



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

Governance arrangements and initiatives in Warsaw, Poland

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1 Introduction

In an earlier report (Korcelli-Olejniczak et al., 2014) we have highlighted basic characteristics of diversity policy in Warsaw, which elicit the latter as a considerably new issue, still being discovered by policy-makers, non-governmental organisations, urban activists and the participating public. Diversity, mainly indirectly recalled upon, is present in discussions and actions concerning the redistribution of resources aimed at social cohesion and social mobility of chosen social groups.

Warsaw's diversity policy addresses in the first place those issues that are related to different aspects of socio-economic diversification, as well as social components, mainly problems of age, disability and social dysfunctions. The most complex area of city-level diversity policies concerns social and economic integration – via education and cultural programmes, targeted at different needy social groups – predominately of children from deprived families or environments, elderly people and disabled persons. Special attention is paid to the equalisation of educational opportunities, as well as the quality and accessibility of education. The local authorities also focus on the spatial perspective (a kind of spatial justice) – to strive at balancing the educational performance of children in all parts of the city.

Due to an extremely low level of ethnic diversity as compared to most cities analysed in western and southern parts of Europe, the issue of ethnicity is not significantly represented in the policy discourse. Also, the active approach to gender and sexual-orientation-related diversity is weakly articulated. In spite of the above findings there is, however, some evidence of a growing awareness of such diversity in the public debate, as well as within certain units of the City of Warsaw authorities which undertake attempts at creating new programmes, elaborating documents and constructing communication platforms between different actors who participate in urban development processes. This results in the development of interesting governance arrangements, based on a participatory model (compare: Schmitter, 2002), engaging social and private actors. The interest of non-governmental organisations in numerous aspects of urban social diversity is reflected in action and tools developed for an active cooperation between these organisations and the local government, either in the framework of broader governance arrangements or independent initiatives.

The investigations within the analysis of governance arrangements and initiatives, undertaken in the districts of Praga Północ, Praga Południe and Targówek¹ reflect to a great extent the main trends presented in the report quoted earlier (Korcelli-Olejniczak et al., 2014). The majority of initiatives focus on fostering social cohesion in the field of widely understood integration policy, mainly via education and cultural activities. The target audience within these initiatives are predominately the needy, usually children in dysfunctional families, to a lesser extent the elderly, the homeless or the disabled. The distinct focus of initiatives on children, has been also reflected upon by representatives of the Praga Północ district council (Policy Platform meeting, 2014)². According to most evidence, the aspect of social mobility of women and elderly people finds smaller reflection in actions carried out in the area investigated. While the ethnic aspect reflects the still low share of ethnic diversity in the case study area, the issue of professional mobility of female population should be treated as a serious deficit within the local undertakings.

¹ The districts analysed belong to those characterised by evident socio-economic inequalities, the presence of many dysfunctional families, unemployment and homelessness. At the same time there is a growing level of social diversity due to an inflow of new, more affluent and better educated inhabitants (the creative class) who consider the right bank of the Vistula river as an interesting place to live and/or conduct business activities.

² As argued by a member of the District Council, this is related on the one hand to the fact that children and young people in that area are identified as the group being particularly at risk of social exclusion, on the other, children as a target audience are open to positive impact and change. The activities oriented at this group are expected to bring positive effects in a long-term perspective.

Following the three research questions, the aim of the present report is to find reference to how diversity is conceptualised within the governance arrangements, to identify the main factors influencing success or failure of the governance arrangements, as well as to distinguish new ideas for innovative policies and governance concepts. The methodological approach applied in this task is a qualitative analysis of 15 semi-structured in-depth interviews with representatives of selected governance arrangements and initiatives carried out in the period of three months (March 2015 - May 2015), complemented by an analysis of additional documentation of the initiatives and the results of a round-table discussion with selected initiative leaders, local activists and experts which took place on June 6, 2014 in Warsaw. The choice of the initiatives follows a preliminary case study area investigation which identified the area's main requirements and deficits, as well as the major fields of activity focused on social diversity and aimed at social cohesion, social mobility and economic performance.

The report consists of four sections. Section 1 (Introduction) contains a reflection upon the results of the report on diversity policy in Warsaw (Korcelli-Olejniczak et al., 2014) and seeks interrelations between its main findings and the initiatives analysed. It also describes the methodology and structure of the present report. Section 2 presents the governance arrangements and initiatives analysed in the Warsaw case study area. Section 3 constitutes a synthesis of the analyses and presents new findings, which are confronted with the research questions posed in the Introduction. The contribution of these findings to the contents of the earlier quoted report (Korcelli-Olejniczak et al., 2014) is evaluated in the Conclusions, i.e. Section 4.

2 Governance arrangements

2.1 Arrangements targeting social cohesion

SSC-Social Street Circus (Spółeczny Cyrk Uliczny/Association Mierz Wysoko)

Strategy, focus and organisation

The Social Street Circus was an initiative launched by the non-profit association Aim High ('Mierz Wysoko') as a pilot action to a larger project - a club for the youth in Brzeska street, an area considered to be one of the most socially deprived in Praga Północ, as well as in Warsaw as a whole. The choice of the place and the idea of the project was a spontaneous reaction to an occurrence during a visit of a group representing the association 'Mierz Wysoko' to an exhibition at a newly opened gallery in Brzeska street. The artistic event took place behind closed doors, while on the outside of the building were groups of children loitering, glimpsing at the 'aliens' and behaving in an explicitly unfriendly manner – spitting, cursing and throwing objects. As the coordinator of the Social Street Circus project argues: *“such behaviour of the local adolescent has urged the association to react. We knew that something positive had to be done and the initiative was on our side”*. The coordinator explains that the participants of the association agreed to instantly develop a way to take care of these children, providing them with attention and professional assistance. The idea was to find a way of organising integrative activities based on animation and education. As the coordinator of the Social Street Circus explains:

“We didn't have a suitable place at hand, so we had to start working in the street. Some friends supplied us with circus requisites - colourful stuff used for performances, just to check whether this would make the children interested. Ten minutes passed and there was a bunch of kids, 30-40 pieces, hanging around us. At first they used to grab the requisites and run

off. They had not been acquainted with any kind of additional organised out-of-school activities.”

The initial aim of the project was to overcome the hostile attitude of the local children towards ‘others’, where the reason for such behaviour was identified as deriving from distrust and fear of ‘difference’ coming from the ‘outside’. The activities undertaken were based on socio-cultural animation, which was intended to integrate the local community, support the individual child through developing its creativity, communication abilities, as well as a more aware and active attitude towards its immediate milieu. The children were taught to be more appreciate of their surrounding and to participate in its development. Simultaneously, they were acquainted with ‘difference’, learning to accept it, develop trust towards, as well as interest in it. As the Coordinator of the project says:

“The initiative was aimed so as to demonstrate to the kids that the place where they live is nice and can be even nicer. We wanted the children to become more active, more self-confident. We wanted to show them interesting ways of spending their free time, show them their neighbourhood from a different perspective, make them sensitive towards their surrounding, the local community, and the outside world.”

The project based on animation and education was organised for eight months (May to November 2008) in Brzeska street, a place of residence of many multi-child families of low social status. The scarce budget of the initiative amounted to not much more than € 2000 in total. Apart from own resources and the work of volunteers, the association received financing from the Office of Social Support and Projects of the City of Warsaw, which equalled approx. 50% of the total expenditure. The project engaged four coordinators and forty volunteers, all with educational experience, recruited via press and web announcements. A professional circus supplied the organisers with equipment used in the project.

The activities undertaken were diverse, based on various psychological methods and social engineering techniques aimed at developing trust towards the animators, as well as among the participants. Special attention was devoted to circus-specific tricks, games and performance. The children were taught to imitate, as well as to create their own ‘stage productions’. Additionally, various kinds of sports, arts and crafts activities were organised. The children also arranged their own sports ground in one of the street’s courtyards. Every few weeks a picnic was organised which also arose interest and engagement among the children’s parents.

The target group of the initiative were children aged 4-16. The activities were organised for four hours on Sundays, all children interested could participate. The activities were carried out in the vicinity of Brzeska street. In total approx. 50 children were engaged in the project, 10-15 on a regular basis. The most ‘faithful’ participants constituted the foundation of the ‘Youth club’ which was established in December 2008, after a decision had been taken by the City and district authorities to assign an adequate premises, also situated in Brzeska street.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The Social Street Circus initiative was a project focusing on socio-economic inequality. Here specifically, its understanding was, however, closely related to how local neighbourhood communities perceive their identity as opposed to the identity of others – newcomers and strangers to them. Analogous to how Sandercock (2000) approaches the ‘dark side of difference’, which “breaks open from the inside the established categories and stereotypes of the local world (the world of the locals)” (p. 21), the negative aspects of diversity are associated with a certain social isolation and closeness of Brzeska street as a neighbourhood.

The project has had significant implications for the management of diversity, as it approached an explicitly 'closed' community, with a low level of social capital, and poorly socially integrated with the rest of the city.

Main factors influencing success or failure

The Street Circus was the first initiative of the kind organised on the site. The area where the project was implemented is considered to be 'difficult' with respect to any form of imposed social activity. The local community is considerably integrated to the inside, displaying a low level of trust towards the outside. Therefore, the relatively positive perception and interest that the project won is an undoubted success. The organisers of the initiative seek the reason for such success in:

- their open, enthusiastic and simple attitude towards the local children. *"Sometimes the simplest methods are the best"*, says the Coordinator, *"the children were approaching us out of their own will, we did not push them in any way. This was not easy, because those are difficult children"*;
- the cyclical, repetitive character of the initiative. *"After some time"*, the Coordinator explains, *"the kids had learnt that Sunday was circus day. At least a group of them even started awaiting it. The activities were diverse and colourful, which made the children forget about everyday problems"*;
- the development of good contacts with most of the children's parents, who gradually began to show acceptance and respect towards the initiative;
- the creation of the 'Youth club' in Brzeska street, that followed the SSC project, which was an important step in the process of gaining 'credibility' within the local community, as it continued the work with the children. The establishment of the 'Youth club' resulted in part from the fact that the activities carried in the framework of the SSC project had been positively evaluated by the local community, as well as by the local authorities.

The main danger related to the continuation of the 'Youth club', and at the same time its potential failure factor is the fragile cooperation with the district and the city authorities. As the club is located in a rented premises in a tenement building, its future depends on the positive relation between the project coordinators and the City.

Conclusion

The Social Street Circus is an example of a simple, short-term initiative implemented by a non-profit organisation which was built less on large financial resources and sophisticated methods than on a good idea. Its aim was to foster local social cohesion and contribute to integration and the creation of social capital, eliminating negative aspects of socio-economic inequalities.

