Social Diversity and Social Interaction: Community Integration and Disintegration in Inner-City Districts of Tallinn and Warsaw

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Summary

The paper examines the process of community integration and disintegration in two inner-city areas of post-socialist Warsaw and Tallinn which are undergoing a multi-layered social change. The main research problem pertains to the way in which social integration is moulded in transforming and, at the same time, socially diversifying urban

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areas. The districts under study are characterised by a process of social upgrading which brings inequalities to deprived but dynamically changing environs. The social structures identified evolve in the course of systemic transformation and increasing socio-economic diversification, the latter differentiating the old and new residents of the areas. The analysis looks for potential and actual factors underlying the emergence of new social networks and the persistence of those that were built in the pre-transformation period.

Keywords: Post-socialist city, gentrification, gentrifiers, community, neighbourhood, social diversity, integration, disintegration, bridging ties, Warsaw, Tallinn

Zusammenfassung

SOZIALE DIVERSITÄT UND SOZIALE INTERAKTIONEN: INTEGRATION UND DESINTEGRATION INNERSTÄDTISCHER WOHNGEMEINSCHAFTEN IN TALLINN UND WARSCHAU

In dem vorliegenden Artikel werden Prozesse der Integration und Desintegration der Wohnbevölkerung in zwei Stadtteilen von Warschau und Tallinn, die sich im Prozess einer vielschichtigen sozialen Umwandlung befinden, untersucht. Ziel der Studie ist es, zu zeigen, wie soziale Integration in den analysierten Stadtvierteln durch das Zusammenspiel der post-sozialistischen sozio-ökonomischen Transformation auf der einen Seite und der sozialen Diversifizierung auf der anderen Seite geprägt werden. Die untersuchten Stadtbezirke – Praga Północ (Praga Ost) in Warschau und Põhja in Tallinn – werden als divers, sozial benachteiligt und zugleich dynamisch beschrieben. Der Prozess der Verbesserung der sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse in den zwei Bezirken wird von einer Frühphase der Gentrifizierung begleitet, die kurz- und langfristige Auswirkungen auf die Integration der lokalen Wohngemeinschaften hat. Die in der Studie identifizierten Gesellschaftsstrukturen entwickeln sich nicht nur unter dem Einfluss lokaler oder nationaler Faktoren, sondern auch als Folge der Einwirkung globaler sozialer Transformationsprozesse (Individualisierung, Globalisierung, Diversifizierung), die gegenwärtig die Großstädte des Westens beherrschen. Im Folgenden wird das Gemeinschaftsleben durch die Interaktion, die im Rahmen von zwei Bevölkerungsgruppen und zwischen diesen – den sogenannten ‚neuen' und ‚alten' Bewohnern – verläuft, charakterisiert. In der Analyse, werden potenzielle und tatsächliche Faktoren gesucht, die der Entstehung neuer und der Fortdauer alter sozialer Netzwerke zugrunde liegen.

Schlagwörter: Post-sozialistische Stadt, Gentrifizierung, Gemeinschaft, Nachbarschaft, soziale Diversität, Integration, Desintegration, Warschau, Tallinn

"[…] the myth of community solidarity is a purification ritual […] What is distinctive about this mythic sharing in communities is that people feel they belong to each other, and share together, because they are the same […]"
(Richard SENNETT 1996)

1 Introduction

When referring to the work of Richard SENNETT, Zygmunt BAUMAN (2000) claims that contemporary community integration is founded on the need for networking. The relationships between individuals and groups are often established between people "without much more in common than that they share a fragment of geography". With a growing population diversity in today's cities, the phenomenon becomes increasingly evident. This also certainly pertains to post-socialist cities where the process of socio-economic transformation is intertwined with new forms of diversification, and ethnic differentiation matters less than increasing intra-urban inequalities and changing patterns of residential mobility. In this context, it is also social upgrading of respective city quarters (KOVÁCS et al. 2013), or an early-stage gentrification that contribute to this change. In its most extreme form, the cross-cutting of ethnic, socio-economic and residential diversification produces social polarisation at the local level.

The present paper focuses on factors that impact on community integration and disintegration in inner-city districts of Tallinn and Warsaw. Both areas remained physically delipidated and socially deprived under socialism, yet are dynamically changing since then, being subject to multiple forces of urban change which involve a gentrification phenomenon. Their social structures are changing in the course of systemic transformation and increasing socio-economic diversification. In our analysis we look for sources of bridging capital (WELLMAN and WORTLEY 1990) which existed prior to the systemic change and the gentrification process, as well as those that appeared at a later stage. We ask which groups are responsible for the formation of such bridging networks, and, how is social integration formed in the urban areas analysed.

The analysis reflects on two capital cities of East-Central Europe[1] (see Table 1), the choice of which was not accidental. It should be noted that despite the similarities between them which relate to the transformation from central planning to market economy and result in very high levels of social inequalities in the European context (cf. Global Inequality Report 2018), hardly any other pair of state capitals in the region exhibits more historically-based and socially-related differences. The first issue refers to population composition regarding nationality. Immediately after World War II, due to the extermination of Jews who constituted one third of the city's pre-war population, Warsaw became practically nationally homogeneous. In contrary, Tallinn as a consequence of the annexation of Estonia by the former Soviet Union, changed from a city dominated by the Estonian component (84 percent in 1922 – see TAMMARU 2000) into a binational community with a large Russian minority.

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[1] According to the well-known classification of cities into the *Alpha, Beta* and *Gamma* categories by BEAVERSTOCK et al. (2000), Warsaw belongs to the first and Tallinn to the last group.

