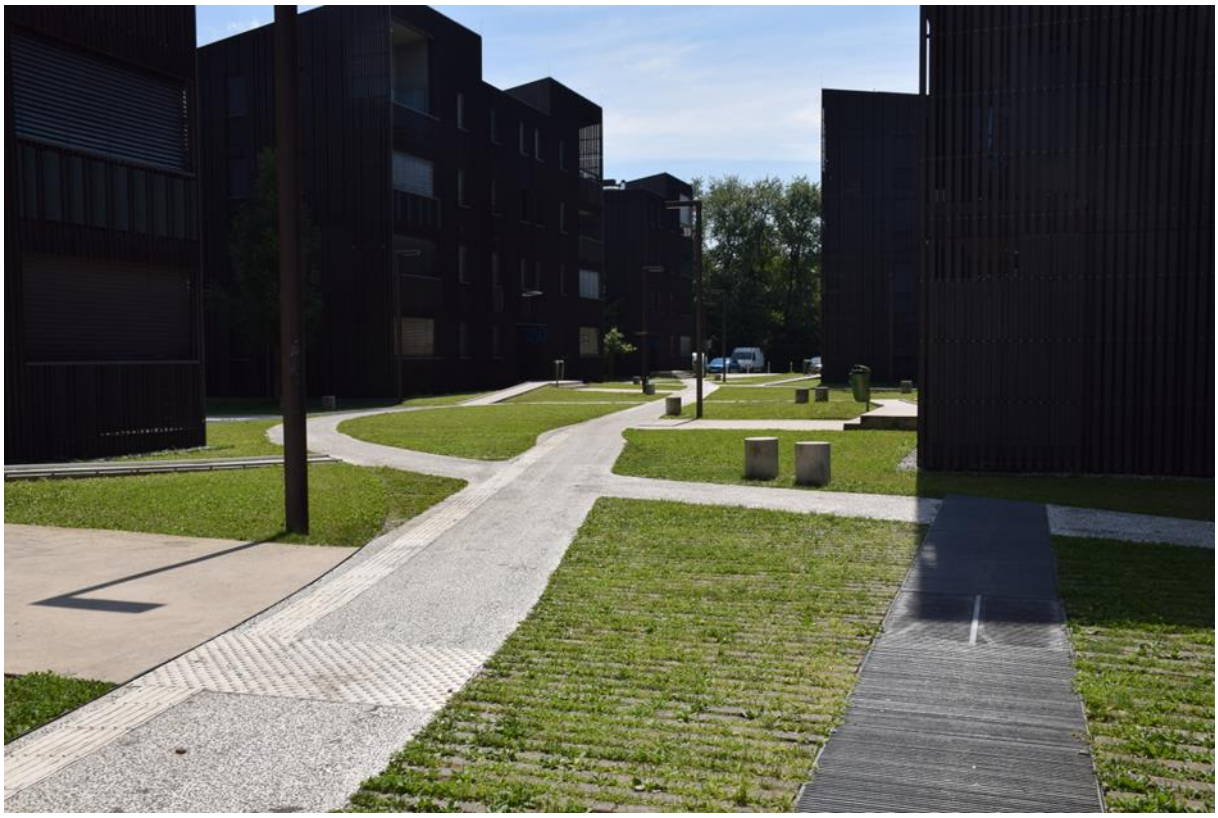
Case study - Ljubljana

The conflict of values in the neighbourhood Polje III in Ljubljana – The "fight" for the dominance over a piece of a green space

Final Version

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A. Background Information

Ljubljana is the capital of Slovenia and the largest city of Slovenia. The city has a long and dynamic history. *According to legend, Ljubljana was founded by the Greek mythological hero Jason and his companions, the Argonauts, who stole the Golden Fleece from King Aetes and fled from him across the Black Sea and the rivers Danube, Sava and Ljubljanica. They stopped at a large lake in the marshlands near the source of the Ljubljanica, where they dismantled their ship to carry it into the Adriatic, reassemble it and return to Greece. The lake where they stopped was the home of a dragon monster. Jason fought the dragon monster, defeated it and killed it*[1]. Today the dragon monster is an important symbol of Ljubljana and had found its place on the castle tower and in the coat of arms of Ljubljana (Mestna Občina Ljubljana, n.d.)[2].

Ljubljana is the economic, political, cultural, educational, scientific and administrative centre of Slovenia. Today the service sector, tourism and transport are the most important for the city's economy. In recent decades, urban development in Ljubljana has focussed on the intensive influence of private investment in the construction of infrastructure and housing. This type of urbanisation means that the city is less community-oriented and more suited to an individual lifestyle (Cerar, 2015, 2018). The circle of the city centre suffered from the gentrification processes. Living in the city centre is becoming too expensive. People are leaving the city centre and moving to smaller towns near Ljubljana or to the outskirts of the city. The daily exodus to work and school is putting an enormous strain on Ljubljana's road network, which can no longer cope with the density of daily traffic. At the same time, Ljubljana is faced with a chronic shortage of affordable housing. The response to this situation is public investment in the development of new neighbourhoods (housing funds), primarily in response to the lack of affordable housing for young families, which is still not sufficient to meet demand. However, there is a major imbalance in the housing market. Expensive and private flats are built near or in the centre of the city, while “social” or non-profit flats are built in the suburbs with less infrastructure. At the same time, all this new building investment is significantly restricting and reducing public space, and even more, the public space that would be accessible to all residents is disappearing.

B. Problem Statement

The site of our research is neighbourhood Polje III, located within a larger area where four major neighbourhoods of non-rental housing have been built so far. The neighbourhoods were built by City of Ljubljana`s Public Housing Fund, which is central institution for the implementation of housing policy and housing programme in the Municipality of Ljubljana. The main activity of Public Housing Fund (PHF) over the past

[1] The dragon monster found its place on the castle tower and in the coat of arms of Ljubljana.
[2] https://www.ljubljana.si/sl/o-ljubljani/zgodovina-ljubljane/

two decades is to solve the housing needs of citizens, i.e. to allocate non-profit housing for rent. The fund builds larger neighbourhoods, mostly on the outskirts of the city, which already entails ghettoisation. Every few years, a new neighbourhood is built in the area with blocks of flats in the middle and lower price segments.

The Polje III residential neighbourhood is located on the eastern edge of the Polje housing estate in Ljubljana. It is positioned between three existing residential areas: Polje I to the north, Polje II to the south-west (both of which were constructed by the PHF for non-profit rental), Polje IV and commercial neighbourhood to the west. The neighbourhood Polje III is composed of six residential blocks, with a total of 148 dwellings. Of these, 10% are designated for individuals with disabilities, and **3**5 units are allocated for temporary accommodation of individuals in crisis situations (small crisis unit). There are 8693,64 m2 bruto area of living space for 218 people.

The accommodation is available on the basis of a tender. A call for applications for the allocation of non-profit housing publishes two lists to which people can apply. List A is for persons with a lower income and does not require a contribution and security deposit (so called social housing), while persons on List B are required to pay a contribution and security deposit according to their household income. At each call for tenders, 2/3 of the apartments are allocated to List A and 1/3 to List B. This is also the approximate structure of housing allocation in our study neighbourhood.

