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Follow (the) Diversity. Diaspora Diplomacy in the Cities

Introduction: the context of diaspora diplomacy

Looking at the activity of numerous entities on the international stage, including that of governments, parliaments, cities, as well as the media and international organisations we can see that diplomacy is much more open¹. This process would not be possible if it was not for the development of the media, especially digital media. The new means of communication have facilitated faster, more effective and widely available communication. On the international stage this means that not only politicians but also individuals, organisations and groups take part in this process of citizens' diplomacy. What is noticeable today is the significant role of entrepreneurs, tourists or journalists, who shape opinions and are active participants in international politics.

¹ See more: J. Melissen, *Wielding Soft Power. The New Public Diplomacy*, Netherland Institute of International Relations, Clingendael 2005; J. Melissen, *The New Public Diplomacy*, Palgrave Macmillan, London 2005.

R. Zenderowski is of the view that it is a process, “of top-down or bottom-up activation of society to participate in the promoting one’s own identity of its nation and, at the same time, assuming the role of a ‘civic ambassador’, caring for the interest and good name of the community or organization to which it belongs”².

The article below aims to combine two aspects of research in the domain of international relations. These are studies on diasporas and diplomacy, as well as taking into account other players, such as cities, and their role in international relations. We are trying to find an answer to the question of who the players engaged in this process are, the direction of this process and its conduct. The article will also show the connection between diasporas and cities’ diplomacy. The diasporas have become visible in the cities, and they are recognized as a very important tool of city diplomacy. We are looking at contemporary cities, their relations with diasporas from a historical perspective. We are interested in how the presence of diasporas in the public sphere over the years can be effectively used to promote a policy of social integration and to achieve city diplomacy-related aims.

This study is based on academic literature, reports, interviews, and case studies.

Diaspora is not a term that is frequently referred to in literature concerning diplomacy. It is worth noting that both terms, “diaspora” and “diplomacy”, have been widened significantly in recent years, which has meant a departure from understanding diasporas as a descriptive category and diplomacy as a practice only assigned to governments. What is more, within the new diplomacy, citizens (including diasporas) play a much significant role. It is worth noting, that in order for this diplomacy to achieve success it should draw on tools of the new, public diplomacy. These tools assume an active role for citizens in diplomatic activity.

Moreover, diasporas are also often perceived as one of the entities projecting cultural diplomacy by supporting relations between communities and as entities that foster understanding, which may go beyond the framework of state activities. The diasporas also often cooperate with their countries of origin promoting its image, although more frequently, they are the grass-roots initiatives of the immigrant communities. Therefore, the diplomatic initiatives of the diasporas can also be understood as a way of making use of the foreign service or, in a wider sense, the government to promote relations between the country of origin and the country, where they live. This is mutually beneficial. In this article we will

² R. Zenderowski, M. Krycki (2014), *Dyplomacja publiczna diaspor. Przyczynek do rozważań*, “Uniwersyteckie Czasopismo Socjologiczne”, No. 9, p. 18.

focus on cities and their authorities, which can be seen as a hub of networks or initiator of undertakings in the domain of diaspora diplomacy. Researchers into international relations stress the undoubted role that networks play. These include L. Labrianidis, M. Pratsinakis, D. Stone, and E. Douglas who stresses the significance that networks of emigres can have for their countries of origin. They see network diplomacy as the key to success in foreign policy³. The non-statal players have the ability to stimulate global initiatives. The governments need strong networks and need to cooperate with members of the diasporas to draw tangible benefits and to implement diplomatic aims.

We understand the diplomacy of the diasporas as a valuable tool of public diplomacy. It comprises the activities of ethnic and migrant groups, who maintain contact and feel a link to their or their ancestors' homeland, acting on behalf of their communities in the country they live in. The aim of these groups is to boost their status in their new homeland and to ensure their basic rights including that to communicate. Their activity may also be to boost or improve the image of their country of origin, to promote the culture of their country of origin and maintain contact with it.

According A.F. Constant and K.F. Zimmermann "diaspora diplomacy to collective action that is driven, directed, and sustained by the energy and charisma of a broad range of migrants who influence another country's culture, politics, and economics in a manner that is mutually beneficial for the homeland and the new home base"⁴.

B. Ociepka is of the view that "the concept of diaspora diplomacy is understood as public diplomacy (including cultural diplomacy) conducted abroad with the participation of representatives of the minority – diaspora living in that country. (...) Diaspora diplomacy also covers a set of undertakings by a country, directed at the diaspora, with the aim of maintaining its links with the mother country. Diaspora diplomacy is part of public diplomacy. Diasporas have a huge influence on shaping the image of a country or community. Diaspora is a tool of public diplomacy players abroad"⁵.

