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The implementation of social activity idea for older people. The local aging policy in the city of Poznan.

Implementacja idei społecznej aktywności osób starszych. Lokalna polityka wobec starzenia się w mieście Poznań.

Doctoral dissertation

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Introduction

European societies are ageing, which challenges the current socioeconomic order. The increase of the projected economic dependency ratio will lead to the prevalence of non-working people (under 16 and over 64 years old) to people in productive age, by 2070 in the European Countries (European Commission, 2018). Hence, the principle of intergenerational solidarity will be shaken; meaning, the equilibrium between members of society paying contributions to the social security system and those receiving benefits from it will be altered. This imbalance in turn, can lead to problems with the solvency of state systems, responsible, among others, for the pension system, long-term care, and health care system (Andreotti & Mingione, 2016; Buffel & Phillipson, 2018; European Commission, 2018). The weakening of social security systems has also been exacerbated by the 2008 financial crisis, which forced governments to reduce social spending, and by the ongoing pandemic, which in turn requires significant state resources in the area of health care and social support (Blyth, 2018; Kutsar & Kuronen, 2015).

The repertory of these factors constitutes an introduction to research on ageing and policies designed to cope with it (Boudiny, 2013; Buffel & Phillipson, 2018; Buffel et al., 2020; Foster & Walker, 2015; Katz, 2000). The prognosis of unwieldy social systems drives policymakers at all administration levels to establish ideas and, based on these actions, to tackle this issue (Mehta, 2011; Pal, 2005; Wincott, 2011). Ideas, hence, along with discourses, pose core elements of policy formation, right in the moment of problem definition and later on during policy implementation (Hall & Taylor, 1996; Pal, 2005; Peters, 2019). The role of ideas and discourses in policymaking has been scrutinised with discursive institutionalism, which has emerged as a strand within new intuitional economics (Hall, 1997; Lieberman, 2002; Schmidt, 2008). The perspective of ideational analysis in the policy analysis provides a framework which helps to analyse ideas' influence on policy definition and policy formation. Ideas can be understood as values or norms shared by policymakers (Beland & Cox, 2011; Hall, 1997; Mehta, 2011). By and large, ideas embody particular interpretations of an issue and, in the next stage, its solutions (Mehta, 2011). For instance, the idea of active ageing or successful ageing frames the problem of ageing and proposes

actions that should be taken by policymakers. These concepts, in turn, consist of other smaller ideas, such as the social activity of the elderly, which, in turn, imply particular actions that should be implemented (Council of the European Union, 2012; World Health Organization, 2002).

The idea of social activity is being implemented by different levels of governance and by different policies. The implementation process complexity involves multiple actors. Furthermore, it is contextual, meaning it is formed by environment, such as institutional context, available resources, attitudes of bureaucrats, and heterogeneous recipients of policy (Mehta, 2011; Pressman & Wildavsky, 1974).

In the Polish context, researchers (Błędowski, 2016; Theiss, 2007; Urbaniak, 2018) underline the important role of local government and the local community in the implementation of ageing policies. Accordingly, public entities at this level most accurately perceive problems of older people and can act in the environment of people, using local resources (2016, p. 83). It is also in line with one of the last trends in policy implementation research, which emphasises a bottom-up direction on policy implementation (Kutsar & Kuronen, 2015; Matland, 1995). The upward policy implementation is also connected with the process of decentralisation in public policies. This means the transfer of responsibility for the implementation of particular policies to lower levels of local government. We can see twofold reasoning in that trend:

1. Economic crisis and cuts in social policy expenditures;

2. Provision of services in the closest environment to the citizens and promotion of social participation (Andreotti & Mingione, 2016; Caldarice, 2018).

In research, there is an increasing attention for the local welfare governance and applied by them policies. The crucial factor is the relationship between national or regional governance, which, accordingly, to Dagmar Kutsar and Marjo Kuronen (2015), seek further inquiries. In the Polish context, nongovernmental organisations are key actors in local policy implementation, as they support the public sector and provide a wide range of activities for the community (Błędowski, 2016; Urbaniak, 2018). In particular, cities, due to their diversity of resources, knowledge of the inhabitants, and better accuracy in diagnosing problems, become responsible for taking measures related to an ageing society (Buffel, Remillard-Boilard, & Phillipson, 2021; Buffel et al., 2020; Klimczuk & Tomczyk, 2016; Phillipson &

Scharf, 2005). The city became noticed by urban studies scholars, who focus on relations between the metropolis and its inhabitants. In more contemporary urban studies, cities are presented as a scene of grassroots initiatives and different communities (Domaradzka, 2018). The power of globalisation makes the city a very powerful entity, however, also much diversified (Jayne & Ward, 2017). The cities are seen more as a place of huge income inequalities. Its space is a matter of dispute between citizens, city authorities, entrepreneurs, and other social groups.

If the city is to consider the specificity of its inhabitants and to create the most suitable policy, taking into account top-down ideas, the question arises what influences urban policymakers, their interpretations of the problem in question, choices of actions and ways they are implemented on the urban policy level. Hence, the research problem studied within this dissertation: **the implementation of social activity for older people by the urban ageing policy in Poznan.** Based on that, I formed two research questions, aimed to provide a better understanding of the posed problem. They are presented in the scheme below:

Research Problem
Implementing idea of social activity for older people by the urban ageing policy

Research question 1
What is the idea of social activity for older people implemented in Poznan?

1. Who and what is involved in its enactment?
2. How do the actants network to each other?

Research question 2
How is the idea of social activity implemented by urban policies?

1. What are practices of implementing social activity idea?
2. What is the urban ageing policy in Poznan?

Scheme 1. Research problem and research questions.

The answers to the above questions will **broaden the knowledge of urban ageing and urban policy implementation**, which is relevant due to the ageing of societies. International organisations such as the European Union and the United Nations design ageing policies'

blueprints, providing a framework for national local authorities to act (Buffel & Phillipson, 2018; Sun, Chao, Woo, & Au, 2017; van Hoof, Kazak, Perek-Białas, & Peek, 2018). In turn, policies embody ideas which presuppose particular views on how ageing should look like. For instance, an active ageing idea, which in order to preserve better well-being and independence among the elderly, promotes their longer labour activity as well as active social and cultural life (Council of the European Union, 2012; Foster & Walker, 2015; Walker, 2009b, 2009a). However, as mentioned, the actual implementation of ideas and policy depends on local authorities, for example, cities (Błędowski, 2016; Buffel & Phillipson, 2018; Perek-białas, Ruzik, & Vidovićová, 2006; van Hoof et al., 2018). Hence, within my study I will also **explore local understanding of social activity idea** and hence **ageing,** which is reflected in the studied reality (Wildavsky, 2018).

Therefore, in this study, the aim is to understand the **implementation of social activity for older people by the urban ageing policy in Poznan**. For this purpose, I traced social participation activities for the elderly and further reconstruct the network of activities, the ideas that frame them, and actants[1] who organise them. As a result, the study will fill the research **gap linking ideas, such as social activity of older people, and their practical implementation**. Thus, the research aims are to:

1. Explore what the social activity for the elderly that takes place in Poznan is.

    1.1. Recognise who and what (actants) organises these activities and why they do it.

    1.2. Establish relations between actants.

2. Understand the implementation of the idea of social activity for older people at the city level.

    2.1. Identify practices of implementation.

    2.2. Trace ontologies and scales which form the urban ageing policy in Poznan.

The proposed research problem stems from deliberations within a few fields, namely gerontology and social policy, and is conceptually considered from the perspective of discursive institutionalisms at the urban policy level (see Figure 1. Conceptual framework of the research).