	Tallinn	Warsaw
Total population 2018 [a, b]	430 000	1 735 442
Global ranking [c]	Alfa	Gamma
Welfare regime [d]	Post-socialist corporatist	Post-socialist
Ethnic composition [a, e]		
Estonians / Poles	53	97
Other ethnic groups	47	3
Share of population 65+ (%) [a, f]	18	25
Highest level of education completed		
Primary	15	25
Secondary	53	38
Tertiary	32	29
Average square meter price (€) 2018 [g]	1800	2100

Source: a) Tallinn Arvudes 2012; – b) City Population of Warsaw 2018; – c) Beaverstock et al. 2000; – d) Fenger 2007; – e) Local Data Bank of the Central Statistical Office, Warsaw 2010; – f) Statistical Yearbook of Warsaw 2012; – g) EU Capital Square Meter Prices 2018

Table 1:   Main characteristics of research cities

Secondly, during World War II, Warsaw experienced a tremendous population loss, sustaining only one-tenth of its pre-war resource, with Tallinn remaining relatively stable with respect to population numbers. The third difference relates to the position of the two capital cities in their national urban systems. While Warsaw, despite its overall dominance, is part of a polycentric urban network, Tallinn is by far the only primate city in Estonia, with its metropolitan region identified with the country's borders. The differences highlighted allow for an interesting analysis of two rather extreme cases of urban areas which share some common traits resulting from a 45-year long functioning under socialism, as well as the subsequent three decades of contemporary urban transformation. We are interested in how social integration is formed in these areas and whether differences between the areas play a role.

At this point some limitations to the research conducted should be laid out. The evidence deriving from the analysis presented provides only partial lessons regarding the whole set of those European capital cities with a socialist past, or cities as a whole. By following a constructivist approach, we elaborate the qualitative research material gathered with the aim to explain processes or phenomena observed in the two cities, while referring to certain urban quarters and selected population groups. The evidence provided can be used to verify theories of middle range (see Beauregard 2012) referring to the integration and disintegration of communities in certain areas of post-socialist cities (Węcławowicz 1996; Sýkora and Bouzarovski 2012) which, previously neglected and

degraded, are now characterised by an early-stage gentrification process. Our results can also be referred to when analysing current data and other evidence concerning diverse social groups in gentrifying areas of Tallinn and Warsaw.

The paper consists of six sections. Section two provides the conceptual background and discusses the socialist-city, social diversification, gentrification and social networks. In the following section, we present our research areas, Northern Tallinn (Põhja-Tallinn) and Praga North (Praga Północ) in Warsaw with a focus on the areas' burdened history and current dynamic character. The study is based on in-depth interviews with 50 inner-city residents in each of the two areas. Section four discusses the intersection between the length of residence in the neighbourhood and other population characteristics, such as social status, national status, age and life-style. Section five analyses community integration by focusing on groups that contribute to the building of bridging ties between the 'old' and 'new' residents. In the concluding section, we discuss our main findings while embedding them in the context of transformation and diversification of the study areas.

2   Conceptual background

The nature of the *social diversity* and *socio-spatial integration* nexus is looked at in this paper in conjunction with the notion of the post-socialist city. This notion is a multi-dimensional concept which focuses on three components of post-socialist urban transition: institutional transformation, transformation of built environment and change of social relations. Whereas in cities of East and Central Europe in general, the first component is regarded as basically completed, and the second considerably advanced, the transformation of social relations remains a lagging element. HAASE et al. (2016) stress that although the major socio-economic and political transition (in most of its forms) may be completed, the process itself produces long-term consequences. A characteristic feature of a city with a socialist past – *vis a vis* other cities – is embodied in the effects of rapid political and economic change that took place in the period of 1989–1991. In line with this, the general debate on the European city seems to exclude state socialist development (KAZEPOV 2004), while the on-going urban change in Central and East European (CEE) countries is often believed to be different from the typically European model (compare: HAASE et al. 2016). In this context the post-socialist specificity of urban change, including social diversification and gentrification processes in urban areas is a crucial reference place in the discussion on social relations and integration in cities with a socialist past.

As research findings indicate, part of the socialist heritage is a general underdevelopment of social capital. TÖLLE (2014) points to limited capability to build and sustain network relations founded on trust and reciprocity, at both the inter-urban and metropolitan levels. In the present study, the question is whether, and to what extent, this phenomenon can be attributed to the micro-level, i.e. to urban neighbourhoods. In addition to being subjected to transformation, the neighbourhoods experience an influx of more affluent new residents. How do these changes have an impact on social integration at the neighbourhood level? What kind of social networks evolve and which survive in this context?

As regarded in the present paper, social integration in urban communities is related to the level of social capital – to the way, and, between or among which social groups they are formed, as well as how sustainable they prove to be. Referring to the general concept, social networks are characterised in terms of types of social ties (Granovetter 1973; Wellman and Wortley 1990) and types of social capital. Social ties, referring to relationships between individuals within a community, are strong, weak or absent. Whereas strong ties are typically established between family members and friends (or 'expressive'), weak ties are characteristic for relations between acquaintances or professional contacts (or 'instrumental'). Absent ties refer to situations in which physical proximity is not accompanied by a particular social interaction (Granovetter 1973).

For the analysis of social interaction in urban areas, the reference to Putnam's (2000) concept is crucial as it touches upon such issues as norms, mutual trust, loyalty as well as types of social networks according to individuals and groups they include, i.e. bonding, bridging or linking capital (compare also Woolcock 2001; Middleton et al. 2005). Bonding social capital refers to relationships within homogeneous networks. Bridging capital emerges in diverse communities, which are internally differentiated according to socio-economic status, ethnicity, age or lifestyles. Linking social capital is a measure of contacts which community members establish with public and private actors.

As often indicated in research on communities in post-socialist countries (compare: Letki and Mierina 2014; Bartkowski 2003; Uslaner 2003; Górny et al. 2018), social relations are often limited to bonding capital connecting family and friends, while the level of trust is low. The studies on social relations in areas affected by migrations – an influx of new residents – point to interesting patterns of social relations with new residents including mainly new residents in their network, regardless of their other social characteristics (Łukasiuk 2007; Korcelli-Olejniczak and Piotrowski 2018). As the analysis of social interaction concerns gentrifying city districts, the question of social inequalities between different individuals and social groups arises (Bourdieu 1984; 1986), based on an uneven level of social capital which characterises them. For example artists, who are classified here as early-stage gentrifiers, possess high cultural capital but low economic capital.