The project has succeeded to win interest of all the actors involved – the children, their parents, the growing number of volunteers and social workers, even of the city authorities. The consequence of its success was the establishment of the 'Youth club' which continues its task to support and motivate children living in a difficult surrounding. There are already profound examples of its positive influence on children which, in spite of earlier problems, continue education and gain a more motivated attitude towards their future. As the project Coordinator claims; *"to gain trust of the community was the aim and that aim has proved to be correctly identified as crucial."*

Neighbourhood Libraries (Biblioteki Sąsiedzkie/Foundation Zmiana)

Strategy, focus and organisation

The idea of creating a neighbourhood library was developed during a survey conducted in 2012 by the local authorities, in which the residents of Praga were asked about their needs and expectations related to their place of residence. Among other ideas, the people expressed the need for the establishment of places for encounter – so called neighbours' clubs, informal places that would serve their needs and not simply the implementation of the concept imposed. As the project coordinator claims:

“A neighbourhood library is a ‘social’ library, a grassroots initiative which meets the dreams of residents as neighbours about a place where togetherness is expressed by the exchange of good words, ideas, books, and advice.”

The main objective of the initiative ‘Neighbourhood Libraries’ is to create a place where residents can meet and talk, spend free time in a safe, pleasant environment. A neighbourhood library is a space without formal restrictions, where everyone can feel welcome and comfortable, and where users participate in deciding about the character of the place.

The ‘Neighbourhood Libraries’ is a young initiative. From the organisational perspective the project is formally running under the Foundation ‘Change’ (Zmiana), but in fact it works rather on informal relations of cooperating civic actors³. The organisers emphasise the bottom-up, horizontal structure of the collaboration in which everybody is involved according to ones' desire. The project ‘Neighbourhood Libraries’ in Praga Północ is strongly linked to the specificity of the place where it is established – an area of high unemployment rates, where people spend most of the day in the place where they live. The demographic structure of the neighbourhood is characterised by an overrepresentation of the middle-aged and elderly population and very few families with small children. The initiative is addressed to residents of the immediate surroundings, but there are no criteria for determining who can visit the library.

The initiative does not have a stable source of funding. The library is established on the ground floor of a building in a premises appropriated for a flat. The place has been adapted to the needs of the library. The organisers of the project work on a voluntary basis and the infrastructure, as well as equipment comes exclusively from donations. Thus, the main resource of the initiative are the social and cultural capital of engaged participants. Also, less valuable books or those in poor condition are sold as wastepaper for recycling, this giving some additional revenue.

The library is a place filled with books, chairs and couches to sit on, which creates an informal homely atmosphere. Each user can simply come and borrow a book - the library does not hold a register of books or participants. Although the initiative does not directly define its goals in terms of the impact on the community, however, the activity can contribute to the growth of social cohesion at the local level. This derives from the fact that the Neighbourhood Libraries initiative strives at creating spaces of encounter for people from different social backgrounds. As the coordinator of the project states:

“It turns out that the library is visited by people who - judging by their appearance - would never be interested in literature, or who are consumers of Culture. Many of our guests are re-

³ Currently there are four places functioning in Poland in the framework of the initiative – therefore the project is entitled: ‘Neighbourhood Libraries’. The library in Praga Północ was the first one established by the group of activists and serves as a model case for the other three.

cidivists, after long prison sentences. But even if people do not come to read, the fact of spending time among books and other people in the library is ennobling.”

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The initiative is implemented in an area known in Warsaw for its social diversity and the accumulation of social problems. A considerable share of the district’s housing are old, decayed tenement buildings, often inhabited by lower social strata. On the other hand, there is an increasing number of new private housing investments which attract a growing number of relatively affluent inhabitants characterised by different needs and behaviours. As the founder of the initiative expresses, the aim of the project described, is to “*attract both old and new inhabitants*”. In this sense this one and ‘Neighbourhood Libraries’ in general, are to be understood as sort of informal community centres where encounter is eased (compare Fincher and Iveson, 2008). In line with that concept the library is a safe space in which ‘*participants have some control over the activities in which they are engaged and the types of interaction they have*’ (p. 200).

At present the interest is mainly on the side of “the old” Praga inhabitants, those representing disadvantaged social groups. Interestingly, the library is also visited primarily by men, who in relative terms represent almost 80% of the visitors. Taking into account the aspect of supporting personal development, and the interaction of different social backgrounds in order to exchange views and information, the initiative addresses both positive and negative aspects of socio-economic diversity in the neighbourhood.

Main factors influencing success or failure

The main success, according to the Coordinator of the project, is the “*engagement of the local community which is reflected in many aspects*”, i.e. donation of furniture and books, help with repairs, lack of vandalism and burglary of the property, regular visits paid to the library. This success is predominately due to:

- the commitment and initiative of the organisers responsible;
- their interpersonal communication skills, which allow to create an atmosphere of cooperation and friendly interactions among library visitors. As the coordinator of the project stresses: “*people often come here to read, discuss, or just spend time in a friendly atmosphere*”.

Another success factor is the informal character of the venue. As a frequent visitor of the library states: “*The neighbourhood library is no place for ‘intellectuals’ or educated folks – a person coming here must be accepted by the diverse social environment of this neighbourhood.*”

When evaluating the failure factors and barriers, the Coordinator of the project mentioned:

- the shortage of money;
- considerable failures in attempts made to obtain funding from external sources;
- poor (or lack of) cooperation with public institutions.

The financial issue is a considerable barrier to further development, as the premises in which the library is located belongs to the City, and it is necessary to pay the rent and electricity bills. The problems with obtaining external financial resources results from the fact that the project is practically not institutionalised, there is no register of activity and measure of efficiency in accomplishments and aims adopted, what creates an external barrier to meeting the demands of social projects’ funders. As the project organisers stress: “*We are a cultural institution that does not have a place in the existing system. We deal with people and the promotion of culture and not the money.*”

It may be assumed that another failure factor, or hindrance to further development is the image of the library, its interior – extremely informal and quite disorderly. While this may be treated as a success factor by the visitors of the library, in order to comply with most legal regulations concerning the establishment of such places, the premises would have to undergo some reorganisation and considerable ‘face-lifting’.

Conclusion

The ‘Neighbourhood Libraries’ project is a grassroots, area- and group-based initiative aiming at fostering interaction between neighbours and supporting social cohesion at the neighbourhood level. The form adapted - library and surrounding of books - is treated mainly as a pretext to create a friendly and pseudo-intellectual atmosphere for social encounter. The promotion of reading is a secondary objective. The conceptual assumption of the initiative is, to make the place as socially accessible as possible and as least formal as the conditions allow. According to the organisers of the project: *“the main asset of the initiative are the features that distinguish the initiative from other, more institutionalised forms. Informal means more authentic, more oriented at the individual”*. At the same time, there is a conflict between the sustainability and development prospects of the initiative, and the existing legal and financial framework. In order to attain any public financing, the status of the initiative would have to be regulated.

Days of Michałów and Szmulowizna (Dni Michałowa i Szmulowizny/Society of Praga Residents’ Michałów)

Strategy, focus and organisation

‘Days of Michałów and Szmulowizna’ is a cyclical 1-2 days event organised by the Praga Resident’s Association Michałów (PSM), a non-profit local organisation established in 2008 by a group of neighbours. The initiative is one of many undertakings of the association, and is mainly devoted to the integration of the local community and the promotion of local small entrepreneurship. At the same time it aims at a broader presentation of the area, as an interesting part of the district of Praga Północ.

The event has been organised for five years in the last week of September in the local park, as well as in places located in the nearest surrounding – cafés, schools, local firms which participate in the programme. The first 2-3 events were co-financed by the City of Warsaw, which considered the initiative to be a valuable contribution to local social integration and promotion of the area. The financial support has however been suspended, and the association currently carries most costs of the event. The participation of third parties in financing and organisation has an important impact on the quality of the event reflected by the number of participants – inhabitants and entrepreneurs, promotion, type of activities offered. As a representative of the PSM association claims:

“One time, when the district authorities were more engaged in the initiative, they offered us to make use of their own infrastructure – a stage for example where music bands could perform, or a large banner saying: Days of Michałów. The interest in the event was much bigger, normally we have approximately 150 people taking part, there were a lot more then.”

The programme of the event differs from year to year. Conventionally there is an educational part - seminars organised devoted to the history of the area, there is also a focus on artistic performance and another on the presentation of local folklore, products and services. The cooperation with entrepreneurs gives them opportunity to present their offer. This is particularly important in a low-income area, difficult for economic performance. ‘Days of Michałów’ are how-

ever in the first place an occasion to integrate the local community, therefore many activities (playing games, telling stories, garage sales) are specifically of this character.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

'Days of Michałów' is a place-based and group-based initiative aimed at social cohesion, local social integration and the strengthening of local social capital in one of the most neglected parts of Warsaw. Its target audience are the inhabitants, who are diverse with respect to socio-economic status (income level and education), age and origin (natives for generations and newcomers). Therefore it is an example of approaching, recognising and exploiting socio-economic and demographic diversity *par excellence*. At the same time the project also aims at increasing the economic performance of local entrepreneurs. As the representative of the association PSM states:

"The local authorities do not care about the integration of the inhabitants of this area, there is poor cooperation between local entrepreneurs, no organisation that would establish a network or promote them. The entrepreneurs are completely dispersed and lonely against the local official, even when negotiating the level of rent."

The purpose of the event is to develop self-confidence and place-awareness of the local community, support the competitiveness of local entrepreneurs and establish local networks. It also aims to create social encounter of diverse members of the community, as H. Lefebvre argues, by satisfying their '*need for creative activity (...), of the need for information, symbolism, the imaginary and play*' (compare: Lefebvre et al., 1996, p. 147).

Main factors influencing success or failure

The initiative described is one of many projects implemented by the association PSM, which has become popular among the local community due to its effectiveness in solving local problems. The project is successful since:

- it is organised by a group of neighbours, who, owing to their determination, experience⁴ and consistency have won trust and engagement of the inhabitants and local entrepreneurs;
- it has a cyclical character;
- every episode introduces new ideas, which keeps the participants interested;
- it has a very local nature, which allows to engage most inhabitants, notwithstanding their social background.

At the same time there are distinct limits to the organisation of this and other such initiatives, due to the diversity of local inhabitants – a high share of homeless people and those in lowest income groups who occupy tenement flats, against inhabitants with higher income, who own apartments in new private or older cooperative buildings. The first group are mostly excluded from any such integration attempts. The representative of PSM explains:

"The source of conflict in the district of Praga Północ is on the one hand the outflow of the so called middle class, on the other 13 thousand old, pre-war tenement flats, requiring complete renovation. There is a process of inhabiting these old buildings with population of lowest income groups, therefore the more affluent residents create closed communities (within gated

⁴ The association has also established a basis for cooperation with the local authorities – being a group of aware and active inhabitants, with high expert competencies in many fields related to urban development (urban planning, law, economy, architecture).

housing estates), turning their back to the rest. This causes complete disintegration which is difficult to return to health. Our initiative is just like touching the tip of the iceberg.”