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[1] This is term which comes from actor-network theory, refers to actors who take part in the process of policy formation, but it is broader as it includes human and non-human objects (Latour, 2005; John Law, 2019). I explain this term more deeply in Subchapter II.1. Actor-network theory.
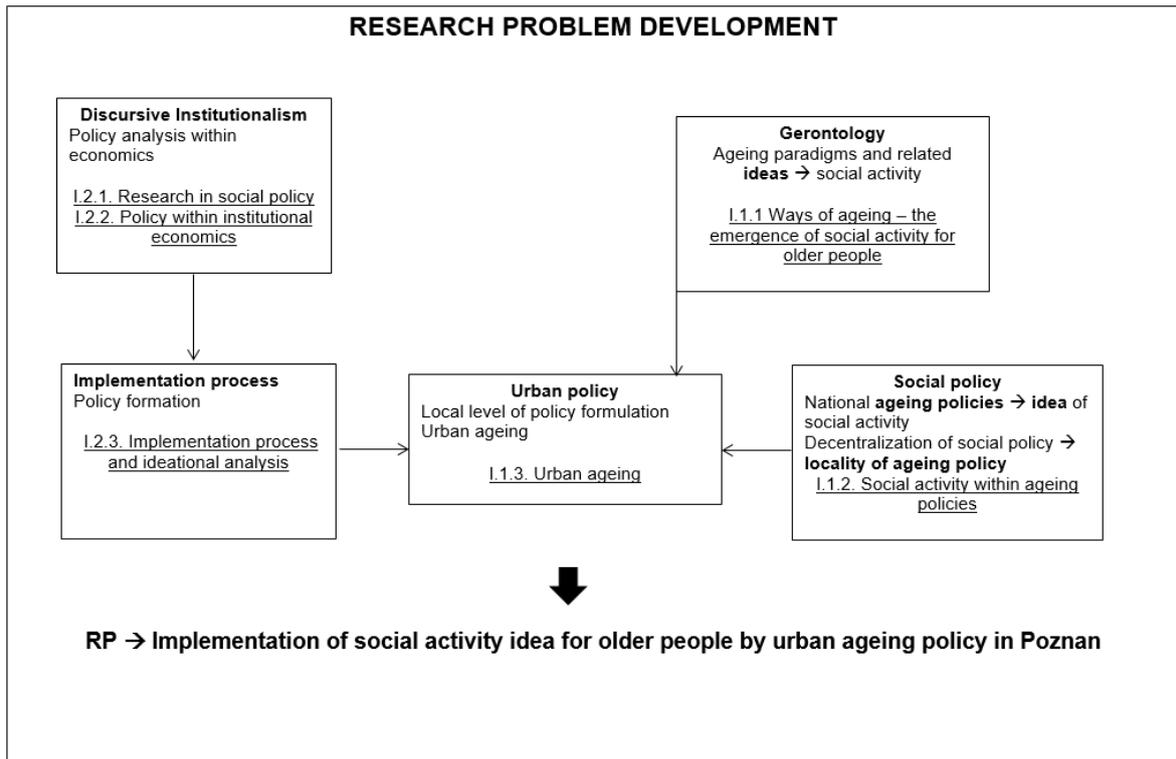
Scheme 2.Conceptual framework for the development of research problem

To execute this research, I will apply **two theoretical frameworks**, namely the actor-network theory and the glocalisation concept (Cox, 2009; Swyngedouw, 1996, 2010). It allows exploring different ideas and discourses present in urban policy formation, and furthermore trace relations between them, elucidating the power relation and possible cooperation within, the *glocal* field (Swyngedouw, 1997; Wathen, 2020).

The analytical approach applied within policy research in the field of **discursive institutionalism** is an inductive approach. It means that the researcher establishes theories concerning the research phenomenon, based on only a few assertions about social reality as he rather stays open for what emerges from the data (Pieliński, 2013; Silverman, 2007; Sławecki, 2012). Within this approach, to understand the implementation of social activity of older people idea, I will apply **the actor-network theory**, as a guideline for empirical enquiry as well as the analytical framework (Callon & Latour, 1981; Latour, 2005). Within this approach, scholars ask **how researched phenomena emerge and strive to study the process of its weaving**. This includes translation analysis, which is a process of negotiations, conflicts, even wars between engaged actors over preferred interests, values, and planned actions. To study such a process is not easy as its network is hidden; researchers have to follow actants -

human and non-human objects, that together create the network and thus the phenomenon (Latour, 2005). The use of actor-network theory is aimed at supporting the process of data collection, following important actants (human and non-human objects), but also it will drive the process of analysis and discovering a network of the social activity among older people enactment (Galis, 2011; Hardy & Williams, 2008; Iskandarova, 2016; Ranerup, 2008).

Furthermore, I deploy **the concept of glocalisation**, which provides an analytical framework, both in the formulation of the research gap as well as data collection and analysis. The glocalisation was introduced by Robert Robertson (1995), as a mix of the global and the local, two mutually constitutive powers. When the global idea is a set of local practices, the local in turn is constructed by global forces (Drori, Höllerer, & Walgenbach, 2014). The term **glocalisation**, within urban and local policy studies, is strongly **related to globalisation which led to the decentralisation and rescaling of political systems**, diminishing power of states in favour of the international organisation, but also local levels of administration (Swyngedouw, 1996, 1997; Wathen, 2020). Within this process, regional actors, such as cities, are much more powerful (Roudometof, 2015). **The application of glocalisation** allow studying **how urban ageing policy is scaled**, whereas the global and local forces are interacting, which results in new policy scales emergence (Swyngedouw, 1997). These scales are not a way of measuring space in geographical terms, but also the realities between actors, the balance of power and the agreements in place between them (1997).

To know how social activity is implemented in the city of Poznan, I decided to follow and **observe such events** happening in the city from February until December 2019. The event was understood as **any activity happening for older people** announced in newsletters, social media or advertised on the outdoor posters, **as long as it entailed a gathering of older people**. Simultaneously to the period of participatory observations, I **conducted interviews**, which were held from April 2019 to June 2020, with people engaged in organisations of social activity events. Another group of data, consisting of **additional materials**, was collected along with the observations and interviews, and once more during the process of analysis (For the full list of collected data see subchapter II.3. Data Collection and Analysis). The sheer process of data collection was aimed at following the social activity events directed to older people. To gather a diversified group of observations, the inclusion criteria for the research was pretty open. However, I decided not include events concentrated on

health promotion or physical activity into the analysis, as their superb aim was to influence the elderly's health. The focus of this research was to examine activities intended for social activation of the elderly.

Data analysis was based on the **coding process**, an analytic tool, applied within a qualitative study. It consists in naming a particular part of the data with two, three-word labels, which synthesise it within a chosen by the researcher theoretical framework, which in my case was ANT and glocalisation (Silverman, 2007). The established codes were analysed in the phases of theorisation to extract their saturation and translate them into the form of results. The process of analysis was conducted in the Atlas.ti, software, designed for qualitative data analysis. The presented data here are only a representation of a huge amount of interviews, documents and additional materials collected in the analytical process, which together provided 229 pages of transcripts, field notes, and documents and 30 hours of observations. I present only a part of them, just to explain my emerging categories and the relation between them. However, I did not strive to prove the high frequency of category occurrence, but rather to explain their role in the social activity implementation, and for that, I employed some fragments of data.

The structure of my dissertation consist in four chapters. In the first one-I. Conceptual Framework - I explain my conceptual framework. Thus, I refer to the different conceptualisation of ageing within gerontological paradigms (I.1. Approaches to the Ageing Crises - the Context of Older People's Social Activity) and next I present various ageing policies within polish literature and policy discourse. In the last section of this subchapter, in turn, I introduce the results of literature review on social activity for older people implemented on the city level. The second subchapter (I.2. Social Activity for Older People and its Implementation) is devoted to review of research perspective in social policy research and explanation of discursive institutionalism as applied in my study.

