LAYERS	CATEGORY DEFINITION	OPERATIONALISATION FOR WARSAW
LAYER 1 : City description and contextual information [since 1991]	**Text for this layer: Information as supporting texts or pop---up windows that will help us understand the changes that occurred in the course of the last 20 years while also highlighting the contextual specificities of each city, i.e. planning politics and informality.**	
(1) urban region	The boundary of the metropolitan area. Map at least two boundaries, in order to show that no single boundary can capture everything, as they depend on diverging perspectives, political agendas etc. The urban region has to be mapped on the online map, but is also represented and clarified in an extra map	The boundary of the urban region represents the administrative borders of the City of Warsaw. It conforms to the definition of the urban area suggested by the NMM project. Another delimitation is based on functional metropolitan area and based on comuting, economic, social and lifestyle indicators representing both flows and structure in it's spatial dimension.
(2) central areas	Parts of the city with high concentration of offices, shops, governmental institutions, as well as cultural or touristic venues. In large cities there may be several / many of these areas, in smaller cities perhaps only one or two. Indicators: presence of governmental, cultural and business institutions (power).	Delimitation of centre is partly based on the Warsaw Materplan study and partly on the functional definition of the CBD based on the concentration of the office space and real estate prices for office rental.
(3) Sub-centres	We suggest you concentrate on the most important ones (between one and perhaps 10 or so), in order to give some kind of structure to the map. Indicators: presence of governmental, cultural and business institutions (power)	Sub-centres are defined partly based on the Warsaw Master Plan delimitation, partly based on recent transformation of urban tissue. http://architektura.um.warszawa.pl/studium http://www.architektura.um.warszawa.pl/sites/default/files/files/zal_2_14_Rysunek_nr_14_uch_0.pdf
(4) Wealthy (extreme)	data: on income, wealth, unemployment, land and real estate values, segregation; observation on the ground: urban typology like urban villas or condominiums, luxury functions like exclusive shops, services	Wealthy areas have been divided into the 'old' and 'new wealth'. The so-called old wealth are areas traditionally inhabited by upper middle-class and upper class residents representing both gentry and the burgeois. This includes the old inner city villages such as Stary Żoliborz, Stary Mokotów, Saska Kępa, Stara Ochota, Sadyba. The new wealth areas are based on location of modern appartment houses and gated communities that are over 5 mln PLN (1,2 mln euro) per house or over 15 th. PLN (3,5 th euro) per square meter.

(5) Poor (extreme)	Indicative indicators that could be used if easily accessible and considered significant for each context: 1. data: on income, wealth, unemployment, land and real estate values, segregation // Observation: urban typology typical of social housing or informal building inhabited by poor people. If detailed data is available, you could also use an extra map to show wealth inequality	Poor areas in Warsaw are traditionally concnetrated in former industrial and working-class districts of Praga Północ and Wola. that is on sub-central areas located on East-West axis. Poor areas on this map have been identified based on social policy service reports regarding concentration of social risks and problems. These are measured in the absolute number of social intervensions such as social counsling, family allowance, domestic violence intervention, alimony funds, But also risks such as unemployment. http://politykaspoleczna.um.warszawa.pl/sites/politykaspoleczna.um.warszawa.pl/files/artykuly/zalaczniki/mapa_problemow_spolecznych_2012.jpg https://stat.gov.pl/files/gfx/portalinformacyjny/pl/defaultstronaopisowa/5850/1/1/raport_obszary_specjalne_gis_1.pdf
(6) Informal urbanisation	Urbanization outside the formal regulated masterplanning (e.g. slum, shanty---town or unregulated private urbanisations). Although a variety of different processes of informal urbanization exist in different historical and geographical contexts, it is often typified by illegal occupation of land, setting up of makeshift constructions and lack of basic public utilities like water supply, sewage, electricity etc. Informal urbanization usually takes place where large sections of the people are excluded from the mainstream economy and find neither work nor shelter, but it is also practiced by the elites operating in 'special tolerated regimes'. Informal urban processes lie on the borderline between legal and illegal; legitimate and illegitimate; authorized and unauthorized. This border is arbitrary and ever---shifting and is a site of power relations, state power and sometimes violence. Indicative indicators: 1. Data: about being outside the building regulations, urban plans or planning laws (lack of planning permission,); 2. observations on the ground: bad building conditions like risk of flooding, pollution, landslide, proximity to hazardous site, lack of public infrastructure, services, facilities, self---building).	