In the present analysis, the question of social networks is referred to such urban areas in post-socialist cities where, according to Musil (2005), the imprint of socialism is especially visible – neglected inner-city areas that were for long ignored by city authorities and degenerated in what that author denotes as 'historic slums'. A characteristic trait of such areas is the presence of socially isolated low-income local communities which had developed a certain level of bonding social capital and a measure of local integration (Toruńczyk-Ruiz 2018; Piekut and Valentine 2018). While the process of social upgrading of these areas implies the encounter of the 'native' communities with newcomers, often different with respect to their socio-economic status, we ask whether new social networks, based on bridging social capital emerge and if the earlier local networks tend to survive.

As implied in the Introduction, one of the key sources of social diversification in post-socialist cities is the gentrification phenomenon. Out of the large body of literature devoted to urban *gentrification* three aspects should be highlighted here. The first con-

cerns the identity and the role of gentrifiers, the second, the relations between the demand and the supply-driven gentrification, and the third, the phases or stages of the gentrification process. Gentrifiers are typically identified with members of the so-called urban middle-class, the core consisting of the 'creative class'. The genesis of gentrification is usually sought either in the sphere of supply and production or demand and consumption. In fact, both aspects play a role and are often related to a specific phase of gentrification. Three to four stages of gentrification are identified, those related to specific sub-types of individuals and groups settling up in the areas, as well as the attracting factors.

The study of social interaction in two gentrifying areas of Warsaw and Tallinn involves the discussion on early-stage gentrification where an overrepresentation of artists, students and other members of the so-called marginal middle-class among the newcomers is registered. The pattern is characteristic of the post-socialist city in general. As STEINFÜHRER et al. (2010, p. 2341) claim, neighbourhood change in post-socialist cities is often characterised by young inner-city dwellers who "are not foreigners and do not live in the new condominiums, but in the old houses usually in a poor state of repair. They value the central location and the cultural amenities nearby […] From a Western perspective, these newcomers resemble, in many respects, the well-known 'pioneers' in gentrification research." At the same time there is evidence that the influx of early-stage gentrifiers is followed by more affluent people. The focus on the type of gentrifiers in the discourse on inner-city gentrification in the post-socialist context is, however, overshadowed by the discussion on the genesis of the process, for example its state-led character which is supported by developers and the public sector (JAKÓBCZYK-GRYSZKIEWICZ et al. 2017) in the frame of revitalisation projects. In many cases it is therefore seen as a central tool for gaining economic advantages (KOVÁCS 1998) or supporting the city's competitiveness (KOVÁCS 2009).

What the present analysis attempts to put in the centre of interest are the interactions between residents (human individual and group actors) in areas which become socially diverse due to an influx of new residents, mostly early-stage gentrifiers, to a lesser extent representatives of national or ethnic minority groups. The notion diversity as a fundamental feature of city (WIRTH 1938) and city life, and Jane JAKOBS' approval of physically diverse places generating creativity along with social and economic heterogeneity (cf. JAKOBS 1961), as well as Barry WELLMAN's (1979) discussion on community lost, saved and liberated, has become more and more intertwined with the problem of social inequality and community integration in urban neighbourhoods.

The encounter of people representing different values and equipped with different financial resources can lead to diverse social problems, such as community resentment and conflict, often featuring in gentrification research, especially between the 'old' and 'new' residents. JACKSON and BUTLER (2014) introduced the metaphor of 'social tectonics' to characterise the parallel lives and the lack of social interaction between both groups of residents in such dynamically changing urban neighbourhoods.

To what extent do these factors operate in a European post-socialist city? The phenomena are only partially analysed in current literature on cities in the region (e.g. GÓRNY et al. 2018; BUDNIK et al 2017; FABULA et al. 2017), and, a direct transfer of concepts could harm the locally-grounded sensitivity of the phenomena described. In the present paper we try to identify resident groups that contribute to the overcoming of conflicts and 'social
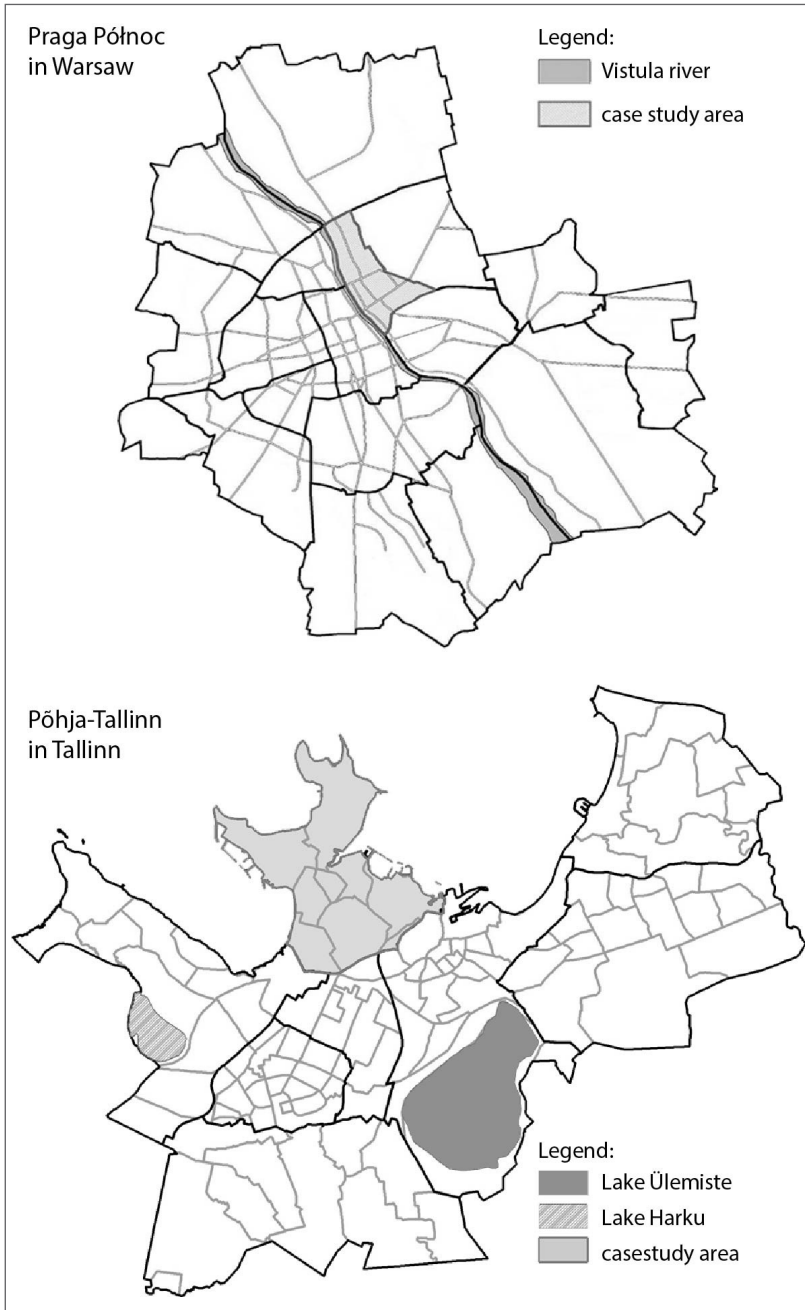
Source: Own elaboration