The second chapter (II. Theoretical Framework), in turn, introduce my theoretical framework as well as my strategies for data collection and analysis. In the first subchapter (II.1.Actor-Network Theory) I explain the actor-network theory assumptions and show how this approach was used within research on local policy implementation as well as within urban studies. Subsequently, I present the glocalisation concept (II.2. Glocalisation) and its contribution in analysis of decentralization in policy formation. The last subchapter (II.3.

Data Collection and Analysis) is devoted to my research strategy, namely case study, the process of data collection and an explanation of my analytical process.

The last two chapters are empirical ones. In the III. Social Activity Enacted, I present data on what is social activity foe older people, implemented in Poznan. In turn, in IV. The Implementation of Social Activity for Older People in Poznan, I explain identified by me ontologies and scales of urban ageing policy. In the final subchapter I am summing up my findings in reference to established research aim and research questions. Furthermore I explain my contribution to understanding of ageing by local policy actors as well as to knowledge on urban ageing policy.

I. Conceptual Framework

Along with the first chapter, I present the conceptual framework of my work. Its different areas are the building blocks of the research problem I am trying to answer in this dissertation: **implementation of social activity idea for older people by urban ageing policy**. Thus, the aim in this chapter will be to ground the problem in the fields of gerontology, social policy, and urban studies. The presented framework in turn provides the basis for my research questions and objectives, presented at the end of this chapter.
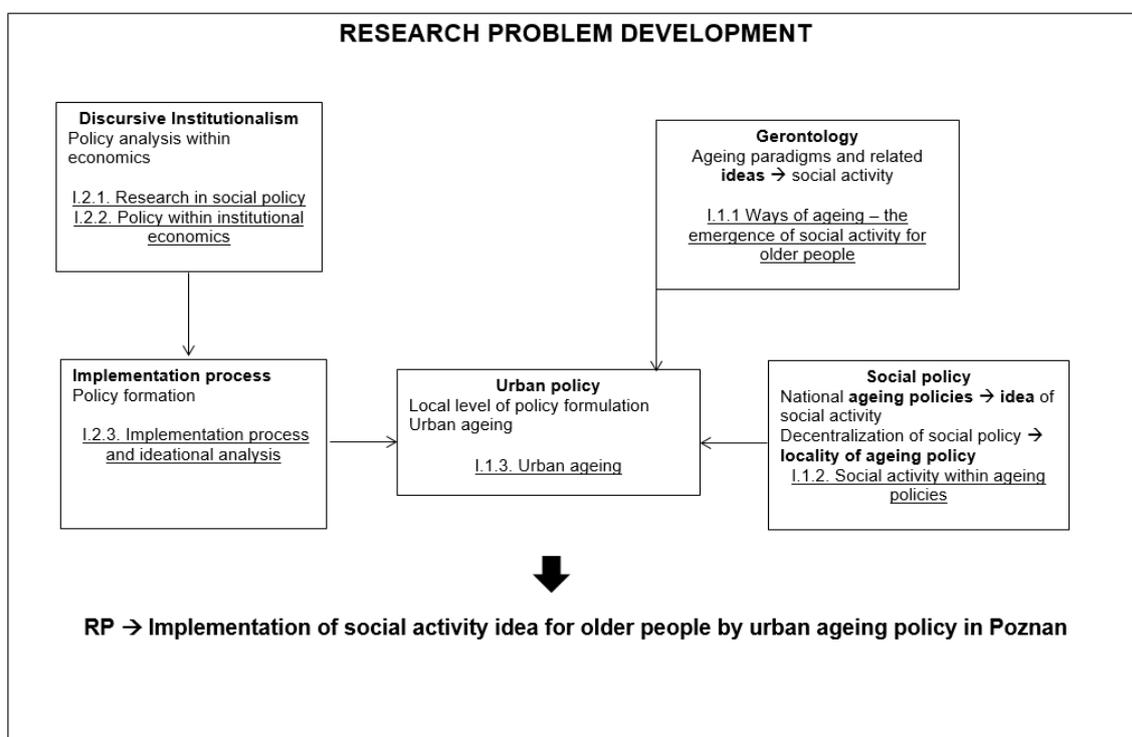
Scheme 3.Conceptual framework and dissertation structure.

The chapter consists of two parts: the first one - I.1. Approaches to the Ageing Crises - the Context of Older People's Social Activity - introduces the idea of social active ageing in a broader context, so that in the following second part, I.2. Social Activity for Older People and its Implementation, I demonstrate how policy implementation can be studied. In the diagram below I show in which parts of the dissertation the different elements of the conceptual structure of this dissertation will be presented. Firstly, I will discuss the multidisciplinary field of gerontology and present how ageing was defined by various

theories from the early XXth century until now (I.1.1. Ways of ageing - The Emergence of Social Activity for Older People). After, I will address the actions taken upon ageing by broadly defined politics. From the theoretical consideration of the social activity idea, I would introduce the idea into ageing policies. The aim will be to present the different substantive and thematic scopes of these policies and how they implement the idea of social activity of older people (I.1.2. Social activity within ageing policies). Finally, we delve into the urban level of ageing (I.1.3. Urban ageing) by presenting a short history of urban studies, with changing understanding of the city phenomenon. This presentation allows us to understand the importance of this analysis in ageing studies and to consider action on ageing in the urban context. Furthermore, in the last section of this subchapter (3.2. Aging in cities – social activity of older people in city), I reviews the literature on social participation of older people in the city.

In the second part of this subchapter (I.2. Social Activity of Older People and its Implementation) I turn to how policy researchers study the process of policy making at the local level. It is all the more special that the micro perspective of such research allows for a good approximation of the processes occurring in policy implementation, which, however, from the researcher's perspective, requires the adoption of an appropriate perspective (I.2.1. Research perspectives within social policy). The approach I propose is discursive institutionalism (I.2.2. Policy within institutional economics), which focuses on the analysis of ideas in the process of implementation (I.2.3. Implementation process and ideational analysis).

I.1. Approaches to the Ageing Crises - the Context of Older People's Social Activity

The notion of ageing was reinvented by industrial society along with changes in family structures, modernisation of work, and urban migration, which revealed the problem of fragile elderly without care and livelihood (Marshall & Clarke, 2010). Thus, different countries, starting from Germany in 1880, established retirement benefits and further social services (Bois, 1996; Zalewska, 2011). This institutionalisation of the older age created a new social group, that is, retirees. In the following century, the problem of ageing gained another meaning in light of an increase in the number of elderly compared to the rest of society, meaning the working age group. It was described as a social and economic phenomenon of population ageing and posed a challenge for future societies and their economies (Achenbaum, 2010). Since then, the notion of ageing has grown into the multidisciplinary field of gerontology and geriatrics, which discusses it from biological, medical, but also from economic, sociological, psychological, and policy perspectives (Joy, 2018).

