



*Governing Urban Diversity:
Creating Social Cohesion, Social Mobility and Economic Performance in Today's Hyper-diversified Cities*

Governance arrangements and initiatives in Tallinn, Estonia

Work package 4:	Governance arrangements and initiatives
Deliverable nr:	D 5.1
Lead partner:	Partner 7 (synergo)
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Nature:	Report
Dissemination level:	PP
Status:	Final version
Date:	24 August 2014

This project is funded by the European Union under the 7th Framework Programme; Theme: SSH.2012.2.2.2-1; Governance of cohesion and diversity in urban contexts



This project has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme for research, technological development and demonstration under grant agreement no. 319970.

To be cited as: Leetmaa, K., T. Tammaru, J. Holvandus, I. Pastak, K. Kamenik and A. Kährik (2014). Governance arrangements and initiatives in Tallinn, Estonia. Tartu: University of Tartu.

This report has been put together by the authors, and revised on the basis of the valuable comments, suggestions, and contributions of all DIVERCITIES partners.

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1 Introduction

Estonia has inherited two sizeable ethnic groups from the Soviet period that define the building blocks of urban diversity, the Estonian-speaking majority and the mainly Russian-speaking minority population. In Tallinn, these two groups are almost equal in size. While Estonian national policy documents do pay attention to ethnic diversity and ethnic inclusion, little can be found on this issue in the city level policy documents. More explicit policies, both when it comes to diversity recognition, encounters of different population groups and resource redistribution (cf. Fincher and Iveson, 2012), pertain to social diversity and social inequality in Tallinn (Tammaru et al., 2014). City level policy documents also show that the social and spatial process is inherently intertwined with each other—both district and neighbourhood diversities are important topics in the city level diversity discourse (Tallinn Strategy 2010–2030). Age diversity and lifestyle diversity surface rarely in the more general policy documents, but these dimensions are not fully ignored either.

The objective of the current report is to identify different innovative governance arrangements related to Northern Tallinn, the case study district of the current research programme in Tallinn, and to identify the most important success factors that would facilitate social cohesion, social mobility, economic performance of the various population groups living in Tallinn, as well as failure factors. The governance arrangements we study include variable forms of steering, collaboration between public and business actors or informal cooperation in neighbourhood organisations (Tasan-Kok et al., 2013). We will address the following three research questions:

- How is diversity conceptualised within the governance arrangements?
- Which are the main factors influencing success or failure of the governance arrangements?
- Can we identify new ideas for innovative policies and governance concepts?

Our study comprises 11 initiatives, including those that gain from public funding as well as those who do not. The direct initiators vary from active non-registered residents groups and large NGOs through private real estate developers and/or the city government. All selected initiatives have something to do with the case study area of Northern Tallinn. Northern Tallinn is a traditional inner city area which still comprises $\frac{3}{4}$ of Tallinn's harbours and industrial areas. There are ~59 000 people living here of 75 nationalities, the majority of them being Estonians (~46%) and Russians (~45%). Since the economic restructuring in the area during the 1990s, Northern Tallinn has become a socio-economically problematic district due to the high unemployment rate, lower education statuses and problematic housing. The common denominator for all studied initiatives is that they help to define the services that should be available locally. In addition to the publicly provided and well-established services these organisations and citizens' groups bring new issues to the public policy agenda and enrich local life with activities that support social cohesion, social mobility and economic performance in the locality. We provide an overview of how the initiatives have been created, how they routinely work and what has been achieved so far. In addition, the interviewees related to each governance arrangement were asked to critically evaluate their achievement and organisation and to describe the main factors leading either to the success and/or failure of their initiative.

The rest of the report is structured as follows. Chapter 2 gives an overview of the examined governance arrangements classified according to their main impact on social cohesion (Edible City I, Telliskivi Neighbourhood Association, Pelgulinna Neighbourhood Association, Cultural Center 'Salme', Russian Cultural Center), social mobility (Bethel's Congregation and Pastoral Care, Pro

Civitas NGO, Estonian Food Bank) and economic performance (Seaplane Harbour, Telliskivi Creative City, Tallinn Creative Hub). The results show that the initiatives often bring together people with a common interest in one particular issue while simultaneously eliciting these interests on a wider level, therefore representing the diversity of population groups. Chapter 3 provides the synthesis of these results. Finally, we summarise and discuss the main findings in Chapter 4.

2 Governance arrangements

2.1 Arrangements targeting social cohesion

Edible City I

Strategy, focus and organisation

“Edible City I” (EdC) aims to improve social cohesion through creating places of encounter for a diverse set of people such as young families, students, seniors and eco-fanatics with a common interest of growing food in the city. The idea of city-gardening found resonance in kindergartens and retirement homes, and similar projects were later carried out in other Estonian cities. The initiative was carried out from 2008 till 2010. EdC was started by a group of activists engaged in the NGO Urban Lab. The latter was created in 2006 as a testing ground for urban innovations, it involves researchers and practitioners who aim to elaborate new ideas on how to improve the urban environment using scientific, social and artistic methods. The NGO is also a lobby group with the aim to popularise the use of new solutions in daily urban governance by promoting urban research, sustainable development and collaborative planning.

The initiative of EdC was originally an experiment carried out on the rooftops of two of Tallinn’s buildings, the Estonian Academy of Arts and the cultural centre ‘Polymer’. According to the report ‘Edible City I’ (Tint, 2010) the initiative was based on a popular science test in 2008 where the quantity of pollution in edible plants growing next to major roads was measured. This was accompanied by practical city-gardening which in turn was encouraged by introducing the initiative at public events and in the media. Since the initiative was an experiment with a rather open end and scope, all the activities were planned step-by-step parallel to the on-going process and depending on the existing resources. The initiators were beginners in gardening, enjoying the self-education and topic discovery in the course of the activities. This implies that the initiative relates most strongly to the lifestyle by bringing together ecologically minded urban dwellers.

The goal of the initiative was to break through the dominant thought pattern that the city is too polluted to grow food in, a decoy for people to rethink the idea of city gardening. Sander Tint, the leader of the initiative explains: *‘Why are we willing to live in a city where we do not even dare to grow food?’* (Inseneeria blog, 2012). Although some urban gardening took place during the Soviet period in the suburban area, e.g. datcha¹ culture (see Zavisca, 2003), according to the interviewee, agriculture and subsistence farming have not been important in cities: *‘The relation between Estonians and the rural culture influences the understandings of farming quite strongly: the correct place for growing food is in the countryside.’*

The original circle of interested parties was small, consisting of 3-4 people. As the initiative grew, so did the network the interviewee explains: *‘We found that on a local level city gardening is practiced in very different ways, and much more than the common discourse allows us to presume.’* Thus, the target audience grew quite spontaneously. Connections were created with other initiatives in Tallinn and

¹ Usually small garden-area with a self-made shed in the out-skirts of the city.

elsewhere in the country as well as in Finland and Germany. Framework and structure of the project were set by Urban Lab. The initial project did not receive funding. Thus, all the expenses (e.g. lab tests) were covered by the initiators themselves. However, after the report of lab results was written and published online, funding was applied from the Environmental Investment Centre and the Cultural Endowment of Estonia which helped Urban Lab to issue the paperback 'Edible City I'.

The EdC initiative has since experienced a renaissance: the community garden was created in the 'New World' neighbourhood in Tallinn which was popular among both young Estonian gentrifiers, men and women, and also Russian-speaking senior citizens, mainly elderly women living in the area. Organic farms are today administered by NGO Tartu Ecogarden in Tartu, Estonia's second largest city. In a TV interview Sander Tint elaborates: "*Gardening is seen as a reducer of environmental impact that also facilitates community feeling—especially when it takes place in a multicultural and age different environment—and thus unifies the neighbours. It has multiple simultaneous roles*" (ERR² archives). In an interesting way the initiative reflects the intersectionality of the roles people carry daily. By creating shared spaces where you perform the role of a gardener, it does not really matter whether you are Estonian or Russian, rich or poor, experienced or inexperienced in gardening. One might garden for stress relief, the other for subsistence (e.g. getting winter vegetables). Through encounters these activities also open the opportunity to learn from each other and to create a more inclusive society: "*Farming creates its own subculture,*" according to our interviewee.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The concept of diversity, although it is strongly entwined in the EdC initiative, is not defined in the framework of the initiative *per se*. Furthermore, the interviewee expresses a rather philosophical view on the concept:

"Diversity in general is perceived as invisible because the World is structured through familiar categories and the 'unfamiliar' becomes evident—if at all—as a disturbance in our subjective and socially meaningful frame."

Mostly EdC enriches urban diversity firstly by creating new urban functions and daily activities that people enjoy in their environment (already the initiators themselves feel satisfied when they have such an opportunity for self-realisation), and secondly by bringing together different people, those who would otherwise meet each other only rarely.

Main factors influencing success or failure

The EdC initiative was initiated in 2008 and finalised with the issued paperback report in 2010. Since the initiators were fanatics rather than experts in this field they did not aim to commit to this initiative in the longer perspective. The interviewee argued that it was unexpected and even somewhat burdensome for him personally to be the main spokesman related to urban gardening. Overall the EdC team considers the initiative to be successful mainly due to the dedication of the volunteers and somewhat surprising public interest (e.g. media). Since the initiative was started, it experienced a renaissance in the society and probably encouraged new activists in Tallinn and in other cities without having a direct link to this particular initiative. In retrospect the main obstacles were financial. More interest and suggestions for cooperation from the local government were hoped for. Some funding was received in the final stages of the project when the initiative had already established a positive reputation.

² Estonian Public Broadcasting

Even though the initiative was based on voluntary work, the people involved were experienced in communicating their activities to the public. During the initiative a great deal of discussion was carried out. The report was also sent to every possible interested party (local government, third sector initiatives, retirement homes, schools, and kindergartens, everyone whose activities might have been connected in some way with the idea). The whole project received substantial media coverage—this made the seemingly temporary initiative encouraging for similar activities in the future.