Figure 1: Research areas

tectonics' while contributing to social integration in two different post-socialist city neighbourhoods. While marking their local specificities, we attempt to contribute to the discussion on how the strengths and burdens of both past and present developments impact the functioning of dynamic inner-city areas in cities with a socialist chapter in their history.

3 Research areas and data

3.1 Research areas

The areas analysed are Põhja-Tallinn in Tallinn and Praga Północ in Warsaw (Fig. 1). Urban policy-wise, we are dealing with contexts in which local level social polarisation has emerged without being an outcome of an explicit mixing policy. As pointed to in the Introduction (section 1), it is rather related to an early-stage gentrification going on in many inner-city districts in urban areas of East and Central Europe which attract new residents with interesting accommodation offer and the specificity of the local milieu (Marcińczak et al. 2015; Tammaru et al. 2016). The process of social polarisation in the two study areas is based on different preconditions. While in the nationally diverse case of Tallinn, the process is related to the historical heritage of the city, in Warsaw, it is more determined by economic factors stemming from the city's regional, national and international position. Social upgrading in Praga Północ is also supported by urban policy which focusses on a revitalisation and economic transformation of the area.

While the degree of housing commodification differs in Põhja-Tallinn and Praga Północ, the origin and structure of housing and urban built environment show some similarities. The areas grew quickly in the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century as a result of interwoven processes of industrialisation and urbanisation. The two areas retained their industrial character, but lost their attractiveness to planners and residents during the socialist period, and became subject to an 'intentional exclusion'. Most parts that survived the physical destruction of World War II (the inner cities of Tallinn and Warsaw were especially hard hit by the damages of the war) did not correspond to the concept of the 'socialist city' and were hence neglected by the authorities. Without major public investments, the housing stock was undergoing physical deterioration, lacking many modern facilities, such as central heating. The same happened to the social composition of the residents; socially more 'problematic' people, such as those with low educational attainment and pathology, became over-represented in the analysed districts of Tallinn and Warsaw.

As a result of the inmigration of younger and wealthier people over the last two decades, the education level of the inhabitants of Põhja-Tallinn has become close to the city-wide average, while the education level of the Praga Północ inhabitants is still lower than in Warsaw on the average (Table 1). The latter is prescribed both to general social structure of the residents of Praga, their attitudes and ambitions, as well as to the educational level of local schools. Despite such difference, as a common trend, the study areas have become more attractive to better educated and higher income population.

In 1998, when the first stage of socio-economic transformation was completed paving way to an urban transformation as in most other centrally planned cities (Sýkora

and Bouzarovski 2012), the rents and property prices in Põhja were the lowest in the city – for example 85 percent of the rents of the largest housing estate Lasnamäe (Kinn-isvaraturu ülevaade 1998). Since then, the prices have been rising quicker than in Tallinn on average. By 2010, an important differentiation in this respect took place in the area. In neighbourhoods closer to the city centre, the housing prices had increased to almost twice as high as in Lasnamäe, while in more distant locations, property prices had equalised with Lasnamäe (UUSMAA 2010). Currently (2018), rental and property prices in Põh-ja-Tallinn are higher than in other districs of Tallinn, with the exception of the city centre (MAA-AMET 2018), while the neighbourhoods in more distant locations of Põhja-Tallinn have become the most attractive ones in the city (Kinnisvarauudised 2019).

The situation in Praga Północ is slightly different., although a growth in rental and property prices is also observed. While in terms of apartment prices on the secondary market, the district takes a middle position among Warsaw's eighteen administrative are-as, and the last among the districts with a central location, there is a distinct growth trend visible in this respect (by as much as 11.6 percent in the period of 2018–2019) (Cenowy Ranking Dzielnic Warszawy 2019). From an area known for its exceptionally large share of public housing (45 percent against a city average of 19 percent – Local Data Bank 2015), Praga-Północ has developed into a district with a diversified housing offer – new, large and high-quality housing estates (e.g. Koneser) neighbouring old, renovated pre-war buildings with flats of lower or higher price and standard.

What is also different in Praga Północ compared to Põhja-Tallinn is the involvement of the public sector in urban change. A relatively large share of public housing stock allows lower-income residents to stay in Praga Północ. Another field of public sector interven-tion is urban renewal. A 'Local Urban Revitalization Programme for the City of Warsaw 2005–2013' was introduced in the mid-2000s, followed by the 'Integrated Urban Revitali-zation Programme 2013–2022'. Private developers have followed the suit. In Tallinn, city administration has built municipal housing, but major public urban renewal programmes are missing. A final, important difference between the research areas in Tallinn and War-saw pertains to the national composition of the population, with mainly Russian-speaking minorities even out-numbering Estonians in Põhja-Tallinn, and a considerable national homogeneity of Praga Północ, with some signs of diversification related to the inflow of low-income immigrants from Asia or the post-Soviet area.