Currently, the ageing crisis is a dominant narration when talking about older age within the economy and social policy, thus policymakers and researchers constantly wonder how to handle it and one of the responses is to promote social activity among older people. In this subchapter I will present the context of this idea, namely how it emerged within the field of gerontology, which is addressing the issue of ageing, and why it is perceived as one of the solutions for ageing societies; then I will illustrate how the idea translates into ageing policy. In the first part of this subchapter - I.1.1. Ways of ageing – the emergence of social activity for older people - I address the emergence of social activity of older people within the gerontological field. The aim is to show the dominant paradigms[2] within this field and the theories framing old age and how they perceived the role of older generations in society. In the second subchapter – I.1.2.Social activity within ageing policies - I pass from the global level of knowledge and conception of ageing, I move to the social activity of older people as an element of social and public policy on the national level. The reason for such rescaling of

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[2] The term paradigm applied in this work is linked with what was proposed by Thomas Khun (Sławecki, 2012). It is a settled set of rules and norms regarding researched reality, which embraces particular ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions (2012).

the research problem is the fact that, although we have some internationally disseminated concepts on ageing, their usage in turn depends on particular state policies. Therefore, I present the Polish scientific and political discourse on the existing ageing policies[3]. The section (2.2. Locality of ageing policy) concludes with a reference to one of the most important features of ageing policy: the designation of its localness, that is, its implementation at the level of local policies (Błędowski, 2002, 2016; Buffel et al., 2020; Urbaniak, 2018). The increasing role of local politics, carried out for example by cities, points to the need for researchers to explore it (Błędowski, 2016; Błędowski & Kubicki, 2014; Buffel & Remillard-Boilard, 2019; Kutsar & Kuronen, 2015). Hence, in the last part of this subchapter, I.1.3. Urban ageing, firstly, I introduce urban studies themselves (3.1. Urban studies), and secondly, I present what the very social activity of older people in the city is for its researchers (3.2. Ageing in cities – social activity for older people in city).

I.1.1. Ways of ageing - The emergence of social activity for older people

In the research on ageing, there are three main fields: experimental gerontology, gerontology, and geriatrics. The first one is devoted to the studies of ageing from a biological perspective, focusing not only on humans, but also on other organisms (Szatur-Jaworska, Błędowski, & Dzięgielewska, 2006). Gerontology, in turn, problematises ageing in the context of economics, sociology, psychology, demography, and political science. Within more current threads it is extended to technogerontology, environmental gerontology, and critical gerontology, within which research presented in this dissertation can be placed. Finally, geriatrics treat ageing as a biological process, focusing on medical studies. Thus, geriatrics see ageing as a medical condition, a level of disability and frailty (Dannefer & Phillipson, 2010; Szatur-Jaworska et al., 2006).

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[3] In the work I use term ageing policy when I aim to capture all sort of policies linked with the ageing issue. As I write in the section I.1.2. Social activity within ageing policies, there are a few types of ageing policies, which consider it from various perspectives: processual (policy towards societies ageing), more subjective (policy towards older people) or related to the concrete problem (policy towards the old age). However, the idea of social activity is applied by all of them, thus I decided to use the term ageing policy to capture the full range of social activity idea (Szatur-Jaworska, 2016).

Gerontology is multidisciplinary and emerged on the cusps of the nineteenth and twentieth century along with the establishment of pension systems (Gilleard & Higgs, 2016; Phillips, Ajrouch, & Hillcoat-Nallétamby, 2010). Its paradigms shaped the way scientists and practitioners perceived old age and designed policies. In the beginning, gerontology was based on statistical data; the issue of ageing was defined through the lenses of dependency ratio. Within this approach, older people were seen as an unproductive group in the economy, with a negative impact on the state's budget (Gilleard & Higgs, 2016). However, with time such an approach became considered too simplified as it ignored simultaneous ageing changes in the education system, knowledge development, or technological changes, which also influence the economy (Estes & Portaclone 2008).

Over decades, the attitude towards ageing evolved into a more positive approach based on a disengagement theory or activity theory. According to Victor W. Marshall (Marshall, 1999), we can speak of three generations of gerontological paradigms, rooted first in functionalism, then in interactive symbolism, further in critical theory (Klimczuk, 2016). Other gerontological sources also mention an environmental paradigm, which emerged simultaneously with the critical one (Sánchez-González & Rodriguez-Rodriguez, 2016; Wahl & Gitlin, 2007). In this subchapter, I will describe those paradigms and their conceptualisation of ageing. The aim is to present within specified theories how older people, old age, or the process of ageing can be perceived. I present selected theories in chronological order of their appearance. However, it is necessary to mention that their continuing is much harder to determine as some of the oldest concepts can still be met within some economic perspective or policy approach. For example, the active ageing idea is still noticeable in ageing policies (Szatur-Jaworska, 2015; Szatur-Jaworska, Rysz-Kowalczyk, & Petelczyc, 2021; Urbaniak, 2018) and other public policies in general (Gawron, Klimczuk, & Szweda-Lewandowska, 2021).

Functionalist	Symbolic interactionism	Enviromental	Critical
- Disengagement theory - Age stratification - Modernisation theory	- Activity theory - Continuity theory →*successful and active ageing idea* - Life course perspective - Theory of subcultures	-Environmental press theory →*The Network of Age-Friendly City Network*	- Conflict theory - Political economy of ageing; -Feminist's theory, - Inequality theory,

Scheme 4.The development of paradigms and theories within gerontology.
Source: Own elaboration based on (Achenbaum, 2010; Gilleard & Higgs, 2016; Klimczuk, 2015).

Their division into four theoretical paradigms is based on gerontological literature (Achenbaum, 2010; Bengtson & DeLiema, 2016; Hooyman & Kiyak, 2017) and it is aimed to provide a context to researched here idea of social activity among older people. The first paradigm described is functionalism (1.1. Functionalistic paradigm), taking place in the 1960s, when researchers focused on the broader picture of ageing, capturing it from the macro and meso levels. The second one, symbolic interactionism (1.2. Symbolic interactionism paradigm), started in the 1970s and objected to the functionalistic theories on ageing. Furthermore, scientists drew attention to the micro-level perspectives of ageing (Marshall, 1999). In the cups of the 1970s, in turn, environmental paradigms emerged within gerontological studies, exploring the spatial background of ageing (Sánchez-González & Rodriguez-Rodriguez, 2016). Subsequently, the 1980s brought the emergence of the critical paradigm (1.3. The critical paradigm) and underlined the power of institutional actors in the construction of the ageing. From their perspective, the process of ageing is a socially constructed phenomenon. Critical theory combines studies of structures and individuals, in contrast to the macro-perspective of the functionalist and an individual approach within symbolic interactionism.

1.1. Functionalist paradigm

Within this paradigm, society is perceived as one body with its elements dependant on each other (Klimczuk, 2016). The ageing of the population is seen as a result of technical development and modernisation, which caused longer life expectancy and thus changed the proportion of older people in society (Marshall & Clarke, 2010). The increase in older individuals compared to the rest of the age groups can upset the social equilibrium. So, the problems of the elderly will be sufferable for the rest of society, for example, with higher expenditures on healthcare due to extending needs of older people. In line with functionalism, social services are focused on problem solving to amend the *machine,* meaning society and economy. Furthermore, because the ageing issue is perceived as an effect of modernisation, older people are seen as supine victims, weave into social structure with little or no agency to stir their lives (2010). It, in turn, refers to **the disengagement theory**, established by E. Cumming and W. E. Henry (1961), which perceives the old age as a time to rest. The elderly start to withdraw from their social roles and experience less social activity. Thus, they have time to adapt for this stage of life and, in consequence, prepare for death. Such a disengagement is significant for the younger groups of society, which take over new roles and relive older members. Another functionalist gerontological theory is **age stratification**, which looks at the society as a cluster of different cohorts. They use the chronological age to group individuals and according to this design proper policies, which support the group differentiation (Dannefer & Settersten, 2010; Klimczuk, 2016). Finally, the third, **modernization theory**, introduced by Burgess, Cowgill and Holmes, underline the change caused by industrialisation, urbanisation, and the deterioration of the traditional family, which caused individualisation (Klimczuk, 2016). As writes E.W. Burgess (1960) older people are given a '*roleless role*', which means that devoid of work, they have no other tasks to perform and involuntary became a burden for the rest of society.