Informal urbanization in Warsaw has various strands, and none of it fits well with the notion of a slum or a shanty town. In fact, buildings constructed without proper permissions might be quite luxurious apartments, where investors/developers were taking advantage of Warsaw's planning chaos and public aministration's inertia, to push forward their private interest. On the other end of the spectrum, informal urbanization materialize in squatting, land occupation and makeshift constructions meant as antagonistic infrastructure, targeted at re-privatization and unchecked power of private developers. Less radical, but still political, is informal occupation of urban allotment gardens. These areas, designed in the pre-war times and (mostly) during the communist period as a space for workers recreation, has become a refuge for people excluded from the regular housing market by rising prices. The informal residents are living in sub-standard conditions of improved garden huts, and are facing constant instability due to lack of permission to settle there. Their precariousness is further increased by investors' pressure to urbanize 'unproductive' allotment gardens. That's why we decided provide only symbolic representation of such spaces - putting one of the biggest alottment gardens on our map, without indicating where exactly the inhabited spaces are located.
LAYER 2: Strategies and Projects of the NMM	Text for this layer: Describe (and map) city marketing strategies and policies (narratives, image production, city branding) intending to 'place the city on the world map' and attract investments and qualified labour. These include urban development projects, flagship projects, big transport infrastructure (high speed trains, airports, exclusive toll highways etc.) and other prestige projects, as well as significant events and festivals. Refer to the impact of these policies and projects on cities and local society, for example the effects of changing local administration budgets in favour of NMM projects, changes in regulation, etc. If relevant mention possible positive side effects.	

(7) New strategic urban infrastructure projects (coloured line)	This category refers to large infrastructure projects, which aim to increase the strategic and competitive role of a metropolitan area. However, many large infrastructure projects were already planned in earlier decades representing grand plans for urban modernization. Therefore, we are only mapping here those large and strategic infrastructures, which were realized recently (last 10 years) or are under construction now and gained strategic importance for image related development of NMM, too	Large insfrastructure projects in Warsaw realized recently all belong to the realm of transport infrastructure. The rapid growth of the city and its relatively low populationion density imposed the development of new elements of transport network: two bridges, a yet unfinished beltway and the second line of subway.
(8) Flagship projects (icon)	Flagship projects that are typical for the new metropolitan mainstream, like important museums, stadiums, convention centres, urban entertainment centres, important skyscrapers, etc. We suggest to focus on realized flagship projects of the past 20 years	Warsaw's flagship projects belong to two main categories: publicly funded reputational projects and private office buildings. Reputational projects are considered by the local governement as a vital element of the city's image. They were financed for the most part by the European Union subsidies.
(9) Failed / not realised flagship projects (icon)	It's not always easy to decide whether a project has already failed or not. It may still be contested with an uncertain outcome. You decide what to include in this category. Typical examples are once---planned opera houses, museums, motorway sections, tunnels and bridges, which have not been built or massively delayed with uncertain prospects.	Some of the Warsaw's failed projects are large-scale infrastructural projects delayed or abandoned due to economical reasons (Techno-Park Siekierki and the southern part of the ring). The most symptomatic failed endavour is, hovever, the vicinity of the Palace of Culture and Science - former reputational space situated in the centre of the city, used for public ceremonies, then a space for spontaneous economic activity and, recently, a void filled with chaos.