3.2   Data and methods

As noted in the Introduction, the study follows a constructivist approach with the attempt to contribute to the understanding of social interaction in diversifying inner-city areas of two post-socialist cities. The analysis is based on semi-structured in-depth interviews with 50 residents of Praga Północ and 50 residents of Põhja-Tallinn[2] which were carried out be-

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[2]   Detailed information on the 100 interviewees and their structural characteristics (age group, gender, position in household, income group, nationality or region of origin resp. ethnic group etc.) as well as on the content of the interviews can be provided to interested readers by the authors.

tween October 2014 and February 2015 in the framework of a large international research project.[3] The respondents were selected using several entry points – via representatives of NGOs and local informal organisations, as well as via private contacts.

In order to gain maximum diversity within both groups, we conducted comprehensive studies of urban initiatives and governance arrangements. Such entry points (e.g. soup kitchens or local social libraries) were especially important in reaching the more marginalised groups, such as loiterers, that are missing in many statistical datasets. We aimed at a balance between the number of 'old' and 'new' residents who have arrived to our study areas either before 1990 or when the large-scale social transformations started in Central and Eastern Europe, based on local residence status, as well as gender. Among new residents, we also searched for members of ethnic/national minorities. In the case of Warsaw, their share in the sample turned out to be 10 percent, in Tallinn 12 percent (which is not adequate to the actual share of minorities in the total number of the population in the respective cities, but provides an overview of the minorities' attitudes, opinions and activities).

We *a priori* identified two basic categories, the 'old' residents, i.e. people who were born in the area, have lived in the district at least since 1990, or are off-springs of pre-war and early post-war time inhabitants. 'New' residents are those who have moved to Praga Północ and Põhja-Tallinn respectively since 1990, though the bulk of them has arrived during the last ten years, which in the case of both Warsaw and Tallinn is mainly related to the above mentioned gentrification process. Based on the results thus obtained, the present paper focuses on the way in which inter-personal and group relations unveil, what can be interpreted as signs of local integration. Following the case of two city areas, with their closed-off communities and social problems we look at how the on-going process of social upgrading impacts upon the creation and sustainability of local social networks. Hence, we focus on factors that contribute to social integration founded upon bridging and linking social capital.

4   The 'old' and the 'new' residents

As indicated in sections one and two, we assume that the key dimension of socio-spatial change in the study areas concerns the division of the population based on the length of residence status. In the analysis, the division was introduced *a priori* by distinguishing between these residents who had lived in the areas before the onset of the systemic transformation, and those that moved in after 1990. This divide is crucial since the transition period brought about a deregulation of former housing allocation rules by introducing market principles. At the same time, the last two decades have witnessed an increase of population mobility. Against this distinction, inter-personal and group relations are looked at.

Our findings show that there are substantial differences in terms of socio-economic and demographic parameters between the 'new' and the 'old' residents. 'New residents' are typically better educated, and on the average younger. While most of them are in a better economic situation than the 'old' residents on the average, this is not to be treated as a rule. The majority of 'new' residents can be described as 'early-stage gentrifiers' – artists, students, young families, characterised by a high level of cultural – and not necessarily economic – capital. However, along with the areas' transformation in terms of housing and infrastructural investments of both private and public character, there is a growing group of new affluent white-collar professionals moving to the quarters. The basic dissimilarity between the 'old' and the 'new' residents concerns social networks they establish. The 'old' residents create bonding networks based on relations between family and friends, while the 'new residents' tend to form wider and more diverse social relations – bridging networks.

The habitat of the 'old' residents is typically the municipal-owned housing stock or building blocks erected in the 1960s and 1970s in the cooperative sector in Praga Północ. In Põhja-Tallinn, 'old' residents live in pre-war multifamily wooden housing. In both cities, the 'new residents' are usually identified with post-1990 multifamily housing, mainly of private development, less frequently of cooperative status, or with older buildings that have been privatised. This rather differentiated housing situation has a certain impact on the attitude of residents to their area of residence and on local social relations, but its role should be assessed when linked with other factors that shape individual and group identities. Other factors that determine social relations within the population (but also between the groups of 'old' and 'new' residents) are the level of educational attainment, job opportunities, and the related pattern of home to work travelling.

The case study districts in both cities are characterised by a considerable higher unemployment compared to city averages, with the largest share of population on welfare benefits. This applies in an overwhelming proportion to the 'old' residents, whose social and spatial mobility is generally low, while those who are occupationally active, often work within the area, earn considerably below the city average, and experience relatively low job security. Whereas these traits characterise some of the 'new' residents as well, the latter typically perform white-collar jobs in Warsaw's and Tallinn's main business and office districts.

A common characteristic of the 'old' residents in both case study areas is their sense of belonging to the neighbourhood and a shared set of values, or *unwritten rules*, concerning mutual relations, solidarity and trust. This makes them one 'tectonic plate', to use the metaphor of Jackson and Butler (2014). They have created strong bonds within homogenous social networks that are based on tradition, local identity and *mistrust toward strangers*, especially toward 'new' residents in general. The activities of the 'old' residents are typically centred on places of residence.

An important additional source of the identity among the 'old' residents is formed by a combination of a shared past and current forms of social hardship. The words of a Russian-speaking resident from Põhja-Tallinn are a good exemplification of this attitude:

> *"What unites the residents of our neighbourhood is hard life. Being unemployed puts us into a similar situation. […] Just imagine the mighty industries we used to*

have [during the Soviet period] – Baltic Manufacturing, Baltic Ship Repair Yard,
Kalinin-named factory, Volta factory, Machine Factory. [...] Many people from my
social network used to work in them."

In Põhja-Tallinn, Russian-speaking residents tend to belong to this group. The contacts that once emerged in their workplaces under socialism have remained important until today. Since they have lost their former social status and today belong to the socially vulnerable part of the population, they are nostalgic and are recalling 'the good old times'. For the 'new' residents, it is difficult to associate with such identity, especially in Põhja-Tallinn where language barriers intersect with social status differences since 'new' residents are more likely to be both Estonians and members of the creative class.