Most of the apartments are rented to families, while a few are occupied by single people or (elderly) couples. Some of the apartments are also occupied by people with reduced mobility. Most of the people who have acquired housing under List A are either unemployed or earning minimum wage (or on low pensions or disability pensions). Often, they are recipients of state social transfers/benefits. Employees often work in precarious and multi-shift jobs, which makes it difficult for single parents to organise childcare. So often we see older children looking after younger ones.

Families, living in this neighbourhood, often face an accumulation of socio-economic and psychosocial problems (poverty, social exclusion, housing vulnerability, financial illiteracy, immigrants/ethnic minorities, illiteracy among adults, frequent health problems, parents and/or children with long-term illness, special needs of children and/or parents, presence/exposure to domestic violence, etc.). Residents are often immigrants, mainly from Serbia, Bosnia or Macedonia (or 2nd or 3rd generation immigrants).

The whole neighbourhood is one of the few where children may play and mostly socialise outside. Even though the playground is a bit far away and there are no suitable areas to play, children play and socialise outdoors. This may be due to the small size of the flats, but on the other hand, this way of socialising is very close to the young people in the neighbourhood. Despite the growing societal concern regarding the decrease in outdoor socialisation among young people, this issue can, on occasion, give rise to

conflict within this specific neighbourhood. Teenagers are particularly affected, as they move from garages to the steps in front of the block and then back to the areas between the blocks, chased by adult residents. And there really is no proper space for socialising in the neighbourhood. Interestingly, young people from all neighbourhoods (i.e. Polje I, Polje II, Polje III and Polje IV) prefer to meet in the location of the neighbourhood under study. This is due to the community space “Točka” (eng. Spot), but also to the location, as the neighbourhood is at the crossroads of all the others.

There is a primary school in the neighbourhood, which is already facing space and staffing constraints due to the growing population of the neighbourhood. The ghettoisation of the neighbourhood has also given the school a bad reputation, with parents in better socio-economic situations pulling their children out of school. The wider neighbourhood also has a bank, post office, bars, restaurant, hairdresser, beauty salon and library. The library is special because it has adapted to the needs of the local environment, so that children and young people in particular use it as an important place to spend time, learn and talk, and parents can use it to make copies and to help them with their various applications, etc. An important meeting and support space is the “Točka” (eng. Spot), community space, where the Kings of the Street Association carries out its activities. The programme were set in the neighbourhood due to the accumulation of social problems, crime and vandalism, and the Municipality of Ljubljana decided to support the residents of the neighbourhood, especially children and young people, with various support programmes. On of the important aims of the programme is also a prevention of evictions and strengthen housing preservation. In addition to the Spot, there are now two active youth programmes with a day centre and street work as well as a programme for children and parents. The location of one youth programme (Mladi zmaji) is about 1 km away from the neighbourhood, while the outreach programme “The Ljuba and Drago” Bus" stops in the neighbourhood once a week. The other outreach programme, Mala ulica (Small Street), also visits the neighbourhood occasionally. The centre for parents and children is an private agency, specifically oriented into the counselling for parents and children, and they are not dealing with social issues of the families.

Therefore, the Spot is the place, set in the neighbourhood, open for everybody there and active on everyday life needs. The "Spot" programme is placed in one of the apartments on the ground floor of the block. It has a kitchen and a living room that stick together, a toilet and a playroom. It is entered from the atrium of the block in which it is located. Smoking is allowed on the balcony, which is not glazed (for staff and adult visitors). There is no doorbell, so children come to the kitchen or balcony window and ask the staff to open the door for them. We could say that it is a typical law-threshold programme. It is placed in the ground-floor flat in the corner block on the northern part of Polje III quart. This allows them to actively engage with the community, the neighbourhood and its surroundings. The programme is open to all residents of the neighbourhood, but most of their guests are children, young people and families.

Afternoon activities for children, young people and their families are offered three times a week, and free learning support is provided before the activities if required. Once a week there is also a group for parents to chat over a cup of tea or coffee. At Spot, they also help residents with any bureaucratic matters, like help them to fill in forms, inform them of some of their rights, accompany them as nonformal advocates to various organisations and offer them support if they need it. In collaboration with the Public Housing Fund, they offer some residents individual support and counselling to prevent eviction.

The problem

In the neighbourhood Polje III, many contradictions and conflicts among the residents can be observed. Violence, harassment and vandalism, visible drug use, lack of parking spaces, lack of quiet corners for small children and elderly residents, lack of green spaces and all phenomena related to the ghettoisation of the place and saturation with specific social phenomena in a small area. Our research partners from the NGO "Kings of the streets" drew our attention to the dynamics in the neighbourhood related to the use of the public outdoor spaces between the blocks. These are the paths and lawns that connect the 6 blocks of flats in the neighbourhood. These limited open spaces are used by children and families to play, by pet owners, by young people to socialise and by older people to chat with neighbours. However, a large proportion of the neighbourhood's residents want these public areas to be used primarily as a "buffer zone" between the blocks of flats, without causing any disruption. They want a place where there is a peaceful atmosphere, tranquillity and a lawn with well-tended flowerbeds.

It is obvious that different people from Polje III have different interests in how this urban public space should be used. Since we know that people's interests are largely related to their personal values and expectations, we decided to focus our research on identifying the different values behind these interests, and in particular on identifying conflicting values, as these are at the centre of conflicts between people. Conflicts occurs when we experience something that contradicts one of our strongly held values[3]. As behaviours are very aligned to values, we'll often experience a values conflict when we experience a behaviour that goes against our values: »*Personal values conflicts can occur when we work or interact with others who hold values that are not aligned to our own. Experiencing a values clash can feel jarring and visceral. Being aware of them can help us navigate our lives more smoothly and effectively.*« (ibid).

Research objective and questions

The most important part of our research was to identify the values of the people in the neighbourhood, especially the values that can be contradictory. To better understand the situations in which the conflict values are detected it was important to understand the context in which people live. Therefore, we had to find out the perceptions about the

[3] https://worldofwork.io/2024/08/your-personal-values-where-conflicts-can-occur/

neighbourhood in the relation to the open public space and their interests about it and the 1st research question were set on this topic. To reveal values behind this interests we set the 2nd and the 3rd research question as we expected that they will provide value based arguments for their expectations regarding "common goods". We had presumed, that different people will have different perception of "common goods" and that they will advocate for apparently similar values but their solutions to prevent this "common goods" will reveal the conflicting values behind.

With this deeper understanding of conflicting values, we have tried to understand how these values manifest themselves in the relationship to the shared public space in the neighbourhood, therefore the objective of the research *was to understand what the personal values of people from the neighbourhood (residents, key stakeholders) are and what are their perceptions of the community values*.

In line with the problem detected we set 3 research questions:

1 How do people (residents, key stakeholders) imagine the future of the new neighbourhood?

2 What do they recognise as common goods in the new neighbourhood?

3 What do they want to protect as common goods in the new neighbourhood?

C. Data and Theoretical Framework

The overarching idea of social work theory and practise is a socially and ecologically just society. The mission of social work is to promote the well-being of all people and to strive for a socially just society that respects human dignity and autonomy (IASSW, 2014, 2018). From the anti-oppressive and radical scholars of social work, there is a social work knowledge and experience of critical research. In its pragmatic aim, social work should always benefit people and must be focussed on finding concrete and useful practical solutions for people. Empowering social work research is that which enables people to develop their own theories of life, their personal models of knowing how the world works and how to make sense of life. Personal freedom comes from the personal inner power to judge reality (Kant, 2000).