Conclusion

The innovativeness of the EdC initiative is hidden in its simplicity. The city-gardening idea is quite easy to grasp and understandable for everyone. The shared platform created an opportunity for encounters regardless of the diverse backgrounds of people. Even such temporary initiatives thus help to build local trust and social networks, and as it crosses the borders of socioeconomic status and ethnic divisions, it facilitates social cohesion in the neighbourhood. As Tallinn has two main ethno-linguistic groups, initiatives which provide activities, e.g. gardening as a common practice and part of their culture, the potential of bonding of these ethnic groups via common activity is eminent. In addition, it should be emphasised that in the district of Northern Tallinn, where gentrification brings together very different social and ethnic groups, such cross-group initiatives are very important in building more inclusive local communities. Last but not least, the EdC initiative also represents a situation in which local residents themselves define their preferred local activities like the EdC where they aim to organise an enjoyable leisure activity and blaze a trail in public discourse.

Telliskivi Neighbourhood Association

Strategy, focus and organisation

Telliskivi Neighbourhood Association (TNhA) is an NGO with the main goal to preserve and improve the residential social and built environment in the neighbourhoods of Pelgulinn and Kalamaja (two neighbourhoods in Northern Tallinn). It does so through participation in the collaborative planning process regarding these neighbourhoods. The target audience are the local residents. The background of the members vary from students to, for example, entrepreneurs, white-collar workers, unemployed, young mothers and senior citizens as well as architects, designers, lawyers and politicians. It thus cuts across ethnic, social and age diversity and binds together people with similar lifestyles and environmental preferences. TNhA focuses directly on creating social cohesion by creating places of encounter and recognising different possible interest groups in the neighbourhood. Other stakeholders in their activities are the local government, real estate developers, and other NGOs. Main actions taken towards achieving their goals are: developing constructive discussion with other stakeholders (mainly the local government), raising their own competence in the given topic in question to be equal parties in discussions, promoting a collaborative planning process, intermediating information between interested parties, but also increasing cohesion in the community through different social activities, like the annual Kalamaja Days festival. The latter event is fairly popular amongst all Tallinners, and it opens the neighbourhood to the wider public.

According to the interviewee, representing the active core of the association, TNhA is a body through which relations inside and outside the neighbourhood are created, a network of ideas, which aims *“to hold the locals, other NGOs and other governance bodies connected.”* As of 9 June 2014 there are 125 official members (7 in the directive), unofficially the circle of supporters is wider. The association creates possibilities for encounters and functions as a platform for recognising and collecting different local identities and ideas. Some members of TNhA are also part of the

Northern Tallinn District Council and members of the Tallinn City Council, which in turn ensures that the local ideas are well heard in the City Government. The finances of the association are comprised of membership fees (10€ annually), donations and project based funding.

With the neighbourhood associations there always remains the question of who do they actually represent. According to the interviewee, *“fortunately you cannot do one way [ignore different opinions], it would create a homogenous mass.”* Still, as the neighbourhood has a certain milieu, *“people who have moved here recently (more affluent residents compared to the previous residential structure) have chosen to live here and they generally share the same vision, similar lifestyle and habits.”* On the one hand, this might lead to the assumption that this reduces diversity within the neighbourhood by bringing together only similar people in the sense of shared world views. On the other hand, it increases the diversity of neighbourhoods in the city by eliciting these different preferences through neighbourhood associations on the city level. However, the interviewee emphasises other aspects of intra-neighbourhood diversity as well, such as *“the developed milieu itself is diverse with its living, business and even small scale industrial options, the area itself has defined it.”* As the association stands for preserving and developing the neighbourhoods, the aim of the initiative is also to maintain the existing diversity within the area.

However, as the district is rapidly changing, the identification of the locals as ‘those who have chosen to live here’ has to be acknowledged—the district has experienced the inflow of new inhabitants, usually young Estonians with higher socioeconomic status searching for a distinctive residential environment close to the city centre. They have settled in this inner city neighbourhood as part of the socio-spatial career of young urban residents with certain values praising urban lifestyle (cf. Haase et al., 2013). However, the voice of those, often ethnic minorities (mainly Russians) with lower socio-economic status and who have lived in Northern Tallinn mainly since the Soviet period, are not well represented in the neighbourhood associations (Holvandus, 2014). Telliskivi NhA, as with many other neighbourhood associations, certainly represent only a particularly more active segment of the local residents.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The association aims to stand against the neighbourhood becoming homogeneous: *“If no one acts on behalf of the neighbourhood, the developers can easily plan and develop one-sided projects which in turn create one-sided problems.”* By gathering many different worldviews and ideas, one’s personal ambitions are lowered, thus, different perspectives become evident. As this diverse urban environment attracts many people, there indeed are many parallel visions of the neighbourhood. Thus, overall, diversity is perceived through the spatial, social, architectural, functional mixture within the neighbourhoods which the association is trying to maintain.

Main factors influencing success or failures

The success of the association is directly bound to the active members who are interested and also professionally able to participate in the initiative. Biggest success stories are Telliskivi and Soo streets, both of which were undergoing reconstruction. Telliskivi Association was able to successfully collaborate with the District Government and City Government, making sure that the planning outcome is bike and pedestrian-friendly. The other success factor relates to educating themselves to be an equal partner in the collaboration process, *“the goal is to have a level of knowledge which is taken into account, so that you start to recognise the other stakeholders’ motives.”* However, as a shortcoming of this otherwise good intention is that voices speaking ‘unprofessional’ language are ignored and the voices of those educated professionals are often interpreted as representing the overall ‘local voice’.

The main factor for failure is the lack of time that people can invest into voluntary activities. The other failure factor that needs to be tackled daily is the lack of finances since membership fees and donations are not enough to secure the sustainability of the initiative. At the same time, as the interviewee also emphasised, the association exists because the need to intervene has been recognised. As a consequence of these two opposite forces, more active and passive periods are inherent for such types of initiatives.

A specific feature related to the TNhA as well as the other similar area-based NGOs in Tallinn is the fact that it mainly provides the opportunity to discuss local issues for the Estonian-speaking population. The interviewee admits that this should be taken into account when listening to local voices in the sense that one major part of the population, mainly the Russian-speaking ethnic minorities, might be left out from such discussions. The interviewee, however, did not clarify which alternative and comparable tools could be used for empowering the Russian-speakers. In other words, despite the focus on improving the Estonian language proficiency among minorities in Estonian national integration programmes (Tammaru et al., 2014), a strong language barrier still exists for Soviet-era migrants and their children which does not allow them to equally participate in grass-root activities with those being proficient in Estonian.

Conclusion

Neighbourhood associations like Telliskivi Association act as community unifiers, communication network creators, but also as bridge builders between the public sector and civil society. The innovation of neighbourhood associations is to facilitate regular cooperation with the city government that would improve the quality of local life. In Tallinn, neighbourhood associations are relatively young and, therefore, the codes of conduct have only emerged recently, especially when it comes to solving the different views on the future of the city life in the neighbourhood and in the city. Another threat is to fail with the representation issues, in the sense that all citizens are actively involved in local activities. This is the main criticism towards the associations from the city government as well. The representation issue cuts into ethnic dimension, i.e. despite a strong emphasis on Estonian language proficiency among the Russian-speaking minorities, the language issue in grass-root activities such as neighbourhood associations still seems to be one of the most important barriers for social cohesion in the neighbourhoods of Tallinn. This implies that both parties, neighbourhood associations and the city government, need to make an effort for improving their mutual co-operation.

Pelgulinna Neighbourhood Association

Strategy, focus and organisation

Pelgulinna Neighbourhood Association (PNhA) facilitates local level social cohesion by contributing to resolving everyday neighbourhood related problems, visioning the future of the neighbourhood, helping the local government dealing with problems regarding the neighbourhood, providing social support for the elderly and disabled, promote safety and enrich the cultural activities. Today the target audience consists mainly of the elderly which has resulted from the emerged socio-cultural direction the association has somewhat naturally obtained and the interests the members themselves have. Thus, the activity of PNhA fosters social cohesion mainly by recognising a specific interest group, the active elderly, in the neighbourhood as well as creating places of encounter for this group with others interested in the aims of the association.

PNhA was founded in 1992, making it the oldest neighbourhood association in the district of Northern Tallinn. The number of members of PNhA is difficult to identify since everyone who is active does not necessarily need to be part of the association officially. Members of the associa-

tion represent the inhabitants of Pelgulinna neighbourhood well socio demographically. When Russian-speakers are not usually involved in the activities of the neighbourhood associations, the PNhA is different in this aspect since they have Russian-speaking members as well. The older generation of Estonians who were already adults during the Soviet period (compared to the on average younger members of the Telliskivi NhA), have had more contacts with Russian-speaking immigrant groups, which probably explains the presence of Russian-speaking members in the association.

PNhA activity is directed towards social cohesion in the neighbourhood by providing possibilities of encounters for certain social groups, especially the elderly. It should be stated that in the context of fast gentrification the elderly often represent the more sedentary part of the population and has therefore experienced its transition. By providing opportunities to come together and to interact with each other, they aim to promote the feeling of the sense of community where everybody knows everybody. Furthermore, they seek collaboration with other neighbourhood associations or NGOs in order to achieve a certain division of labour between them; for example, problems regarding spatial planning are usually tackled together with Telliskivi NhA, while street children are now helped by Bethel's Congregation. In their 20 years of activity, there have been some great examples of successful cooperation with the Northern Tallinn government, "*which has always been and still is very supportive towards the association,*" according to our interviewee.

An example of a successful project with long traditions that is carried out by the PNhA is the 'Lady Companions' project. Under this initiative more active local women are visiting those that are less mobile due to their health or disability or need social contacts for other reasons. They spend time with them and provide help when needed. Monetary resources for these activities have been traditionally combined through project applications, membership fees (3€ annually) and donations. During the earlier years different sponsorships were granted.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

No concrete standpoint is expressed on how diversity should be understood locally: "*I don't know how to answer this.*" No activities targeting diversification are also undertaken consciously; it mainly draws together elderly people. The members of the PNhA are the most active people among the elderly population living in the Pelgulinna neighbourhood, and they do elicit the concerns of the elderly to the decision makers and are recognised as a certain interest group of the local community by the City Government.