³ L. Labrianidis, M. Pratsinakis, *Crisis Brain drain: short-term pain/long term gain?*, [in:] *Greece in Crisis: The Cultural Politics of Austerity*, eds. D. Tziouvas, I.B. Tauris, Bloomsbury Publishing, London 2017, pp. 25–30; D. Stone, E. Douglas, *Advance diaspora diplomacy in a networked world*, "International Journal of Cultural Policy", 2018, No. 24(6), p. 711.

⁴ A.F. Constant, A. F. Zimmermann, *Diaspora Economics: New Perspectives*, "SSRN Electronic Journal", 2016, Vol. 1, p. 20.

⁵ B. Ociepka, ed. *Dyplomacja publiczna*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław 2016, p. 144

T. La Porte, *City Public Diplomacy in the European Union*, [in:] *European Public Diplomacy. Soft Power at Work*, eds. M.K. Davis Cross, J. Melissen, Palgrave Macmillan, London 2013, p. 88.

According to E. Ho and F. McConnel due to diasporas being an independent actor, one can differentiate between “diplomacy through diaspora” and “diplomacy by diaspora”. Diasporas can conduct diplomacy independently in order to achieve their own agendas; that is what is called “diplomacy by diaspora”. On the other hand, how states engage in diplomacy through diasporas with the goal to advance their national agendas, is what is called “diplomacy through diaspora”⁶.

In analysing the network element in the diplomacy of diasporas it is worth noting that Levitt and Schiller indicated that there are three types of relationships between countries of origin and their diasporas:

1. The most popular – strategically selective states which allow immigrants to participate in the life of the country of origin, without giving them political rights (Ireland, Turkey, India).
2. Transnational nation states, which define migrants as citizens who enjoy full civic rights (double citizenship, the right to vote, the possibility to seek public office in the country of origin)
3. The rarest group are countries that deny migrants the right to belong to the country of origin. These “disinterested or denouncing states” often term those people who leave the country of origin as traitors (Vietnam, Cuba)⁷.

Not only countries assign a role for the diasporas a significant role in modern diplomacy but also the European Commission sees them as “players in the development of the country of origin”⁸. The European Commission also identifies initiatives and recommendations, which may make it easier for the receiving countries to implement them. The view that contemporary diasporas are only significant in bilateral relations are being revised and they are now seen to be growing in significance in mainly regional, but also global relations⁹. A very important event in this context was the speech made by Hillary Clinton, who was Secretary of State at the time at the II Global Diaspora Forum. In the speech she mentioned that the potential for the diasporas goes far beyond the diaspora-home country dimension. She said that the diasporas can help in poverty and development aid, help countries after conflicts and also contribute to improving

⁶ E. Ho, F. McConnell, *Conceptualizing “diaspora diplomacy”: Territory and populations between the domestic and foreign*. “Progress in Human Geography”, 2017, Vol. 43(2), pp. 235–255.

⁷ S. Mazur, *Dyplomacja diaspor jako coraz istotniejsze narzędzie dyplomacji publicznej*, “Kultura i Polityka”, 2015, No. 17, p. 101.

⁸ *Komunikat Komisji Do Rady, Parlamentu Europejskiego, Europejskiego Komitetu Ekonomiczno-Społecznego Oraz Komitetu Regionów, Związek pomiędzy migracją i rozwojem: konkretne kierunki działania w zakresie partnerstwa UE z krajami rozwijającymi się. Komisja Wspólnot Europejskich Bruksela, dnia 1.9.2005 COM(2005) 390 końcowy*, [accessed: September 12, 2021].

⁹ *Ibidem*.

relations between their countries of origin or ancestral origin and the countries they live in. This historical aspect is of great significance to our research as we draw attention to how the activity of a diaspora in the past may have an influence on the policy of cities today and their presence on the international stage.

Significantly, the changing character of diasporas is also mentioned by S. Vertovec who talks today about so-called “trans-national communities” which exist as a result of an array of forms of social communication, mobility and communication. We are departing, in a sense, from an understanding of the old ethnic diasporas, which are being replaced by trans-national migrant diasporas. We are dealing at the same time with a new dimension of diaspora consciousness that is characterized by a double or multiple identification. “Whereas some migrants identify more with one community than another, the majority appears to maintain a number of identities, which connect them with more than one nation”¹⁰.

R. Cohen, on the other hand, draws attention to the fact that, “trans-national links now don’t have to be cemented by migration or claims to territorial exclusivity. In the age of cyberspace, the diaspora may, to an extent, be maintained or created anew with the aid of the mind, cultural artefacts or common perceptions”¹¹. We can observe this in the case of the two cities presented in this article. We construct the city space as a local collective memory. We also indicate the extent to which this policy of collective memory improves the integration politics in presence.

Diaspora and city diplomacy

Although diasporas are mentioned most often within the context of their connection with the country of origin, we are interested in the level of their involvement in cities. We feel however that it is in cities that the weightiest problems in the world are concentrated, including those related to climate change or that of refugees and it is in the cities where some of the most promising and creative solutions in the domains of integration and innovation are to be found. The role that cities play in international relations and their growing importance in wielding power has only recently become a subject of research. Hence the relationships between local government and diasporas are of some importance.