Since the focus of the research is on values, it was necessary to define the concept of values. We have chosen the following definition of values: Values are individual beliefs that motivate people to act one way or another. Values serve as a guide for human behavior[4]. A value is something of a relative worth, utility, or importance; the regard that something is held to deserve; the importance, worth, or usefulness of something. Generally, people are predisposed to adopt the values that they are raised with. People

[4] https://ethicsunwrapped.utexas.edu/glossary/values

tend to believe that their values are the “right” values and their explanations of the values are the correct one because this is the part of their own identity and culture.

An example how we can understand conflicting values: People internalise a value of "strong community". Some people believe that the strength of a community lies in the cohesion of autonomous and divergent individuals, while others argue that the strength of a community lies in the cohesion of like-minded individuals.

Methodology

To understand values, gain in-depth knowledge of a particular context and develop new ideas, a qualitative approach is most useful. A qualitative research approach aims to understand how individuals make meaning of their social world. The social world is not something that is independent of individual perception, but is created through social interactions of individuals with the world around them (Hesse-Biber, 2010). It is assumed that social reality is subjective and multifaceted; there is not just one story, but multiple stories of lived experience. One of the key methods of the qualitative approach is to reflect and listen to values in order to empower and give voice to the interviewees’ experiences. Above all, a qualitative approach privileges the exploration of the process of human meaning-making. This approach emphasises multiple perspectives on social reality, with the interviewee becoming the "expert" - it is his or her view of reality that the researcher seeks to interpret (ibid.) Therefore, we opted for a qualitative methodology and chose a mixed methods approach that benefits from ethnographic research traditions, narrative research and participatory research (Denzin, 1978, 2009; Denzin and Lincoln, Y. S, 2000; Fook, 2002, 2007; D’Cruz and Jones, 2004; Grebenc, 2006, 2014; Grebenc and Šabić, 2013, 2019; Mali and Grebenc, 2021).

Data collection

The research team, which included two researchers from the Faculty of Social Work at the University of Ljubljana (Vera Grebenc and Amra Šabić)and two researchers from the non-governmental organisation Kralji Ulice (Hana Košan and Petra Polajžer), carried out the data collection and analysis in the period from July to September 2024.

To obtain the most relevant data in relation to the research questions in a limited time, to recognise conflicting values and to understand the context of the situation in which the conflicting values occur, the strategy of data collection is based on the principle of rapid assessment (Flaker et al. 2019). This research strategy is pragmatic in terms of time and available resources, and by combining different respondents and data collection methods, enables triangulation of the data and more reliable results.

For our research, it was important to collect data that ‘reveal’ conflicting values and explain the context in which these values occur. We have therefore collected material that makes this possible. Our material consists of 'situation descriptions' (in which value conflicts occur) and 'descriptions of personal opinions (and/or actions) about the use of public space' (to reveal the values in these opinions/actions) in the neighbourhood.

We used various research methods to collect data: Observations (notes and reports of "loitering" in the neighbourhood), interviews and focus groups (transcriptions of conversations), photo stories (photos taken during walks in the neighbourhood). The material we collected were people's stories (told or written), drawings (on the posters) and photos of the place.

The information about the urban and demographic facts of the Polje III neighbourhood was gathered from publications and websites of the city and the district (secondary data) as well as first-hand (by counting visitors, residents, measuring distances, etc.)

Key informants

The population of the study are the permanent residents, the daily visitors of the neighbourhood and important actors/stakeholders of the neighbourhood – "everyone who can use the open public space in the neighbourhood". As we had limited time and resources, we opted for an opportunistic sampling. Our "cases" were selected simply because they were available. However, our sample also had the characteristics of a purposive sample as we targeted interviewees who were able to quickly maximise understanding of the problem (grumpy neighbours, youth workers, council representatives, etc.)

At the end we had seven different categories of respondents: children (kids), mothers, young people (teenager's gang), youth workers, representative of the municipality, residents (grumpy neighbours), and employees from the library.

The respondents

Kids: We had contact with 15 children from the neighbourhood who took part in the research. 5 children (aged 6 to 10 years, 3 boys, 2 girls) participated in interviews and 10 children (aged 8 to 12 years, 4 boys, 3 girls) joined two focus groups. It was easy to get in touch with the children. They were curious to see who the new faces in the neighbourhood were. They were particularly attracted to the camera because they wanted to know why one of the researchers was photographing the buildings and the neighbourhood. When we explained the reason for our presence in the neighbourhood and what topics we were interested in, they rushed to answer and wanted to say what they thought and what they noticed in the neighbourhood.

Mothers: 4 mothers (age 24, 42, 38, 56) were participating in interviews in the community centre, one of them invited us at home and explained here particular situation in details (case study), she also allow us to make a photo of her home. One of the participating mothers not only talk to us but also wrote her story and give us her writings. The mothers were proud to share their life stories and experiences with us.

Teenager's gang: We were lucky that 2 male members of the gang (age 15 and 16) were curious about what was happening near the Spot and wanted to know why we are talking to different people and make photos - the camera was a strong "icebreaker" in contact

creation. They were willing for an in-depth interview and were concrete and honest in their answers.

Grumpy neighbours: We managed to talk with 4 people (3 women, one man, age unknown, from the impression, two middle age, two seniors) who were in the summer the most active, complaining and expressing their dissatisfaction with the presence of children and teenagers near the apartment blocks (they called a meeting with the neighbourhood manager, wrote letters of protest to the public housing company and destroyed the place where the young people gathered). We interviewed them on the street. In one case, we accompanied a lady for a walk with her puppy in the neighbourhood and she showed us what bothered her in her environment (some of the consequences of rapid deterioration of materials, wear and tear of infrastructure, etc.). The interview with them was conducted by the researcher, who had no previous contact with them. They were all willing to talk a lot.

Librarians: We visited the library one afternoon and met 3 librarians (male) there. They showed us around and shared with us their view of life in the neighbourhood.

Youth workers and volunteers from youth organisations Mladi zmaji (Young Dragons) and Mala ulice (Little Street): we meet 2 youth workers and 3 volunteers during their weekly field work and had a chat with them about their role in the neighbourhood.

The municipality representative (City of Ljubljana's Public Housing Fund (PHF): we contacted her by phone and personally, she gave us some general information about the neighbourhood.

Youth workers from the Spot: 1 volunteer and 2 staff members whom we met several times and whom we accompanied on their working days and chatted with them on various occasions. They were very helpful by giving us detailed information about everyday life in the neighbourhood and helping us to get in touch with particular groups of interviewees. For example, the researchers were informed by the Spot staff about the grumpy neighbours and the gang representatives and they also gave us instructions on how and where to get in touch with them.

D. Stakeholder Perspectives

The sense of the place in Polje III: Street view

Polje III is a relatively new housing area (built in 2015) where people from different economic and cultural backgrounds live. In line with the new neoliberal, capitalist idea, this settlement also includes a fairly compact building neighbourhood with some green areas and, in line with the city's green policy, partially planted trees and, in one part, some fruit trees. The neighbourhood is defined by spatial „"boundaries": the road to the south and north, the wire fence that separates the area from the farmers' meadows to the east, and the white wooden fence that forms a physical barrier to the neighbourhoods to the west, where the homes of the private owners are located. These

fences form the visible border and the invisible, symbolic border that determine the identity formation of the neighbourhood's residents – “us" and „them“ (Kotchemidova, 2008).