(10) Trendy neighbourhoods (surface)	These are areas that are in an early stage of change, before gentrification has become dominant. Often they had been working class neighbourhoods. Cheap rents have been attracting migrants, students and artists, which build up their own economy and venues. "Ethnic" restaurants, bars, (subcultural) clubs show a new face of the former working class sociocultural infrastructures. Trendy neighbourhoods can be in different stages, from the first pioneers until major re---investment. The neighbourhoods get arty, galleries add to off--- spaces, music clubs get well known and attract people from the region. The neighbourhood becomes trendy and partly starts to be mainstream. But there are several scenes found in parallel and different spots (subcultural and mainstream) existing at the same time. Often you find also cultural---political avant---gardes in these areas.	Trendy neighbourhoods in Warsaw are either welathy urban villages, former working class districts or newly revitalised areas of the Vistula river waterfront. The first type of neighbourhoods (like Stary Żoliborz, Saska Kępa) has been opening up for several years through inclusive public spaces, new cafes and restaurants, after being traditionallny exclusive for upper-middle class. The latter type, maily located in Praga, is more of the clubbing and artsy type located inbetween shabby buildings and colorful old tenant houses, very popular amont students and exchange students. Finally the waterfront of the Vistula river was being revitalised for many years, since 2010, initially by small artistic and cultural initiatives, now by mainstream recreational infrastructure, cafes, clubs, mainstream events.

(11) Areas of (re)investment (surface)	Processes and projects of reinvestment (private, state led, and/or PPP, usually in previously disinvested or low income areas), such as intense neighbourhood upgrading or speculative urban regeneration processes (including gentrification), having negative effects on actual inhabitants and users of the area because of rent and real estate values increase, leading to displacement and exclusion of low income and vulnerable groups. Indicative indicators: urban plans and urban development projects that are proposing or have proposed (and have been built already) new functions like luxury and glittering houses, villas, condominiums, shops, shopping malls, offices, headquarters, elite cultural institutions or private museums and art galleries. And more generally all that is meant to foster urban competition and extract urban rent and profit. The negative effects in terms of dispossession and eviction will be shown in layer 3	Warsaw's areas of reinvestment are situated mainly in former industrial districts of the city. Following the political and economic transformation in the 1990s the former industrial parks have been repurposed; now they host new corporate sector facilities and housing projects .
(12) Image related developments (surface)	Urban developments that are mainly related to the production of a metropolitan image, e.g. projects for the construction of a new skyline or a shiny waterfront, as well as big events such as Olympics. Events are mapped when related to spatial developments. The distinction between areas of (re---)investment (11) and image related developments (12) is sometimes difficult	The image related developments in Warsaw have trully been targeted at a massive user, mass events and tourist traffic. They have successfully became landmarks and parts of the city image marketing campaigns, therefore creating the metropolitan image. One of important accellerators of these kinds of development was the Poland-Ukraine Euro Football Cup in 2012.
(13) Historical (re---)construction (surface)	Conservation, reconstruction and/or new construction of 'historical' facades and ensembles to promote a specific historical and often ideological identity of the city. This reconstructed and functionalized history has often little to do with social and political memories and does not correspond to collective knowledge; it is oversimplified, reassuring and controlled. It erases both the contemporary everyday life and the relation to the historical life that produced this place. It tries to install a new 'collective memory' and is one of the NMM---strategies to sell the city.	Most of the historical reconstructions are a reflection of search for city identity rooted in the inbetween war period of historrically perceived as era of independence and national revival. This is also a natural departure from the real-socialism and modernist architectural heritage associated with communist era and attempt to root rapid growth and metropolisation of the city in historically capitalist heritage. Nostalgia behind historical reconstruction is paralell to other alarming recostruction activities, like 2nd World War histrical battle recosntructions, mainstreaming of nationalists and xenophobic heritage from the 1930s, social and class seggregation, growing spatial segregation. A second type of historical reconstruction is actually a result of activism in favour of modernist heritage of the city. This phenomenon integrates mostly architects and urbanists that aim at bringing historically acurate appearance to modernist buildings of 60s and 70s that were disfigured or covered by billbords in the 1990s.