¹⁰ S. Vertovec, *Transnarodowość*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2009, p. 6.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 7.

As has been noted by T. La Porte, cities, on the one hand, conduct diplomatic campaigns addressed to foreign recipients but on the other the messages come back to their own citizens (internal dimension), playing special roles, such as that of reinforcing identity. There is, therefore, a strong link between public diplomacy and city diplomacy. Many of the international actions undertaken by cities are strongly linked to the communication strategies, involvement and interaction which comprise what is now termed public diplomacy. The ability of cities to exert influence is limited to communicating values and principles communicated by local actions and initiatives, such as those communicated by diasporas¹².

Therefore, just as in the case of soft power articulated by J. Nye, thinking about the city as a political entity we must depart from the classical definition of power that assumes the imposition of will on other foreign policy players. Cities, through their activity accentuate their presence on a wider stage, build their brand and also try to solve problems and shape policy, such as that in the domain of transculturalism. D. Koon-hong-Chang as well, in an article on city diplomacy notes that in recent years cities have become able to cooperate on questions of a global nature. The author is of the view that cities are a source of hope that citizens will become interested in global problems and that diplomacy conducted well may even solve these problems¹³.

According to J. Melissen and R. Van der Pluijm “city diplomacy could be defined as the institutions and processes by which cities engage in relations with actors on an international political stage with the aim of representing themselves and their interests to one another. They recognised six dimensions of city diplomacy: security, development, economy, culture, networks and representation. Our text is part of deliberations concerning a cultural dimension”¹⁴.

As we mentioned before the term “city diplomacy” is still used relatively rarely in literature on the subject. This stems from the difference between the tasks and responsibilities of local government, including in Poland, then those which are in the domain of city institutions. As B. Ociepka notes, local authorities do not conduct foreign policy because they do not have such prerogatives. In the view of the author however, they are players in the network model of public

¹² T. La Porte, *City Public Diplomacy in the European Union*, [in:] *European Public Diplomacy. Soft Power at Work*, eds. M.K. Davis Cross, J. Melissen, Palgrave Macmillan, London 2013, p. 88.

¹³ D. Koon-hong-Chang, *City diplomacy and “global” governance: revitalizing cosmopolitan democracy*, “The European Journal of Social Science Research”, 2016, No. 2, pp. 134–160.

¹⁴ R. Van der Pluijm, J. Melissen, *City Diplomacy: The expanding role of Cities in International Politics*, Netherlands Institute of International Relations, Clingendael 2007, pp. 5–35.

diplomacy. The notion of an actor in public diplomacy is not synonymous with this actor having a role as an actor in foreign policy. This is an internal actor who should act within the framework strategy of the foreign policy of a country and public diplomacy, engaging citizens in international cooperation¹⁵. By city diplomacy we may understand the means by which local authorities represent the interests of their residents on the international stage and how they try to influence it. Increasingly cities conduct their own actions in this domain, facing a lack of support from the central administration¹⁶. As mentioned by J. Stürner and P. Bendel, in this context, a window of opportunity is opening for cities to go a step further: Cities increasingly engage at the European and international level to become actors in migration governance. The authors point to three bottom-up strategies, which cities may undertake in this domain to achieve their desired aims. Firstly, cities create soft law in order to ensure local reception and integration policies grounded on fundamental international and European rights. Secondly cities form transnational networks to advocate rights-based migration governance, lend legitimacy to UN and EU strategies and hold EU and UN institutions and their member states accountable by their own norms and values. Finally, based on their expertise as implementers and policy innovators, cities push for a place at international and European negotiation tables¹⁷.

Two cities – two faces of migration

In this article we will take a journey to two European cities – Bochum and Wrocław, with a rich history and the presence of diasporas in their public space. The choice of the cities is not coincidental. Although they are quite different, they both shape their identity on the basis of history, the presence of diasporas and create a kind of collective memory. The aim of our research was two identify good practices, in terms of which, using the history of the city and its residents, we create new solutions to support inter-cultural dialogue. We do not present a full history of the two cities in the text. We mention it briefly, concentrating more on events from the late 19th and 20th centuries.

¹⁵ B. Ociepka, *Dyplomacja samorządowa w polskim modelu dyplomacji publicznej*, 2017, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/321255155_Dyplomacja_samorzadowa_w_polskim_modelu_dyplomacji_publicznej [accessed: November 30, 2020].

¹⁶ J. Stürner, P. Bendel, *The Two-way "Glocalisation" of Human Rights or: How Cities Become International Agents in Migration Governance*, "Peace Human Rights Governance", 2019, Vol. 3(2), pp. 215–240.

¹⁷ *Ibidem.*, p. 217.