The organisation of the space in Polje III gives the impression of a panopticon – the all-observing eye. Black blinds on the windows and balconies obscure the view from the flats to the street, but anyone walking along the path or lingering on the lawn can fill in the hidden view. The flats are so close together that you can hear a conversation behind an open window, hear a radio or television playing and smell food cooking. The space does not allow for intimacy, except for intimate voyeurism. It's easy to follow what's going on in the neighbourhood. You cannot see behind the walls, but you can hear everything that happens behind the walls. It's the atmosphere of a discrete spatial surveillance system: people do not know whether they are being watched or not.

The architecture and urban design of the neighbourhood create the impression of an inner courtyard that invites people to come together (Le Corbusier, 1973). The outdoor area is organised on a human scale. It is not difficult to move around, to walk between the buildings. There are details in the place that reveal the daily habits, the lifestyle. The place and the daily habits of the inhabitants are present by the smell, the voice, the sounds and the objects in the surroundings: the laundry hangers at the windows, the prams on the stairs, the wheelchairs and bicycles at the entrances and in the corridors illustrate how people deal with the lack of individual (private) space and how the private merges into the public space.

The mothers gave us the clearest and most concrete picture of the neighbourhood. Their opinions were gathered through interviews, one mother‘s notes and a site visit to a private home. They reported that the situation in the neighbourhood has changed dramatically from 2015 to the present day. At first, young, educated middle-class families lived here, then they acquired loans and moved to a better place. Today, people with low incomes live here who find it difficult to survive despite working. There are many disabled people, single parents, Roma women who are almost illiterate, families of other nationalities, fathers in prison... There are many mental health problems, people who hear voices... There is drug addiction and domestic violence. Some families live in a very poor economical state. A single mother lives with a child on 16m2, she is disabled and has survived violence. Many mothers do not have their own bedroom, they sleep on the sofa in living rooms. Some are unemployed because they have no proper education or no support to raise their children and cannot get a regular job. They do some jobs in the informal economy, such as cleaning or caring for the elderly. Most of them are recipients of social benefits. Many families need additional help from Caritas or the Red Cross. There is mutual neighbourly help in the form of contributions in kind, e.g. one good for another good or for money or small services.

Children also gave us a lot of information. Some information we collected while having the conversations with them at Spot place but the most valuable ones was two focus

groups, that were organised as parallel session to some other outdoor activities. We laid foam mats on the ground outside the Spot, placed blank posters on them and handed out coloured pencils. Children were introduced with the research topic: that we are collecting opinions about life in the neighbourhood, and about people values. Researcher checked their understanding about the topic and as they did not understand the meaning of the value exactly, helped them by explaining that value is something that people like about themselves and others and that is very precious to them. Their answers are summarised as follows: »The most important thing is a family«. »Friendship is important, and friendship means consideration for others«. »People are good when they help the disabled. Help could be to lend and borrow things from each other". »When people ask for money, help is when we give them some money or something else, they need".

The »war« between young people and adults for dominance over a piece of green space

In conversations with the Spot staff, mothers, children and some of the neighbourhood's residents, we learn about the various conflicts that exist in the community. The most pressing issue at the moment is the problem called "the stools". This is the place in the immediate neighbourhood where young people gather in the afternoons and in the evenings - especially in the warmer months. Although there have been some complaints about drug use, we have found out that there are no hard drugs in the neighbourhood (sometimes the smell of marijuana and skank is in the air), but the young people mainly consume tobacco, which they smoke with electronic cigarettes or vaporise. They also consume weed, but the teenagers report, they go to the cemetery (outside the neighbourhood) to smoke as they do not want to be observed by parents or others from the area.

The 'stool area' (a concrete table with concrete seats around it) is located in the passageway between two blocks and is visible to everyone. This is the place where teenagers and children like to 'hang out'. The residents (grumpy neighbours) complain about children - especially teenagers - gathering there in the evenings and being noisy. They also feel disturbed by younger children playing with balls, shouting and destroying trees. They believe that these children are disrespectful to the neighbours. What bothers them most is the noise in the evening and at night. They refer to a case in which young people brought a used seat from the bulky waste to the stools and then spent their entire afternoons and evenings there.

The residents feel disturbed not only by the noise, but also by the rubbish that the youngsters leave behind. The rubbish is usually plastic bottles and cans, bags of food from a nearby bakery, etc., but there is no other rubbish. In the past, the rubbish has always been collected by elderly, disabled lady who lived there. (There are several disabled people living in the neighbourhood as each block has accessible flats.) This lady, her name is Ančka, was a woman who was addicted to alcohol and got on people's nerves when she was drunk. Now she no longer lives in Polje III because she been given a public flat at the other end of Ljubljana. So, there is no longer an informal person in the

neighbourhood who cleans up after the children. But according to our observations, there were no rubbish in the places or other forms of neglect in the area and we find out that there is a paid caretaker who makes sure that the neighbourhood is clean and tidy. The values stated by the residents (grumpy neighbours) are: Cleanliness, order, privacy, peace. They are determined: "I want it to be safe here and I want to have a quiet flat." "We are prepared to fight for it!"

The target of criticism about noise and youth is also the youth programme Spot. The grumpy neighbours and some other residents believe that the young people are mainly hanging around because there is a Spot youth programme in their neighbourhood. As we have already explained, "The Spot" is a community programme for working with vulnerable groups. Some residents believe that the programme is the reason why more young people are coming into the neighbourhood from other surrounding blocks or from further afield. The residents of the block where The Spot is located on the ground floor believe that such a programme is not appropriate in the residential complex. They see the solution as closing The Spot and moving it to another location. They expect the Spot staff to "tame" the children and only organise indoor activities for the children from their own block. In conversations with the residents, it becomes clear that they do not really know what the role of the Spot is and what programmes and activities are offering. They complain that no activities are organised for 'their' children, only for 'other' children. It becomes clear that not all residents know their neighbours. They do not know exactly who 'their' children are and who the 'other' children are.

The residents have asked also the local police for their opinion. The local police report that the neighbourhood is no different from other neighbourhoods in Ljubljana in terms of crime. The police are in favour of such programmes in the neighbourhood and stress, however, that the residents should be grateful for the opportunity to have a programme specifically designed to work with children and young people in their own neighbourhood. Residents should be happy to have such a facility nearby because the children can enjoy their free time under the watchful eye of adults who help them socialise, and they can also sing, do homework and study at the Spot.

We found out about the two other youth programmes are present in the neighbourhood. We were therefore interested in their experiences with Polje III residents. We had a brief conversation with volunteers from two street youth programmes who regularly come to the neighbourhood: Mala ulica (Cyrcus Workshop) and Mladi zmaji (Young Dragons) "Ljuba and Drago Bus" field work programme. The bus stops every Friday afternoon in a car park in the southern part of Polje III. The programme is mainly attended by children (age 3 to 7), older children and teenagers are less interested in the offer. They organise art, dance and music workshops and other organised activities. As they are only occasionally present in the neighbourhood, the volunteers do not know much about the specifics of life in the neighbourhood.