(14) Places and areas of privatization (surface)	The process of privatizing a place or area that was public or common. For example the privatization of buildings and land owned by the state or public bodies; the privatisation of public agencies (that offer and manage public services) so that even their assets (especially land) become private; green areas meant to be parks become areas for private speculative developments; old villages that are turned into hotels (spread hotel) and prevent the accessibility by ordinary people; big private golf courses that don't allow the accessibility to the land by ordinary people; private management of public heritage with the main goal to generate profits instead of performing a public cultural program, etc.	Privatisation in Warsaw has been very apparent in the early 1990s, however the dominant trend in terms of communal services has been commercialisation rather than full-on privatisation. Commercialisation here means that public service offices have been turned into public-owned companies with independent management and financial strategy. They can outsource some of the work or expand by providing services in other areas. The most apparent example of privatisation on the other hand is the energy sector.
LAYER 3 : Spaces of Injustice	Text for this layer: Description what is happening on the societal level as a result of the prioritisation of NMM policies: social and welfare policies that are neglected or cut, increase of poverty, intensification of inequality, widening of the income gap, tensions in power and gender relations, rising authoritarianism and restriction of rights, migration issues	
(15) Downgraded and deprived areas (surface)	Areas of disinvestment with little or no maintenance, extreme phenomena of exclusion, marginalisation, unemployment, lack of income etc. Neighbourhoods with high concentration of vulnerable groups, such as migrants, Roma and others, "quartiers sensibles" etc. Indicators: 1. Data: on income, unemployment, land value; 2. observation on the ground: deteriorated buildings, lack of services, lack of cultural and art centres, lack of public spaces, lack of maintenance of common areas	[Kasia] Warsaw does not have typical getto areas, however there are few examples of areas that for decades have been neglected, not maintained properly and do not provide the standard of living acceptable in a metropolis. These are the old quarters in Praga Północ that lack basic amenities and are concetrating mariginalised groups, underclass, unemployed and other vulnerable people. We also decided to include other types of areas, like new developer quarters of Białołęka, that might seem perfectly fine at first sight, but are deprived of access to public transport, public services, which makes people living there isolated and vulnerable in terms of car-dependence, heavy traffic, living in gated, inefficient residential areas characterised by lack of planning and service provision. Here the exclusion is spatial, functional and also mortgage-based.

(16) Processes of displacement (icon)	Involuntary movement of population by conversion of their homes to other uses or by the rise of land values. Indicators: areas that have been gentrified over the years and their socio---economic profile has changed, urban plans and projects that have been implemented and that substitute the previous existing built areas (with its inhabitants and social or economic uses and functions) with new functions and buildings; this needs knowledge about the social history of the city, how it changes in the past 20 years.	The biggest source of population displacement in Warsaw is the process of reprivatization: the real estate made public in 1945 in order to facilitate the reconstruction of the city after it had been throughtly destroyed by withdrawing German troops, has been retrurning to private hands after 1989. It resulted in a loss of couple dozens of thousands of cummunalt flats, forcing the tennats to move out or pay a redically higher fees to new private owners. In some cases communal residents are being pushed out by illegal means (menaces, destruction of buldings infrastructure to render it unhabitable). There's a displacement happening due to revitalization (mainly in Praga) - residents of communal houses that undergo renovations are put into replacement flats and not always come back to their original homes. Gentrification adds to the displacement process, pushing poorer citizens out of the Center, Powiśle, some parts of Mokotów and Praga districts.