As it can be seen, older people and the process of ageing within the functionalistic paradigm were portrayed as an inevitable consequence of modernisation and technological development. Their fates were inscribed in the social structure and process, which encourage them to withdraw from so far fulfilled roles, make space for younger generation, and focus on their internal experiences. Therefore, ageing policies focus on helping older

people to adjust to their disappearance, rather than allowing space and time to rest than engaging older people in additional activities (Hooyman & Kiyak, 2017).

1.2. Symbolic Interactionism paradigm

Theories in this paradigm oppose to the structural approach in the functionalistic paradigm and concentrate on micro-level analysis. These theories emphasise the interaction between individuals, groups, or institutions and ways in which they communicate with each other, seeking signs, which carry out important for actors' meanings. For example, specific behaviours, ways of verbal communication or images, which construct reality (Blumer, 1969). Meaning changes throughout life, as its holders modify, reconstructing one's reality. Within this paradigm, getting older is just a process of entering into another set of meanings (Hooyman & Kiyak, 2017; Marshall & Clarke, 2010).

In contrast to disengagement theory, which belongs to the functionalistic paradigm and sees older adults as useless and ageing as a process of removal from society, *activity theory* has emerged (Bengtson & DeLiema, 2016; Marshall & Clarke, 2010). The idea behind this theory was the assumption that prolonged social, cultural or labour activity of the elderly has a profound influence on their well-being and self-development (Bengtson & DeLiema, 2016; Marshall & Clarke, 2010). Another gerontological theory within the symbolic interactionism paradigm is the *continuity theory* by R.C. Atchley (1989), which assumes that older individuals do not exit social life, but rather change their roles in the various life stages. Individuals aim to preserve their inner personality and remain engaged in external structures. The continuity theory promoted the concept of the life course perspective according to which people adjust to new norms and roles across different life stages (Klimczuk 2016). Critics of this theory (Bengtson & DeLiema, 2016; Klimczuk, 2016) alleged its omission of the institutions, which influence the process of ageing. Another theory from this paradigm is **the theory of subculture** by A.M. Rose. In this theory, older people are seen as a distinct group, with discrete norms and lifestyles. They create a community of individuals of the same age and decrease contact with different age groups (Rose, 1962).

Both activity and continuity theory can be also linked with another theoretical concept, namely the **Life Course Perspective** (Phillips et al., 2010). According to it, ageing is considered a life process, which concerns not only older adults, but also those in their 40s

and younger people, who are all ageing. Thus, one's condition changes across various stages of life, and each subsequent state depends on the previous ones (Dannefer & Settersten, 2010).

Ageing theories based on symbolic interactionism provided the basis for two ideas: **successful ageing and active ageing**. Those two ideas differ according to the place of origin, time, and issues they tackle. Successful ageing is an American idea launched in the 1980s, rooted in the continuity theory (Foster & Walker, 2015). The implementation of this idea was in opposition to previously known an image of ageing, as a stage of illnesses and decrease. Within this idea, old age can be a joyful and healthy time, when individuals will attempt to remain engaged in their environment by maintaining their old roles and values (Foster & Walker, 2015; Havighurst, 1961). The emergence of successful ageing allowed one to divide older people 'from those doing poorly to those doing well' (Strawbridge, Wallhagen, & Cohen, 2002).

In turn, an active ageing idea was established in Europe and proliferated by the European Union (Foster & Walker, 2015). Its objectives were similar to successful ageing, but more focused on encouraging labour activity and social participation of the elderly. As a result of continuous activities, older people are supposed to maintain good health longer and independence from social services (Foster & Walker, 2015; Walker, 2009b). It also aimed to present ageing as not the time of decline and poverty, but rather an activity and participation. In combination with healthy ageing, social participation and the retained activity of older people were claimed to be beneficial for their health (Foster & Walker, 2015; Walker, 2009b). Therefore, older people will be independent longer, not only on the economic base but also in their daily life. However, the narration of this idea could have twofold perspectives, more narrowed, namely *labocentric* and broader, *holistic*. The first focus was mainly on the employment capacities of the elderly, their long presence on the labour market, which could result in a productive economy and balanced pension system performance (Foster & Walker, 2015; Katz, 2000). So, although the importance of wellbeing, social inclusion, and participation were embodied in the active ageing idea, in practice it was narrowed to labour market narration. As a consequence, such a labocentric perspective excluded those who cannot work. The holistic perspective, in turn, introduced by the WHO, was more focused on the individual's well-being and the factors that contribute to this, for

example, social and cultural activity, lifelong education or equality in access to social infrastructure (World Health Organization, 2002).

Both ideas - successful and active ageing - were criticised (Carroll L. Estes & Grossman, 2007; Katz, 2000; Martinson & Berridge, 2015). First, upon a persistent image of an active ageing adult as working full or part time, which is claimed to be an embodiment of purely neoliberal ideas of efficiency and productivity (Katz, 2000; Walker, 2009b). Second, these ideas are seen as oppression for the elderly, who have to age actively and healthy, thereby excluding the fragile and limited elderly. Furthermore, the presented ideas seem to ignore issues such as economic or educational differences among older people and thus distinct needs. Such frameworks also do not consider national minorities and gender differences, which can influence experience ageing (M. B. Holstein & Minkler, 2003; Walker, 2009b).

1.3. Environmental paradigm

Within this paradigm, the centre of the consideration is placed on the relation between the older individual and his or her environment. The aim of this paradigm is to explore and explain what factors of the socio-physical environment, such as security, accessibility, or independence, influence the quality of ageing and how they affect the elderly and their behaviours (Wahl & Gitlin, 2007). The assumption within this paradigm is that both older individuals and their environment must take some adaptive actions.

Within the environmental paradigm, scientists and practitioners refer to the theory of **environmental press**. According to it, an individual is under pressure from its social and physical environments (Hooyman & Kiyak, 2017, pp. 11–14), demanding humans to react, adjust, and act. Whereas the environmental press is too strong, older individuals can feel overwhelmed and frustrated. Too low pressure, in turn, can lead to an experience of monotony, uselessness, and generate a sedentary lifestyle (2017). The point of equilibrium within this theory means that incentives influence older people positively, encouraging them to act.

One of the attempts to influence the relation between older people and their environment is the Global Network of **Age-Friendly Cities** and Communities (Buffel, Remillard-Boilard, & Phillipson, 2021), launched in 2010 by the World Health Organization. Within this network the WHO introduced a guide, which identified the eight domains of

action to ensure the age-friendliness of cities. These domains are outdoor spaces, transportation, housing, social participation, respect and social inclusion, civic participation and employment, communication, and health (Buffel & Remillard-Boilard, 2019; Buffel et al., 2021; Krzeczkowskiego, 2014). The idea behind this network is to influence the relationship between older individuals and their closest environment, namely the local community and the neighbourhood. It is claimed that appropriately stimulating surroundings can positively influence the well-being of older citizens and enhance their autonomy and self-sufficiency. This framework was also established as an answer to the cities' problems in tackling the ageing issue, facing the budget limitation on social services due to economic austerity (Buffel et al., 2020).

1.4. Critical paradigm

The fourth paradigm of gerontology is interlinked with the critical paradigm, within which researchers distinguish conflict theory, political economy of ageing theory, feminist theory, the theory of institutional racism and inequality (Bengtson & DeLiema, 2016; Hooyman & Kiyak, 2017; Phillipson & Estes, 2007). The critical paradigm, also called cultural and humanistic gerontology or moral economy, applies interpretative studies to find values and norms that construct the phenomenon of ageing and understand its subjective view (Klimczuk, 2016, p. 44). It started the development of participatory research (Buffel & Phillipson, 2018), which strive to create an emancipatory knowledge based on the experiences of academics, practitioners, and older people.