A distinct failure factor of the initiative which sets limits to its financing and scale is the poor cooperation with district authorities, and a minor interest of the City in general. As the representative of PSM explains in the roundtable discussions:

“Although such events are in line with the objectives set by the Strategy of Warsaw of 2005, the Social Strategy of 2008, and other operational programmes, the actual policy of the City does not often include financing and supporting social action, organised and inspired by local communities”.

Conclusion

The Days of Michałów is a non-profit initiative directed at local integration though, practically, restricted to those groups of inhabitants who are interested in it. The social and spatial spread of the initiative would require the engagement of local authorities – directly, in supporting the organisation and promotion of the event, and indirectly, by introducing complex policies solving the problem of socio-spatial segregation. New arrangements are expected within the ‘Integrated Programme of Urban Renewal’, which conceptualises the process as a simultaneously physical (infrastructural) and social regeneration. The programme is to be implemented in selected areas in Warsaw, where the district of Praga Północ plays a crucial role.

According to the Senior (Zdaniem Seniora/Foundation Zaczyn)

Strategy, focus and organisation

The Foundation “Zaczyn” was established in Poznan in 2011. At the beginning the profile of its activities was not clearly defined, the main idea, however, was to change and improve social policy in Poland. In answer to a general diagnosis that Polish regulations lack a comprehensive ‘policy for seniors’, the initiators of the foundation collaborated with the national Ministry of Labour in the establishment of a department specialising in policy for the elderly population (60+). The activities of the foundation also included the co-creation of social policy for seniors at the city level.

Owing to a grant of approx. € 28,000 the project ‘According to the Senior’ was initiated in June 2013, with a plan to operate for five years. The foundation will also apply for complementary funding from the City, as well as for a larger grant from the national government (within the programme of social activation of older people - approx. € 45,000). The aim of the initiative is to propose a new programme regarding social cohesion of elderly people, basing on the finding that state policy focuses mostly on the social and economic situation of population aged 60 plus, disrespecting the opportunities of this target group for further development, professional activation and participation in social life.

The project ‘According to the Senior’ is carried out in the districts of Śródmieście and Praga Północ. The representative of the Foundation Zaczyn illustrates the choice taken as follows: *“These are difficult districts, especially Praga Północ. Let us take life expectancy as an example. In Praga Północ it is 12 years shorter than the average for residents in other districts”.* The project’s key idea is based on the assumption that seniors can draw public attention by expressing their own opinions about general problems of the city and their district, for example by publishing press articles. Such an active attitude is a way of fighting the stereotype attributed to the elderly as a group in general. Seniors should be perceived not as those who complain about their situation, but as people who

have a lot to offer, for example with respect to contributing to the creation of urban policy. In line with such assumptions, seniors are to be engaged in creating their own media, as a form of public participation.

The idea of an active participation of the elderly population in shaping urban policy developed simultaneously to the establishment of new legislation for local governments in Poland concerning the issues of “participatory budget” and the “law on senior council”. These legislative changes have become the leitmotif of the Zaczyn foundation in encouraging seniors to be participative. Both the creation of own media and the engagement in “participatory budgeting” have become very successful. Within the framework of the ‘According to the Senior’ initiative, 30 separate projects for “participatory budgeting” have been prepared. This involved discussions and joint work with the employees of Zaczyn Foundation, with the assistance of city officials, helping seniors to formulate their concepts.

The most successful and innovative result of activities developed around ‘According to the Senior’ concept is the development of a bottom-up model elaborated during the workshops. It has been agreed that the ‘Warsaw senior council’ should be established as bottom-up decision-making. This new organisation should be separated from the district councils, i.e. the lower level of local government administration, and organised at the city-level. This way it could have a much larger impact on the city affairs. The awareness of such a possibility i.e. having impact on the organisational structure of urban governance seems very promising for the elderly. Seniors as participants in the discussion understand that they can develop a bottom-up document and advocate its implementation. This way, elderly inhabitants of Warsaw will have a direct impact on city policy towards the seniors.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The initiative focuses on the aspect of inter-generational (demographic) diversity, socio-economic diversity, as well as on the question of social cohesion of elderly people. The interviewed representative of the foundation has identified two social categories within the elderly population addressed in the project:

“The first consists of well-educated people who were active professionally, and already function in different social networks - for example in the Universities of the 3rd age⁵. This is a category of people who reject passivity. Its representatives can be treated as leaders and examples for the second category, which is not particularly interested in public affairs. That group consists of people who are discouraged and passive. The relation between the two groups is 20:80.”

The project aims at exploiting the potential of the first category and activating the second group, while creating complex forms of public participation. In this respect it tackles both the aspect of positive, as well as negative diversity. The issue of undesirable diversity is related to the unfavourable position of the elderly population, especially in areas affected by other social problems. Investigations show, however, that seniors are a complex and diverse population group, where diversity can be used as a potential. The active minority, when motivated, can take up the position of a *spiritus movens* in the activation of the group hesitant and resistant to any change. The experience of the project shows that both groups can profit from such an arrangement.

⁵ a network of interdisciplinary centres of informal education designed for elderly, retired population

Main factors influencing success or failure

An undoubted success of the non-profit, group-based initiative is that it receives acceptance both within the local communities and in the media. In the beginning of its activity, the foundation Zaczyn did not receive any public financing, today it is treated as a trustful partner providing interesting projects and expertise and receiving grants from the City of Warsaw. The project 'According to the Senior' is considered a successful attempt which arises interest of the media, while convincing the public that the elderly are a valuable population category.

The success of the initiative is due predominately to:

- its organisational framework;
- high proficiency of its organisers and of many participants.

At the same time, the project has failed to engage a larger group of elderly inhabitants on a long-term basis. Most involvement of seniors can be considered as *ad hoc* and temporary, the foundation has not succeeded to recruit permanent collaborators representing older age groups. It may be assumed that this results from a still weak publicity of the project, as well as the voluntary character of participants' engagement.

Conclusion

The social category of elderly inhabitants of Praga Północ represents an important civic potential which is still not properly used for the benefit of the urban community. This concerns first of all those retired professionals who represent a valuable intellectual capital. Well-educated, elderly people are easier to integrate with older people without education, which is not so easy with respect to younger generations. The level of education does not play such a role in social integration of elderly people as it does in the case of younger generations. This reflects the prevailing attitude among elderly people who tend to be more tolerant and accepting 'difference'.

Praga Women's Evenings (Praskie Wieczory Kobięce/Cinema 'Praha', Foundation 'Generator')*Strategy, focus and organisation*

The project Praga Women's Evenings was a private, commercial initiative developed on the basis of cooperation of the arts cinema 'Praha' with the non-profit foundation 'Generator', the latter's activities focussing on 'cinema therapy' – a form of therapy and education that uses motion pictures as a main tool. Praha cinema offers an ambitious film and artistic repertoire including movies and live-stream broadcasts. The cinema has become a recognised local cultural centre, attracting visitors from all parts of Warsaw and contributes to the creation of a new and more positive image of the district of Praga Północ.

The concept of the 'PWK' project, targeted at women, implied a combination of commercial initiatives and the fulfilling of social objectives, fostering local social cohesion. The tools used in the project aimed at providing support to women in solving problems related to their particular societal role. According to the Promotion Manager of the cinema Praha and the Internal Coordinator of the project:

"Women were identified not only as customers but also as a social group especially endangered by a cultural conflict related to the difficulty of reconciling the roles which they are expected to take up and play in the society, especially in the family and at work."

Praga Women's Evenings was a group-based project targeted at young, up to middle-aged females (18-40 years old). The offer, which included six sessions (April-October 2013) attracted a relatively wide audience of visitors from Praga Północ and, gradually, also from other districts of Warsaw. The Project Coordinator argues that *“the age of participants turned out to be diverse, also with the participation of women older than assumed in the design concept.”*

A typical event consisted of a lecture introducing the topic of the meeting, film presentations and a panel discussion with invited experts. The lectures preceding the movie presentation concerned problems dealt with in the film. The concept behind the panel discussion conducted after the film was to share experiences and ideas, and to confront them with the knowledge of experts who moderated the discussion. As the Project Coordinator claims: *“The initiative was not limited to entertainment but rather entertainment was an excuse for a deep substantive discussion on important topics.”*

The experts were selected according to the questions touched upon in the film. The selection of movies was subordinated to the concepts of cinema-therapy. In the case of the ‘PWK’ project this concerned the presentation of movies which promoted the image of self-confident, independent and successful women in confrontation with difficulties of everyday life. The movies considered specific societal problems concerning women which included discrimination in the workplace and the dilemma of splitting obligations between family life and professional career. After the movie presentations the participants were offered small gifts: promotional products or services sponsored by locally-based firms.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The initiative explicitly addressed socio-demographic diversity, as it was targeted at young and middle-aged women and referred to specific societal problems of the group. The actual age composition of the participants covered a wider than planned age span. The dimension of diversity conceptualised in the project was the conflict of different societal positions and roles women are expected to take up and play in the society. In this sense, the project indirectly sought to tackle selected negative, as well as positive aspects of temporary social and economic change, the position of women on the labour market related to their social networks, lifestyle and interests (compare: Stoloff et al., 1999). The project aimed at raising the self-confidence of women, their social awareness and openness to questions often treated as difficult or taboo.

The focus of activity of the arts cinema on specific socio-demographic categories – women in general, women with small children, and elderly people, identifies these groups as the most needy with respect to attention and intervention. The ‘PWK’ initiative, as well other projects undertaken by Kino Praha are an attempt at integrating and activating these social groups, also considering the societal and physical environment – Praga Północ district. The project ‘PWK’, although a commercial initiative, should be considered as a very important step in the process of formation and fostering of local communities, providing alternative means of entertainment and education.

Main factors influencing success or failure

As the Project Coordinator claims:

“its main success were lively discussions and the active engagement of the participants. The idea was to offer women something more than the movie itself. An obvious success were interesting and inspiring discussions and great interest of the audience. The cinema still receives phone calls with questions about further events for women or the continuation of the PWE project.”

The events were attended by ca. 80-90 persons each, who represented diverse age groups and family status, which stimulated interesting inter-generational discussions. The most important factors of success were:

- the strong commitment of the project manager;
- the cooperation with the non-profit foundation “Generator” which was responsible for implementing the method of ‘cinema therapy’ and the moderation of panel discussions.