Cities have always been culturally diverse. Many cities draw on history in building their contemporary identity. The past, tradition evolved over centuries, architecture, people and the experience of many generations today has a significant impact on shaping the policy of cities. Diasporas and the presence of Others and migrations are an inseparable element of the landscape of cities throughout the world. European cities have experienced almost total exchanges or replacements of their population and the need to build their identity almost from scratch. This was the experience of Wrocław.

Vratislavia

Today – Wrocław, in the past Vratislavia, Vrotizla, Wrestlaw, Presslav, Breslau is a city with over 50 names, a complex history and countless identities. N. Davies stresses, what in our view is very important, that Wrocław is not only a story about a Polish and German city, but a story about a city of many nations, traditions, languages and diasporas. A phoenix-like city with a will to survive. Davies, in writing about the context in which one of the most extraordinary books about Wrocław was written – “Microcosmos a portrait of a Central European city” – stresses that it touches on “questions of a complex identity and how societies had to change and adapt in the face of moving borders. We were able to debunk the myth that the character of the city could be simply a contrast between its Polish or German nature”¹⁸.

Wrocław was founded under German law, probably in the Spring of 1241 or 1242. In 1335, the town came into the possession of the Czech crown, wielded at that time by John of Luxembourg. Since the foundation of Wrocław, the town was inhabited principally by a large German population, but the Polish element enjoyed a powerful and decisive influence for many years to come. After the dynastic agreements reached in 1526, Wrocław was submitted to the Habsburg crown. After the Silesian Wars in 1740–1763, Silesia and its capital were taken over by the Prussians. Wrocław entered the 19th century as a highly fortified and militarized Prussian town – surrounded by moats, walls, and embankments, strengthened by powerful bastions. After the Napoleonic Wars and a period of stagnation that followed them, a new boom in trade and industry breathed new life into the town again, attracting new residents from neighbouring villages and smaller towns. The industry of Wrocław was growing dynamically at that time.

¹⁸ <http://www.normandavies.com/ksiazki/mikrokosmos-portret-miasta-srodkowoeuropejskiego> [accessed: December 12, 2020].

It is worth looking at the post cards collected by M. Kotkowski to see just such a city at the turn of the 19th and 20th century¹⁹. In the middle of the 19th century the city had a population of around 100 thousand, whereas at the beginning of the 20th century over half a million people lived in the city. “Impressive new bank buildings, schools, hospitals, a new water supply network with a Water Tower on the Dyke, a network of public baths, which also housed public libraries, reading rooms, savings and loans institutions, even child-care facilities, wide avenues, parks and green spaces (...). In 1896, just a year after the wondrous invention of the Lumiere brothers Wrocław residents watched the first film shows”²⁰.

Just before the Second World War broke out, Wrocław had over 600 thousand inhabitants. In 1945, the Nazis made a fatal and ruthless decision to turn the town of Wrocław into a fortress – the Festung Breslau. The last months of the Second World War were certainly the most tragic in the whole history of Wrocław. This period brought the town to almost a complete ruin. 90% of buildings were destroyed completely; only the historic Old Town suffered losses of 60% of its structures. Before the Nazi regime and the Second World War Wrocław was a mix of several nations and religions (Catholics, Calvinists, Lutherans, Jewish)²¹.

For centuries, Poles were part of the history of Wrocław. That did not change, even when its borders and its nationality did. For a long time, you could still hear Polish being spoken on the city’s streets and in the surrounding villages. However, the situation changed around the turn of the 18th and 19th century: The Polish-speaking population began to adapt and the German language, which was taught in schools and used by the authorities, gradually replaced the Polish language. But Wrocław retained its appeal as a center of economic and cultural life and the city’s appeal increased as it enjoyed significant development in the 19th century. For many generations of Poles, the Friedrich Wilhelm University in Silesia, which was founded in 1811, was the place where they received their education. In the 19th century, Poles began to arrive in Wrocław from Wielkopolska, Pomerania and Upper Silesia. At first, they took on various types of casual work as long as they were earning their keep. They worked in industry, craft trades and services. The Poles opened businesses, workshops, hotels, pharmacies and chemists, some even had small factories. It is estimated that around 20,000 Poles were living in

¹⁹ See more: M. Kotkowski, *Niezwykła codzienność, ulice i place Wrocławia na dawnej pocztówce*, Via Nova, Wrocław 2017.

²⁰ B. Maciejewska, *Świat, który nie do końca zaginął*, [in:] *Niezwykła codzienność, ulice i place Wrocławia na dawnej pocztówce*, ed. M. Kotkowski, Via Nova, Wrocław 2017, p. 1.

²¹ See more: N. Davies, R. Moorhouse, *Mikrokosmos. Portret miasta środkowoeuropejskiego*, Znak, Kraków 2002.

Wrocław at the turn of the 20th century. After the Polish state was founded in 1918, the situation for the Poles changed radically. Some of them decided to live inside the new Polish borders and left Wrocław²².