In **conflict theory**, researchers perceive society as a structure of competing groups. As a result of struggle, some groups are more powerful and resourceful with influences, social support, or money than others. In consequence, the first group has better access to education, healthcare and well-paid jobs (Dannefer & Settersten, 2010; Klimczuk, 2016). The emergence of welfare, in turn, which is also an effect of struggles between those groups, reflects the interests of the most powerful groups (Phillips et al., 2010). In line with conflict theory, the formation of policy is an effect of allocation of and control over resources. Therefore, social analysis aims to observe the relation between actions, which lead to changes in the field of social inequalities (Carroll L. Estes & Grossman, 2007).

The political economy of ageing emerged in the 1970s and was elaborated by Caroll Estes (USA), Peter Townsend and Alan Walker (UK), John Myles (Canada), and Anne Marie Guillemard (France). Within this framework, the process of ageing is placed in the context of social forces, politics, and institutional influences. The way individuals age and ageing policy is designed is socially constructed by multiple actors. The state policy emerges as the result of struggles between different actors and then shape an individual's life (Bengtson & DeLiema, 2016; C.L. Estes & Portacolone, 2009). Ageing policies are claimed to reflect intertwined interests of different stakeholders, such as the state, policymakers, international institutions and corporations, NGOs, social initiatives, and finally the older people. All those actors represent a particular layer of analysis, which with their power, values, and roles construct latter life (Bengtson & DeLiema, 2016; Klimczuk, 2012). For the researchers, it is necessary to study the output of struggles between those levels, both on the macro and meso levels and explore their influence on the micro-level (C.L. Estes & Portacolone, 2009). In the more extreme threads of this theory, old age and ageing-related public policies are seen as an interlocking instrument of oppression (2009). A good example of this is the *ageing enterprise,* which commodifies ageing in the biomedical industries (Phillipson & Estes, 2007). It, in turn, refers to the silver economy, which commodify service for older people, establishing a market for older people. Such commodification of ageing can cause stigmatisation of older adults and isolation for other groups (Klimczuk 2016).

From the perspective of **feminist theory**, ageing is perceived as a socially constructed phenomenon. The central point of their consideration scholars put on women's situations in the discourses on the ageing process (Hooyman & Kiyak, 2017). Within this theory it is believed that gender differences play a significant role in the ageing process and in result cause different experiences of old age among men and women. The more privileged positions of men in society, and taking the men as a point of reference in the formulation of various policies results in the exclusion of women and their problems associated with the ageing process, for example. Using men as a benchmark for various policy design results in the exclusion of women and their problems associated with the ageing process. For example, shorter length of employment due to motherhood can result in lower pension benefits (Carroll L. Estes & Grossman, 2007). Within a critical approach, researchers also focus on ethnic and racial inequalities that affect the experience of ageing for both the

individual and social groups, resulting in poorer access to health care or financial disadvantage in old age (2007).

The four paradigms and the theories of ageing presented within them show the transformations in the perception of old age and older people. These oldest theories are responsible for creating ageing as a phase of withdrawal from social life and giving way to younger generations (Marshall & Clarke, 2010). A reversal in thinking about old age occurs with concepts associated with interactional symbolism, at which time concepts are developed that promote the longest possible activity of older members of society. In this way, they can contribute to the burden on the state by remaining financially independent and in good health for as long as possible. The very idea of social active ageing, which is a component of the concept of active or happy ageing, can also be embedded in this paradigm (Hooyman & Kiyak, 2017). Although it is the subject of research, the research approach used in this thesis is not related to symbolic interactionism, but rather to the critical paradigm. Consequently, I treat the very idea of social activity as an actor, influencing the shaping of old age and thus policies to respond to its challenges. This means that in my research I focus on analysing policymaking within which different approaches to old age can interact. Adopting a critical paradigm allows me to look at the policy I study as the resultant of the actions of many actors, with different influences and interests. This means recognising the influence that social, political, and institutional forces have on the ageing process. Researchers emphasise the strong influence of interests, dominant values and social groups on the way ageing policies are shaped (Carroll L. Estes & Grossman, 2007). The problem I am trying to address in this dissertation is the process of policymaking on ageing at local level, especially the implementation of the idea of social activity, what it is for the actors and how it is shaped by the actors.

As my research problem involves the ageing policy formation, in the next subchapter I will introduce what kind of policies on this subject we can distinguish. By referring to the critical paradigm, I want to show the different ways of framing this topic, entailing different objectives and the involvement of other actors.

I.1.2. Social activity within ageing polices.

The aim of this subchapter is to present the conceptualisation of ageing policies in discourse of Polish literature and policymaking. This level of analysis is related to the location of the addressed research problem in the city of Poznan. This level of analysis is dictated by the decentralisation of social policy, including the policy of ageing, which is discussed in section 2.2 Locality of ageing policies. As it was demonstrated in the previous subchapter (I.1.1. Ways of ageing – the emergence for social activity for older people), ageing can be framed differently by gerontological researchers, who over the years have been changing their vison of an older person and their role in the society, producing ideas, which in turn can be influential actors in the process of policy formation (Blyth, 2011). When it comes to policies, ageing can be also approached variously not only in regard of values embraced in them, but the way it is conceptualised, meaning as a process, as group of people or phase of life (Szatur-Jaworska, 2016). These, in turn, influence aims and measures taken within ageing policies, thus for each of them social activity of older people can be perceived diversely and be directed towards different individuals. This issue I will explain in the first section – 2.1. Aging policies within the Polish literature and discourse, whereas in the second section – 2.2. Locality of ageing policies – I go down to the lower level of ageing policy and bring its decentralisation forward, which means the handover of tasks to the lower levels of administration. This fact is important as it guides my research to the lower levels of policy implementation.

2.1. Aging policies in the Polish literature and discourse.

In this section, I present how ageing is framed by policies and what is the place of social activity there. The policies presented here (see *Table 1:* The classification of ageing policies in the Polish literature and policy practice) are part of larger sets, namely social policy, which in turn belongs to public policy (Szatur-Jaworska, 2016; Urbaniak, 2018). Social policy can be understood as a complex of measures, targeted to fulfil social and individual needs and it is established by various public and social entities (Szarfenberg, 2008; Szatur-Jaworska, 2016). Public policy, in turn, can be defined as measures systematically taken by state institutions, but also citizens to address collective problems (Zybała, 2012). This means that the set of

public policies, apart from social policy, includes housing policy, health policy or education policy, etc. It is important to note that presented here ageing policies can also engage different specific policies, which means that they go beyond social policy only.

The policies presented in this subchapter refer to the issue of ageing from three perspectives: cohort, old age, and demographic process. The first draws attention to the group of older adults, who currently face this phase of life and its challenges. Whereas the next one frames actions at the old age, which can concern not only a current group of elders, but also the future generations. The latter, in turn, provides measures aimed at societies ageing process, its causes, and possible effects. Therefore, it can refer to other social groups than just older people (Klimczuk, 2018; MacManus, 2010; Szatur-Jaworska, 2016). Although each perspective concerns the issue of ageing, they all have different aims and strive to the realisation of slightly different interests, namely older individuals, future generations, or a society as a whole. In addition, the three perspectives can all intersect within one policy. This means that action carried out with one policy can have threefold aims and meet different interests.