In spite of the above success factors and of achieving the social objectives, the project did not generate profits. The arts cinema carried costs of ca. € 1200 per event, not including the maintenance costs of the infrastructure. The ticket sales did not cover all the costs. Although the programme involved specialist discussions and consultations with psychologists, psychotherapists and sexologists, the price of the tickets was not much higher than in the case of conventional movie projections, i.e. ca. € 7 per ticket. The management of the cinema undertook various attempts to solve the problem by reducing the price of tickets, waiving any additional contests and free gifts. The project has however continued to bring losses and was therefore suspended.

Conclusion

The inclusion of a wide-range programme of movie projections, moderated discussions and workshops targeted at the support of specific social groups was an innovative element of the Praha arts cinema project. In other arts cinemas in Warsaw the presentation of films is often accompanied by discussions, however, neither the choice of the motion pictures, nor the events which accompany them are targeted at solving societal problems related to diversity.

The positive evaluation, as expressed by the project coordinator, as well as the relatively large number of participants may be indicative of a relatively large potential in terms of supporting local social cohesion. However, the continuation of the project would have required support of local entrepreneurs as sponsors or co-financing by local authorities. The latter has found some reflection in further projects carried out by Praha cinema, which not only continues cooperation with the foundation ‘Generator’ but has found support of educational centres, foundations and public institutional programmes. The cooperation with the local authorities in the frame of the programmes: ‘Summer/Winter in the City’, which organises activities for children during the holidays or the network of ‘Universities of the 3rd Age’, which engages elderly, retired people finds reflection in the organisation of new projects by Kino Praha, focused on elderly people and children.

2.2 Arrangements targeting social mobility

WE TARGÓWEK (MY TARGÓWEK/LSW – Local System of Support, Office of Support and Social Projects)

Strategy, focus and organisation

The project ‘We Targówek’ is one of five initiatives carried out in the districts of right Vistula bank Warsaw in the framework of the programme Local Systems of Support introduced in 2013 and is aimed at fighting social exclusion of young people - supporting their social reintegration, enhancing prospective social mobility and fostering local social cohesion. Currently, 1800 students from 12 schools are benefitting from the programme. For a three year period realisation of the initiative in three districts – Praga Północ, Praga Południe and Targówek, the City of Warsaw has earmarked approx. € 1.4 million. According to the Director of the Office of Support and Social Projects, the major Coordinator of the LSW project:

“The basis for identifying areas requiring support was an analysis of spatial accumulation of social problems. The objective of arranging a system of integrated action was achieved through the establishment of consortia consisting of non-governmental organisations active within the field of supporting children in the selected problem areas. Only such organisations had the chance to succeed in the contest organised by the city authorities. The institutional framework of the projects is based on the coordination of NGOs and their cooperation within the consortia.”

The main characteristic of the project ‘We Targówek’ is that it is implemented in an area where no non-governmental organisations have been active before. Targówek Fabryczny is a neighbourhood of 1200 residents, considerably isolated from the rest of the district and city, with one large council estate and a centre for refugees, inhabited by a group of approx. 80 people, mainly from Chechnya and Afghanistan, predominately women and children. In line with the national legislation, the children attend the local school which is also the headquarters of the project ‘We Targówek’. The consortium of the project consists of seven organisations which have an experience both in educational programmes for children, as well as in intercultural communication. Those are the associations ‘Children of Targówek’ (Dzieci Targówka), ‘Aim High’ (Mierz Wysoko), ‘Practitioners of Culture’ (Stowarzyszenie Praktyków Kultury), the foundations ‘HOME’ (D.O.M.), ‘For Social Diversity’ (Fundacja na Rzecz Różnorodności Społecznej), ‘In Site’ (Fundacja Na Miejscu) and the local parish. As the coordinator of the project ‘We Targówek’ explains:

“The local parish is a very well organised institution, extremely engaged in support on the spot. It has an own specialist psychological dispensary and an association supporting children which was established by the Parson himself.”

The lifetime of the project ‘We Targówek’ is almost two years (December 2013-September 2015). Its total budget amounts to approx. € 127,000, where most of the costs are carried by the Office of Support and Social Projects of the City of Warsaw. The group- and area-based initiative is an example of a governance arrangement aimed at fostering local social cohesion, including social integration and intercultural communication in an area with a particular accumulation of social problems resulting in poor school achievements of children. At the same time due to the location of a centre for refugees, the area is considered a ground for complicated intercultural relations. The *primary objective* of the project is to improve the educational performance of children (grades, scores, school attendance), contributing to social cohesion in the city-scale, as well as to a future-oriented enhancing of social mobility of the target audience. The NGOs cooperate with the school, the local centres for daily support, street workers and other local institutions. Major activities carried out include education, socio-therapy, hobby creation – sports, arts, crafts, drama. Most classes take place in the local school. Currently there are approx. 70 children aged 7-18 included in the activities.

The children of foreign refugees take part in all activities on an equal basis with Polish children. The issue of cultural or religious barriers is effectively approached owing to the professional experience of the organisations in the consortium. The consortium hired a so called ‘intercultural assistant’, present at school on a daily basis, as well as an additional assistant from Chechnya who assists in creating a more harmonious dialogue and interaction between the children, as well as between the organisers and the foreign kids.

The programme foresees all kinds of activities aimed at the improvement of educational achievements of children, but also strives at teaching them new skills and developing personal interests and hobbies, and raising their overall self-confidence. While the project is mainly devot-

ed to children, a growing interest among the parents is observed, who start monitoring the learning and integration process. Also the so called ‘neighbourhood council’, an organisational body consisting of selected residents of the area, actively supports the activities. The coordinator of ‘We Targówek’ explains: *“The people here know best which children and which family needs help and intervention. They contact us directly.”*

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The initiative analysed addresses socio-economic and ethno-cultural diversity. The project is designed to tackle the problem of social and culture-based exclusion and negative diversity – in the scale of the area, as well as the city as a whole. At the same time, it approaches the aspect of positive diversity which derives from the presence of children representing different cultures and their engagement in the programme. In this sense it touches the aspect of *‘managing (...) co-existence in shared space’* (Healey, 1997, p. 3), where the acceptance of diversity is the point of departure for profiting from diversity. Deriving from the above, socio-economic and ethnic diversity is understood by the project organisers as *“a challenge which can bring evident profit to the local community if proper governance arrangements are introduced.”*

Main factors influencing success or failure

The organisers of the project positively evaluate its preliminary effects, i.e. the cooperation within the consortium, the engagement of the target audience, the relations with the city authorities – the Office for Support and Social Projects. Also the local school presents an open attitude towards the programme. The above are due in the first place to the fact that the project is initiated by the local government. The coordinator of the project believes that a self-organisation of non-governmental organisations would not have the required authority and credibility to successfully cooperate with the public school and the local Social Support Centre (OPS). As the Coordinator of the project claims, the *engagement of the City* is also an important factor for a sufficient cooperation within the consortium.

Another success of the initiative is the positive reception by the local community. As the Coordinator of the project explains:

“It feels that the community is grateful for the interest in it, it is therefore required to think of establishing something constant, which will stay, after the project is finished – a kind of closed space, a youth club that will help continue the project and the process of integration.”

The broad acceptance is related to the effective and trustworthy realisation of the project. Its organisers seem to focus on the long-term perspective in trying to secure a possibility for the activities to be continued after the termination of the initiative.

The latter could be treated as a potential but evident failure factor of the initiative. If seized to be carried on, the present action could bring more loss than gain with respect to the development of social capital in the area. The strategy of the project aims therefore at creating an alternative way for the continuation of the project, as there is always a risk that the city authorities are resistant to financing the initiative after September 2015.

The solid networks established during the duration of the project between the organisations engaged should be treated as a foundation for the continuation of the activities in the future. The present coordinators consider applying for funds from other sources if the city authorities chose not to prolong the project in its current form.

Conclusion

'We Targówek' is a positive example of a public–non-profit initiative which merges the engagement of non-governmental organisations and the role of the local government in providing tools for the social cohesion of children, but predominately for their social mobility in the future. Assuming that the project will be continued, there is a chance that Targówek Fabryczny, an area identified as socially difficult and problematic with respect to implementing externally imposed actions will gain a better image within the city space. Simply, it may start to be perceived as a district of growing social potential and capital.

PRAGA SPEAKING. WAW. PL (TU PRAGA.WAW.PL/LSW – Local System of Support)

Strategy, focus and organisation

PRAGA SPEAKING.WAW.PL is yet another example of an NGOs' consortium-based governance arrangement carried out in the framework of the Local Systems of Support within the programme 'Family for the years 2010-2020'. The City of Warsaw has allocated approximately € 400,000 in the implementation of the project, which is 90% of the total budget. The rest, like in the case of other LSW projects, derives from other agents. The project has a duration of approx. two years (2013-mid 2015). After that the project will either be prolonged or suspended. Whereas the preliminary opinions about the projects within LSW are positive, their continuation depends on the final evaluation and decisions taken by the main coordinators – the city authorities.

The aim of the structural pattern of the project is '*to strengthen the territorial community of the neighbourhood*'. The basic method of cooperation between the partners of the consortium is interdisciplinary team work, operating with the principle of partnership and empowerment of members. The coordination of interdisciplinary teams remains a responsibility of the consortium.

The organisational objective of the project is to establish a good cooperation between the consortium and public institutions – predominantly schools, and to consequently monitor the educational achievements of students attending those schools. The project, on the one hand, directly supports the school in its educational function via educational activities, on the other it strengthens the motivation and interests of young people, building their self-esteem and sense of agency. It is assumed that the activities undertaken (analogous to the projects 'BASE' and 'Partnership for Children') support the beneficiaries by motivating them to take responsibility for themselves. Such action is considered a necessary and fundamental prerequisite for improving the situation of children and young people from disadvantaged backgrounds in the district of Praga Północ.

The consortium members are organisations that have for many years been implementing specialised projects for the residents and the community of the area. The partners of the consortium activities are public and private institutions operating in the area, like street workers and animation centres. Coordinated action concerns first of all activities which diminish the possibility of social exclusion, concentrating on educational activities (providing learning assistance in the form of tutoring and help with homework) and therapeutic activities in form of socio-therapy, retraining, sensory integration and support from professional therapists.

The methods implemented are applied also within recreation and developing children's interests – holiday trips for pupils, small scale financial subsidies for individual work with the beneficiary. The project makes use of modern technology (computers, the Internet, multimedia projectors etc.), as well as simple street working methods. An important component of the activity concerns the improvement of communication due to the formation of the Local Portal Support System

www.tu.praga.waw.pl, the organisation of a final event and two 'Family Festivals' with the involvement of the local community.