We discovered that there is another important community space in the neighbourhood: the library. Two researchers than visited the library one summer afternoon. The library is located on the other side of the street, on a road that runs parallel to Polje III quart. The

staff explained that they needed time to build a relationship with the children. The Spot staff helped them with this. They say that the key to connecting with children and young people from the neighborhood is through play. They made a rule for the children who came to the library that they had to do something for school or read something first and then they are allowed to play. They themselves say that they have no problems with teenagers and children. They have good cooperation with the Spot staff. Sometimes Petra from the Spot comes to the library and does homework with the children there. The librarians know the locals very well and sometimes help them with general information. They are aware of the conflicts that arise in the neighborhood but do not interfere in it. They understand why young people gather in the neighborhood and hang out on the "stools" as there is no place nearby where they can gather. They explained that the closest outdoor space is the Zajčja Dobrava Nature Park, which is quite far from the neighborhood itself and to which you must cross a railway line. From our discussions with the librarians, we were able to identify two guiding values for their work in the neighborhood: Partnership (with people and organization) and Tolerance: “We do not interfere in their conflicts, we are here because of our work.”

The neighbours have tried in various ways to prevent teenagers and children from gathering. One resident even threw eggs at them, whereupon the youths threw apples at her window. The children picked the apples on the lawn between the two blocks of flats, where there is a small orchard of apples and pears. The problem escalated to such an extent that one of the neighbours even poured used kitchen oil on the stools and the chairs were soiled with oil that it was no longer possible to sit on them. The angry teenagers found out who this neighbour was and bombarded her balcony with fruit again (the distance between the “stools” and the balcony is only a few metres, so when the balcony door is open, all noises, even "not loud” ones, can be disturbing). At first occurrence of the incident a group of young people cleaned the concrete chairs, but the neighbour poured oil on them again, so children and staff from “Spott” cleaned them again, but the next day oil was spilled again and so on indefinitely. Because staff from Spot helped with the cleaning, some residents in the neighbourhood started to see them as biased with youth side and they dragged them into this “war”.

E. Discussion Spots and questions

Creating the ideal neoliberal city: the ‘shop window city'

As Gehl (2011) writes, people coming together from different backgrounds, cultures and for different reasons are those who create a vibrant, thriving community. Look at how many children and old people are out and about on the streets and squares. A city is livable if it respects the human scale (Gehl, 2010). Gehl and Svarre (2013) explain for a city to work it must entice people to it, people need to want to go out and spend time there, and it should be made as easily as possible to do so**.** But the neoliberal city wants to get rid of the people who would disturb the orderly and peaceful scenery of the city. Not so much to please the city's residents and visitors, but because they spoil the appearance of the streets and consequently reduce the potential value of the properties. Anyone who deviates from the ideal of the cultured consumer, the ‘other’, is potentially undesirable: the poor elderly, the poor young, the unemployed, people with disabilities, migrants, etc.). The city employs various strategies to ensure that there is no more spontaneity in public space. People's 'right to the city' is increasingly restricted (Lefebvre, 2013). In the idealised world of consumption and the free market, beauty, tidiness, safety and quality of life become important characteristics of a city (Low and Smith 2006, p. 15). A city today must certainly endeavour to create the desired image and identity of a prosperous city. The neoliberal city is very controlling and marginalising (Bergamaschi, Castrignanò and De Rubertis, 2014).

The control of public space is a fundamental strategy of neoliberalism, which turns cities into mere commodities. The city must maintain its identity as a safe and beautiful place. Cleaning and renovating public space means cleaning up in the literal sense. Physical cleaning, washing the streets, removing drug litter, evicting homeless drug users, etc. should give the city the appearance of a 'shop window' and create the identity of an attractive and safe city. Security services, security fences, cameras and sensors should protect the area from the renewed invasion of ‘the others’. In a neoliberal city, problems are solved invisibly (because the problems should not be there).

The task of "cleaning up" public space and the city must be delegated to someone who can do it discreetly and efficiently. It is no longer up to the community to manage its own affairs (as community ties loosen, people no longer care about each other) or to manage their own affairs (order can only be maintained if not everyone does what they feel like doing, "here are the competent services to take care of it"). The expectations and needs of the city's inhabitants must be brought to the attention of the official and competent institutions, which in turn consult the experts. This creates a complex chain of relationships and responsibilities that gives the impression that everything is above board in the city. Residents who feel threatened should be reassured by the promise that those responsible have the matter under control (Beck, 1992).

Public urban open spaces: human relationships are a spatial matter

Dekleva (2008, p. 14) defines public open spaces as follows:

> 'Public urban open spaces are one of the most important components of cities […]. They are spaces within the built fabric of the city that are accessible to all city users. […]. Public urban open spaces give the city the content that residents and visitors live with every day. These spaces are streets, paths, parks, squares, embankments, car parks, shopping centres, subways, overpasses, pavements, playgrounds, roofs, atriums, courtyards […].'

Lefebvre (2013), a classic of urban theory, argues that space should be understood as the interactive result of relations between society and the environment. According to him, social relations only exist in space and, from this perspective, the problem of marginalisation and exclusion of social groups can also be seen as a spatial issue. If we adopt this thesis, the conflict between the residents of the Polje III neighbourhood can be understood as an unpleasant and undesirable result of the dynamic relationship between the individual and the space. Some of the people who see in the shared space the symbolic value of competition for prestigious positions in society (gang members: "We want to be respected". Our mission is to clean our place of paedophiles, of homosexuals, of pimps... We will fight for this!« At the same time the residents express the similar attitud about »clean« neghbourhood. The lady from the ground floor requests: "I want it to be safe and quiet here." The gentleman who works at night expects: "I want to have rest after the working day." The young mother complains: "Where can my child play, the flat is so small, there's nowhere to play."

Conflicting values occur when people deal with another person who behaves in a way that threatens or runs counter to one of their values. The community dynamics in Polje III show the struggle for influence over the rules in the neighbourhood and the effort to manage the common space according to one's own interests and ideas of what is right and wrong, what is culturally acceptable and what is not, what is socially desirable and what is not. Children and young people who occupy the green spaces in the neighbourhood are constantly challenging these boundaries with their spontaneity and vital energy.

The case of Polje III reveals the concept of „otherness“, which is based on the idea of one's own identity and the identity of the other. the “otherness" of “them” and „us“ is created by borders and fences in space and between people. The idea of otherness is about understanding how different aspects of individual identity — including ethnicity, gender, social class and sexuality — interact to create unique experiences of privilege or oppression (hook, 2000). The boundaries of what is acceptable are constantly being tested. The power of community is used to create a difference between us and them.

Dimensions of conflicting values in Polje III:

1. Values come into conflict when individuals, groups or communities deny others the same value (e.g. we want this place to be ours because we care about it). The lifestyle of those in power determines the rules and norms of desirable/legitimate values.

2. If only a select group is eligible for the value (homophobic attitudes): e.g. respect only for „us“; safety only for „us“; rights only for „us«. etc.

Public space in Polje III is, both in the symbolic and physical sense, a place where neighbourhood residents can test and measure their social influence and power. If they are respected by their neighbours, it is proof that they are valued in the neighbourhood. If the neighbours scold them, tell them off, report them to the police, ignore them, etc., then it is proof that they have somehow overlooked "some rules" and are breaking these "unwritten rules" voluntarily or involuntarily.