The PNhA representative also emphasises the need to take steps towards closer relations with the Russian-speaking minority population in the neighbourhood and elsewhere in the city. "*It would be nice if we could (during the Pelgulinna Day, an annual festival organised by the PNhA) bring together different ethnic groups living in Pelgulinn, Kopli or surrounding areas ... to make them part of our family.*" This way, they clearly aim at social cohesion across different population groups. The biggest obstacle in bringing together Estonian-speaking and Russian-speaking populations is the language barrier, as was also recognised by the Telliskivi association. However, the elderly Estonians are more prepared to communicate in the Russian language compared to the younger generations. They can thus be seen as a bridge between the two main language communities living in the city. One concrete extension of the activities across ethnic lines would be to incorporate the Russian-speaking community into the 'Lady Companions' project as well.

Main factors influencing success or failure

The biggest success story is definitely the 'Lady Companions' project which has had a very positive response from the elderly and the local government and which still supports the project since

its initiation in 2006. The main factors behind the success are the high commitment of the volunteers and their special expertise in the field as they are the only bottom-up initiative voluntarily providing such ‘service’. The main obstacle for more efficient activities is funding as the project is based on voluntary work; the association motivates the volunteers with seminars and trainings and by organising small trips that favour creating contacts and communication. Positive outcomes are mainly related to the successful networking of the elderly. The second factor hobbling the action is the age of the members—the participation of the younger generation in the neighbourhood association is hoped for, but more active younger people are often engaged in other associations where promoting their lifestyle (e.g. hipsters’ subculture³) is on the agenda.

Conclusion

With the example of the Pelgulinna NhA, an interesting spontaneously developed subgroup of elderly has appeared. Many of its innovative aspects and problems are similar to Telliskivi NhA. However, its particular innovativeness is in engaging older people. As the city’s population is quickly aging, this is a very important initiative. The members of the Pelgulinna association have already been quite innovative in figuring out the ways (e.g. ‘Lady Companions’) to stay active. However, more can be done. For example, activities such as the elderly’s time banking activities are still missing. Here, good avenues for co-operation with the city could be developed as co-ordination would be needed for making such local level co-operation even more effective.

Cultural Centre ‘Salme’

Strategy, focus and organisation

Cultural Centre ‘Salme’ (CC ‘Salme’) focuses on social cohesion by providing on-demand venues for cultural activities, for example, traditional dance groups for children, middle aged and elderly, amateur theatre, choirs and belly dancing. CC ‘Salme’ has a 700-seat theatre hall, ballroom, gallery, theatre cafeteria and a gym. It is a popular and well-recognised active cultural centre that was founded in 1965 as a traditional Soviet era cultural centre, a large building (with a 7000 square meter floor area) with necessary equipment and rooms for various activities that should correspond with the cultural needs of the population. It is still the biggest cultural activity centre in the Northern Tallinn city district. Today, there are about 40 collectives meeting regularly with over 1500 participants in total.

CC ‘Salme’ is a subsidiary of the Northern Tallinn District Government—its basic public funding is always guaranteed, and other monetary resources comprise of venue letting. It is run by 10 people. Its activities have an ethnic dimension since CC ‘Salme’ has mainly specialised in Estonian national culture, but a few Russian and Ukrainian collectives can be identified as well. Many prestigious large song and dance collectives have been staged in this cultural centre for many years, for example, the Estonian Song and Dance Celebration, one of the largest amateur choral and dance events in the world.

The broader goal of CC ‘Salme’ is to maintain and develop the Estonian national culture traditions and cultural heritage. It also performs a different role compared with other cultural institutions: CC ‘Salme’ has the prestige and reputation of dealing with traditional national cultures and offering hobby activities for children and youth. In recent years, CC ‘Salme’ has hosted different public institutions and national authorities at events and conferences, many of them charitable and social.

³ hipsters—men and women typically in their 20s and 30s who value independent thinking, counter-culture, progressive politics, an appreciation of art, creativity, intelligence, and witty banter

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

Diversity is not used in CC ‘Salme’ as a direct goal of its activities, and diversity as a phenomenon is mentioned mainly in pragmatic terms. The activities of CC ‘Salme’ reflect rather than promote diversity in the city.

“We don’t have the same situation like in America that here is a Chinatown and there are some other ethnic population’s district. The Estonians and Russians live everywhere. It is a mixed population. Northern Tallinn cannot be divided into parts. It is not true that Kopli, Pelguranna and Pelgulinna are rather Russian and Kalamaja Estonian communities. Estonians and Russians are represented in each neighbourhood.”

The director of the centre argues that the culture should be provided in large centres that combine different activities, and it should preferably be organised through top-down policies. Amateur activities and diversity of opportunities are rather seen as negative because they fragment the cultural activities. The contemporary increase of cultural possibilities and differences are therefore criticised and viewed as a negative phenomenon. They are doing a little bit everywhere, but nothing properly.

Main factors influencing success or failure

The strength of the CC ‘Salme’ stems from a tradition that goes back to the Soviet period. It operates successfully due to external factors like the high demand for such a traditional culture centre and the support, including funding by the city, of the public sector. Even if it is old-fashioned in comparison with modern culture centres, the CC ‘Salme’ still owns the largest market share in the cultural economy of Northern Tallinn in the sense of a loyal audience and participants.

Conclusion

In a paradoxical way, the innovation of the CC ‘Salme’ is to enrich the city’s cultural economy and cultural diversity through providing recreation and leisure opportunities that facilitate, most of all, traditional Estonian culture. The strength comes from an entrenched position that has existed for decades and also through the presence of a loyal audience. It is interesting that elsewhere in Estonia such old-fashioned culture centres have disappeared, whereas CC ‘Salme’ still operates successfully. CC ‘Salme’ is also a good example of how an unintentional and spontaneous management of diversity-related developments take place in a situation where diversity is not the direct goal or is even denied to exist. However, by keeping the traditional ‘cultural combine’ operating, CC ‘Salme’ contributes to the diversity of the cultural life in the city in a very important way.

Russian Cultural Centre*Strategy, focus and organisation*

Russian Cultural Centre (RCC) contributes to social inclusion by managing Tallinn’s resident’s cultural and recreational activities, organising and providing leisure spending possibilities, sustaining and developing of folk culture. Located on the border of the City Centre and Northern Tallinn districts, RCC was founded as a municipal institution in 2001. It functions as a Russian parallel to the Estonia CC ‘Salme’. When examined separately, both ‘Salme’ and RCC can be seen as ethno-linguistically segregative institutions that do not facilitate the encounter of the two main ethno-linguistic communities of Tallinn on the one hand, but taken together they both contribute to maintain the ethno-cultural diversity of Tallinn by allowing to develop various mainly language

based cultural activities. As the CC ‘Salme’, RCC also receives basic funding from the city. In addition donations can be made (RCC statute, 2013).

RCC’s development to an institution as it is today has been a long process. During the 1990s, Estonian society was undergoing dramatic changes: Russians who used to be the majority ethnic group in the former Soviet Union became an ethnic minority group (about a third of the population) in Estonia. The image of the institution was not very good at that time—together with the cultural function, some shady activity was carried out, even shootings occurred, but *“those were the times of change.”* For these reasons, the centre was seldom visited by Estonians. Regarding the image, much has changed during the last two decades. RCC’s activities today are very strongly bound by different groups, clubs, choirs, ensembles, etc. In addition to cultural activity training courses, e.g. for Russian school teachers, and lectures in different fields, e.g. economy, are provided. This way, RCC contributes to the social mobility of the Russian-speakers living in Tallinn. Rooms are also rented out for concerts and performances. Since the building itself is a landmark and has undergone renovation, the number of visitors has grown.

The goal of RCC in Northern Tallinn, Tallinn and Estonia is to bring together various forms of Russian (or Russian-speakers’) culture and to provide a possibility to cultivate them, thus creating an environment open to the Russian-speaking population. The target audience is comprised of all who are interested in Russian culture as the language of communication in RCC is Russian. The stakeholders are all who participate in different activities: the city government, Estonian Ministry of Culture, event organisers, tourists and visitors. Both CC ‘Salme’ and RCC represent the Soviet-era attitude of how the culture should be organised – all activities are carried out in one building where the necessary equipment and rooms are provided as opposed to fragmented target groups in different locations in case of many other cultural institutions.

It is complicated to evaluate to what extent the RCC’s action fosters social cohesion, e.g. to overcome social distance between two ethno-linguistic groups in Tallinn, and to what extent segregation and segmentation in leisure activities perpetuates social distance. Although culture in itself is potentially a unifying backbone of society, many studies on leisure segregation in Estonia (Mooses, 2014; Silm et al., 2013; Kamenik and Tammaru, 2014) show that segregation in cultural activities is inherent to multicultural societies. Within the RCC, events that bring together the Estonian and the Russian-speaking communities has become more common recently. Even Estonian events have started to appear more often in RCC, but they are of a more commercial nature and result from suitable venue availability, e.g. the venue is very well suited for various theatre performances and concerts. This has also started to bring a larger Estonian audience to Russian shows.

The activities in RCC are not directed on social mobility *per se*, but they still have an influence on social mobility. For example, it offers possibilities to take part in hobby activities for socially less advantaged children; artists are free to exhibit their works on the hall walls; RCC also provides several training courses with a reasonable price. Such compliance encourages one to be more self-confident and to set higher goals in one’s life.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

Cultural diversity is seen as a positive aspect of life: *“Society cannot become homogeneous or one-sided.”* RCC tries to provide as many different opportunities as possible for enriching the cultural life of ethnic Russians and other Russian-speakers. It could be seen from both points of view—on the one hand it even separates two ethno-linguistic groups in Estonia, but on the other it maintains the cultural diversity in the city.

Although Estonians have found their way to RCC, it still remains mainly an institution that develops bonding capital between the Russian-speakers. But Russian-speakers are ethnically quite diverse, as Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Armenians, Georgians, Azerbaijani, Moldovans, etc., all of those speaking mainly Russian as a mother tongue, are engaged in RCC. Potentially, if the discourse of integration develops the way we have experienced during the last decade, from an assimilationist to a multicultural approach, the possibilities for building bridging capital via RCC and CC 'Salme' are remarkable—from strictly separated institutions towards places of encounter for both Estonian-language and Russian-language based ethnic communities. Both have the potential to develop into centres where high level opportunities for fostering cultural diversity are offered for everybody, thus enriching the cultural landscape of Tallinn. So today, diversity could be understood as creating diverse cultural services for Estonian-speakers and Russian-speakers, but also has the potential to lessen social distance between two ethno-linguistic group's in the future through facilitating joint festivals, working groups or other activities.