The main objective of the project is to equalise educational and social opportunities of children aged 7-18 years; this way it directly concerns the basic issues of social and socio-economic diversity, i.e. providing assistance to families at risk of social exclusion. All activities focus on families living in the tributary area of two public schools (Primary School No. 127 and Middle School No. 30). The area concerned overlaps with the 'Local Revitalization Programme of Capital City of Warsaw for 2005-2013' in the districts of Praga Północ, Praga Południe and Targówek.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The initiative analysed addresses undesired socio-economic diversity *expressis verbis*. It refers to the aspects of just development, analogous to those highlighted by S. Fainstein (2005), where social justice is to be produced at the local level (p. 16). The city authorities introduce a governance arrangement which fights negative aspects of social marginalisation, supporting dysfunctional families and children being at risk of social exclusion. The project aims at enhancing social mobility and fostering social cohesion, creating a fundament for the strengthening of social capital of the area in the future.

Main factors influencing success or failure

An important success factor of the initiative is the existing experience of the partner organisations. According to the organisers of the project:

“the basis for the preliminary success of the arrangement is the integration of many previous activities carried out by individual NGOs and the strong financial support of the City Office. The chance to be successful on one’s own and without public financing is low”.

For example, since 1995 the foundation 'Heart for Children' (Fundacja Serduszko) has been establishing and conducting clubs for children of Praga: a social centre (day room) at the crossroad of Szwedzka and Stalowa streets, or the Praga Youth Film Festival programme in which young people under the age of 18 have the opportunity to make films: documentary and reportage, animation and video clips.

Another factor of success is the possibility to join efforts and exchange experience among the organisations engaged.

The main potential fail factor of the project is its short-term perspective. Although the tasks carried out within the Local Systems of Support are listed in the operational programme 'Family' (Urząd Miasta St. Warszawa, 2010), there is always a risk of suspending the initiative, which can have severe social consequences.

Conclusion

The project 'PRAGA SPEAKING.WAW.PL' is an example of a public-non-profit project within the innovative governance arrangement Local Systems of Support, where key importance is assigned to the coordination of different local activities with the support of the local government administration. According to the Director of the Office of Support and Social Projects *“the long-term success, as well as the continuation of the project depend on its positive evaluation by the Office”*. The evaluation will be based on a comparative analysis of all projects carried out in the framework of the

LSW programme with respect to their direct and indirect achievements – the children’s educational performance and the precondition for the rise of social cohesion in the target area.

Social mobility for the homeless (Salvation Army)

Strategy, focus and organisation

A common practice of the non-profit protestant charitable Salvation Army is, first, examining the legal framework related to social support in a given country and, subsequently, finding a way to overcome the system’s weaknesses. Specifically, in the district of Praga Północ the Salvation Army deals with simple things that help people excluded from the society, who are invisible to the system due to administrative, bureaucratic factors. The official website of the Salvation Army describes the objectives of the organisation as follows:

‘Housing and Homeless Services: Group homes, emergency shelters, and transitional living centres provide housing, food, and overnight lodging for varying amounts of time to those in need. In addition, they provide educational, counselling and vocational services to homeless, destitute individuals and families, and youth where family care is undesirable or unavailable. For those families with temporal needs, family service programs help families and needy individuals with emergency food, housing, and utility assistance. Salvation Army programs and services vary with local needs.’ (Salvation Army, 2014)

One of the projects of the Salvation Army in Praga Północ concerns the homeless and unemployed, for example people released from prison. Within the initiative support is organised, contacts with the psychiatric medical services and homeless associations provided.. The tools used follow models from other countries, the organisation uses its own experience.

The initiative in Praga Północ has been implemented since 2006. Financially, it is to 50% covered by the organisation’s own resources and European funding, to 50% by the City of Warsaw, and by external funding from individual and private resources. The activity of street workers is concentrated around the vicinity of the Railway Station Warsaw East (Dworzec Wschodni). Apart from running a ‘Food Bank’ the project deals with active support to those homeless who wish to recover from their situation.

In implementing the above practise, the organisation cooperates on an everyday basis with local entrepreneurs and investigates the requirements of the local labour market. When a niche is found, where a concrete individual can find employment, he or she is trained according to the demand of the future workplace/firm, institution. Such activities are more effective than the organisation of training without any knowledge of the labour market and orientation as to the possibilities of future employment. The Salvation Army also engages homeless people in the activities of the organisation. This way people find a way to earn their livelihood and invest their experience in helping others. They become active and feel appreciated. As one of the organisers of the project, a once homeless person claims:

“this way of managing things is different from the usual way, when amounts of money are wasted to organise workshops, teach skills etc., which cannot be used in practice, simply because there is no demand for such skills. Trainings are made without consulting with employers. This is not a proper way to fight against unemployment.”

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The problem of homelessness in the district of Praga Północ is very evident. The project aimed at combating social exclusion, as an undesirable aspect of socio-economic diversity is a long-term initiative. Its far-reaching objective is to enhance social mobility of the locals touched by poverty-related phenomena. It directly focuses on finding ways to use the potential of people who due to various circumstances have found themselves in a difficult life situation. In this manner, the initiative aims at finding solutions for individuals, using a systemic approach. An important aspect is the component of religious belief, which is used as a factor to strengthen motivation and faith in oneself.

Main factors influencing success or failure

“The persistence of homelessness is related to the administrative system, which does not develop any effective tools which fight the phenomenon”, says the Regional Officer of the Salvation Army in Poland. The factors of the considerable success of the project devoted to social mobility for homeless people are:

- the methods applied – direct focus on the relation between the employee-to-be and the future employer;
- the thorough investigation of the local legal framework and labour market;
- the ability to find trust among the homeless and socially excluded through a simple, direct attitude towards them. This is also where the aspect of religion is used as a way to approach people.

Failures, which the project experiences derive from the administrative framework of the social support system in Poland which, according to the organisers of the project analysed:

“is designed to deepen and not solve the problem of homelessness. Money spent on homelessness never reaches the homeless. There is a lack of proper information, there is corruption and no efficient way of spending available resources”.

There exists no comprehensive policy or programme aimed at reducing the problem of homelessness at the city- and the national level. The activity of the non-governmental organisations cannot fully and comprehensively solve the problem under the existing legislative conditions.

Conclusion

The initiative for the homeless is an effective, long-term project which is grounded upon solid experience of the Salvation Army found in other countries. Its innovation can be sought in the proper understanding of the market rules standing behind the employment process. The continuation of the project is mainly a question of financing, though it may only impact its scale and not its persistence. As the organisers emphasise, *“there is practically no way to stop once you have started. To show people that there is a light at the end of the tunnel. And that this light is not a train coming at them”*.

Open Door: for disabled and excluded (Otwarte Drzwi: dla niepełnosprawnych i wykluczonych/Association Open Door)

Strategy, focus and organisation

The main objective of the non-profit initiative for disabled and excluded carried out by the association Open Door is to combat social exclusion and marginalisation of people affected by a difficult life situation, aimed at enhancing their prospective social mobility. The project also takes care of organising the return to society and the creation of favourable conditions for individual development of people touched by any form of disability. According to the projects' representa-

tives the area of Praga Północ is naturally the best location for such activities in Warsaw due to a particular accumulation of social problems mainly related to a low economic status of the inhabitants.

The long-term project carried out since the early 1990s consists of three complementary modules: Employment Agency, Hostel 'House of Rotation' (Dom Rotacyjny) and a Canteen. The main activities carried out in the Employment Agency are career counselling, job offers, professional activation workshops, as well as computer and language trainings. The 'House of Rotation' is a place where homeless people can temporarily be accommodated while participating in individual social and labour activation programmes.

The Canteen provides three free meals daily for people affected by homelessness, poverty or disability, also inhabitants of the 'House of Rotation'. The Canteen serves approximately 100 people per day. The Canteen also serves the creation of jobs by organising employment for people with disabilities and providing professional coaching for unemployed who wish to work as cooks or waitresses on the spot. Young people under the guidance of competent teachers can gain qualifications that will enable them to find a job in the future. The initiative offers a psychological and legal assistance if such need is diagnosed during the preliminary interview.

The target audience of the initiative involves three main groups: disabled persons, homeless and unemployed. The ambition of the project is the activation of these people so that they can begin to function independently in the society. The specificity of the action undertaken within the framework of the initiative is based on an individual approach to each person who seeks help. The scope and type of assistance which is granted depends on the capacity and expectations of individual participants. Those who choose to accept the help offered within the Open Door initiative must make a commitment to undertake efforts to gain new skills and qualifications.

The initiative has the potential of providing a complex support to homeless people by offering them temporary accommodation, food, psychological counselling and vocational training. It also provides assistance to people with intellectual disabilities by offering occupational therapy, sports and art workshops, as well as rehabilitation activities. As a representative of the Open Door initiative explains:

"Working with a person begins with the diagnosis of problems and the development of an action plan. The plan takes the form of an individual action plan - an individual programme aimed at recovering from homelessness or of social and vocational rehabilitation."

The Open Door initiative is carried out in cooperation with the Warsaw offices of Labour and Social Support and Projects. The Office of Labour is involved in directing the unemployed to professional workshops together with financial support of the initiative. The city office is engaged in financial support for the 'House of Rotation'. The city used to financially support the Canteen, but the recently introduced changes in the social care system in Warsaw blocked the possibility of financing this type of activity, which creates significant barriers for further cooperation.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The Open Door initiative explicitly addresses negative diversity which is defined as a natural characteristic of the society. It focuses its activities on people who have difficulties in functioning in the society, thus the general orientation of the action taken is to tackle negative aspects of diversity by supporting individual development and raising overall tolerance. People working in the

project develop an own *code of ethics*, the aim of which is the elimination of discriminatory behaviour and the development of an attitude of support and tolerance. The project focuses simultaneously on redistribution, recognition and encounter, developing tools for a more cohesive social development of the target audience. As a representative of the Open Door association claims:

“Our actions are independent of gender, age, disability, sexual orientation, social status, race, nationality, educational level, and all other variables relating to persons participating in the support process. The guiding value of people related to the Association is the good of man, respect for their dignity and rights in accordance with the declaration of the UN Human Rights...”

Main factors influencing success or failure

The Open Door is an initiative which success is based on:

- the internal potential in terms of the schemes and tools of action taken and
- the potential and engagement of the individuals involved.

Specific factors determining the success of the actions indicated by the interviewed persons are:

- individual approach to the clients with the special use of psychological knowledge which ensures a proper diagnosis of the problem;
- comprehensive, integrated measures undertaken to overcome difficulties. Such measures contribute to the development of individual potential of the participants, which has an impact on the professional and social mobility of the latter.

The most important barriers to further development have external nature and result from the instability of the granting system. Especially the changes of criteria within the Warsaw city grant funding system for social policy has a negative effect on the results of the initiative.