After 1945, its population was completely changed. From being one of the biggest cities of pre-war Germany (with almost 600,000 German and Jewish inhabitants) it became a city with a population of 250,000 that came from almost every corner of Poland (Poles who had to leave their homes in the former Eastern parts of the country as well as those inhabitants of the central parts of Poland who were seeking new life and work). The city had no Jewish population but was still inhabited by Germans. Among the new inhabitants of Wrocław cultural differences became visible very quickly. They resulted mostly from the variety of regions new citizens came from and the variety of experiences they brought with them. There were striking contrasts between immigrants from cities and rural areas, irrespective of where exactly they came from. The meeting of Poles, but from very different geographical locations and from different social classes resulted for many in a cultural shock and conflicts. Quite a number of new immigrants came from former Eastern territories of Poland, where people were used to a cohabitation of many ethnic groups: Poles, Jews, Belarusians, Ukrainians, Latvians, and Russians. Yet, these people were often regarded as backward or “barbarian” by former inhabitants of central parts of Poland. What further exacerbated the cultural shock was the difference in war-time experiences between parts of the Wrocław population. People from the Eastern borderland suffered from Soviet and German occupation at the same time, and then after the war they were in dramatic circumstances relocated to unknown Western territories, so-called “regained territory”²³. The feeling of uncertainty resulting from all these experiences had a profound impact on the emerging identity of Wrocław’s inhabitants. On the one hand there was mistrust and uncertainty about German citizens still remaining in the city. On the other hand, there was mistrust among the very diverse Polish population, as they shared not much more than formal citizenship and language. Language, however, instead of constituting a bridge among people often becomes a conflicting issue. Immigrants from the Eastern borderland often spoke with regional dialects and therefore it sometimes raised doubts about the “authenticity” of their Polish identity. After these difficult

²² In May 1920, a Polish consulate was opened in Wrocław. K. Ruchniewicz, *Poles in Breslau (until 1939)*, Porta Polonica, <https://www.porta-polonica.de/en/atlas-of-remembrance-places/peles-breslau-until-1939> [accessed: November 15, 2020].

²³ See more: G. Thun, *Obce miasto Wrocław 1945 i potem*, Via Nova, Wrocław 2006; M. Ma-ciorowski, *Sami swoi i obcy*, AGORA S.A., Warszawa 2011.

years of coexistence, it seems that in subsequent generations this experience became one of cultural advantages of Wrocław among other Polish cities²⁴.

Between 1945 and 1948, the population of the city changed almost completely. After the transformation, in early 1990s, the City Council of Wrocław started consistent or better concerted efforts towards promoting Wrocław as a multicultural metropolis, using its history, traditions, architecture, and, last but not least, its citizens. Even if there are no characteristic large ethnic communities in Wrocław, the roots of its citizens are very diverse. This cultural richness of Wrocław's population has now a decisive significance in promoting Wrocław as a multicultural, open and friendly place²⁵. Despite such a dramatic exchange of its population a few decades ago Wrocław remains consistent in its actions as described by term city diplomacy. Wrocław has been and remains an open city, combining tradition and modernity (also in its architecture), full of ambition, seeking new opportunities, active on the international stage and friendly to its residents

The slogan, which promotes the city, "Wrocław – the meeting place", was meant to symbolize its openness to Others but also different cultures and traditions. It may have various connotations, but it definitely symbolizes the character and specific character of Wrocław, and not just that from the 21st century.

The strong reference to the diasporas and the multi-ethnic nature of the city can be found in the project of the "Four Faiths Quarter" in the "District of Mutual Respect", which was founded in 1995 by the Catholic, Evangelical, Orthodox and Jewish communities. The capital of Lower Silesia holds a unique (on a Polish and European scale) "District of Mutual Respect", where within a distance of 300 meters you can find an Orthodox church, an Evangelical church, a Catholic church and a synagogue belonging to the Jewish Community of Wrocław. In the other part of the city there is a Muslim Cultural Centre that engages in local initiatives teaching values shared by all religions. The multicultural nature of Wrocław was symbolized by churches both from the architectural and spiritual point of view. The presence of representatives of many faiths was the result of the city's complex past.

These numerous historical experiences of Wrocław have an influence on the management of the multi-cultural space of the city. We observe today:

²⁴ D. Latusek, M. Ratajczak, *Crafting the idea of multiculturalism: The case of Wrocław*, *European Capital of Culture 2016*, "Scandinavian Journal of Public Administration", 2016, vol. 18 (3), p. 56.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 58–59.

a growing number of foreign nationals – mainly employed in numerous foreign corporations and companies; growing number of foreign students; a growing number of migrants, especially Ukrainians who amount to whose population has now reached 80,000, comprising 14% of the population as a whole, including students in schools and children in kindergartens and a growing number of tourists²⁶.