Main factors influencing success or failure

The main external factor of success is the present government policy. Both the current city policy and national policy take care of the rights and opportunities of the Russian-speaking minority. Thus, the current situation favours the activity of RCC. However, according to the vice director of RCC, this might change unexpectedly. Another success factor is the open-mindedness of RCC's managers. As mentioned earlier, the image of RCC has undergone fundamental changes since the 1990s, which are largely the result of the decisions made by the managers, e.g. providing training courses, renting out the venue for different events, thereby opening up RCC for larger numbers of people from different backgrounds. Even though the activities are still mainly in Russian, Estonians have made their way to RCC as well.

Conclusion

Ethnic minorities who share the Russian language have established institutions to organise their cultural activities and to maintain their identity. RCC is one important constituent part of this infrastructure, an organisation that fosters Russian culture in Estonia. Its main innovation is to mingle the diversity of Russian-speaking ethnic groups in the city by enabling wider cultural services for people with an immigration background (1st to 3rd generation). With CC 'Salme' and RCC we can identify two institutions with originally the same idea that cultural activities should be organised from the top-down on an ethno-linguistic basis. RCC, while keeping the traditional framework in mind, tries to be open-minded and find new and innovative ways of how to make their services more approachable for different groups. According to the representative of RCC diversity is important and should always be present, whereas the contribution of CC 'Salme' on diversity is focused on keeping traditional Estonian cultural activities active in the city.

2.2 Arrangements targeting social mobility

Bethel's Centre of Pastoral Care

Strategy, focus and organisation

Bethel's Centre of Pastoral Care (BCPC), part of the Bethel Congregation, aims to promote social mobility by addressing its activities to socially vulnerable children and youth. The Congregation was founded in 1927 and re-established after the Soviet period in 1993. It is a Protestant Congregation with a wider vision to be an active church and integrator of the local community. Traditionally the church has not played a noteworthy role in social care in Estonia, as we know from many Catholic countries. Bethel Congregation is thus a notable exception in this regard. In 1997

the congregation started working with street children in Northern Tallinn. Bethel's Centre of Pastoral Care, comprising of a day-care centre and shelter for street children, was founded by the Bethel Congregation in 2000.

BCPC offers different activities in their day-care centre for approximately 10-15 children and overnight accommodation for approximately 12-18 children. The centre also provides lunch, different sports and cultural activities. Teachers help the kids with schoolwork and also teach the Estonian language to children whose mother tongue is not Estonian. Approximately 90% of the participating children have a Russian origin (much more than the average proportion of Russian-speakers in the district and in Tallinn). BCPC organises theatre visits, hiking and camping events. In addition, because of the international contacts with Scandinavian and German Protestant congregations, the BCPC is able to take children to different events abroad. Bethel's Congregation supports low income groups with food, footwear, clothes, and hygienic supplies and offers scholarships to children from risk families. Currently the congregation supports 135 low-income families regularly.

According to the director of BCPC, the vision of BCPC is a *“healthy and safe society where the church has a clear role and also carries out the social task. The church is already a social, serving and guiding entity by its nature.”* The main aim is to provide social and material support, develop the neighbourhood's social, economic and religious competence, to be a mediator between different population groups and to deal with children and youth. An important purpose is to increase children's access to education—to help children with behavioural problems (school dropouts) and to re-acquire the school routine.

Currently 11 children live in BCPC. Throughout its existence, the centre has accommodated approximately 70 children and helped hundreds of people with day-care work. Twenty people work in BCPC voluntarily and in addition, some employees trained to work with risk group children are engaged. BCPC is financed mainly by donations made from Estonian and foreign civilians and entrepreneurs. Between 2000 and 2004 it was also supported by the city government but not anymore. The cooperation was bogged down with legislative dissensions (as mentioned before, social work in congregations is rather unusual in Estonia and does not have working legislative framework) and has slowly gained pace again in recent years. Information on current resources was not presented.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The actors involved in the BCPC define diversity as a co-existence of different ethnic groups, but other issues are also involved:

“Diversity to me means that people who speak very different languages live here. This human environment—Ukrainians, Russians, Estonians. Northern Tallinn is ethnically very diverse. One part of it is clean, beautiful and well-groomed, but the other is inversely different: there are municipal houses, where children become drug addicts when only five years old.”

As the BCPC fights against poverty, attention is focused on the negative aspects of socio-economic diversity. Socio-economic and ethnic aspects overlap with each other, and it amplifies the problems for marginal groups. The BCPC considers it important to help the children from problematic families in the beginning of the downward spiral where there still exists an opportunity for a positive change. In a wider scope, it is important to create places where different ethnic population groups can meet: *“As long as there is no place for encounter created, the two main ethnic groups, Estonians and Russians, live separately and shun each other.”*

Because of the absence of successful governmental mechanisms for bringing Estonian and Russian population groups together, the Bethel's Congregation and the BCPC, and other institutions alike, are important for increasing the socialisation of marginalised groups and in binding the two ethno-linguistic communities together. It is remarkable that (if going to the church at all) the Russian-speaking community in Estonia is rather related to orthodox and the Estonian community to the protestant church. The BCPC thus crosses even this centuries-old border of two separate Christian communities.

Main factors influencing success or failure

According to the interviewee, the main factor influencing success is the special role of BCPC as a non-governmental and religious organisation, which enables it to create a relationship of trust with marginal groups.

“We have often taken the first step to reach the marginal groups, families living in poverty, having absolutely no contact with society. The marginal groups have usually some kind of prejudice and disappointment against the state and they don't want to ask for help. We have a different role, we can help them because our contact with marginal groups is based on trust.”

Most likely such trust and the impartiality of national institutions are the reasons why BCPC has been so successful without public support and subsidies. The religious organisational form ensures the motivation of the stakeholders and sufficient funding by virtue of donations.

The main problems relate to the poor legislative framework in their specific area of activity. More specifically, BCPC does not correspond to any law in the sense that it does not match to a boarding school, youth centre or an orphanage description in Estonia's legislation and, therefore, no subsidies are granted by the state nor by the municipality. Moreover, there has been some talk regarding the closure of the BCPC, but as the initiative is so successful in its social care aims, no action has been taken. The Chancellor of Justice of the Republic of Estonia examined the BCPC activity and found that this conception works, but it does not match with the legislative framework in Estonia.

Conclusion

Bethel's Centre of Pastoral Care aims to overcome poverty and exclusion, the negative aspect of socio-economic diversity. It realigns the marginal groups in ordinary life which positively affects social cohesion in Northern Tallinn, and tries to facilitate the social mobility of the vulnerable children in the very beginning of the downward spiral. If the normal socialisation process in a family does not create necessary links with the society, the congregation enables these connections both economically and socially. The role of congregations in social work is neither acknowledged nor frequent in Estonia, and the innovative nature of BCPC in Tallinn stems from independently developing this kind of social activity framework which is vital in the city. The social work in the context of a religious organisation, although self-evident in many European countries, is not that common in Estonian society. BCPC has thus served as a forerunner for these discussions in the society.

NGO Pro Civitas

Strategy, focus and organisation

NGO Pro Civitas focuses on social mobility through providing psychological, social, debt and career counselling, entrepreneurial and project management and job search training. The target audience – long-term unemployed – consists of both Estonian and Russian-speakers, young people who have not been able to enter the labour market and the middle aged who have lost their job and have not been able to find employment. Often they have no skills or certain profession or their skills have become useless due to the structural changes in the economy. Labour force services like counselling and apprenticeships are provided often by specialised NGOs in close cooperation with local governments and the Estonian Unemployment Insurance Fund. The latter defines and pays for such labour market services. More successful NGOs in this sector have developed their expertise, together with the network of specialists and support persons working directly with unemployed. Typically, many projects have been funded by the European Social Fund actions.

Pro Civitas was founded in 2007 and it has long-term experience in offering labour market service packages in Northern Tallinn. There is one permanent member, and hiring other employees depends on the given project/procurement. Among other things, the NGO operates a wood, metal and clay workshop in cooperation with the Northern Tallinn district government, offering apprenticeship options locally. Apprenticeship services are not only area-based, though many unemployed visitors are from the local district and Pro Civitas has developed close contacts with the local target groups. Furthermore, in the case of this NGO, the funding scheme is based on project applications and through a public procurement process. In addition, yearly subsidies for stable services from the Tallinn City Government provide a smaller but more regular source of funding.

Apprenticeships are a way to provide some work experience for the long-term unemployed and this helps to acquire or restore the basic working habits. Usually it consists of unskilled work exercises where the practical activities are combined with counselling and classroom lectures. An additional task, related to the bilingual environment of the city of Tallinn, is teaching the Estonian language to its target group. Approximately 70% of the long-term unemployed people visiting Pro Civitas are Russian-speakers, and 30% are Estonians. This reflects the worse situation of Russian-speakers on the Estonian labour market.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

NGO Pro Civitas clearly targets to combat the unwanted forms of urban diversity, i.e. the socio-economic differences in Northern Tallinn like social polarisation, social exclusion and segregation. The other, also positive aspects of diversity, are not discussed. Social inequalities are increasingly projected in space along with the ongoing gentrification process. Northern Tallinn has diversified internally during this process, leading to situations where the pockets of affluence and extreme poverty are sometimes located directly side-by-side. According to the interviewee, the district has polarised into two parts since the gentrification process is more intense in areas closer to the city centre (Kalamaja) compared to more distant areas (Kopli, neighbourhood with many security and social problems).

Gentrification influences the physical upgrading of urban space, but it also leads to displacement of less affluent residents. Relocation occurs towards the more peripheral coastal areas of Northern Tallinn, towards other districts with poor facilities and few services or in the worst case to homelessness. As such, new emerging socio-spatial disparities in the district are created and gentrification may in the longer run lessen diversity. Pro Civitas aims to fight against extreme socio-

economic disparities as well as against further socio-spatial segregation by addressing their target groups locally that ideally may also lessen the probabilities for displacement.