F. Learning Objectives

Key learning objectives and the main lessons that students or readers can take away from the case:

1. understanding that people have different values and interests that are not always compatible with each other.

2. understanding of the different cultural and economic backgrounds of the people living in the community.

3. the aim of the exercise is to find the factors that unite and connect us all in this space and to formulate a response on this basis.

The knowledge gained can be applied in real-world social work practice on this fields of practice:

1. community development, based on the participatory research ethic, including understanding of conflict resolutions, power dynamic, collective action: **Empowerment and Participation, Social work role in empowering communities, Social Capital and Collective Action**

2. the synthesis of theory and practice: **Human Needs Theory and Conflict Analysis and Resolution theories** for understanding of human needs in the context of the community, system, and society

2. development of the community responses (e.g. services, initiatives, actions) based on the social work ethic: **Social Justice and Advocacy,**

3. methods and strategies for cultural dialog: bring together people from different economic and cultural backgrounds, including identity: **Trauma and Healing, Conflict Resolution Strategies, Intergroup relations**

4. methods and strategies for peace building: finding common interests and building safe and inclusive environment: **Peace building, Prevention of the war of interest-intergoup dialogue**

G. Outcomes and Solutions(for the teachers)

The main conflict in the case of Polje III public space use is a conflict among group of youth people (teenagers' gang) and group of adults (grumpy neighbours). They both have different expectations and interests about role of the public space and they both have different explanations based on the similar values (respect, order, tidiness, friendship, kindness, care, brotherhood etc.) They mostly see themselves as the carriers of the values and they see the other party as not disserving the same values or they believe that the other party understand the values in a wrong way. This is the typical conflict situation which can fuel the violence between them.

The solution can be sought out in the actions for the conflict resolutions and for the peace building. As there are many reasons, why these two groups are angry and disappointed about each other and about the rest of the world it is important that they both start on discovering their own opinions, believes, and stereotypes, and reflect their personal values.

Now we can deepen the understanding of the dynamic between people, actors in the case, and find solutions for the problems by addressing the issues, following in the next questions for students.

Questions for the students

1) **Peace building**: Peace building can be understood as a process aimed at fostering social cohesion and reducing violence at the local level. It is a complex, multi-faceted endeavour that requires understanding the root causes of conflict and addressing them through targeted interventions. When we talk about peacebuilding it is important emphasize the interplay between social structures (e.g., inequality, discrimination) and individual agency in shaping conflict dynamics. Peacebuilding efforts often focus on transforming these structures to create more equitable and inclusive communities. This can involve addressing issues of power imbalances, resource distribution, and access to opportunities.

How local actors can contribute to peacebuilding?
How actors can be involved in the peacebuilding process?

Future reading on Social Structure and Agency**:**

- Galtung, J. (1969). Violence, Peace, and Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research*, *6*(3), 167-191. https://doi.org/10.1177/002234336900600301
- Tilly, C. (2017). From mobilization to revolution. In Ernesto Castańeda & Cathy Lisa Schneider (ed.), *Collective violence, contentious politics, and social change* (pp. 71-91). New York: Routledge.

2) **Intergroup relations**: Conflict often arises from tensions between different social groups. Peacebuilding interventions may focus on promoting intergroup dialogue, fostering empathy, and building bridges between communities. Social identity theory and research on prejudice reduction are crucial here.

What are intergroup relations?

How, we as social workers, can contribute to better intergroup relations?

Future reading on Social Identity and Intergroup Relations:

- Tajfel, H. (1974). Social identity and intergroup behaviour. *Social Science Information*, *13*(2), 65-93. https://doi.org/10.1177/053901847401300204.
- Sherif. (2012). *The Robbers Cave Experiment: Intergroup Conflict and Cooperation*. Wesleyan University Press.

3) **Human Needs Theory and Conflict Analysis and Resolution**: The theory of human needs posits that unmet basic human needs, such as security, identity, and recognition, are fundamental causes of conflict. Addressing these unmet needs is crucial for effective conflict resolution.

Which unmet needs we can recognise in Polje III?

Future reading on Dynamics of conflict:

- Doucey, M. (2012). UNDERSTANDING THE ROOT CAUSES OF CONFLICTS: Why it Matters for International Crisis Management. *Acquired 10.2.2025 from https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/UNDERSTANDING-THE-ROOT-CAUSES-OF-CONFLICTS-%3A-Why-it-Doucey/d2c057a6b1bbc3d1e13de21824272465d55dc5ce#citing-papers*.
- Rothbart, D. and Cherubin, R. (2009). Causation as a Core Concept in Conflict. In Dennis J.D. Sandole et al. (ed.), *Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution*, (p.p. 59-70). London and New York: Routledge.

4) **Conflict Resolution Strategies**: Effective conflict resolution requires understanding the underlying causes and dynamics.

Analyse the root causes of conflict, including history, structure, emotions, values, and communication.

Future reading on Conflict Resolution Strategies:

- Chetkow-Yanoov, B.H. (1997). Social Work Approaches to Conflict Resolution: Making Fighting Obsolete (1st ed.). Acquired 10.2.2025 from https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315044286.
- Mayer, B. S. (2010). *The dynamics of conflict resolution: A practitioner's guide*. John Wiley & Sons.

5) **Social Capital and Collective Action**: Strong social networks and a sense of community can be protective factors against violence. Peacebuilding can involve strengthening existing social capital or building new forms of cooperation and trust.

Are there any collective action which can provide valuable insights of the conflicts? What are their resources and how do they manage them?

Future reading on Social Capital and Collective Action**:**

- Putnam, R.D. (2015).Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital. In LeGates, R.T., & Stout, F. (eds.), *The City Reader* (6th ed.), (p.p. 223–234). New York: Routledge.
- Ostrom, E. (1990). Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action. Cambridge University Press.

6) **Empowerment and Participation**: Social work principles emphasize the importance of empowering communities to take ownership of the peacebuilding process. This involves promoting participation in decision-making, building local leadership, and supporting community-led initiatives. Concepts like community organizing and participatory action research are relevant here.

Annelize the stakeholders in the community. Define their role in the peacebuilding, who should participate, haw and in which why? Explain your decision.

Future reading on Empowerment and Participation:

- Sohng, S. S. L. (1996). Participatory Research and Community Organizing. *Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare*, 23(4), 77-97.
- Stoecker, R. (2022). H*andbook on Participatory Action Research and Community Development*. UK: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.
- Adams, R. (2008). *Empowerment, Participation and Social Work 4th Edition*. UK: Red Globe Press.

7) **Trauma and Healing:** Conflict often leaves deep scars on individuals and communities. Peacebuilding must address the psychological and emotional impact of violence through trauma-informed approaches and psychosocial support. Social work theories on trauma and resilience are critical.

What are the psychological and emotional consequences of serious conflicts between people?

Future reading on Trauma and Healing:

- Herman, J. L. (2015). *Trauma and recovery: The aftermath of violence--from domestic abuse to political terror*. UK: Hachette.
- Gray, A., Monteiro, B. (2024). Peacebuilding Is Social Work: From Political Science to Social Psychology. *Sociology Study*, 14(2), 91-97.
- Bolton, N., Steinitz, L.Y., & Baptiste Talla, J. (2018). Building shalom: Integrating social work, peacebuilding and Catholic social teaching for transformational change. *Journal of Religion & Spirituality in Social Work: Social Thought, 38*(4), 337-349.
- Van der Kolk, B. (2014). *The body keeps the score: Brain, mind, and body in the healing of trauma*. New York: Viking.