Conclusion

The ‘Open Door: for disabled and excluded’ is an example of a group-based initiative with a complex organisational structure and a wide range of undertaken activities. The organisation of the association has gradually developed since the 1990s and has currently over 100 employees. Such development has forced the gradual reorganisation of the structure, from horizontal, self-governed to a more vertical structure of governance. The strength and potential of the initiative is related to the internal involvement, as well as strong orientation focused on supporting people in a difficult life situation, and creating favourable conditions for their individual development. The ideology of the initiative is based on fundamentals of tolerance, equality and respect.

BASE – Basis for Action via Integrated Animation (BAZA/LSW – Local Systems of Support, Office of Support and Social Projects)

Strategy, focus and organisation

Similarly to the other initiatives developed within the LSW (Local Systems of Support) framework, the project aims at improving the ‘*educational performance of children and their social competences*’, while at the same time its organisational goal is to ‘*create a new quality of cooperation based on the principle of complementarity of work*’, exchange of experience and mutual assistance of institutions involved. Major activities of the BASE project take place in the local schools and include education and socio-therapeutic activities. Analogous to the other five projects carried out in the districts situated on the right-bank of the Vistula river, the initiative aims at fighting social exclusion of

young people, supporting their social reintegration, enhancing their prospective social mobility and fostering local social cohesion.

'BASE' consists of the largest consortium in the whole programme. These are nine organisations characterised by a similar profile of actions, experienced in educational programmes for children. Analogous to the other projects, the cooperation between the organisations involved has a rather horizontal character. The NGOs associated within the BASE consortium cooperate closely with local schools, centres for daily support, street workers and social offices of districts Praga Północ and Praga Południe.

The organisations involved in the project have experience in collaborating with the city of Warsaw. The new quality, however, that LSW as a programme carries is the far-reaching cooperation between organisations and institutions and the creation of a set of integrated social policy tools. The project has a strict organisational structure. Apart from regular meetings of the consortium, the partners meet at least once a month with the general coordinator, the Director of the Office of Support and Social Projects, in order to report on the realisation of the project, discuss arising problems, needs and gaps in social assistance schemes for children.

The main target audience of the project are children aged 7-18 years, resident in Praga Północ, nevertheless part of the BASE project action is focused also on parents and school teachers with the aim to increase their knowledge, as well social and educational skills. The BASE project lifetime is 2013-2015 and the financial resources (approx. € 400,000) are based on an agreement signed with the Office of Support and Social Projects of the City of Warsaw. Nevertheless, the main capital of the project is considered as the experience and engagement of involved teams representing individual BASE member organisations. According to the Director of the Office of Support and Social Projects, City of Warsaw:

“the uniqueness of this project lies in the fact that for the first time a consortium of nine non-governmental organisations will jointly carry out the task assigned and co-financed by the Capital City of Warsaw. The offer is comprehensive, integrates the local environment and utilises the existing infrastructure – schools, a local sports centre and a community.”

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The 'BASE' governmental arrangement explicitly addresses socio-economic and socio-educational diversity. The arena of intervention (Praga Północ district) is a particular concentration of poor families and an accumulation of social problems reflected by poor school performance of children. The activities within the project are designed to tackle the negative effects of diversity, i.e. problems of social exclusion, as well as education and behavioural problems. The scope of the project concentrates on activities aimed at an improvement of school performance but focuses also on the development of personal interests and hobbies. As a representative of the BASE project claims:

“in the district of Praga Północ we are dealing with a very large social diversity in terms of social and economic aspects – a lot of poverty and pathology. Without adequate support, there is a danger that the level of teaching in local schools considerably drops. As a result of this, parents who care about the future of their children will send them to schools situated in other districts. There will be a negative selection of kids in the schools of Praga Północ, with dramatic consequences.”

Main factors influencing success or failure

The interviewees representing the NGOs involved in the project emphasised a very positive preliminary evaluation. This refers mainly to the cooperation within the consortium and to the relations with the coordinating city authorities – the Office for Support and Social Projects. The main success factor is the *organisational structure and the operational system introduced within the LSW programme*. The system includes the engagement of public and social actors. The city authorities secure their role as the main coordinator but leave open space for ideas, methods and tools, which are introduced by experienced non-public organisations. Such an arrangement allows for an effective use of the capacity of social actors involved.

A specific success of the BASE project is a positive reception by and close cooperation with local schools, which in many cases constitutes a distinct barrier. It should be assumed that its factor is the involvement of the public actor – the city authorities. As expressed by a representative of the project, its value also results from:

- the exchange of knowhow, networking and mutual support among NGOs;
- more comprehensive and coordinated actions and tools of social support;
- more effective identification of needs and the reduction of the risk of omitting children in need.

The potential failure factors of this and other projects implemented within the framework of the Local Systems of Support are:

- the risk of their termination;
- the disruption of activities which might impair the preliminary success of the initiative. As the project involves children functioning in difficult milieus, only a long-term support can secure the path leading to the improvement of their life quality through social mobility.

Conclusion

BASE is a public-non-profit area- and group-based initiative aiming at enhancing social mobility and fostering social-cohesion in the district of Praga Północ which is characterised by a considerable level of socio-economic diversity. The project constitutes an example of successful cooperation between all actors involved, within which the positive relation between the public local schools and the non-governmental organisations should be especially emphasised. The project within the LSW governance arrangement can be considered as an example which merges the engagement of non-governmental organisations and the role of the local government in providing institutional schemes and innovative tools for more effective social support of children. At the same time, the project illustrates the key role of the local government in the establishment of cooperation between public and non-public actors. Its continuation is dependent on the availability of financing and the positive external evaluation of the activities carried out by the consortium.

Job Centre for the Youth (Punkt Pośrednictwa Pracy/OHP - Voluntary Labour Corps, Warszawa Praga Północ)*Strategy, aim and organisation*

‘Voluntary Labour Corps’ is a state budgetary unit supervised by the relevant Minister for Labour, performing tasks described in the Act on Labour Market Units and Promotion of Employment, specialised in actions for the benefit of youth, especially youth jeopardised by social exclusion, as well as unemployed aged less than 26 years. Since 2009 Voluntary Labour Corps (OHP) conduct actions which stimulate the activity of young people. Their structures are strongly

outlined, the idea is that interested parties apply to the local Job Centres. One of such centres is located in Praga Północ district, an area especially affected by unemployment of young people. The OHP, supported by EU funds, tries to find access to young people, who have difficulties with entering the labour market. The organisation assists them through finding contacts to job agencies and job market advisors, as well as offering training on how to be competitive on the labour market.

The services carried out in Praga Północ focus on employment exchange, but persons involved in the project may also choose the “path of support”. It consists of four group classes and two individual classes, where grantees are provided knowledge on how and where to look for a job, how to prepare relevant documents and how to behave during a job interview. As the interviewed consultant of the Job Centre for the Youth explains: *“young people receive advice from us how to enter the job market and not to get lost in it”*. For 15-16 year olds these are often information about the following steps in their education. The purpose is to support young people in entering the job market and helping them to be flexible on it.

The activities carried out within the project in Praga Północ started in December 2009 and will end in June 2014. The project will then require new funding if the management of the Voluntary Labour Corps decides to continue activities in the given area. The interest in the project is significant. During the whole period of its duration, 244 persons took advantage of the “path of support”, within which courses were performed and the project’s organisers received feedback that the persons had got a job or at least had their first job interview behind them. Moreover, during the duration of the project a few thousand young people were involved who searched for information about job offers. The project was not divided into stages but remained in the same form since December 2009.

The search for beneficiaries takes place on various levels. Firstly, there is a common self-support of Job Centres located in selected districts of Warsaw. Beneficiaries are also found via Internet, on portals for young people looking for jobs. There are also meetings and open days organised for young people, as well as events in schools, where services are offered using mobile job centres. The project is also boosted by the media.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The target audience of the project ‘Job Centre for the Youth’ are mostly young people in jeopardy of social exclusion, which was the main reason for its location in the district of Praga Północ. Therefore, there is a direct relation to fighting negative diversity embedded in the concept of the initiative. This diversity derives from the social and economic identity of the district’s citizens. It can be assumed, that the major aim of the project is to act against the effects of class inequality, by balancing the opportunities of young people from poor, and often dysfunctional families, with their more wealthy peers. In this respect the main objective of the initiative is fostering local economic performance and strengthening social mobility of young people in a deprived area, where their ‘point of departure’ is considerably worse than in other areas of the city.

Main factors influencing success or failure

According to the respondent, a representative of the Praga Północ Job Centre, and a specialist in re-socialisation: *“the main indicator of success is a situation where the assignee comes back and says that he/she found a job, or overcame some barrier related to a job interview”*. Such situations are rare, however. The reason of this is sought by the interviewee in the lack of understanding of labour market rules shown by the beneficiaries.

According to opinions of the respondent, it is difficult to define the project as a success, which is due to:

- the specificity of the area where it is implemented, Praga Północ, where a considerable share of people are employed in the shadow economy and show no interest in entering the formal, legal labour market. As the interviewee claims: *“even upon coming here and asking for a job they often say: Why should I strive here for a legal job if I can only earn half of what they pay me in the informal economy? Or if I can steal something and this will pay off?”*⁶;
- difficult communication with third parties – other, non-profit, private or public actors and employers with whom the Centre wants to cooperate in finding organisational solutions for its beneficiaries.

Conclusion

The ‘Job Centre for the Youth’ project in Praga Północ is an example of an institutionalised publicly coordinated and financed group- and area-based initiative which aims at the increase of economic performance of the area in question through the social mobility of young people, who are considerably affected by unemployment and being at risk of social deprivation. The experience of the five year project shows that the area is an extremely difficult field for such action. Without integrated tools of social regeneration, the project will only be effective in individual cases, while the general negative trend will not be easy to stop.

2.3 Arrangements targeting economic performance

The Warsaw Forum of Entrepreneurship/STOLECZNE FORUM PRZEDSIĘBIORCZOŚCI/Office of European Funds and Economic Development, City of Warsaw

Strategy, focus and organisation

The main aim of the project is cross-linking entrepreneurs, in order to exchange information and learn from each other. Although the project’s activity is clearly focused on supporting entrepreneurship, according to the project concept, the goal is not defined in the category of strengthening economic performance, since it takes time and is not always a direct result of this type of action.

“Firstly, entrepreneurs need to learn to know each other; the idea of direct cooperation might arise, however, much later, or never. Regardless of the direct collaboration in terms of business, entrepreneurs benefit from being in the network due to the exchange of experience and knowledge which enables them to make better decisions, learn from the mistakes of others.”