(17) Evictions (icon)	The expulsion of tenants by legal processes or force. Very often privatisation of social housing is accompanied by mass evictions of families; evictions of population installed in previously empty of abandoned areas (fringes, brown fields, urban periphery, etc.) where new development plans are taking place; evictions because of unpaid mortgages. Indicators: data on evictions, articles in the press, solidarity movements.	[Kasia] House debt is one of the main causes of evictions - in Warsaw it was the reason for 94% of evictions carried out in 2013. This share has increased since 2003. A significant number of evicted persons go to social premises (granted in the verdict of the court ruling for evictions) or temporary premises, in which they can live for 6 months. In Warsaw, in 2013, 664 evictions were carried out. There are districts with no evictions carried out or declared from the municipal resource in 2013 (Bielany, Ochota, and Ursynów). And the most evictions were made in Wola, Praga-Południe and Mokotów (respectively 25%, 22% and 22% of all evictions). In the last ten years, the number of evictions carried out in Warsaw has been systematically growing (since 2003 more than twice). The exceptions are the districts of Wawer, Ochota and Bielany. The largest increase was recorded in the districts of Mokotów (6-fold increase), Ursus (4-fold) and Targówek (3-fold). Soure: http://2030.um.warszawa.pl/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/14.-Mieszkalnictwo.pdf

(18) Spaces of repression and control (icon)	Control in the form of policing, camera surveillance, ever-tighter regulation through codes and ordinances, etc. is pervasive in contemporary cities. Repression is often carried out by private security agencies, which complement or even replace official police. Acknowledging this new urban paradigm of securitisation, we need to map here only those spaces, which are exemplary for an extreme form of control and repression. Examples where a politics of fear dominates the urban could include: detention centres for migrants, areas ruled by (para---) militarization, aggressive removal of various social, ethnical and professional groups from prime spaces	Growing repression and control in Warsaw is related to its function as a capital city. With a grow in conservatism and right wing political climate some public freedoms are being questioned and therefore public protests are becoming a more frequent phenomenon in Warsaw. In answer to protests we can see central institutions gating themselves from a civic society (the Parliament). On the other hand right-wing and extreme catholic groups are starting to feel more confident in the public space which resulted growing number of symbolic spaces of repression and control, i.e. in the burning of the Rainbow Instalation (because of it symbilising the LGBT community) and defence zone of the wooden cross installed in the memory of the Smolensk place crush (the miesiecznica zone).
(19) Gated Communities and exclusionary zones (boundary)	Public and private spaces with restricted or controlled access and/or private security. New urban developments, privatised areas, flagship projects impose often – explicitly or implicitly – an exclusionary regime (sometimes also based on racial or other forms of discrimination). Apart from delimited gated communities, the limits of such spaces are often not clear. Sometimes the border of the area from which the majority is excluded can be mapped, otherwise exclusionary regimes can be indicated by a stamp.	The specificity of the Warsaw housing market is a large number of gated communities. In 2004, over 200 such settlements were identified, and in 2007 such settlements were twice as many. Gated housing estates are built mostly in peripheral districts. Most of them exist in Ursynów, Białołęka, Ursus and Wawer, where new housing development is flourishing. It is also common practice to gate existing moderninst quarters, that in purpose were supposed to be open. This process can be observed in the central districts (Śródmieście, Mokotów, Wola, and Żoliborz). The reason for the growing demand for living in such settlements is the low level of trust in public institutions and their effectiveness in ensuring a sense of security. Young people, often well educated and well remunerated, constitute the largest group interested in living in gated housing estates. Their main reason for choosing a flat in this type of housing estate is to provide them with a sense of security, prestige and peace, thereby contributing to their image as an accomplished member of a metropolitan class. But residents of gated housing estates are less socially active, have lower levels of local social capital, and are less attached to the city, and more to their own home. Newly built housing estates, often due to the multitude of investors, are divided internally and it is common practice to divide individual buildings within a gated estate. This creates islands formed of individual blocks. Another problem of gated housing estates is often the lack of basic social infrastructure (kindergartens, schools or public spaces). Source: http://2030.um.warszawa.pl/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/14.-Mieszkalnictwo.pdf

