women: 81.0	Men: 70.6 Women: 79.8	Men: 70.4 Women: 79.1
Life expectancy 2019	Men: 74.1 Women: 81.8	Men: 72.5 Women: 81	Men: 72.8 Women: 80.6
Teenage birth rate 2007, %	15.94	-	-
Teenage birth rate 2012, %	14.33	-	-
Teenage birth rate 2019, %	9.8	-	-

## Sources:

Population: <https://lodz.stat.gov.pl/en/publications/folders/lodzkie-voivodship-in-figures-2021,2,12.html>

15-29: <https://bdl.stat.gov.pl/BDL/dane/podgrup/tablica>

Gini National data: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI?end=2018&locations=PL&start=2004&view=chart>

Income: from the statistical office's website: <https://bdl.stat.gov.pl/BDL/dane/podgrup/temat>

At-risk-of-poverty: National, ILC, ILC\_PEPS01: [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/ILC\\_PEPS01\\_\\_custom\\_1856252/default/table?lang=en](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/ILC_PEPS01__custom_1856252/default/table?lang=en)

National: Eurostat (SILC and ECHP surveys): <https://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/submitViewTableAction.do>

Regional: from the statistical office's website: <https://bdl.stat.gov.pl/BDL/dane/podgrup/temat>

Share of households living in social housing 2007. National: Eurostat, SILC [ilc\_lvho02].

Share of municipal housing stock: <https://bdl.stat.gov.pl/bdl/dane/podgrup/tablica>

Average housing price/income ratio

National: <https://www2.deloitte.com/content/dam/Deloitte/at/Documents/presse/deloitte-property-index-2020.pdf>

Early leavers. National: LFS, [edat\_lfse\_14] <https://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/submitViewTableAction.do>

Regional: LFS, [edat\_lfse\_16] <https://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/submitViewTableAction.do>

Educational attainment. National: LFS, EDAT\_LFSE\_03, 15-64 [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/EDAT\\_LFSE\\_03\\_\\_custom\\_1861575/default/table?lang=en](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/EDAT_LFSE_03__custom_1861575/default/table?lang=en)

Regional: LFS, EDAT\_LFSE\_04 aged 25-64! [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/EDAT\\_LFSE\\_04\\_\\_custom\\_1861155/default/table?lang=en](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/EDAT_LFSE_04__custom_1861155/default/table?lang=en)

Enrolment into upper secondary school. National: share of enrolled students at age 17

NEET rate. National: LFS [edat\_lfse\_20]: <https://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/submitViewTableAction.do>

Regional: LFS [edat\_lfse\_22]: <https://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/submitViewTableAction.do>

Employment rate. National and regional: LFS, LFST\_R\_LFE2EMPRTN [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/LFST\\_R\\_LFE2EMPRTN\\_\\_custom\\_1856181/default/table?lang=en](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/LFST_R_LFE2EMPRTN__custom_1856181/default/table?lang=en)

Unemployment rate. National and regional: LFS, LFST\_R\_LFU3RT  
[https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/LFST\\_R\\_LFU3RT\\_custom\\_1856193/default/table?lang=en](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/LFST_R_LFU3RT_custom_1856193/default/table?lang=en)

Part time employed (% of total employment) 2007. National:  
<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.PART.ZS?locations=PL>

Teenage birth rate: Adolescent birth rate (births per 1,000 girls 15-19). National:  
<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.ADO.TFRT?locations=PL>