Main factors influencing success or failure

The main problem stems from both the project-based nature of Pro Civitas and competition-based funding of labour market service providers in general. First, for a committed NGO, both of these factors bring along instability in funding, whereas the high-quality labour market services assume remarkable investment in human capital (experts, support persons' network, etc.). Second, the main criteria for selection among bidders is a low price, which brings along the situation where many one-project NGOs are created simply to have an opportunity to provide the service once. The interviewee elaborates that such competition in the public procurement process brings the price down on the one hand, but is a serious obstacle for further professionalisation and creates instability in the field on the other hand:

“It doesn't matter that you have more experience or provide better opportunities for apprenticeships. The price determines who the winner is. The one who makes the cheapest bid wins the contract. Price-quality ratio is not considered and the quality of service has been devaluated.”

It is, however, important that local experienced NGOs are still motivated by a sense of mission. Despite the deficiencies in the system, the positive feedback from the unemployed who have participated in the programmes motivates them to continue. An additional motivating factor is proximity, both in the meaning of physical and social distances. Pro Civitas works locally, although such NGO could also work country-wide. Being located in a problematic neighbourhood, on the first floor of an apartment building, the direct daily contact with the marginal groups is maintained by the Pro Civitas team. Long-term unemployed are often alienated from everyday life and they have few social contacts: the local centre achieves personal contact with the unemployed easier.

Conclusion

This initiative that is carried out by the specialised NGO targets the 'unwanted' forms of diversity such as sharp social inequalities, exclusion, alienation and micro-scale, even house-based, spatial segregation in the district that occurs during the ongoing gentrification/displacement process. The innovation of the initiative is to offer professional services that would activate people in the labour market *in situ* in the context where the ongoing market-led gentrification process in the district is forcing socially vulnerable people to leave their homes and to settle in less dynamic areas in the city. The Pro Civitas NGO aims to deliver a professional service. To achieve a full contribution from such organisations in the future the principles on how to finance third sector undertakings that require remarkable investments into human capital should be discussed in more detail.

Estonian Food Bank

Strategy, focus and organisation

Estonian Food Bank (EFB) is a NGO, *logistical organisation* as they call themselves, which focuses on social mobility through providing much needed help for people on a downward spiral or in extreme poverty. EFB was founded in 2010 with the financial support of the Estonian-Netherlands Charity Foundation Sunflower and Swedbank. Simultaneously, the Tallinn Food Bank in Northern Tallinn was founded, but due to the success of the initiative, as well as the

need to intervene, other food banks were soon founded all over Estonia (there are currently 11 food banks in Estonia and two more are planned). The initiative started its activities in Northern Tallinn. This is partly due to the fact that poverty and many social problems are especially prominent here, and partly because of a coincidence since the Northern Tallinn District Government provided the necessary premises.

The main goals of the food bank are as follows: to fight against poverty, to reduce food waste, to create solidarity between people and social security for the weakest. Although there are many in need, EFB's activity is mainly aimed towards helping families with small and/or many children living below the subsistence level. Other groups recognised are the elderly living alone and often immobile as well as the disabled and ill people. The list of people in need of support is comprised together with the Department of Social Services of Northern Tallinn. EFB is a member of the European Federation of Food Banks (FEBA).

According to the interviewee: *“there might be as many as 200,000 people who need food aid [the population of Estonia is ca. 1,3 million]. At the same time there are 200,000 tons of food going to waste every year.”* EFB's activities are organised by three people and with the help of volunteers (15–30 people every week). The food is distributed through charity organisations such as the Salvation Army, Tallinn Association of Large Families. Cooperation (to collect food, to define and reach the target groups) exists mainly with local government, NGOs, private enterprises, large and small producers, schools, the national army and retail chains. There is a clear wish to have more collaboration with the local governments, whose support has mostly remained at the level of moral appreciation. Resources, food and money, are obtained via donations.

The EFB helps to maintain hope and motivation of a better social status and economic wellbeing of those people who have abruptly lost their job, fallen seriously ill or for some other reason have been hit by social problems. The EFB helps them to keep being motivated by securing their basic needs. According to the interviewee, the EFB tries to break the common thought pattern for both, the ones in need and the ones with possibilities to help. Often the reason why people need (food) aid is more complex and they are not comfortable to talk about it. Consequently, much work needs to be done in the social welfare institutions' personnel, as frequently the person whose job it is to help has developed the attitude that the people in need of help have themselves created the situation which they are in. This may lead the ones in need of help to self-isolation and disenchantment with the government's social welfare system: *“When, for some reason, the person ‘falls’ deep, he needs help and in Estonia the help is not very readily available.”* EFB is a direct voice for the need to redistribute resources in Estonian society, and to enhance the social mobility of those who are in the bottom of the downward spiral. However, the members of the initiative encounter the mentality *“that members of the EFB probably use the food themselves, or take the money for themselves”*, but overall, such stereotypes are disappearing. When analysing the media coverage of the past few years, it is apparent that the seed of solidarity has been planted.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

In terms of redistribution and the need to provide the minimum urgent help for those in extreme poverty, this socio-economic gap is considered a negative aspect of diversity. EFB encounters this gap: poor (large) families, people with disabilities, unemployed, and people with anti-social characteristics – all who temporarily or more or less permanently need (food) aid. Northern Tallinn District Government recognises this role of EFB and emphasises further that socio-economic diversity – social inequality – often tends to follow ethnic lines. According to the representative of the Northern Tallinn District Government:

“(Diversity) has negative aspects. All social problems are rooted in this kind of diversity. ... For instance, the people who migrated here during the Soviet period, they do not have the family ties and their safety net is more fragile ... Diversity also means that some would do worse than others. These initiatives like Bethel’s Congregation and EFB help to reduce the diversity. But in terms of welfare they again diversify.”

EFB does not direct its action consciously towards urban diversity (against socio-economic inequality), rather they act on the sense of mission – noticing the extreme poverty, and they have decided to intervene. Different lifestyles, reflecting wealth or poverty, often become apparent side-by-side in urban space and may lead to displacement of socially weak groups. This may be avoided through redistribution which is, simply put, the aim of EFB.

Main factors influencing success or failure

The action of EFB finds motivation in success stories from people who have been in a crisis and have found a way out. The EFB brings international experience and knowledge, the work of volunteers and the effort and compassion of ordinary people into the social care sector. Besides alleviating poverty, this activity builds bridges between people with different socio-economic statuses, and facilitates the social mobility of those in deep poverty. Working as a volunteer is gaining popularity among young people in Estonia, and such work might be the only connection between them and the people in lower social classes.

There are some legislative improvements needed in the areas of activities of the EFB. For example, the food labelling system of ‘best before’ and ‘expiring’ should be organised better. Confusion with labelling hampers the cooperation with retail chains whose profitability is tied to their public image, e.g. they want to avoid scandals. At the moment, EFB follows the list issued by the Netherlands Veterinary and Food Board, which is not always accepted by Estonian partners.

Another factor holding back successful action is the insufficient funding from the local and state government. According to the interviewee, public actors should fund more different NGOs which at the moment receive the majority of funding from external charities. He elaborates that, for example, the city of Tallinn or the central government of Estonia could help by paying for the rent or transportation:

“It is absurd when the state says they do not have the money for their people and at the same time talk about projects like Rail Baltica or Saaremaa Bridge. This gives the people the feeling that their own state does not support them.”

Conclusion

EFB is a grass-root initiative, born in Northern Tallinn, in the district where the socioeconomic differences are most prominent in the city. The idea was brought from the Netherlands, it was first implemented in Northern Tallinn and, later, its activities have spread all across the country. EFB acts towards reducing poverty that is an unavoidable but still unwanted aspect of urban diversity everywhere. Its innovation was to build up a low-cost and effective system that distributes food to those in great need. While some families are in continuous need of assistance, the initiative also aims to contribute to the social mobility of those who may have hope to exit the downward spiral. The work of EFB has been done by other organisations before, like Bethel’s Congregation and Soup Kitchen, but EFB has elicited this to a larger scale by creating networks of collaboration between all these above mentioned organisations and, in addition, the local government, other NGOs and government financed organisations, as well as volunteers. Estonian Food Bank is thus a good example of how a third sector organisation with its decisive actions is

able to tackle social problems in the city, even when creating a wider cooperation network with public institutions requires more time.

2.3 Arrangements targeting economic performance

Seaplane Harbour

Strategy, focus and organisation

Seaplane Harbour is a national Maritime Museum. It can be considered as a flagship project of Northern Tallinn planted within a formerly neglected, and both socially and physically rundown area. It thus positively contributes to local level urban transformation and, as a consequence, to the economic performance of the whole district of Northern Tallinn. The museum opened in 2012 in a waterfront area formerly used by Soviet military forces. The complex was originally built as part of Peter the Great's naval fortress in 1916-1917. It is located in the old seaplane hangars and has remarkable architectural value. In addition to the museum, the Seaplane Harbour operates as a port offering a limited number of places for small private sailing boats and vessels for sightseeing cruises on the Bay of Tallinn. Location of the Maritime Museum in the Seaplane Harbour was rather coincidental as the Seaplane Harbour became vacant by chance. The possible effect of this landmark and the opportunity to develop a remarkable object also on an international level was recognised and its potential as a flagship project realised.

During the first 1.5 years the Seaplane Harbour has hosted 170 different events. For example, official events like the reception of NATO hosted by the Estonian Government, the Estonian Annual Design Awards 2012, the Trans-European Transport Network conference and the TEN-T Days gala dinner hosted by the European Commission. Professional maritime science and history is also developed through the Sea Forum and other professional events. For example, the exhibition 'Titanic' brought together many maritime archaeologists from different countries as well as naval hobbyists. The aim is to involve as many target groups as possible. The most important target group is family with kids, but also those who are interested or fanatics of the history of naval vessels. Nowadays the Seaplane Harbour is one of the top tourist destinations with more than half a million domestic and foreign tourists yearly. From the perspective of Northern Tallinn this investment is a considerable step forward to bring people to the formerly closed coastal areas and to open a former low-prestige residential-industrial district to new activities.