It could be felt that the campaigns promoting Wrocław one of the main results of such politics was creating a Strategy for Intercultural Dialogue. As a place on the border of cultures, open to others, which is tolerant and multicultural has had an influence on the change in the ethnic make-up of contemporary Wrocław. As an example, the Ukrainian diaspora has been present for a few decades, but the latest wave of Ukrainian migration has changed the perception and significance of this group. The Ukrainian diaspora has become much more visible in the public space, and this has resulted in strengthening the policy of the city in the field of inter-cultural integration. Work on this project was initiated by the Mayor of Wrocław. Non-governmental organizations, churches and religious associations and representatives of national and ethnic minorities have undertaken actions to support new coming foreigners. During the intersectoral cooperation the need of creating a strategic document that would set the direction of actions addressed to foreigners and local communities in order to simplify life in mutual understanding of needs, expectations and values became more apparent. At the basis of the Strategy for the Intercultural Dialogue in Wrocław there was dialogue. The document was created in close collaboration with non-governmental organizations, institutions, people engaged in the topic of multiculturalism, migration, and integration. Existing collaboration with national and ethnic minorities and engaging migrant diaspora of Wrocław turned out to be a very valuable point from the perspective of the identification process for issues relevant to the strategy. Thanks to the systematic participation of foreigners in organizing meetings and fora, two key areas were identified that set the direction of actions from 2017 until 2022²⁷. In January 2017, the President of Wrocław appointed the Council of Intercultural Dialogue, including the representatives of social organizations, churches and religious associations, universities, and the business sector. Strategy for the Intercultural Dialogue in Wrocław is consistent with the Wrocław 2030 Strategy, especially with priority

²⁶ M. Ryniejska-Kiełdanowicz, M. Ratajczak, *Policy of Transcultural and the Idea of City Diplomacy: The Case of Wrocław*, "Political Preferences", 2019, Vol. 23, p. 64.

²⁷ *The Strategy of Intercultural Dialogue in Wrocław 2018–2022*, p. 14, https://www.wielokultury.wroclaw.pl/wp-content/uploads/the_strategy_for_the_intercultural_dialogue_in_Wroclaw.pdf [accessed: January 15, 2019].

number 6: “Open city, mission: The city that unites, actions: Shaping the atmosphere of tolerance and intercultural dialogue. As a result of the conducted analyses, research and consultations, four areas of needs have been distinguished, and strategic goals were indicated within them: 1. Education – raising the knowledge level and reinforcing intercultural competences, 2. Integration – building a sense of social belonging, 3. Security – reinforcing safety of citizens, 4. Collaboration and Communication – creating the collaboration platform and reinforcing communication processes”²⁸. Currently the strongest center for intercultural dialogue in Wrocław is Fundacja Ukraina (Ukrainian Foundation), which coordinates many integrative undertakings. The aim of the Foundation, established in 2013, is to support migrants, diasporas and foreign nationals, especially persons of Ukrainian descent in personal, social and professional development and in integration with the Polish community. The foundation implements its aims by way of organizing conferences and seminars, organizing shows, contests, fairs, sales, meetings and training as well as providing support centers for foreign nationals and organizing cultural and artistic projects. As Artem Zozulia (chairman of Ukrainian Foundation) states, “engaging in dialogue with diasporas in the city is very important. It is of great significance to the Ukrainian community. As a foundation we are present in many spaces in the city and we support not just the Ukrainian community. The Strategy of Intercultural Dialogue draws on the experience of the city and indicates those areas of activity that are relevant from the perspective of inter-cultural integration”²⁹.

Multiculturalism in the past and present play a significant role in building the brand of the city and presenting it to the outside world. This was abundantly clear during such events as the European Capital of Culture or the UNESCO World Capital of Books.

“Multicultural Wrocław” is one of the key projects, being implemented for several years. Within this project there are workshops, meetings, training sessions, fairs and intercultural consultations for teachers. It is organized by the Intercultural Dialogue Team at the Wrocław Centre for Community Development (an institution of the Wrocław local authority). According to Manuela Plizga-Konarska, the coordinator of the inter-cultural dialogue, these activities, which started a few years ago, are beginning to bring tangible effects. The work of the team is proof that interculturalism is here and now and that the actions undertaken by the city are to serve integration³⁰.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 17–19.

²⁹ Interview with Artem Zozulia, Wrocław, November 18, 2018.

³⁰ Interview with Manuela Plizga-Konarska, Wrocław, November 23, 2018.

Cofbuokheim

Today Bochum is a city with a far less tumultuous history than Wrocław. It is recognized as one of the most important urban centers in the Ruhr Basin. Cofbuokheim is a name from the 11th century, when it appears on documents of Archbishops of Cologne. The 19th century was crucial in the development of the city when coal mining and heavy industry were developed. This period is often referred to as the “Golden Age” of mining. This was also a time when large numbers of people migrated to Bochum and the Ruhr, including a large group of Poles. Bochum is one of the cities in the Ruhr Basin, which played a significant role in shaping the Polish diaspora. From 1922 the Polish Union in Germany was active there. “Ruhrpolen” is a term used to describe the large Polish diaspora. These were Poles who mostly originated from the eastern part of Prussia, and they used many dialects of the Polish language³¹.