Among the 'old' residents exists a certain mistrust towards any kind of otherness; a feeling that accompanies the gentrification of the area and the associated fear that the established and *familiar world is doomed to disappear*. A narrative that surfaces more often in the interviews in Warsaw than in Tallinn is that the 'new' residents try to accommodate the surroundings to their own standards, that they are transforming and 'colonialising' the urban space. In the eyes of the 'old' residents, the newcomers are in general not 'assimilated' yet, meaning that this is what would be expected from anybody new moving into 'their' neighbourhood (Korcelli-Olejniczak and Piotrowsky 2017; 2018). An elderly woman, a resident of Praga Północ, expresses this in an interview with the following words:

"The people who have lived here for years have somehow consolidated [...] while
the behaviour of those new people is still questionable."

The view of the 'old' residents towards newcomers, both in Põhja-Tallinn and Praga Północ, strongly stresses wealth differences. For those 'old' residents who, as a consequence of socio-economic transformation, fell either into long-term unemployment or perform low-paid jobs, wealth differences are a very sensitive matter. An unemployed middle-aged Russian woman, a long-term resident in Põhja-Tallinn, explains that this makes the people hunker down:

"Because of their hard lives people have changed, they used to be much kinder
and open."

'Old' residents often recall the better *social and moral standards* of the people who used to live in inner cities immediately after the war, their feeling of community belonging and the sense of place. The impact of the inflow of 'new' residents is associated with *moral decay and the change of values* to individual advantage and money as a guiding ideology. A 33-year old construction worker who had lived his whole life in Põhja-Tallinn says that:

"Wealthier people move to Kalamaja in greater and greater numbers, and it's
starting to change the neighbourhood into something more arrogant and high-
class than before."

However, in contrast to that, other long-term residents argue that everyone benefits from the *gentrification process*, the upgrading of the areas, the abundance of cafeterias and other places where people can spend leisure time. A Russian speaking, middle-aged social

worker from Kalamaja, the area that has gentrified most quickly in Põhja-Tallinn, explains the changes related to newcomers as follows:

> *"I think, at least it seems to me, that people living in Kalamaja do a lot for that neighbourhood [...] to create this atmosphere, to stress the intimacy of the area and based on that create new friendly relations that go beyond formal interaction between the neighbours."*

Since both Praga Północ and Põhja-Tallinn are home to a large share of socially disadvantaged people, one of the important groups identified among the 'old' residents is to be labelled as pathological. This is based on their social behaviour: alcoholism, drug addiction, long-term unemployment. Many of these people are socially strongly bound to and deeply rooted in their neighbourhood of residence. This group, which we name 'loiterers', spends most of the day on their doorsteps, in the soup kitchen or other public spaces, they develop a strong connection with their neighbourhood. Their specific place attachment is both functional and emotional. Other residents usually express negative opinions about them. While talking to 'new' residents, 'loiterers' are even mentioned as a 'plague of Praga'. This narrative also surfaces in Põhja-Tallinn; they mostly are men who have either alcohol or drug related problems, many of them have a criminal background or are homeless.

'New' residents usually develop bridging networks within and outside the neighbourhood. These include different people in terms of age, family status, profession or ethnicity, though, generally, the majority of the contacts are established with other newcomers, rarely with the long-term residents. Interestingly, while 'old' residents emphasise wealth differences, 'new' residents consider similar values, worldviews, and age as important factors for building local ties. A 25-year-old female resident in Kalamaja in Põhja-Tallinn characterises the people she interacts with as follows:

> *"They are rather young, let's say, quite nature loving with a wide horizon or somewhat spiritual worldviews. For example, I have no contact with the elderly 'old' residents in the area. I have no clue how the elderly or the retired live here or how they manage. All my social contacts are 40-45-year-old max."*

'New' residents are generally a less uniform group than the 'old' residents. According to the way the residents act within their neighbourhood and establish their social relations, three general subgroups can be distinguished: 'the engaged', 'the isolated' and 'the ex-territorials'. They correspond to types also distinguished by other authors in different study areas.

'The engaged' are socially active and involved in the development of the neighbourhood. Their most common characteristic is a high educational level. In Põhja-Tallinn, Estonians are clearly over-represented in this category. While interacting with diverse groups of residents, 'the engaged' clearly build bridging networks. Some of them, so-called 'good angels', have developed an *emotional connectedness* with Praga's and Põhlia's traditions and their native residents:

> *"Some people have assimilated with old Praga. We have a neighbour who fights for the rights of tenants. He represents first the old Praguans who have lived in*

these buildings since the war, and now these people are at risk of forced eviction.”
(interview with an 'old resident' of Praga)

'The isolated' are more common in Praga Północ than in Põhja-Tallinn. The insecurity they experience is not primarily related to a short period of residence, their housing or job situation, but typically to the scarcity of friends and relatives. 'The isolated' sense a *lack of physical rootedness*, of belonging or of understanding of local principles and rules.

> *"Now that I think about it, this is not my secure environment, where I feel comfort-able."* (interview with a 'new resident' of Praga)

'The ex-territorials' fail to care about their neighbourhood; they live their lives outside its borders. Their local social interaction is replaced by social networks with a broader spatial scale which rarely include any neighbours. 'Ex-territorials' lead their life within the walls of the interiors of their flats and cars, work in other parts of the cities, while driving their children to school in other districts. For them 'sharing' the area with 'old residents' is rath-er a problem. They consider the area of residence as stigmatised, associated with inherited poverty, deprivation and low life quality in general. In many cases, 'the ex-territorials' emphasise the *temporary character of their residence* in the area and they can thus be described as *transitory urbanites*:

> *"As soon as it is possible, we desire to move out. We have nothing in common with this place."* (interview with a 'new' resident of Praga)

In some cases, 'ex-territorials', rather than any form of aversion, display disinterest in their residence surroundings.

It should be noted that a certain form of engagement is also identified among the 'old' res-idents. The main difference related to the way this engagement is typically expressed is its form. While 'new' residents tend to act in a more organised way, for example by forming local associations, the 'old' residents' way is often more individual and casual.