The entire cost of funding and construction has been around € 1,5M: 70% of it came from the European Regional Development Fund and 30% was co-financed by the state. The current expenses are covered by the Ministry of Culture, various subsidies, donations and personal incomes.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

In this initiative diversity has spatial and functional dimensions. From the spatial perspective, different neighbourhoods exist in the city and various population groups co-exist in Northern Tallinn. The Kalamaja and Kopli neighbourhoods (both located in Northern Tallinn) are very often contrasted and diversity is viewed as a two-dimensional picture: Kalamaja as a gentrified and fast developing rather secure urban environment in Northern Tallinn and thus represented positively, while Kopli is described through a negative angle as an area of social deprivation. However it is recognised that there are positive examples in socially deprived areas as well as negative examples in neighbourhoods with successful images. In the case of the Seaplane Harbour it acts as one of the incentives of gentrification in the area, therefore carrying the role of a good example in a formerly deprived area – improving the image of the area and supporting an emerg-

ing creative cluster. According to the Chief Executive Officer, from the functional perspective, an important issue pertains to enhancing the multifunctionality of the urban scape, e.g. by supporting the diversity of services and leisure opportunities, and attracting different types of people:

“Diversity in an urban environment is the affluence of different activities, mostly leisure activities. Northern Tallinn is a good example of that. You have a lot of cultural institutions, cafeterias, parks. You have many different opportunities.”

Formerly, in the late Soviet period, this was not the case. Opening the waterfront to local residents and visitors, for cultural and leisure activities diversifies the functions in urban space.

“The main principle is that the access to the museum territory and the port is for free. Local residents can visit the waterfront, a playground for children has been built. Such improvements in public space certainly increase the value of the local environment.”

Main factors influencing success or failure

The Managing Director of the Seaplane Harbour describes the success through inner factors like good team-work, result-oriented development and the presence of a sense of mission. The success of museums as government agencies derives from their employees' personal ambitions. Seaplane Harbour as a museum is a static object, and it is also targeted beyond the local neighbourhood as a popular tourist attraction. They acknowledge that communication with local residents is an important key to getting along with the local community. When an event is arranged, they always inform local residents through various information channels, for example the local media.

“We're trying to interact with local residents and rather be known than be a stranger. We would not want to be perceived as a massive tourist attraction exhausting local life.”

Cooperation with the locals initiated by the Seaplane Harbour can be brought out as they have explained the work process through the local newspaper and the details and info-letters were sent to neighbours. Invitations to come and make an acquaintance with the Seaplane Harbour construction works were also added. On the other hand cooperation and communication with the city government is somewhat problematic. The physical accessibility and infrastructure is underdeveloped in the area. Visitors cannot find the museum because of poor signposting and narrow road network.

“I had to convince the city of Tallinn that people visit us and they do not find us! City does not support us even if we are the city's most visited tourist target.”

Seaplane Harbour is a good example of how openness and communication on local level have contributed to developing a successful non-area-based project that is also accepted locally.

Conclusion

Seaplane Harbour project contributes to the upgrade of the public space. The buildings are unique and the project has a landmark status and it positively affects the local economy. The coastal areas of Tallinn were closed during the Soviet period, and they have often been commercialized in independent Estonia under the overall neoliberal social context. In this light, an important innovative aspect of the initiative is the opening of the urban space for public use. Furthermore, maybe it is one of the few examples of how spatial and functional diversity is conceptualised consciously in Estonian market-orientated urban development context. As a flagship project the museum brings with it other initiatives targeting economic performance. With new

businesses, new jobs are created. As the Seaplane Harbour is located next to Kalamaja the area is ripe for creating small businesses and promoting local initiatives by local people. Much of these small businesses are already apparent in the area, e.g. bakeries, restaurants, small shops. As the Seaplane Harbour is a national museum, it attracts tourists from Estonia as well as from foreign countries. Thus, the museum provides the much needed clients for local businesses.

Telliskivi Creative City

Strategy, focus and organisation

Telliskivi Creative City (TCC) contributes to the economic performance of Northern Tallinn through real estate management in a former industrial quarter and by arranging spatial transformation of the latter to an area where the creative industry and cultural activities gradually enter. It is a privately-led brownfield regeneration project, situated in an old rail factory, promoting a creative economy in Northern Tallinn. TCC can be considered as a flagship project that relates to the ongoing gentrification process in Northern Tallinn. TCC offers different rental properties: offices, studios, ateliers, retails, rooms for organising events, etc. Several creative economy enterprises, non-profit organisations, restaurants, shops, children's day-care and a flea market operate here. In September 2014 a theatre house with two halls will be opened.

In 2007 the plan was to demolish the old industrial infrastructure and build new commercial and office buildings instead. Due to the economic crisis the plan failed and it was necessary to search for new ideas on how to use vacant industrial buildings. The creative campus concept and culture-led brownfield regeneration ideas were not yet implemented in Estonia. The lessons were obtained from Western Europe and Finland and the idea was launched the same year. The target group were from fields of creative industries, arts, education, culture and science. Nowadays the owner of the complex has switched but the leading team consists of 5 Estonians who organise the marketing, deal with the tenants and carry the concept. It is a successful creative district which in turn encourages other entrepreneurs to use a creative component in real estate management.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

Diversity is seen through a spatial-physical dimension. First the positive aspects like variation of different functions and the difference in architectural styles are highlighted. The second form of diversity mentioned is ethnic diversity and the variety of lifestyles. According to the Content Manager the lifestyles variety is bound with ethnical differences and thus handled together:

“Diversity is very many things. The city is not unvaried to me. The most noticeable is how the city looks like. This architecture. The whole city is varying: first architectural diversity and then the residents /.../ different skin colours or languages or the peculiarity where they spend their leisure time. It gives more value to the urban space.”

Diversity associates with the “creative component” in Northern Tallinn. It is explained that the creative industries as activities and a creative class as new residents in the district give an additional value and uniqueness to the area. The bohemian lifestyles are important components, especially in Kalamaja, the richest neighbourhood in the area. However, one of the negative aspects currently going on in the district is the rise of property prices which affects mostly low income population groups living in Northern Tallinn. Hence gentrification is seen together with diversity. The interviewees are afraid that Northern Tallinn changes to a monofunctional higher class residential area, i.e. initially through the gentrification process the diversity increases, later the gentrification leads to a less diverse (more affluent but also more monotonous) environment.

Although diversity is not the direct goal of TCC, it is the necessary condition needed for developing creative activities. It seems that the creative economy, that compared to the initial plans was rather a second-best choice for the quarter, is by now indeed the primary and inspiring objective of the developer not just a “tool” for increasing the value of the property.

Main factors influencing success or failure

The main success comes simply by the implementation of the successful creative campus concept in Estonia. This model has been successful in many countries in Europe such as the Netherlands, Sweden, Finland and it also works in Estonia. The tolerance which goes hand in hand with creativity has attuned together different actors from entrepreneurs, non-profit organisations to band members and 3D designers. A second reason of success stems from the communication with local residents. The content manager elaborates that an open and free dialogue has made it possible to befriend with the local residents and tenants:

“Telliskivi Creative City has provided participation for local residents. This could be necessary for success. We made different polls as well, what people want to see in creative campus.”

Orientation towards the local context and interaction with the local community has made TCC a popular place to work as well as a popular place for leisure. Some tenants are involved even in the development of the campus. Important keywords for TCC are the domestication and personification of the former industry site. There is a variety of events and festivals organised. All rental properties are built in cooperation with the tenants and they can design rentals according to their wishes which is uncommon with rental properties elsewhere.

It is, however, noteworthy to mention that in the same way as the neighbourhood association, the creative industry project TCC also tends to include mainly the Estonian community, and not the Russian one. This segregation is not purposefully planned by the developer, but through the “natural” process of selecting the favoured cultural activities the people act within their social networks, according to their tastes, preferences and traditions; the ethno-linguistic lines are not crossed in these everyday activities, and this is reflected in the activities of TCC. In other words, the entrepreneurs also act on a safe ground when addressing their activities to loyal customers rather than searching new market niches, e.g. within the Russian-speaking community.

Conclusion

In Estonia like many other formerly centrally planned East European countries, the private sector dominates in urban development activities, which has been called market-led urbanism. This is especially visible in our research area Northern Tallinn. A good example of the private actor’s activities is TCC. In order to create a viable creative synergetic environment, TCC encourages the diversity of tenants, creative freedom, tolerance and a variety of lifestyles. It is remarkable, however, that the preferred diversity is clearly delimited by the private developer and how the developer perceives the market. Namely, TCC has defined specific boundaries within what diversity is acceptable according to their perception of the market that is centred on an ecological lifestyle and Estonian ethno-linguistic segment of the population. This concept works well since TCC has a beloved business and a meeting environment locally has been created, showing that a private developer may also successfully encourage local innovations in governance arrangements.

Tallinn Creative Hub

Strategy, focus and organisation

Tallinn Creative Hub (TCH) situated in an old power and heating plant in Northern Tallinn near the city centre, aims towards raising the economic performance of the area and the residents of Northern Tallinn as well as Tallinn as a whole by providing facilities for various cultural activities. Today it is a creative environment aiming to build up new interdisciplinary cooperation between cultural and creative industries and the private sector. It consists of the Development Centre which offers incubation services and the Event Centre which offers its own cultural programme and also favourable opportunities to organise cultural events. TCH is legally a foundation established by the Tallinn City Government as a follow-up activity of the European Capital of Culture “Tallinn 2011”. TCH wishes to act as an urban life and development promoter, open for visitors of various age groups and interests. There are activities for children, youngsters, students, different subculture promoters, entrepreneurs or even senior citizens starting from concerts, theatre shows and exhibitions to, for example, Food Lab and Maker Lab, the former bringing together people interested in cookery, the latter, young inventors. Furthermore, there are workshops for creating models which aim to combine cultural and creative industries with the private sector innovatively as well as creating a balance between commercial and culture events.