*Table 1.*The classification of ageing policies in Polish literature and policy practice,

Policy	Tackled problems	Role of social activity	Policy perspective
Life cycle policy	Problems of different age groups perceived as continuum of social investments.	Social investment, beneficial to individuals and society.	Demographic process, old age, and older people perspectives.
Policy of active ageing	Enhancing the old age and increasing older people's productivity.	- Adjustment for the latter stage of life. - The increase of productivity among older people.	Old age perspective.
Policy on population ageing	Facing the issue of ageing societies on individual and social levels.	- The need of older individuals. - Preventive measures to prolong independency of older people and their well-being.	Demographic process, old age, and perspectives of older people.
Policy of the old age	Addressing problem of this particular age group, in the present, but also in future perception.	- The need of older people. - Promotion of the old age.	Old age perspective
Policy for older people	Responding to the need for a current cohort of older people.	- The need of older people. - A response to older people's marginalisation. - Enhancement of elderly's independency.	Older people's perspective
Older citizen policy	Adapting to the process of ageing societies. Responding to need of current cohort of older people.	- Improvement of well-being among the elderly. - The increase of productivity among older people.	Demographic process, old age, and older people's perspectives.

Source: own elaboration based on (Golinowska, 2015; Szatur-Jaworska, 2016; Szatur-Jaworska et al., 2021; Urbaniak, 2018)

I will start with **the life cycle policy**, which is much broader than other mentioned here, as it concerns all members of society. Applying a **life-cycle perspective**, this policy takes into account the impact of successive phases of an individual's life on those that follow. Thus, how we experience our old age is conditioned by experiences from adulthood, but also from childhood. (Golinowska, 2015; Szatur-Jaworska et al., 2021). It is related to the concept of social investment popular in social policy. It suggests that measures of social policy should be oriented towards the future and equip individuals with capabilities useful in the future. The aim is to rather prepare for possible future problems, rather than respond to them when they occur. The cost of such investment is believed to be lower-than-later interim

consumption (Golinowska, 2015, p. 17). The application of this perspective to the latter phase of life is especially justified due to elderly's heterogeneity. The group of older people can be divided into three subgroups. First, there are people aged 50 to 65. Their need is to ensure their labour activity and help them cope with the first symptoms of chronic diseases. Investments in this life phase will help to improve the health issues of the next one, which falls between 65 and 75 years old. It is focused on providing older adults with income that would guarantee stability after work. Moreover, at this stage, similarly to the previous stage, older people may have increased health needs. The policy makers also underline the need of this group for social activity and integration, which can influence their overall health well-being. Finally, the needs alter for the group of individuals over 80, who can suffer from a more severe health condition, and thus dependency on others in everyday life activities, which is being provided within long-term care policies (Golinowska, 2015; Szatur-Jaworska, 2016). Measures taken in each of the mentioned subgroups can influence problems in sequential phases, decreasing outlays for healthcare or long-term care. From the perspective of life cycle policy, social activity of older people can be perceived as a social investment, which can influence individual well-being and limit expenditures for healthcare. This policy can be seen also as a translation of life-course perspective, mentioned in the previous subchapter. The lifelong approach treats old age rather as a sequential period of life, which is a result of life prolonging and better condition across it, than a time for withdrawal like in disengagement theory (Dannefer & Settersten, 2010).

The life cycle approach can also be observed within the active ageing policy, which derives from the previously mentioned (I.1.1. Ways of ageing – the emergence of social activity for older people) concept of life course perspective and also the idea of active ageing (Foster & Walker, 2015). As was mentioned, when describing the idea of active ageing, is also true for the active ageing policy, there are two approaches within this policy. One is narrowed to labour activity of older people and their longer productivity, and another, in turn, refers to overall individual activity in family life, social and cultural activity, environmental engagement, multigenerational initiatives, health improvement, as well as financial security (Gawron et al., 2021; Szatur-Jaworska, 2016; Szukalski, 2016). Assumptions of this policy are interpreted differently by international organisations, such as the United Nations, European Union, OECD, or International Association of Non-governmental

Organisation (Szatur-Jaworska, 2016). However, in general, it represents a policy aimed at old age and encourages older people, but also groups of adults, close to old age, to active participation in social life and earlier preparation for this phase of life (2016). Within this policy, social activity is one of policy elements and is claimed to ease adjustment for this period of life.

The policy on ageing population is directed at the demographic process (Szatur-Jaworska, 2016), which means that this policy strives to influence the process, contain it and minimise its negative causes. Thus, it can be considered not only as an element of social policy, but also, economic policy, as well as spatial or migration policy. It strives to meet individual and social needs stemming from the ageing process, namely health, housing, social activity, endurance of consumption in later life, education, long-term care for dependent adults and work activity (Klimczuk, 2018; Piotr & Kubiak, 2016; Szatur-Jaworska, 2016). Actions taken within policy on ageing populations can also be divided into two types: preventive and adaptive. The first type refers to measures aimed to limit negative causes of ageing process, whereas the second one concerns policies, which help older people to adjust to the effects of this process, such as loneliness and dependency of older people or insufficiency of the pension system (Szatur-Jaworska, 2016). This ageing policy is a very broad one and approaches not only current older individuals but also the future cohorts. Moreover, it also responds to the social effects of the aging issue. Social activity, in turn, can be perceived as a need of the elderly, but also as a preventive measure, which can help maintain the independence of individuals and their well-being.

As for the **policy towards the old age**, it focuses on the ageing issue from the perspective of a life stage. It strives to address the needs of currently older people, but also prepare the future elderly generation. Additionally, the objective of this policy is to promote older age within the rest of the social groups and reduce age discrimination by supporting intergenerational actions (Klimczuk, 2018; Szatur-Jaworska, 2016). By and large, policy towards old age is a part of presented earlier life cycle policy, but it can be narrowed, meaning this policy does not consider earlier stages, but rather takes into account current social, economic and cultural circumstances, influencing the old age (2016). Social activity is considered a need of older people, but also a way to promote this stage of life and its positive image.

The particular cohort of individuals is taken into account in **the policy for older people**. This policy aims to address the need of older individuals, prevent their marginalisation, and enhance their independence (Błędowski & Szweda-Lewandowska, 2016; Klimczuk, 2018). Furthermore, it is specified to the needs of a particular group of elders, living within the designated environment and timeframe. Policy for older people can be realised at different policy levels. At the international level policies towards older people regulate pension entitlements, at the national level, they shape the basis of health care for older people, and at the local level, they seek to increase the social activity of older people (Szatur- Jaworska 2016a, p. 85).Thus, social activity would be aimed at addressing the needs of the current group of older people, preventing their marginalisation, and improving their independence.

Older citizen policy, in turn, is a term introduced along with the governmental programme and thus entered the scene of political terminology, and perhaps more importantly, public discourse (Szatur-Jaworska, 2016). Older citizen policy is understood as 'all the activities of public administration and other organizations and institutions that are focused on implementing tasks and initiatives that shape the conditions for dignified and healthy ageing' (Older Persons Act 2015, Article 4, point 2) (Urbaniak, 2018). Whereas in the Long-term Older Citizenship Policy in Poland 2014-2020, older citizen policy is defined as "(…) the set of activities throughout life, leading to ensure the extension of activity, both occupational and social, and self-reliant, healthy, safe and independent living for the elderly". In its assumptions, older citizen policy also refers to active ageing policies by promoting social and labour activity of older people. Similarly to policy on ageing societies, this one also extends its action to spatial policy or economic policy (Szatur-Jaworska, 2016). Accordingly to the literature, older citizen policy has more adaptive character, meaning it takes actions aimed rather at improving current issues than preventive measures (Szatur-Jaworska, 2015).