To sum up, the divide between the 'old' and the 'new' residents in the areas studied in Tallinn and Warsaw is deep. 'Social tectonics' – the natural fracturing along societal lines – is very visible: the two groups tend *to live parallel lives*, next to each other rather than together. Both 'old' and 'new' residents have their own, more or less standard lifestyle and social norms that are based on social class, values, beliefs, customs and habits. What functions as an integrative mechanism *within* both groups, e.g. socio-economic status and cultural capital, creates division lines between them. The presence of the 'new' res-idents per se seems to constitute no hazard to the persistence of social bonds within the sub-community of the 'old' residents. When considering the different ways in which peo-ple refer to their surroundings and to others ('the loiterers', 'the engaged', 'the isolated', 'the ex-territorials'), only 'the engaged' contribute to social solidarity defined as local integration based on the interdependence of all community's components. In the next sec-tion, we specifically search for such bridging networks – between the 'new' gentrifiers, and the 'old' residents, as well as factors that impact upon their formation.

5 Bridging groups in a formerly deprived but dynamically changing area

The analysis of social relations within and between the 'old' and the 'new' residents shows that social integration can be traced back to two main sources. The first are *functional relations* that interconnect people. Those are related to their daily chores and specific interests, as well as the way they practice these activities within their neighbourhood and beyond. In line with this, activities related to child raising, retirement or pet care bring the relevant people together, in Praga Północ and in Pöhlia-Tallinn. Through such activities, a type of community integration develops between people, who begin to have more in common than just sharing a piece of geographical space. The second source that social integration can be traced back to, are *emotional relations*. We note that people who develop a certain emotional attitude toward their surroundings tend to be more helpful and to recognise their neighbours' needs – a certain level of integration develops.

The identification of subgroups that contribute to community integration, including the distinction made between functional relations and emotional perception of and relation to the area of residence are outcomes of the present analysis. The latter is related to the behavioural and emotional aspects of interaction between humans and space which create a feeling of belonging and identity (Altman and Low 1992; Forrest and Kearns 1999). With respect to behavioural interaction, the perception of the functional aspects and the types of activities undertaken are considered in the analysis, whereas regarding emotional interaction, relation to place and the meaning of places are investigated.

5.1 Functional relations

The first group that establishes functional relations are 'parents' of younger children. 'Parents' actively use public space in their surroundings and encounter other parents in parks, nursery schools and playgrounds,[4)] places treated as 'desegregated' areas. Children-related activities usually bring different people together, with evidence of mutual support and solidarity within and between the groups of 'old' and 'new' residents. Interestingly, both in Põhja-Tallinn and Praga Północ, the interaction and mutual support concerns parents of small children. Issues related to school choice often generate divisions between those who are 'condemned' to send their off-spring to a local school, which is perceived as being of a lower quality, and others, who decide to drive their child to an educational institution elsewhere, often considered more prestigious and presenting a higher educational level.

Bridging networks are also created by 'older people', who focus their activities on the immediate surroundings and use public space to encounter others:

[4)] In Tallinn, the city government introduced the program "Let's renovate playgrounds!" for the apartment associations to upgrade their children's playgrounds. In their more attractive form, the areas are still better spaces of social encounter.

"We have moved in here just recently, but like to spend time in public places and people different." (interview with a 'new' resident of Praga)

Deriving from the interviews with some 'old residents', such people are usually helpful towards their neighbours, and trusted by other residents:

"She is not from here, but I can always leave my keys with her." (interview with an 'old' resident of Praga)

As a result of the casual encounters with other people and places, 'older people' develop a specific kind of 'belonging' to the area, resembling what calls 'absent ties'. Similarly, 'dog-owners' create bridges, when the duty and life-style of dog walking becomes a way of meeting people and sharing values, even a source of trust:

"I did not know whom to ask, so I asked the lady I meet with the dog every day. I believed she would help me. Whom should I trust, if not another dog-owner [...]." (interview with a 'new' resident of Praga)

A 'new resident' in Põhja-Tallinn explains that he meets similar people,

"where I walk the dog, go to in the morning and in the evening, where I spend my free time".

5.2 Emotional attitude toward the area of residence

With respect to the second source of community integration, we identified two basic sub-groups which can be described as emotionally attached to the area. These are the 'wanderers' and the 'local activists', the latter constituting a specific form of local engagement (compare with 'the engaged' in the previous section).

'Wanderers' are people who like to move around their neighbourhood and experience it with all senses:

"I moved to this place just recently, and I must say that I am fascinated by its climate, tradition, history. I think that I am starting to belong to this place, just as it starts to belong to me." (interview with a 'new' resident)

Although we have identified more of such attitudes among 'new' residents, there are also persons with a longer residence history, who declare to wander around. The way 'wanderers' often discover the area is related to *simple joys and excitements* offered by the nature and the ongoing urban transformations. Inner city areas are rapidly transforming so that even if you take the same route, you can still discover new developments. A 52-year-old women explains:

"[...] definitely another form of spending free time in Põhja-Tallinn is that we go cycling. There are so many different places to ride to."

Walking or cycling in the neighbourhood, as well as sitting in cafes are often linked activities; the aim of wandering around is to explore a new café or a pub. Both Põhja-Tallinn and Praga Północ can be called 'catwalks of cafes', or districts with interesting cafes and pubs, which are mushrooming all over, and attract also visitors from other parts of the city.

In both study areas, direct and emotional interest is expressed by 'local activists'. In general, this movement originated in post-socialist cities in the early 1990s and is related to the formation of a civil society and to a growing need of social participation. In the case of Praga Północ, 'local activists' are commonly well-educated 'new' residents. One of the respondents, who restored an old building to arrange his apartment and studio there, claims that Praga is more natural than other areas in Warsaw and that his interest in it and its people grows with the time he spends there. His interest in the area turned into an interest in Praga's people and he started establishing relations with many 'old' residents:

> *"With time I started feeling responsible for the surroundings. Not only my house, but the neighbouring houses, the people that live there and need support."*

On top of the growing social awareness observed after 1989, active involvement in Praga Północ is clearly related to the district's gentrification process. A special group among local activists are artists who play the role of local integrators in both an institutionalised (via organisations) and informal way – building bridging and linking networks.