8) **Social Justice and Advocacy**: Social workers often play an advocacy role in peacebuilding, working to address systemic injustices and promote social inclusion. This can involve challenging discriminatory policies, advocating for marginalized groups, and working to create a more just and equitable society. Social workers are often viewed as change agents who help individuals and communities cope with conflict and build peace. Their role is to mediate conflicts, provide counselling, and work with communities to foster understanding and collaboration.

How can social work approaches to peacebuilding combine trauma healing with advocacy for systemic change?

Future reading on Social Justice and Advocacy:

- Young, I. M. (2011). *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. United States: Princeton University Press, Revised edition.
- Young, I. M. (2011). *Responsibility for justice*. United States: Princeton University Press.
- Hoefer, R. (2019). *Advocacy Practice for Social Justice*. UK: Oxford University Press.

9) **Social work role in empowering communities**: Social work emphasizes empowering communities to address their own challenges, including conflict. Literature in this area explores how community organizing can facilitate dialogue, build consensus, and promote collaborative problem-solving among groups with differing interests.

What can we organize in a community so that people with incompatible interests can use the space peacefully?

Future reading:

- Hardina, D. (2014). The Use of Dialogue in Community Organization Practice: Using Theory, Values, and Skills to Guide Group Decision-Making. *Journal of Community Practice*, 22, 365-384.
- Blanco, C.M., (2016). Mediation and the Social Work profession: particularly in the community context. *Cuadernos de Trabajo Social*, 29(2), 275-283.
- Gumz, E. J., & Grant, C. L. (2009). Restorative justice: A systematic review of the social work literature. *Families in Society*, *90*(1), 119-126.
- Chatzifotiou, S. & Papouli, E. (2022). Social Workers Dealing with Ethical Dilemmas in the Course of Their Professional Work: The Greek Experience. *The British Journal of Social Work*, 52(8), 4795–4814.

10) **Prevention of the war of interest- intergoup dialogue**: It's important to understand that social work often looks at the *root causes* of such conflicts, recognizing that economic and cultural differences are often intertwined with issues of power, inequality, and historical context.

How can we prevent a war of interests between people with different economic and cultural backgrounds?

Future reading:

- Lederach, J. P. (2003). Conflict Transformation. In Burgess, G. & Burgess H. (eds.), *Beyond Intractability*. Conflict Information Consortium, University of Colorado, Boulder. Acquired 7.2.2025 from http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/transformation.
- Nagda, B. A., Yeakley, A., Gurin, P., Sorensen, N. (2012). Intergroup Dialogue: A Critical-Dialogic Model for Conflict Engagement'. In Tropp, L. R. (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Intergroup Conflict*. Oxford Library of Psychology.
- Moore, C. (2003). *The Mediation Process: Practical Strategies for Resolving Conflict*, 3rd. Edition. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Park, Y., Torres, M., Bhuyan, R., Ao, J., Graves, L., & Rundle, A. (2021). Social Workers' Perceptions of Structural Inequality and Immigrant Threat: Results From a National Survey. *Journal of Social Work Education*, *58*(3), 449–471.

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Bergamaschi, M., Castrignanò, M., & De Rubertis, P. (2014), The homeless and public space: urban policy and exclusion in Bologna. *Revue Interventions économiques*, 51(01). Available from: http://journals.openedition.org/interventionseconomiques/2441 [Accessed 29. 9. 2020].

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Cerar, A. (2018). Ljubljana, od revitalizacije do gentrifikacije. URBACT. Accessed 2. 10. 2020 from https://urbact.eu/kratka-pot-od-revitalizacije-do-gentrifikacije-primer-ljubljane

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Dekleva, A. (2008). Odprti javni prostor. *AB. Arhitektov bilten*, 38(177/178), 1–3, 4–49.

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Denzin, N.K. (2009). *The Research Act: a Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods*. New York: Routledge.

Denzin, N.K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (ed.) (2000). Handbook of Qualitative Research, second edition. Thousand Oakas: Sage.

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Fook, J. (2007). 'Reflective Practice and Critical Reflection'. In J. Lishman (Ed.). Handbook for Practice Learning in Social Work and Social Care, Second Edition: Knowledge and Theory., 2nd ed., 363–75. Jessica Kingsley.

Grebenc, V. (2006). Needs assessment in community: what communities can tell us. V V.

Flaker, V. & T. Schmid (ed.), *Von der Idee zur Forschungsarbeit : Forschen in Sozialarbeit un Sozialwissenschaft* (pp. 167-189). Wien: Böhlau Verlag, Herbst.

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Gehl, J. (2011). *Life between buildings: Using public space*. Island Press.

Gehl, J., & Svarre, B. (2013). *How to study public life*. Washington, DC: Island Press.

Grebenc, V., & Šabić, A. (2013). *Ljubljanske zgodbe: biografije navadnih ljudi*. Ljubljana: Fakulteta za socialno delo.

Grebenc, V. & Šabič, A. (ed.) (2020). Odprta scena: zmanjševanje škode med brezdomnimi uporabniki drog v Ljubljani. Ljubljana: Fakulteta za socialno delo.

Grebenc, V. (2014). Understanding the needs of older people: Shifting toward more community based responses. Revija za socijalnu politiku. 21(2):133-160. DOI: 10.3935/rsp.v21i2.1187.