The idea of a creative hub was initially created in 2006 by a group of active architects, urban planning hobbyists, culture professionals and other creative persons, who established the not-for-profit organisation Creative Hub (NGO Creative Hub). Any agreement for using the former power plant owned by the city government was however not achieved and the initiative faded away. After constituting the Tallinn Creative Hub Foundation by the Tallinn City Government the idea close to the initial project was realised by other stakeholders using another organisational form—the main developer now is the municipality (the city of Tallinn) itself and the authors of the original idea are not included.

The model of a Creative Hub was initially based on the idea of an open environment or a public urban space, which could also function as an educational centre and platform for creating innovation in creative industries. TCH as it is realised today focuses on cultural diversification, renovating the building complex, promoting creative development and an educational and leisure centre, which should eventually lead to cultural export. The conception of a creative hub has changed from a bottom-up organised liberal public space to encouraged innovation through top-down incubation services and innovation developing schemes. Tallinn Creative Hub Foundation is today financed mainly by the Tallinn City Government: € 1,5M total annual budget consists of 2/3 municipal funding and 1/3 foundation’s own profit.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

Diversity is seen as an option ensuring that different activities and activity spaces exist in the city for different population groups. Liberalism is reflected in the fact that such diversity is conceptually free or informal and its outputs are unpredictable. Diversity is defined as the opportunity to create something new and intriguing in urban space. According to the developer of the initial idea of NGO Creative Hub:

“Diversity is any difference in the place. It is part of the space that makes you move diversely. What calls this difference forth is such spatial diversity (bedroom suburb, work and leisure places are across, in disorder, not together). There are definitely some formats, where it can exist at one place. Different physical barriers may limit such diversity.”

The creative hub idea initiators also recognise the importance of the spontaneity by evolving any kind of diversity. Top-down shaping of diversity is complicated because of the emerging opposition by local residents. Diversity emerges when different people coexist in public space. The spatial dimension is an important factor which also influences ethnic, social, and economic diversity. The urban space creates opportunities and enables or restricts the co-existence of people. The present foundation's view on diversity is also open-minded. The diversity of the various services and functions will shape the urban space, create new challenges and opportunities in addition to the necessary flexibility and create the atmosphere of the environment.

TCH does not conceptualise diversity as a direct objective of the initiative. Diversity is rather a prerequisite for an open and multifunctional venue when fostering innovation and new ideas. Nonetheless the impact on socio-economic diversity is important in Northern Tallinn: Tallinn Creative Hub is a multifunctional environment and business incubator for developing creative industries which in turn increases economic activity and social mobility.

Main factors influencing success or failure

The conception of a Creative Hub is successful. The prime success factor brought out is its non-existent competition situation, meaning there are no other public initiatives like that in Tallinn. Furthermore, keys to success emphasised were inner factors like openness, good teamwork skills and flexible/adaptable organisational structure.

"I think that creative freedom and seeing the "big picture", which is very innovative and exciting, offers motivation and a great personal challenge – also another fact, that you're a member of a team, not by yourself, you have sufficient co-workers, support structure around."

One reason for failure pointed out by the early initiators of NGO is that their initial idea was so novel and the organisation too modern with indefinite structure. The city planning policy couldn't categorise the creative hub in any of the existing entrepreneur categories. The free and open-minded undefined public space, flexible organisational structure and no-named leaders due to the collective decision-making structure were unacceptable at that time. The current public form of the initiative, as it was realised with the support of the city government, has not yet demonstrated its full capacity, and it is therefore difficult to evaluate its potential failure or success.

Conclusion

Tallinn Creative Hub is a good example of a local bottom-up initiative, a novel approach and organisational structure, which lived on and was later developed further by the Tallinn city government. With its aim to create opportunities for emerging creative industry undertakings and in the longer term to increase the export capacity of the cultural sector, the TCH represents a publicly supported innovative governance arrangement that is partly based on the stable support from the city. Compared to other similar but private initiatives such as TCC, their regular public support enables to cut across ethno-cultural lines of diversity as well, since market forces are of less importance for TCC.

3 Synthesis and analysis of the results

Synthesis of the investigated governance arrangements

Altogether we have discussed 11 initiatives, five of which have a main influence on social cohesion, three are first of all affecting social mobility and three have a direct impact on the economic

performance of the neighbourhood. However, the impact of all the initiatives is multidimensional, and all of them contribute, one way or another, to the building of a more cohesive society and solidarity between different population groups, thus paving the way for social mobility for groups included and, as an outcome, contribute to the economic performance of the neighbourhood, Northern Tallinn city district, and Tallinn as a whole.

Initiatives that facilitate social cohesion are mainly place-based. Neighbourhood associations in particular (e.g. Telliskivi and Pelgulinna) first of all contribute to local level networking and community building on a neighbourhood scale. Initiatives that foremost foster social mobility are mainly people-based, and their location in Northern Tallinn is rather a matter of tradition or coincidence. Russian Cultural Centre and Cultural Centre ‘Salme’ could be mentioned here. Both of these place-based and people-based initiatives bond together one group (e.g. either ethnic Estonians or Russian-speakers) that stems from the *force of homophily* (cf. McPherson et al., 2001) and thus reproduce division lines between population groups/urban spaces, but simultaneously contribute to *diversity* in two different ways.

First, urban diversity is created through the variety of initiatives that bind together people of a similar kind. Again, Russian Cultural Centre and Cultural Centre ‘Salme’, as well as Telliskivi Creative City and Tallinn Culture Hub are good examples in this regard. Each of them draws together similar people and, as a consequence, contribute to the cultural diversity of the district and the city. The private initiative Telliskivi Creative City further shows that market based forces could often allow building bonding ties within the groups but fail to establish bridging ties across the groups since private entrepreneurs focus their activity towards their loyal customers, and they are careful in reaching out towards new and different customer groups. Thus, public policies are needed to counter such market-related failure factors and for building cross-group bridging ties.

Second, diversity is created by bringing together people with common interests along one dimension, for example, ecological thinking, but who are very different when it comes to age, social status or ethnicity. Urban gardening is a good example in this regard. It is one of the few examples that very interestingly cuts across ethnic lines in Tallinn. Older Russian-speakers in Tallinn have been traditionally engaged in urban gardening, mostly through subsistence economy practiced in suburban dachas for decades, while young Estonians have become in favour of urban gardening as well because they are more and more ecologically minded. This way, growing vegetables and discussing about how and what to grow cuts across age and ethnic lines.

Our findings point to the role of *enthusiasm* and good *team-work* as an important success factor of urban initiatives. For example, initiatives fostering foremost social mobility such as Bethel’s Congregation, Estonian Food Bank and Pro Civitas are strongly driven by the *sense of mission* to provide social support for the socially disadvantaged groups and places of encounter for various groups. Even if the legal framework for such specific activities is poorly developed, as is the case with Bethel’s Congregation and Estonian Food Bank, such dedicated initiatives are more sustainable than many project-based initiatives and thus positively affect the social position of the disadvantaged population groups. Furthermore, since social problems cross ethnic lines, as a side effect, such initiatives are important in establishing ties across otherwise deep ethnic division lines. True, since ethnic minorities are over-represented among the socially disadvantaged, they are also over-represented among those who are befitting from such initiatives.

Finally, initiatives encouraging economic performance are all specific versions of place-based initiatives. It could be said that they are even strictly site- or object-based. However, they exert a wider influence to the district and city than by priding solely employment locally. Maritime Museum in the Seaplane Harbour, drawing visitors both nationally and internationally, is a good

example in this regard. Telliskivi Creative City, even if acting as a segregator in the sense of bringing together people of a similar kind, simultaneously provides places of encounter for across the city and beyond, thus bringing life, consumption and investments to Northern Tallinn. Publicly funded Tallinn Creative Hub acts similarly, albeit it also crosses ethnic division lines. A short overview of three dimensions affected by the observed initiatives is given in table 1 below.

Table 1: Contribution of the governance arrangements towards the three main objectives of urban policy

Governance arrangements	Social cohesion	Social mobility	Economic performance
Edible City	***	*	*
Telliskivi Neighbourhood Association	***	*	*
Pelgulinna Neighbourhood Association	***	*	*
Cultural Centre ‘Salme’	***		
Russian Cultural Centre	***	*	
Bethel’s Congregation and Centre of Pastoral Care	**	***	
NGO Pro Civitas	*	***	*
Estonian Food Bank	**	***	*
Seaplane Harbour	*	*	***
Telliskivi Creative City	**		***
Creative Hub	*	*	***

* = low contribution; ** = medium contribution; *** = high contribution

Conceptualisation of diversity

Diversity is not typically explicitly conceptualised by the interviewees representing the initiatives, but it is often an important underlying dimension of the governance arrangements in Northern Tallinn. Diversity is often seen as something that is opposed to one-sidedness, and it is defined through the activities provided, surrounding urban environment, social groups encountered, etc. No direct reference to super-diversity and hyper-diversity or even similar concepts from the interviews occurred. Probably, the legacy of a dual-ethnic city from the Soviet period—ethnic Estonians and mainly Russian-speaking minorities—helps to explain it. Although ethnic minorities comprise half of the population of Tallinn, the city is far less ethnically diverse compared to cities such as London or Paris. Also in public discourse the dual-ethnic structure, although acknowledged as a separate policy field, is not consciously associated to the concept of urban diversity in terms of lifestyle, socioeconomic, age and other forms of diversity.

In reality, the main dimension of diversity in Tallinn pertains to *ethno-linguistic diversity* that overlaps with social division lines and, therefore, the main diversity related problem pertains to the need to improve the social inclusion of minorities into Estonian society (cf. Tammaru et al., 2014). Dual-ethnic structure of the city was mentioned in almost every interview. *Neighbourhood diversity* is another important aspect of diversity. It is regarded through the prisms of *housing diversity*, i.e. wooden *vs.* panel housing, *functional diversity*, i.e. residential, commercial, (formerly) industrial areas, as well as through *social diversity* as people with different social statuses lead their everyday lives side-by-side in the same urban space as a consequence of the ongoing gentrification process.

In short, diversity is inherent for Northern Tallinn and its negative aspects such as social polarisation are tackled locally by means of different initiatives such as Food Bank, Pro Civitas and Bethel's Congregation.