To sum up, although there is little social interaction between the 'old' and the 'new' residents, there are levels at which bridging networks are established beyond social and socio-economic divisions. These pertain to function and emotion – the basic sources of human interaction. While both 'old' and 'new' residents take initiatives in the functional, instrumental sphere, emotion (expressive dimension – see Parsons and Bales 1955) leads to integrative initiatives. These usually are initiated by newcomers, often indirectly and most commonly due to their activities in local projects,[5] or through their interest in the new area of residence. A good example of neighbourhood-based activities started by newcomers is the 'Social Street Circus', an initiative that contributed to the overcoming of negative clichés and the hostility of local children towards 'others', including the newcomers.[6]

There are other examples of local activity which support the building of bridges in the study areas. Interestingly, often the simple interest in the fate of 'others', or in the devel-

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[5] 'New' residents, due to their diverse social networks and their usually higher economic status obviously have more possibilities at hand, including financial resources and access to public institutions, to initiate larger scale projects. The local activity of 'old' residents is usually restricted to their immediate neighbourhood. In Tallinn, the fact that Russian-speakers often do not speak Estonian makes them less active too.

[6] The project was organised in one of the most neglected and socially excluded areas of Praga Północ – Brzeska Street – which has for a long time suffered from bad reputation. The reason for the long-term residents' children's negative attitude towards the others was believed to derive from distrust and fear of 'difference'. The activities undertaken within the initiative were intended to integrate the local community, support the individual child through developing its creativity and communication abilities as well as a more aware and active attitude towards its immediate milieu. The children were taught to be more appreciative of their surroundings 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.

opment of shared space, are non-institutional and spontaneous behaviours of people. Trust and reciprocity, referred to by SENNETT, or the need for networking, pointed to by him, have a common source in both function and emotion – the need to help others and the need to improve the local environment on one side, and the realisation of common goals and interests on the other. Both motives, function and emotion (the instrumental and expressive dimension – see T. PARSONS) play a role in simple interest and the need to become a part of the local community. A 48-year old Estonian tells his story:

"A new neighbour, a man, moved in and the next day brought us a cake. He said – I baked a cake, here is some for you. A person himself searches for contact. It is how you approach things, isn't it?"

6 Conclusions / Discussion

Tallinn and Warsaw, post-socialist capital cities in East and Central Europe are undergoing rapid social and spatial transformations. The systemic change brings along higher levels of social-economic diversification within the neighbourhood that, temporarily, may reduce levels of segregation (at the city level) as high-income groups move to low-income neighbourhoods. As consequence, social polarisation increases in the formerly deprived but dynamically changing inner-city neighbourhoods undergoing gentrification. Such changes pose a twofold threat to community integration. Firstly, they can lead to a disruption of those traditional local social bonds that outlived the socialist era, and secondly, they may discourage the unfolding of new social relations based on bonding capital. The general deficit of social capital expressed in terms of trust and reciprocity, characteristic for the post-socialist period, introduces an additional barrier in this respect. Still, under such conditions, opportunities for creating selective bridging ties tend to emerge.

The research findings concerning Põhja-Tallinn and Praga Północ in Warsaw provide some interesting insights to the ongoing processes. First of all, the social relations between the 'established' and the 'outsiders' are generally weak and can be characterised by the 'community lost' and 'social tectonics' metaphors. Furthermore, no evidence is found for the development of bonding capital among the 'new' residents, although the subgroup referred to as 'the engaged' holds some potential in this respect. Secondly, the existing traditional social bonds among the 'old' residents do not seem to be directly affected by the arrival of the 'new'. Such bonds are based on family and neighbourly relationships, often fostered in face of the limited ability to adapt to the requirements of the modern service-based economy. This is in particular evident in Põhja-Tallinn where 'old' residents, mainly national minorities, accounted for the bulk of industrial workers in the socialist period. Due to their overall low Estonian language proficiency, they have been much less successful in taking up new service sector jobs and express low local activity in general. Neither in Tallinn nor Warsaw an explicit tendency is expressed on the part of 'old' residents to develop networks of the bridging type. Their local interactions do not translate into active participation in neighbourhood activities.

Old residents	Bridging group	New residents
Minorities Less affluent Elderly people	Parents Dog owners Elderly people Local activists	Natives More affluent Younger people

Source: Own elaboration

Figure 2: Social groups contributing the most to the formation of the local level commu-
nity solidarity between the 'old' and 'new' residents in the diverse neighbour-
hoods

Thirdly, bridging ties that are formed between the 'old' residents and the newcomers
are founded upon the factors of function and emotion. We detected parents, dog owners,
elderly people and local activists as the key bridging groups between the 'old' an 'new'
residents (Fig. 2). Some local networks emerge based upon the sharing of daily obligations
and interests, some upon an emotional relation toward the area of residence. Perhaps the
concomitance and strengthening of those two dimensions is a requirement for the building
of what is called community integration.

The main factor of growing social polarisation of the study areas is the gentrification
phenomenon. Although there is no straightforward evidence that this phenomenon brings
about the disintegration of the existing local bonding ties, one may hypothesise that this
may occur at a more advanced stage of the districts' transformation, together with changes
in the proportions between the 'old' and the 'new' residents, but also the remodelling of
the socio-economic profile of the in-migrants. It may be anticipated, that with the quali-
tative change of the areas, the share of 'new' residents with a higher economic status will
grow, since they may slowly take the place of 'early-stage' gentrifiers. As the present
analysis shows, those 'new' residents who have a higher economic status often manifest
an inclination towards 'ex-territoriality', which may be treated as an announcement of the
areas' disintegration process.

At the same time, the process of community formation in the areas under investigation
may take different forms in Tallinn and Warsaw. These communities may assume different
ways to socially integrate or disintegrate, owing to specific features, including the ethnic
(national) dimension, the districts' geographical situation within the broader city areas,
and the overall development dynamics of the cities concerned.

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