Another aim of the project is to create new methods of cooperation between the Warsaw local government and entrepreneurs, with particular consideration of the specificity (*genius loci*) and local character of the district Praga Południe. The project is considered as a pilot action to check the potential of the city in supporting the entrepreneurs and thus only willing districts joined (6 out of 18 Warsaw districts). The idea of the initiative has its roots in other projects implemented by the City called *Warsaw - the capital of ambitious business*. One of the conclusions based on the

⁶ A surprising phenomenon is the attitude of young people, who often have extremely high expectations, not corresponding to their skills. Despite no experience and professional preparation, they expect to easily enter the labour market and earn a lot of money. According to the respondent *“this is a very sad situation, as their expectations quickly collide with reality”*. Some assignees quit the training after two meetings, saying that courses are useless.

project experience was that the interest of entrepreneurs in training and consulting for entrepreneurs and people considering starting their own business has significantly decreased. In order to support entrepreneurs more effectively, the city authorities need to be engaged in further phases of actions.

The project is targeted at entrepreneurs who are not yet aware of the benefits of cross-linking, thus the main target audience are small firms, often recently established. The participants of the project are also people who are planning to establish their own business. The initiative is characterised by a hierarchical management structure. The City has hired a project manager, a communication manager, six animators (one for each cooperating district) and a moderator who is a researcher at a university and specialised in issues of entrepreneurship. The tasks of the animators in the districts are to organise meetings with entrepreneurs and promote the project. The Moderator is responsible for the substantive side of the project and meetings.

The most important actions undertaken within the project are meetings for the local entrepreneurs which aim is twofold: an exchange of experience (thematic meetings) and networking. Other activities undertaken are video materials of good practice regarding the adaptation of SME and business management in the conditions of economic change, as well as numerous research and scientific publications, meetings and local conferences. The financial resources of the project are based on UE funding. The project is co-funded (up to 85%) by the European Union through the European Social Fund under the Human Capital Operational Programme. The total budget of the project amounts to € 880,770.

Perception and use of the concept of diversity

The initiative does not explicitly address diversity within its aims but it does have a significant implication for the management of diversity. The project is also related to the aspect of increasing economic performance within the socio-economically diverse area of Praga Południe. In this respect it reflects upon the relation between the economic development of the area and its socio-economic diversity. On the general level, the project aims to take advantage of diversity among entrepreneurs as they represent different and often complementary business activities. The basic idea of the project is supporting the cooperation and exchange of experience of entrepreneurs representing diverse types of business activity. The development of networks is expected to strengthen the area's economic competitiveness and the level of social capital.

As far as the district of Praga Południe is concerned, the local animator distinguished three main types of project participants: representatives of traditional services, IT technology and so called 'creative' sector including different types of artists and culture animators. She explains as follows:

“we want to reach diverse groups of entrepreneurs, the easiest category to engage in the project are people involved in the IT business, the most difficult to reach are representatives of occupations such as bakers, shoemakers, watchmakers. In contrast to other parts of Warsaw, these jobs are frequently represented in Praga Południe.”

Main factors influencing success or failure

An important external factor of the project's success is the increasing demand for networking services. The demand was diagnosed during the previous projects implemented by the City and further confirmed by the WFoE project. The number of participants in each district of the city who participate in the arrangement systematically increased.

From the internal perspective important factors are the personal engagement and experience of the project team were important. According to our interviewee the main proof of the project's success is, apart from the increasing number of participants, the involvement of entrepreneurs who start to organise a network beyond the project's structure.

The most important barrier to the arrangement are financial resources. After the formal end of the project no financial means are available. The development of entrepreneurship is not listed in the obligatory tasks of the city and without external support the initiative is unlikely to be continued in its present form. As the coordinator of the WFoE project claims:

“the City of Warsaw cannot afford the continuation of this project after the EU funds run out. An opportunity for the continuation of the project is the participatory budget, an initiative to engage the residents of Warsaw in deciding about budgetary allocations and introducing own ways of spending available money. This will test the maturity of the project and the commitment of its participants. However, there is a large risk that the project will not be continued.”

Conclusion

The Warsaw Forum of Entrepreneurship is an example of a publicly coordinated group-based initiative developed upon a diagnosis of local needs and engaging private actors – local entrepreneurs. On the city scale (Warsaw scale) it introduces an innovative component, as it builds the city's potential while supporting entrepreneurship and economic efficiency - an area of intervention which is new to the Warsaw authorities. A major barrier to further development, however, are financial resources. The development of entrepreneurship is not an obligatory task of the local government in Poland, and the end of the grant project funded by the EU is a threat to the future of the initiative.

3 Synthesis and analysis of the results

Synthesis of the investigated governance arrangements

The districts of Praga Północ, Praga Południe and Targówek are among the most deprived areas in Warsaw, where the accumulation of social problems is particularly recognisable. In some locations these areas also host ethnic minorities (for example Targówek Fabryczny). At the same time a potential of positive diversity is discovered in the evolving interaction between the ‘native’ residents of the districts and the ‘newcomers’, being at an average of a different socio-economic, family and professional status. The specificity of the investigated area is reflected in the profiles of the initiatives identified and governance arrangements applied. The projects carried out explicitly address socio-economic, socio-educational and demographic diversity. To a much lesser extent ethno-cultural diversity is addressed.

As the interviews with representatives of the Offices of Support and Social Projects and European Funds and Economic Development confirm, ‘old Praga’ is beginning to be perceived by local authorities as an area of innovativeness and creativity⁷. Although all initiatives analysed were

⁷ Both the persistence of social problems, Praga's large development potential, as well as new investments within the public transportation system (a second underground railway line connecting Praga with the city centre and districts in the west of Warsaw under construction, which is perceived as a potential for future investors, as well as residents and entrepreneurs) are being actively approached, which finds a reflection in urban policy programmes (Ex. Integrated Urban Renewal Programme), governance arrangements engaging different actors (Ex. The Systems' of Local Support framework) and numerous non-profit and grass-roots initiatives.

based on different types of social diversity, the analysis of the contents of the projects unveils a generally indirect conceptualisation of diversity. Social heterogeneity appears rather as a social context in which the initiatives are developed and is based on negative dimensions of social inequalities. Projects targeted at using the positive aspects of socio-economic, cultural or gender-type diversity are less numerous. If represented, they rather aim at exploiting the existing potential related to local identity, the elderly residents or local entrepreneurs. When referring to beneficiaries or the target audience, the dominance of children-oriented initiatives is indisputable. This concerns the projects coordinated and financed both by public and non-profit actors. Another important niche is social support delivered to people touched by various forms of social exclusion (poverty, homelessness, disability).

The majority of initiatives are focused on tackling the negative aspects related to poverty and large economic and educational disparities. Particular attention is paid to the enhancement of educational performance and equalisation of educational opportunities of children being at risk of social marginalisation. This area of intervention is characterised by a dominant role of public and public-non-profit initiatives. A profound example are projects carried out by consortia of non-governmental organisations financed and coordinated by the Warsaw Offices of Labour and Social Support and Projects in the framework of the Local Systems of Support programme which aims at combating social exclusion deriving from socio-educational inequality.

The interviewees emphasise that the innovative character of such arrangements is based on the important role of the city authorities which provide institutional and financial schemes for cooperation and coordination of activities of different actors involved in the social support of children. This arrangement constitutes a local semi-partnership initiative (compare: Geddes, Benington, 2001) based on an open cooperation between a public partner and NGOs, which chose to collaborate within a formalised consortium. The engagement of the Office of Support and Social Projects in organising the effective framework for cooperation between NGOs, schools and Social Support Centres is considered as an organisational innovation. It is also a main success factor of the governance arrangements as developed under the common scheme of the Local Systems of Support of the City of Warsaw.

The projects carried out in the area analysed aim in most cases at fostering social cohesion and enhancing social mobility, applying redistributive approaches and creating forms of social encounter. Apart from the LSW examples, such activities are represented by other, usually smaller but sometimes very creative initiatives, like the Social Street Circus, a pilot non-profit, neighbourhood- and group-based project. Another case are 'Neighbourhood Libraries', a grassroots initiative contributing to social cohesion by creating a space of encounter for socially diverse residents of the immediate surroundings.

Still a further example is the 'Days of Michałów and Szmulowizna' project focussed on fostering cohesion and strengthening the economic performance of the area via social integration of the local community. This, as well as the 'Neighbourhood Libraries' project explicitly identify diversity evolving from the cohabitation of 'native inhabitants' and 'newcomers' whose significant presence is a consequence of new multi-family developments characterised by considerably higher standard in relation to mostly neglected, pre-war tenement buildings in the surrounding.

The investigation has proved that in spite of the intensity of social problems, the researched areas within the districts of Praga Północ, Praga Południe and Targówek have a considerable social potential deriving directly from their socio-economic and cultural diversity. The concomitance of dysfunctions and exclusion expressed by a high level of homelessness, poverty, pathologies, and at the same time, the presence of well-educated, considerably affluent inhabitants, predominantly

new residents results in the development of a local social participation. Its form of expression are movements and initiatives aimed at an improvement of the local milieu. The main resource of those initiatives, identified at the same time as their main success factor, is based on social capital of individuals responsible for the creation and development of initiatives and the social potential of the neighbourhoods.

The aspect of fostering social cohesion, strengthened by the task to enhance social mobility (compare Tab. 1) is approached both directly and indirectly in the projects analysed, which address both positive and negative aspects of diversity. Positive aspects are reflected upon in the private, commercial initiative launched by the cinema 'Prawa' which organised movie projections for women, connected with educational workshops devoted to strengthening the self-esteem and creativity of the inhabitants and presenting their diverse societal roles. Another example of such an attempt is the non-profit project engaging senior residents and aimed at exploiting their professional and social capabilities.

As illustrated in Table 1, the task of enhancing social mobility is approached usually within initiatives directly combating poverty and social exclusion – homelessness and unemployment within the projects of the Open Door association, the Salvation Army or the Job Centre for the Youth. The first two initiatives also contribute to social cohesion by redistributing resources and organising forms of encounter.

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

Governance arrangements	Social cohesion	Social mobility	Economic performance
Social Street Circus	***	**	*
Neighbourhood Libraries	***	**	*
Days of Michałów and Szmulowizna	***	*	**
According to the Senior	***	**	*
Praga Women's Evenings	***	***	*
WE TARGÓWEK	***	***	*
PRAGA SPEAKING.WAW.PL	**	***	*
Social mobility for the homeless (Salvation Army)	***	***	**
Open Door	***	***	**
BASE	***	***	*
Job Centre	**	***	**
Warsaw Forum for Entrepreneurship	**	**	***

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

The initiatives targeted at economic performance are rare and usually not locally oriented (at the districts of Praga or Targówek) but have a city-level perspective, or at least involve activities carried out in different areas of Warsaw. As illustrated by the example of the Warsaw Forum of Entrepreneurship, such projects tend to be dominated by public actors (Ex. Warsaw Office of European Funds and Economic Development). Such projects address economic diversity of inhabitants, as well as entrepreneurs. The project analysed (The Warsaw Forum of Entrepreneurship)

exemplifies an approach according to which diversity is understood as an asset. The underrepresentation of initiatives in the area of entrepreneurship can be explained by a low interest of the city authorities in engaging in actions beyond the responsibilities articulated in the law (Act on Municipal Self-government, 1990). Considering local governance patterns, the involvement of the city authorities in the ‘The Warsaw Forum of Entrepreneurship’ project is considered an innovative attempt, aimed at cross-linking entrepreneurs, exchanging information and establishing networks.