Spaces of corruption and abuse	*Quite similar to what was described as "deals" in the case study guidelines. Projects, plans or public works heavily affected by corruption. Strategic plans designed by the ruling groups outside and beyond urban planning legislation. Speculative legal (or almost illegal) buildings and illegal elite villas. Indicators: 1. judicial inquiries on development plans and projects because of bribery and corruption; judicial inquiries on cooked bids or competitions for public contracts to build public works; newspapers inquiry and campaign about corruption in land issues; 2. protests by community groups and people's committees against specific plans or projects because they insist that there was an abuse against their rights*	x
New spaces of extreme exploitation of labour	*Private services using flexible and very low paid work (including knowledge work). Flexicurity dogma and precarious working conditions (not very easy to map since it is dispersed and involves almost all urban labour nowadays). Special production zones (legal or illegal) like sweatshops, maquillas, agriculture and other, without workers rights.* *Subcontracting practices by public services or private companies (e.g. cleaning companies in public services). Construction projects violating security measures and working rights (e.g. Olympic construction camps). Indicators: fights by the workers' about their condition of work; trade union data; judicial inquiries about violation of law on workers rights; contracting out services by the public administration (choosing the lowest price), downgrading in this way the workers' condition; areas with many old people carers (mainly migrant women) census data, data by migrant associations and women's associations; house servants (mainly in very rich areas), census data.*	x

(19a) *Environmental degradation*	*Intends to show the effects, direct or indirect, of NMM projects or other investments, endangering or deteriorating living conditions of neighbourhoods, deprived or poor areas creating conditions of environmental injustice. Indicators: incinerators, garbage dumps; change in use of designated urban green areas; fragmentation produced by infrastructure like highways; air pollution and noise produced by highways and airport; huge building site to built infrastructures like the high speed lines that shake violently the whole territory, with the risk to dry groundwater, subvert the ecosystem and to undermine the stability of buildings.*	Air pollution is the most recognized environmental threat in Warsaw. In central districts and along key transport corridors the pollution is mostly generated by intensive car traffic, reflecting the pattern of private car domination. The car ownership ratio in Warsaw is twice as big as in Berlin, despite the relatively well developed public transportation network. In more peripheral districts burning 'dirty' solid fuels in individual heating systems plays a major role, partially due to privatization of the municipal central heating network in the early 2010s. The common feature of various environmental conflicts in Warsaw is that it starts with people's frustration, leading to grassroots mobilization and highlighting the inability of public administration to address these problems in advance. It refers to air pollution, as well as to odour generated by the communal waste management facility, degradation of green areas appropriated as investment areas, noise pollution from the airport etc. The grassroots opposition to environmental costs faced by local communities was a guiding principle in selecting areas to put on the map. Additionally, we refer to quantitative data on excessive air pollution levels (PM2.5) provided in the official documents (Program Ochrony Powietrza, http://edziennik.mazowieckie.pl/WDU_W/2017/5964/akt.pdf) and limited to Warsaw's administrative boundaries.
LAYER 4: Geographies of the Crisis	Text for this layer: Give estimation on how your city has been affected by the current global financial economic crisis (or on the contrary: how it experienced an economic boom…). Describe the transformations and new realities emerging within the crisis. Try also to show new emerging forms of informality or transformations in informal urbanisation processes.	
(20) **Inequality intensification (surface)**	Try to show intensification of wealth, new areas of poverty or new types of poverty.	In the period of 2008-2011, there was no actual crisis in the real estate sector in Warsaw. As one of few countries, Poland remained a so-called "green island" during the crisis thanks to scheduled infrastructural investments from European Union funds and thanks to stable internal demand (typical keynesian effect). There was a slight downtime on the Warsaw real estate market, and now there is a terrible investment boom. Therefore, Warsaw can be described as a beneficiary of the crisis on a European scale. The crisis period was marked by the reconfiguration of property ownership in the city centre and two former working class districts - Praga and Wola. The price pressure in these areas generated by the wealthy investors and developers is most visible as well as the growing tensions between the poorer population living in municipal and social dwellings and the new bourgeoisie and the metropolitan class.