Nevertheless, the diversity discourse is quite young in Estonian society (see Tammaru et al., 2014). Maybe the most important new development relates to *lifestyle-diversity* by sorting people of a similar kind into different subareas and activities within the city. For example, Telliskivi association represents a platform for hipster subculture underlined by their practice to include mostly ethnic Estonians. They are creating welcoming places of encounter and recognising new and innovative ideas of how to provide input to decision-making in the city. Likewise, different urban neighbourhoods attract people with similar interests, thus leading to internally increasingly homogenous and externally differentiated neighbourhoods, i.e. neighbourhood diversity. However, one should note that lifestyle diversity itself is also on the rise. A shift of thought regarding different concepts of diversity can be recognised with Edible City, Creative Hub and Telliskivi Creative City. With these initiatives a pursuit for new lifestyles and attitudes is eminent—the two latter aiming towards a fusion of creativity and economic performance. Edible City binds individuals via common activity with its target audience being nobody and everybody in particular at the same time. Altogether as the third sector becomes more active the different initiatives take more and more responsibility in mapping the needs for new and innovative urban governance approaches on a grass-root level. Likewise, the different dimensions of diversity start to cut across each other, signalling the emerging of *hyper-diversity*. The majority of the interviewees felt this social and spatial mixture is a true asset if not a *genius loci* of Northern Tallinn.

Localisation of the main factors influencing success or failure

The three aims of urban policy—redistribution, recognition and encounter—distinguished by Fincher and Iveson (2008) also feature through our interviews. The first and most important factor that influences success or failure is related to the public sectors *resource redistribution* or financial or non-financial *support*. State/municipality financed initiatives (Russian Cultural Centre, Cultural Centre 'Salme', Maritime Museum in Seaplane Harbour and Tallinn Creative Hub) have quite a sustainable financial basis and, therefore, their activities lean on a relatively stable basis.

Some of the initiatives that we studied such as Food Bank and Bethel's Congregation are grass-root initiatives that do not regularly gain from public (financial) support, they thus operate with the support of volunteers, donations and often find themselves at the crossroads regarding whether to continue with their activities or not. This leads to the second important factor—*recognition*—either by the central government, by the city government or by the district government in shaping the success or failure of the initiatives. It seems that even if the state and municipal policies have mentioned different marginal groups and their requirements in the policy documents, the projects initiated by the third sector that relate to such policy aims are not always recognised. In addition, some of the initiatives such as Food Bank and Bethel's Congregation are not defined clearly enough in legal terms in the Estonian legislation, and a certain confusion also exists on how to support these arrangements.

The third important success or failure factor pertains to the *unwillingness to provide places of encounter* for a diverse set of people. Most of the initiatives are driven by the force of homophily, i.e. they bring together people of a similar kind to the environments that meet the interests, tastes, preferences and expectations of these people, be they neighbourhood associations, specific leisure sites or other joint activity based places of encounter. This way such meeting places facilitate bonding ties between similar people on the one hand, but contribute to a wider pattern of differentiation on the other. Telliskivi Creative City (Estonian hipsters), Cultural Centre 'Salme' (Estonian traditional culture and folklore) and Russian Cultural Centre (Russian-speaking minority groups) are

good examples of those internally bonding activities that enrich the cultural landscape of Northern Tallinn. However, there are ways to facilitate encounters in case of such initiatives as well. For example, collective activities, such as street festivals, seminars, etc. could attract visitors of other kinds to local neighbourhoods and culture centres. This is possibly an important field for future policies.

And finally, the success of the initiatives is strongly tied to the *degree of motivation* by people themselves, the active ones who carry the duties that arise from the *sense of mission, enthusiasm of people* and *good team-work* as they see that their activity enriches the value of the surrounding social and physical environment. Telliskivi Creative City represents a concept that was embedded locally, shaped by the changing social, physical and financial (global crisis) environments and has therefore found recognition from the local residents. Maritime Museum located in the Seaplane Harbour is a very different successful initiative. It was founded in Northern Tallinn by coincidence (attractive site for developing a museum) but has since become one of the most visited and influential sites in the district—a flagship project for the whole of Tallinn. *Sense of mission, good team-work, and state support* made it possible to attract European funding that was of considerable importance for establishing this unique museum.

Similarly, the Bethel's Congregation which even faces legislative problems is still one of the most successful initiatives in Northern Tallinn, and the same applies to the Food Bank that has grown from one bank into 11 banks over the whole country nowadays in just a few years with minimum public funding. This implies that, with or without public financial support, the rich landscape of new policy arrangements initiated by various local actors contributes to the urban diversity in Tallinn.

Identification of new ideas for innovative policies and governance concepts

For the success, more *collaboration* between different governance levels and people behind the initiatives is needed. There are initiatives that are already fully operational, such as Telliskivi Creative City, Russian Cultural Centre etc., but many of the initiatives are not, e.g. for reasons of insufficient financial resources. For example, the concept of Pro Civitas is important and the need for such service is eminent. However, the services they provide need a more stable source than project-based financing, in order to sustain their level of professionalism (e.g. working with long-term unemployed). This way, they could better support regular public sector services that are delivered by the public sector.

Regarding collaboration, especially collaborative planning, the neighbourhood associations, which are a rather new phenomenon in Estonia, have taken upon themselves the roles of the mediator, informant and indicator in the sense that they perform the task of local watchdogs of planning or development related activities (cf. Holvandus, 2014). As representatives of civil society, they eminently contribute to the emergence of collaborative planning. This way of thinking – being inclusive to as many interest groups as possible when it comes to local and/or city level planning and development decisions – is beginning to elicit in today's Estonian society. In other words, recently the bottom-up planning has become a common planning practice, as the society is starting to recognise more diverse individual and local community based viewpoints. As previous research indicated (see Tammaru et al., 2014), the spatial dimension is often an inherent part in defining diversity. Therefore, more cohesive and inclusive ways of urban planning and development can be met by educating and learning from each other.

4 Conclusions

Diversity discourse in the sense of super-diversity and hyper-diversity is rather young in Estonian society. The most important aspects relate to *ethno-linguistic*, *socio-economic*, and *neighbourhood diversity*. Regarding the initiatives, some of them, e.g. Russian Cultural Centre and Cultural Centre ‘Salme’ have either adopted new ways of how to address certain needs or, on the contrary, even deny the presence of diversity. Others, like Telliskivi Neighbourhood Association see diversity as an intrinsic part of the city whose presence needs to be preserved. In addition, there are initiatives like Telliskivi Creative City and Tallinn Creative Hub or Estonian Food Bank and Bethel’s Congregation which acknowledge diversity in all its aspects but aim on fostering or reducing a certain (wanted or unwanted) part of it.

As a result of the current study we can conclude that bottom-up initiatives are becoming more visible in governance arrangements in Tallinn. However, the question of local government or state support of their activity is somewhat unreliable and a more thought-out framework for their support (mainly financial but not always) is needed. However, at the same time the flexibility of this framework should be considered since bottom-up initiatives thrive on the *activism*, *voluntary work*, *good team-work* and *sense of mission* which cannot only be measured in financial terms. In this sense, the official framework should provide support for all the successful initiatives or for the initiatives that cannot be successful without the support, but at the same time provide the flexibility for new initiatives entering this framework or just re-adapting to new needs identified by the initiatives themselves. Furthermore, the aspect of founding NGOs as a measure of creating oneself a job should be addressed. Therefore, collaboration and mutual understanding between bottom-up initiatives and the public sector is crucial which cannot be achieved unless a shift of thought regarding collaboration *per se* has taken place (results of round-table talk, see also Holvandus, 2014).

As Estonian urban development is strongly tied to the private sector we cannot overlook the entrepreneurial input for providing certain possibilities for both the public and tertiary sector. For example, even though Telliskivi Creative City basically aims for monetary profit, it has been able to establish a creative environment for different NGOs, and places of encounter for the citizens by asking their opinions and taking them into account. This way a certain image is created which in the long term is profitable for all—private entrepreneurs get their profit, citizens and NGOs the place for activity or encounter and local government the hype for the city. Furthermore, as the public funding for NGOs and bottom-up initiatives is rather chaotic in comparison, for example, with Denmark where public funding is noteworthy, new ways on how to engage the private sector to bottom-up activity should be investigated and if possible promoted.

We may conclude that public support facilitates local initiatives, and this support should not always be financial. In some cases just recognition is needed. In other cases, public policies are needed to overcome the negative influence of the market forces in producing and reproducing division lines between different population groups. Most importantly, it is necessary to develop spaces for encounter and common activities on a very local level to foster inter-group contacts and avoid social distance in the society.

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6 Appendix

List of the interviewed persons

- Sander Tint, leader of Edible City
- Mati Sinisaar, director of Bethel's Centre of Pastoral Care
- Toomas Loo, director of Cultural Centre 'Salme'
- Tiit Ollin, member of directive of Pro Civitas NGO
- Ott Sarapuu, chief executive officer of Seaplane Harbour
- Juho Kalberg, member of directive of Telliskivi Association
- Pille-Maris Arro, member of directive of Pelgulinna Association
- Elle Mehiste, directive of Apartment Association Puhangu 8
- Ellen Kristal, directive of Apartment Association Angerja 11
- Raimo Matvere, content manager of Telliskivi Creative City
- Kaarel Oja, former content manager of Telliskivi Creative City
- Eduard Toman, vice director of Russian Cultural Centre
- Piet Boerefijn, founder of Estonian Food Bank
- Mart-Peeter Erss, Northern Tallinn Government, Department of Social Services
- Riina Lai, accountant of Telliskivi Creative City
- Evelyn Sepp, (former) director of Tallinn Creative Hub
- Peeter-Eerik Ots, initial idea of NGO Creative Hub

List of the participants of the round-table talk

Date: 8 July 2014

Place: Restaurant Kamahouse

- Evelyn Sepp, (former) director of Tallinn Creative Hub
- Juho Kalberg, member of directive of Telliskivi Association
- Sander Tint, leader of Edible City
- Pille-Maris Arro, member of directive of Pelgulinna Association
- Ingmar Pastak, researcher
- Johanna Holvandus, researcher