Conceptualisation of diversity

The analysis of selected governance arrangements and initiatives carried out in the districts of Praga Północ, Praga Południe and Targówek Fabryczny has indicated both a direct and indirect reference to the concept of urban social diversity. The idea behind super-diversity (compare: Vertovec, 2007) finds rather minor application, due to the low representation of ethnic minority groups and its restricted impact on the activities undertaken within initiatives representative for the areas under investigation. Hyper-diversity (Tasan-Kok et al., 2014)⁸, on the contrary, is reflected implicitly by complex identities of the areas’ residents, where the coexistence of inter-generational, socio-economic and cultural diversity portraits individuals, as well as selected social groups.

While the majority of governance arrangements and initiatives focus on the aspects of social cohesion of selected socio-economic and age groups (children in dysfunctional families, elderly people, the homeless), simultaneously more and more attention is paid to cultural identity of ‘native’ and new inhabitants. Especially in Praga Północ, the co-existence of newer residents, who are usually well-educated and considerably affluent, with those ‘Praguians’ who’s families have occupied this part of Warsaw for generations, contributes to the specificity of social policy, types of initiatives undertaken and the level of public engagement.

Localisation of the main factors influencing success or failure

The majority of initiatives carried out are place-based and group-focussed at the same time. These address the immediate needs of the local community. According to our findings, the areas investigated may prospectively develop a high level of social capital related to its social diversity. This, however, depends on how well diversity is managed (compare Putman, 2007). The presence of this capital is the main factor of the preliminary success of many initiatives undertaken. Another factor is the engagement of the city authorities, which obviously begins to recognise the deficits of the area analysed and takes part in many projects – as initiator, coordinator, participant in organisation and/or funding. The use of both social potential and the capacity of the public sector, however, requires integrated and complex social policies ensuring the continuity and effectiveness of short-term governance arrangements and initiatives.

The main failure factor of the initiatives undertaken is that they lack a longer financial perspective, and a continuous commitment of cooperation with the city authorities. The participation of the City in such undertakings is not only considered as a source of funding but a basis for successful cooperation between other private and public actors. Such engagement contributes to growing trust and social solidarity, which strengthens local social capital.

⁸ Here understood as a multilayered, intensifying social diversity deriving from concurrent elements of personal identities. In the area analysed this refers mainly to age, socio-economic status, education, life-styles and attitudes, less to ethnic origin.

Identification of new ideas for innovative policies and governance concepts

The most profound example of successfully organised governance arrangements are the projects carried out within the Local Systems of Support (LSW) coordinated by the Warsaw Office of Support and Social Projects in the framework of the 'Operational Programme 'Family'. The areas subject to the application of these governance arrangements were identified according to an analysis of indicators concerning the frequency of occurrence of social problems in Warsaw. Currently, there are five pilot projects implemented within this framework, all in right Vistula bank districts of Warsaw – Praga Północ, Praga Południe, Targówek.

The LSW project, as mentioned, is a kind of a local semi-partnership initiative (compare: Geddes and Benington, 2001), where there is an open cooperation between a public partner – the Office of Support and Social Projects, City of Warsaw and NGOs choosing to collaborate within a formalised consortium. There is a two-level governance pattern applied. The first concerns the horizontal relations between members of the consortium, in which certain rules of cooperation are established between the partners. The second is a vertical relation between the main coordinator – the Director of the Office of Support and Social Projects and the consortium/consortia. The City is the main financial contributor, while the partners represent experienced organisations dealing with various aspects of heterogeneity characteristic for the area where the project is implemented. The success of the projects analysed, four out of five which are carried out in Warsaw in this framework, shows that the governance arrangement constitutes a considerably positive case of cooperation between public and non-public actors. In many ways however, the arrangement is still largely dominated by the public coordinating body, which is decisive with respect to the general concept, shape, duration and financing of the project.

Another example of an interesting idea is reflected in the initiatives on: Social Street Circus and the Neighbourhood Libraries. Both are group and neighbourhood-based projects, both exploit mainly the potential of their founders and volunteers – financially and organisationally. The projects have succeeded to attract attention and win the trust of their target group. However, while the future of the 'SSC' has been assured due to the engagement of the district authorities – a youth club has been established, the fate of the 'Neighbourhood Libraries' project still depends on its effectiveness with respect to sustaining its financial existence.

4 Conclusions

Based on the analysis conducted within the case study area, the initiatives investigated tend to be generally compatible with the main orientation of diversity policy in Warsaw. In addition, some of the bottom-up, area-based initiatives identified outreach the main directions of urban policy, and are related to the specificity of Praga Północ, Praga Południe and Targówek, where economic, as well as migration-based heterogeneity are particularly strong.

Analogous to the official policies of the City of Warsaw related to diversity being predominantly a reflection of statutory obligations (compare Korcelli-Olejniczak et al., 2014) where the city demonstrates a relatively limited scope of legislative and practical activity, the majority of initiatives developed in the districts of Praga Północ, Praga Południe and Targówek place themselves within the broad range of urban policy focussed on socio-economic and socio-demographic diversity. The scope of initiatives funded by the City is generally restricted to traditional fields of social policy and is less innovative with respect to the operational tools applied. This type of initiatives is generally focused on the fostering of social cohesion and enhancing mobility of disadvantaged social groups. The innovation potential identified in such initiatives is expressed mainly through organisational improvement (Local Systems of Support).

Parallel to the above, there are some distinct examples of how private or non-profit organisations deal with the aspects of both positive and negative diversity. Those initiatives have usually a grassroots and area-based character and present innovative approaches towards diversity. The project on: 'Neighbourhood Libraries' is an example of how spaces of encounter can be created in areas affected by a high level of social dysfunction. The 'Social Street Circus' uses circus arts workshops as a tool to contact and work with children from difficult backgrounds and to fight against social isolation and closeness of the neighbourhood. 'Praga Women's Evenings' aims to support women by combining structured discussions and workshops with thematic movie projections at the cinema.

The common feature of the projects described is that they are usually low-budget, and in most cases short-term, successful due to the ingenuity and commitment of their coordinators. Most projects of this type do not receive direct support in the framework of the City's social policy since they fail to fit into structures. Nevertheless, the autonomy and flexibility of their operation makes them more efficient in adaptation to local needs and creates a basis for social innovation and success in the promotion of local social cohesion. Therefore it should be emphasised that such projects should be treated as an example for creating new place-based and group-based governance arrangements based on a participatory model.

The analysis of the initiatives conducted and discussed in the present report identifies two key findings related to the institutional and organisational framework of the projects. Firstly, there is a considerable dependence between the successful development of the initiatives and the contribution by the public actor – the city-level authorities as co-organiser and co-financer. The contribution is no guarantee of success but an important factor influencing the social reception of the initiative (among the beneficiaries), its credibility among other actors (partners), quality and financial sustainability. The experience of most grassroots or non-profit projects proves to be negative without the engagement of the city authorities. Still, it should be emphasised that their activity is in most cases explicitly targeted at the realisation of objectives which are at the core of a broadly interpreted urban (diversity) policy. Therefore, the development of governance arrangements based on a participatory model, engaging public, non-profit and private actors is most required. While the participation of the city authorities, connected with the embeddedness of the project's objectives within the wider framework of urban policy secures its sustainability – financial stability and a long-term perspective, the engagement of private and social actors improves its innovation.

Another finding is related to the organisational framework of social policy which constitutes a vital component of diversity policy in Warsaw, as postulated in the report quoted earlier (Korcelli-Olejniczak et al., 2014). Most forms of social support provided by the city-level and district authorities, as well as non-profit organisations are determined by existing national regulations which describe the role of the local government mainly as providing conditions for the functioning of social support institutions (compare also: *Polityka społeczna albo polityka służb socjalnych*, 2014). This is due to the existing, still limited role of the local authorities as such, which has an impact on the activities of the city-level and district governments, as well as the scope of activities of non-governmental organisations executing the tasks identified within public strategies and programmes. Basic changes within diversity policy in Warsaw may therefore require an adjustment of the existing legislative framework of the administrative system to the emerging problems that appear on the interface between non-governmental initiatives and local administrative activities.

Based on the above, an approach may be advocated according to which the role of NGOs is extended so as to address more comprehensively the issues of diversity policy – planning for

redistribution, recognition and encounter (Fincher and Iveson, 2008). These tasks would have to be included in the local development programmes so as to become eligible for public financial support. These recommendations refer explicitly to the gaps as identified in the findings of the earlier discussed report concerning diversity policy in Warsaw (Korcelli-Olejniczak et al., 2014).

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6 Appendix

List of the interviewed persons

- Coordinator of project 'Warsaw Forum for Entrepreneurship'
- Main Animator within the project 'Warsaw Forum for Entrepreneurship' in Praga Południe
- Representative of governance arrangement 'BASE' (Basis for Integrated Animation)
- Representative of the governance arrangement 'Partnership for Children of Praga'
- Representative of the governance arrangement 'According to the Seniors'
- Representative of the association Aim High (Mierz Wysoko), coordinator of the initiative 'Social Street Circus'
- Coordinator of the initiative 'Neighbourhood Libraries'
- Representative of the project 'PRAGA SPEAKINGWAW PL.'
- Promotion Manager of Praga Cinema, Coordinator of programme 'Praga Women's Evenings'
- Coordinator of project 'My Targówek'
- Representative of association Open Door
- Regional Officer of Army of Salvation
- Former beneficiary of the programme for social mobility conducted by the Army of Salvation
- Organiser of the initiative 'Days of Michałów and Szmulowizna'
- Director of Office for Social Assistance and Projects, City of Warsaw, general coordinator of governance arrangement Local Systems of Support (LSW)

List of the participants of the round-table talk

Date: June 6, 2014

Place: IGSO PAS, Warsaw

- Praga Women's Evenings (Praskie Wieczory Kobiect)
- Praga Resident's Society Michałów (Praskie Stowarzyszenie Mieszkańców Michałów)
- Voluntary Labour Corps (PPP OHP)
- Mirosław Grochowski, Mazovia Office of Planning and Regional Development
- Filip Piotrowski, University of Warsaw, Institute of Sociology
- Ewa Korcelli-Olejniczak, DIVERCITIES, IGSO PAS
- Grzegorz Węclawowicz, DIVERCITIES, IGSO PAS
- Adam Bierzyński, DIVERCITIES, IGSO PAS
- Zofia Nowicka, IGSO PAS