According to D. Skrabania, “a glance at the two-volume encyclopedia of surnames of Polish origin in the Ruhr area is enough to get an idea of how close the genealogical relationship between Germans and Poles is – especially in the Rhine and Ruhr regions”³².

Such a linguistically and culturally diverse group of Polish migrants was also found in post-war Wrocław. These migrations and re-settlements led to very similar experiences and the experiences related by their participants are often very similar. It is worth noting that since the end of WWI over half a million Poles migrated to the Ruhr Basin. About 120 thousands of them returned to Poland after Poland regained independence in 1918. A similar number emigrated then to French, Belgian and Dutch industrial regions with most finding employment in mining and heavy industry. Almost half stayed in the Ruhr, undergoing integrative processes and assimilation.

The longer Ruhr Poles stayed in the area the more they tended to integrate. “This tendency was strengthened by the birth of children and increasing official and social pressures. Women – usually from their husbands’ areas of origin – were

³¹ About one third of the migrants, for whom the term Ruhr Poles has established itself in research, came from each of the provinces of Poznań and East Prussia, above all from the Masurian provinces (Polish-speaking Protestants), and southern Warmia, which was also largely Polish-speaking but Catholic. In addition to the two largest groups, several tens of thousands of immigrants each came from West Prussia, Kashubia and the province of Silesia, especially from the southern part of the administrative district of Opole (Polish-speaking Catholic Upper Silesians).

³² D. Skrabania, „*RuhrPolen*” *Polacy z Zagłębia Ruhry*, Porta Polonica, <https://www.porta-polonica.de/pl/atlas-miejsc-pami%C4%99ci/ruhrpolen-polacy-z-zaglebia-ruhry> [accessed: February 20, 2020].

often the driving forces behind integration. At first, they managed to emancipate themselves on a professional and social level,” explains David Skrabania³³.

The case of Bochum is relevant from the perspective of our research not only because of the presence of the Polish diaspora. There are still places which beautifully link the past with a more recent history of the city. One of them is, for sure, Am Korlaender, previously known as “Klosterstrasse”. It is a symbol of the Polish diaspora in Bochum up to this day, says Jacek Barski Head the Documentation Centre for the Culture and History of the Poles in Germany. This quite short street was the site of more than 30 Polish organizations. It was a bit like a town within a town. You could find a tailor, bakery, library, butchery – practically everything necessary to meet their daily needs³⁴.

What appears particularly unique to us when we observe a city both from the perspective of city diplomacy or diaspora diplomacy can be found at the Documentation Centre for the Culture and History of the Poles in Germany. Although the Centre was established in Bochum its activities are not confined to documenting the history of the Polish diaspora in the Ruhr Basin only. According to Jacek Barski, the aim of the Centre, called “Porta Polonica” is to document Polish presence in Germany thanks to which Poles will become more visible in Germany³⁵.

The Documentation Centre for the Culture and History of the Poles in Germany was established on June 28, 2013. The date is not coincidental as the decision was taken on the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty between the Republic of Poland and the German Federal Republic on good neighborly relations and friendship. “From the very outset I had a feeling that our work will be significant for our city, for Poland and Germany, for a better understanding of history and the history of the Polish diaspora in Germany. We have created a really impressive collection of documents, works, publications and memoirs of people from many generations. This is all available online. These are simply histories of people that may have been forgotten. A full reference to the past will be the moment when we will move to the building housing of ‘Rodlo’ Polish Union in Germany, the oldest Polish organization in Germany at the old Klosterstrasse”³⁶.

In recent years the Centre has prepared numerous exhibitions, lectures and has held meetings. It has been described as part of Poland’s national heritage

³³ *Ibidem*.

³⁴ Interview with Jacek Barski, Bochum, December 10, 2019.

³⁵ *Ibidem*.

³⁶ *Ibidem*.

abroad. Documents, photographs, witness statements, films and all sources systematically collected by “Porta Polonica” are digitized and recorded in a database. On the web page of “Porta Polonica” you can find information about remembrance places, showcases, online exhibitions, encyclopedia and exhibits³⁷.

The Atlas of Memories is a term often used in the context of “Porta Polonica”. We decided it is an important place, which links memories from the past, in order to pursue a multicultural dialogue, serving as a bridge between generations and teaching about the past. “The Centre, to a certain extent, is a kind of place where old and new migration routes cross. I am an example of this myself. I am a migrant, and have come to Bochum, where many years ago my great-grandfather came. He then migrated to the USA and then came back to Bochum. He was a journalist”³⁸.

Conclusion

These two cities, although very different, find some sort of bridges between the past and the present. What attracted our attention and inspired us to write this article were the inspiring histories of the two cities, which form a space for a collective memory. These are cities, which, on the one hand, conduct an internal narrative directed at their own residents including representatives of diasporas. On the other hand, they give shape to city diplomacy, dealing with difficult histories, including the histories of diasporas, to put themselves forward on the international stage as open cities with a rich history. Of course, the Documentation Centre for the Culture and History of the Poles in Germany presented in the article does not only have a local or regional character. In this case the city, its space and actions have been used to promote intercultural dialogue and to provide support for Polish-German dialogue making use of the Polish diaspora.