(21) Failed investments because of the crisis (icon)	Flagships projects or image related developments that were abandoned because of the crisis or neighbourhood upgrading processes that were stopped.	x
(22) New spaces of privatisation (icon)	Privatisation of public assets, urban spaces, common resources and changes in regulatory framework in order to accelerate the process.	Warsaw reprivatisation map In October 1945, the communist authorities issued the so-called Bierut decree, which transferred ownership of real estate in Warsaw to the local government. The official justification of the decree was to facilitate the reconstruction of the city. After the fall of communism, some owners decided to regain their property. There were also so-called dealers who claim real estate on behalf of the deceased. List of built-up properties covered by the decree of 26 October 1945 on the ownership and use of land in the area of the capital city of Warsaw, to which the President of the Capital City of Warsaw Warsaw is undergoing administrative proceedings to establish the right of perpetual usufruct. Last updated: 31/12/2015 Possible differences between those included in the list and existing buildings may result from: - post-war changes to the real estate police numbers - post-war changes to the streets - post-war street naming changes - changes in the property identification resulting from the liquidation tables - changes caused by architectural and urban transformations of some areas - discrepancies arising in determining the area of some former mortgage real estate http://maparoszczen.miastojestnasze.org/
(23) Crisis related displacement and evictions (icon)	Areas with extended phenomena of foreclosures and seizures. Evictions because of privatisation of public housing.	x
(24) Reinforced control in the name of the crisis (icon)	Policing, control, repression and exclusion.	x

LAYER 5: **Possible** **Urban Worlds**	Text of this layer: What have been the major resistances and social mobilisations in your city in the last 20 years? What kind of urban movements have emerged, around what major issues? How have these movements transformed along the years? What types of alternatives have been developed (trying also to contextualise the meaning and content of 'alternative').	
(25) **Resistance /** **Contested** **spaces (icon)**	Fights for rights, spaces, access to... (including environmental dimensions). Contested spaces, contested projects, contested infrastructures and facilities (as the fight against the high speed train line in Val di Susa or in Florence). Conflicts about identities of places. Victories and examples when NMM projects failed because of the movement against it.	Most conflicts and resistance against contested investment projects in Warsaw is partly related to the wild reprivatisation. Specialized law firms and real-estate claim collecting companies, put pressure on former property owners and speculate with centrally located parcels fulfilling the growing demand of office developers. Businessmen and lawyers immediately understood that recovered buildings can be a source of huge profits. There are also the infamous "tenant cleaners" - people who specialized in expelling tenants from flats, often against the law. Some of these protests are also related to new infrastructural investments as the Warsaw Bypass and its trail that has been changed several times due to particular interests of some prominent politicians.

| (26) Building alternatives (icon) | Developing alternatives in everyday life, housing, collective spaces, culture, art, housework / reproduction work / care (gender role). Self organised spaces, cooperatives, collective urbanization (social and cultural infrastructure). Spaces of happiness and pleasure. Appropriation of public spaces, housing, social centres, art and culture workshops... Neighbourhood regeneration by local governments with positive effects for local society (e.g. Medellin). | Alternatives in every day life in Warsaw include wide range of different kind of activities. On the map are mentioned alternative, bottom-up cultural and social initiatives as squats, cooperatives and local associations, but also projects initiated by public institutions or city council. Warsaw City Council policy here takes three forms. First is connected with its own projects aimed at establishing accessible and open public space by supporting financially cultural and entertaining programs in areas, which were not use that way before (e.g. Otwarta Ząbkowska, Plac Defilad). Second is to provide organisational support for different kind of local bottom-up initiatives, such as a network of local community centres called – A Place for Local Activity (Miejsce Aktywności Lokalnej - MAL). The principle of almost 70 MALs is that they are run by local communities and the city council provides only the know-how and infrastructure (http://spoldzielniakultury.waw.pl/znajdz-mal). Quite similar support is provided for a network of community gardens. There are almost 20 gardens of this type in Warsaw and they can take advantage of a special project Bujna Warszawa (http://bujnawarszawa.pl/) run by the city council, which offers a place for a garden, knowledge and other help in organising the garden.
Third form of providing conditions for alternatives in everyday life by the city council is providing accessible, free-of-charge infrastructure for spending time in active, healthy and ecological way. The example of this is a public bicycle sharing system – Veturilo launched in 2012. It is the biggest public bicycle system in Poland and the fifth largest in Europe. It is also considered one of the most successful bike sharing systems in the world. In 2017 there were 610 thousand registered users and bikes were used 5 136 388 times. Since 2013 the City Council has also installed almost 150 open-air gyms in all districts of the city, which are very popular among the users of different ages. Both - Veturilo and gyms, are not marked on the map, because of its large number. |