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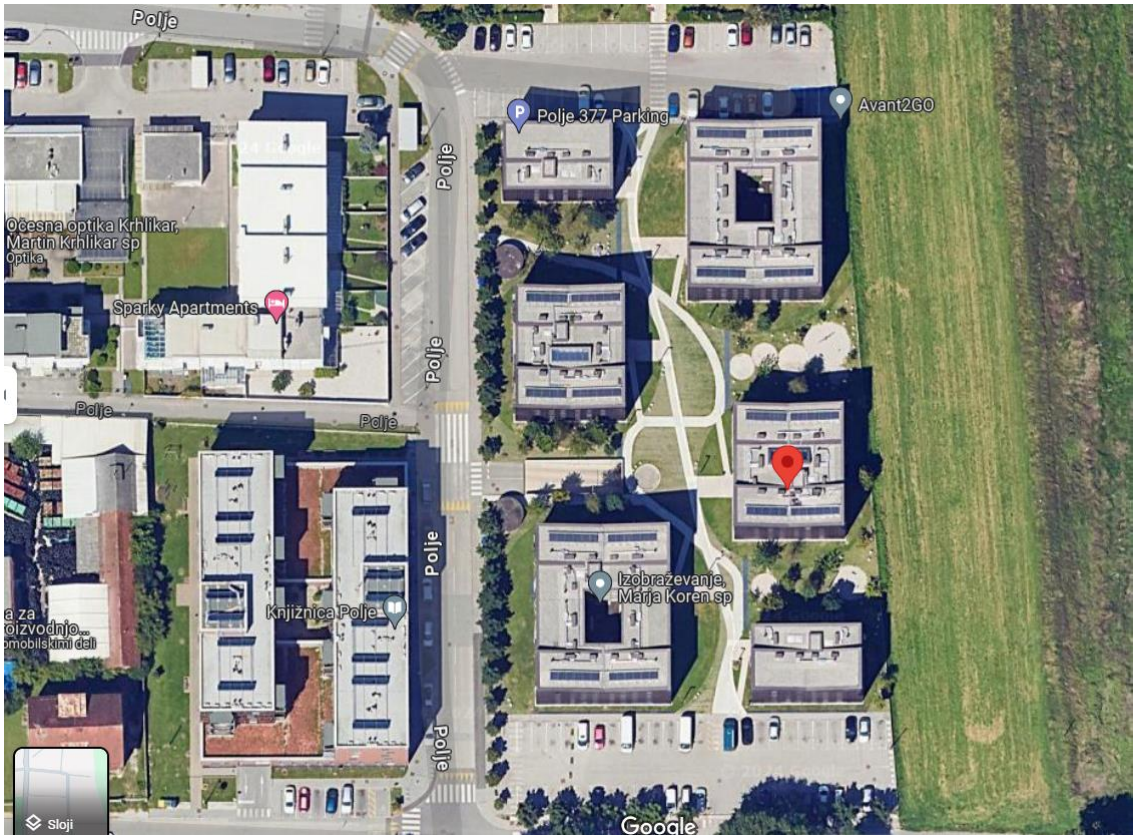
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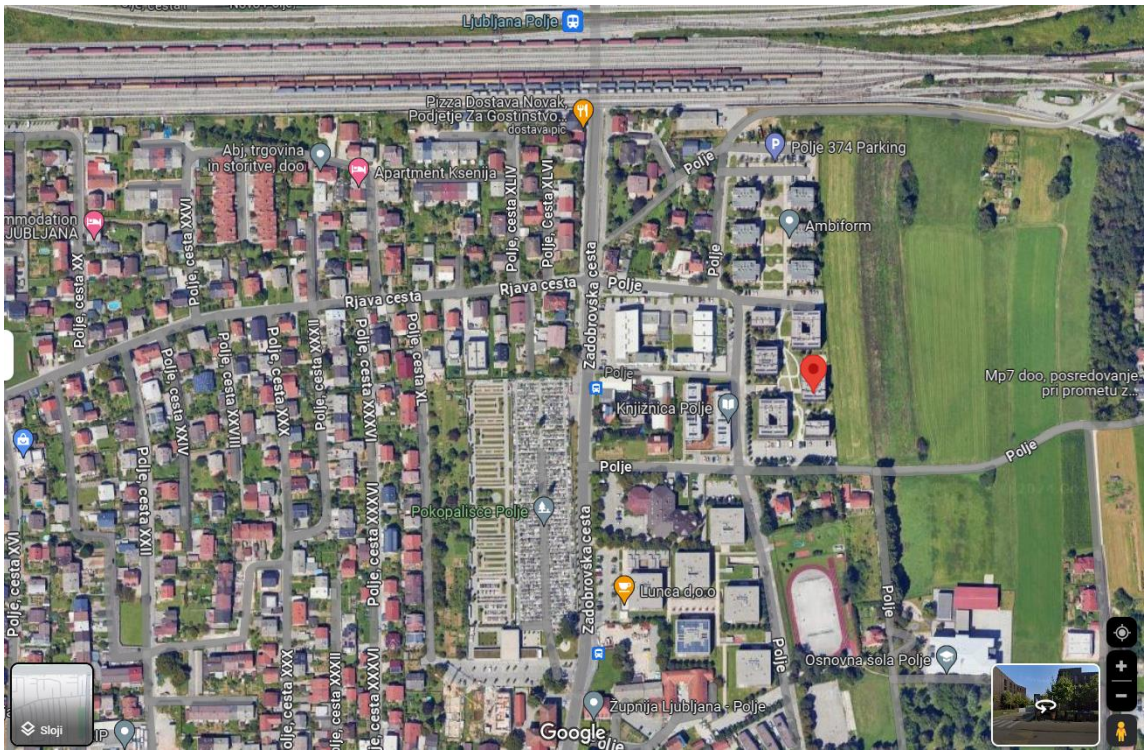
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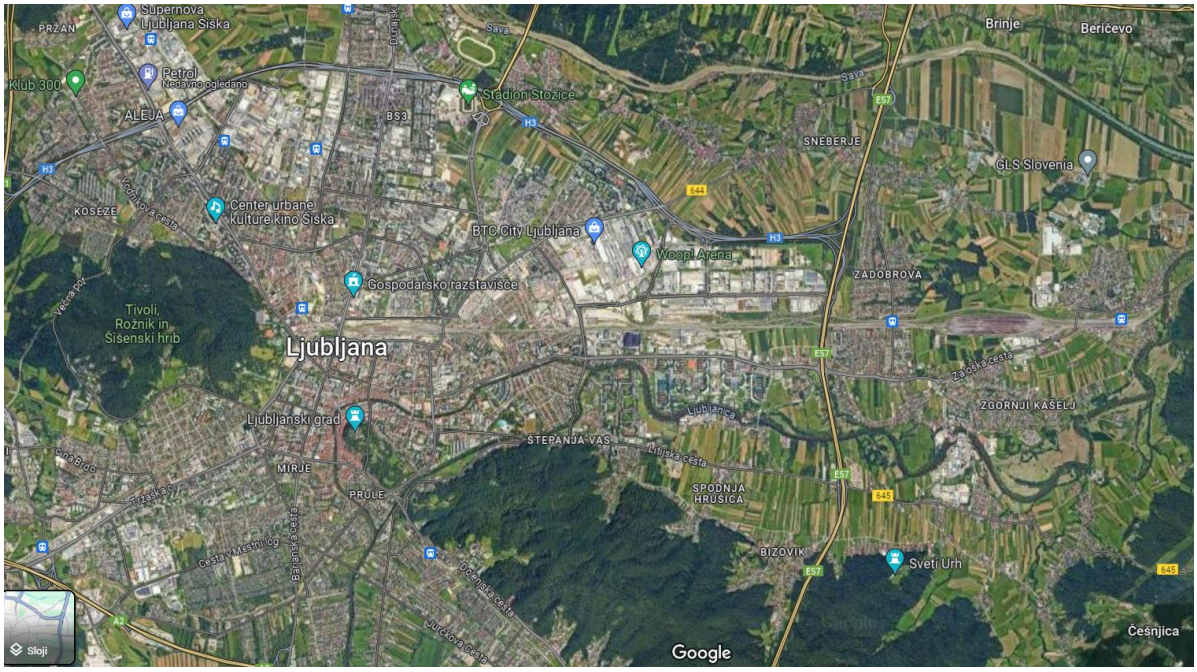
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I. Appendix

Polje III on the google map






Supernova Ljubljana Siška
PRŽAN
Klub 300
Petrol
Nedavno ogledano
ALEJA
Stadion Stožice
Sava
Brinje
Beričevo
SNEBERJE
GLS Slovenia
KOSEZE
Center urbane kulture Kino Šiška
BTC City Ljubljana
Word Arena
ZADOBROVA
Gospodarsko razstavišče
Tivoli, Rožnik in Šišenski hrib
Ljubljana
Ljubljanski grad
ZGORNJI KAŠELJ
ŠTEPANJA VAS
MIRJE
PRULE
SPODNJA HRUŠICA
BIZOVIK
Sveti Urh
Češnjica
Google
Sloji