It may be considered that cities that are more culturally varied than other places, conscious of the presence of diasporas that have experienced migrations, are more sensitive to questions related to openness and tolerance. An example of this is the statement by the presidents of Polish cities, in strong contrast to the position of the Polish government.

Mayors of Polish cities have often declared a willingness to accept refugees, openness to migrants and being prepared to take part in humanitarian corridors. A joint declaration was made on June 30, 2017. Then mayors of the 12 largest Polish cities (Białystok, Bydgoszcz, Gdańsk, Katowice, Kraków, Lublin, Łódź, Poznań, Szczecin, Rzeszów, Warszawa, Wrocław) signed a declaration on

³⁷ <https://www.porta-polonica.de>. [accessed: February 15, 2020].

³⁸ Interview with Jacek Barski, Bochum, December 10, 2019.

migration. They stated that they are prepared to articulate a model for accepting migrants. They also stated that migration is a dynamic process that is common, unavoidable but one that may also accrue benefits. "Large Polish cities have for years been open to migration and diversity of residents. Friendly service in civic offices (help with) finding accommodation, access to the job market, access to education and healthcare are the cornerstones in the integration of people of different origins"³⁹. The declaration stressed the need for cooperation between local authorities with central government agencies, NGOs, academic and cultural institutions, churches, business, and the job market. For centuries cities have been multicultural and have taken the initiative in building a multicultural space. What we have drawn attention to earlier is relevant to both their residents as well as the process of building an image of the city on the international arena. In building a community of memory, conducting a cohesive narrative, using history even if it is complicated as is the case with Wrocław. It is a little like a sort of puzzle where each piece has to find its place in order to build a whole. Such an attempt has been made in Bochum where priceless artefacts have been collected, documenting the Polish diaspora today and in the past. This is similar to Wrocław, where we find traces of the Polish and Jewish diasporas from pre-WW2 times and using this, we are trying to create a climate for an open city for contemporary diasporas. Finally, we would like to draw attention to an unusual project entitled "To be a Pole in Breslau", which is aimed at reminding people about the Poles living in Wrocław before the war. Within this project a mobile application has been created enabling people to take a (virtual) tour showing where Poles lived in Wrocław before the war. The application has three routes: one in the footsteps of Poles living in Wrocław, a second tracing scouts and students and finally following the traces of Rudolf Tauer⁴⁰.

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³⁹ Unia Metropolii Polskich, <https://www.metropolie.pl/pl/4689,deklaracja-prezydentow-z-30-czerwca-2017-r-o-wspoldzialaniu-miast-unii-metropolii-polskich-w-dziedzinie-migracji/> [accessed: September 29, 2017].

⁴⁰ Niepodległa, <https://niepodlegla.gov.pl/aktualnosci/byc-polakiem-w-breslau-aplikacja-przenoszaca-w-swiat-przedwojennej-Wroclawskiej-polonii> [accessed: June 23, 2020].

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Summary: The article below aims to combine two aspects of research in the domain of international relations. These are studies on diasporas and diplomacy, as well as taking into account other players, such as cities, and their role in international relations. We are trying to find an answer to the question of who the players engaged in this process are, the direction of this process and its conduct. The article will also show the connection between diasporas and cities' diplomacy. We are looking at contemporary cities, their relations with diasporas from a historical perspective. We are interested in how the presence of diasporas in the public sphere over the years can be effectively used to promote a policy of social integration and to achieve city diplomacy-related aims.

Keywords: diaspora diplomacy, city diplomacy, Wrocław, Bochum, intercultural communication.

Podążając za różnorodnością. Dyplomacja diaspery w miastach

Streszczenie: Niniejszy artykuł ma na celu połączenie dwóch aspektów badań w ramach stosunków międzynarodowych: studiów nad diasporami oraz dyplomacją, jak również uwzględnia innych aktorów takich jak miasta i ich rolę w stosunkach międzynarodowych. Staramy się odpowiedzieć na pytanie kim są aktorzy zaangażowani w ten proces, w jaki sposób on przebiega oraz jakie są jego kierunki. Artykuł ma również wskazać powiązania między diasporami a dyplomacją miast. Przyglądamy się współczesnym miastom, ich polityce i relacjom z diasporami, ale z perspektywy historycznej. Interesuje nas bowiem w jaki sposób można skutecznie wykorzystać w obecność przez lata w przestrzeni publicznej diaspor prowadzenie dziś polityki integracji społecznej i realizacji zadań z zakresu city diplomacy.

Słowa kluczowe: dyplomacja diaspery, dyplomacja miast, Wrocław, Bochum, komunikacja międzykulturowa.