The presented policies, in their aims and actions refer to older people, old age or the process of ageing in the social and individual dimensions. On the one hand, it implies wide-ranging measures, which address ageing issues. On the other hand, however, this variety of policies also provide distinct aims, concerning desired effects. Within this section I wanted to demonstrate how different conceptualisation of ageing in policies, that was visible in their various values and interests in regard to ageing. However, these different conceptualisation

intersect, rival with each other or cooperate within the process of policy formation (Schmidt, 2010). For example, the life cycle policy refers to older people's social activity as a social investment, which can be beneficial for an individual's well-being in later life and social expenditure. In turn, in terms of ageing policy or older citizen citizenship policy, social activity is a tool for maintaining the productivity of older population groups. A yet different approach to social activity will be taken by ageing or older citizenship policies, seeing in social activity opportunities to combat the marginalisation of older people and increase their independence. By outlining these differences, I want to show in this study how complex the reality of implementing a given idea in policy is.

2.2. Locality of ageing policies

In this section, in turn, I want to draw attention to the local dimension of ageing policy. Its significance has twofold reasoning, first, the character of this policy (Theiss, 2017), and second, its stemming from the process of decentralisation of social policy in general (Evans, Nistrup, & Pfister, 2018; Kutsar & Kuronen, 2015).

Among earlier described ageing policies, the formulation and implementation of policy towards older people takes place at the lowest level of governance. This is because this policy concerns a concrete group of people who are currently old and takes into consideration their heterogeneous background, connected also with various environments (Błędowski, 2002; Szatur-Jaworska, 2016). Locality of policies towards older people according to M. Theiss (2007) has three main groups of causes. Firstly, it is concerned with varied local circumstances, such as social infrastructure, institutional environment or space adjustments (Błędowski, 2002). Second, the differences in the experience of aging by older people, who can have various needs and problems. Thirdly, it is believed to possess the widest knowledge of local issues and available resources, thus, within the policy toward older people policymakers can establish most suitable measures (Theiss, 2007). However, this third assertion about local policy is claimed to be too idealistic by some researchers. Meaning, measures taken by local policymakers are in fact established by external-to-local community experts and policymakers of higher administration, thus, they poorly reflect the local characters of problems and possible solutions (Krzyszkowski & Przywojska, 2010). Moreover, at the more theoretical level of policy analysis, scholars assert that local policy is

shaped without consideration to the specificity of the local environment and are rather accidental (Theiss, 2007). Furthermore, the problem with the efficiency and accuracy of local policy can also be concerned with the decentralisation of tasks to local levels of government, without sufficient financial support (Theiss, 2007, 2017).

Turning to practice, it is worth noting that in the Polish ageing policy, established by the government with the document *The Long-term Older Citizenship Policy in Poland 2014-2020,* the prominent role and tasks are also entrusted to the local government. Identification of needs among older people, an enhancement of their social and cultural engagement, creation of the multigenerational environment, a development of the silver economy (to stimulate economic development of regions), and provision of social services (Urbaniak, 2018) are some of the tasks. Similar conclusions regarding local older people's policy are suggested by Piotr Błędowski (2016), who implies the county and municipality levels have an important role in shaping policy. Besides arguments mentioned earlier, he also indicates that such locality is also connected with The Act on the Local Self-Government of 1999, in which tasks passed to the municipality, concerning policy on population aging and the old ager, are specified. Their range embraces action in the fields of social, economic, health, cultural activity, as well as concerning legal and institutional measures (Błędowski, 2016).

This local character of ageing policy can also be connected with a more global issue of decentralisation in the realisation of social policies. This trend, called by E. Swyngedouw (2010) "the rolling of state", started in the 1980s, and is claimed to be connected with globalisation and internationalisation. These two important phenomena have shifted the scale of powers, ordering the economic and political course of events. It is called 'jumping of the scale', since previously effective relations and influences' directions have been accompanied with newer points of reference. They are made up of actors from both the regional, local, and international level, sometimes representing competing interests and promoting compatible actions (Cox, 2009; Swyngedouw, 1997). More recently, decentralisation became even more pronounced. First, it is connected with the economic crisis of 2008 and the tendency to reduce social policy expenditures. Therefore, the provision of services was passed on to the regional and local levels, without providing adequate resources from the central budget (Theiss, 2017), but also was based on the promotion of social participation among citizens to improve the satisfaction of needs in their

closest environment (Andreotti & Mingione, 2016; Caldarice, 2018). In the research, there is an increasing attention to local welfare systems[4] and policies implemented by them. However, a rather narrow view of it is emphasised, which is mainly concerned with the activities of official local policy actors and ignores issues of local networks between actors (Swianiewicz, 2016). What is meant here is the range of informal activities and practices on the part of policymakers but also other actors on the local political scene referred to as street-level bureaucracy (Sztander-Sztanderska, 2016; Theiss, 2017).

In the Polish context, such a missing element in analysis of local ageing policy, are nongovernmental organisations, claimed to be key actors in local policy implementation. NGOs support the public sector with human resources and know-how and in the result provide a wide range of activities for the community as subcontractors (Błędowski, 2016; Urbaniak, 2018). Furthermore, the locality of ageing policy is specific in cities, due to their diversity of resources, knowledge of the inhabitants, and better accuracy in diagnosing problems. Cities become responsible for taking measures related to ageing society (Buffel et al., 2020; Klimczuk & Tomczyk, 2016; Phillipson & Scharf, 2005). Scholars underline the need for research into local social policy regimes, which are developed in the cities (Andreotti & Mingione, 2016)

By addressing the issue of localism in the field of ageing policy, I wanted to show the relevance of the research level I adopted in this thesis, namely local, and more specifically, urban. As the literature shows, it is an area little explored in Polish research, and one of particular importance in the context of policy decentralisation (Andreotti & Mingione, 2016; Błędowski, 2016; Swianiewicz, 2016; Theiss, 2007) and promoted participation of local government and citizens (Andreotti & Mingione, 2016; Kutsar & Kuronen, 2015). In the following subchapter I will introduce the specificity of this level of analysis, i.e., the city, through a brief characterisation of urban studies and a review of research focusing precisely on the idea of social activeness of older people implemented in the city

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[4] The local welfare system is understood as: *„as specific configurations of population needs and welfare providers and resources emerging at the local levels"*(Andreotti, Mingione, & Polizzi, 2012, p. 1925)*.*

I.1.3. Urban ageing

Cities as entities of social and economic significance are becoming increasingly important in the national and international arena. They are home to about 60% of the population, produce almost 50% of waste worldwide and use 75% of natural resources (Caldarice, 2018). It is much easier for us to feel and notice certain changes at this level of the city and it has become a tangible mechanism for us, setting in motion health care institutions, kindergartens, as well as supporting specific industries, organising cultural events, and subsidising our bus tickets. As city researchers and sociologists write, contemporary metropolises have evolved and become a place to solve global problems. According to Z. Bauman, but also M. Kostera (Bauman, Bauman, Kostera, & Kociatkiewicz, 2017), we are now in the era of interregnum. A period in which new global problems do not yet have concrete solutions in the global dimension. M. Kostera (2017) writes that these are times when dealing with these problems is beyond the reach of international or national institutions. It is the city that takes over the responsibility for coping and creating solutions (Bauman et al., 2017; Błędowski & Szweda-Lewandowska, 2016; Gawron, 2017). According to L. Mumford , the city is a "geographical interweaving, economic organization, and institutional process" (Mumford, 2016, p. 139). For my research, the city is important as a local level of ageing policy formation. The decentralisation of ageing policy, mentioned in the previous subchapter, results in taking over the tasks of these policies by local levels of administration. According to the researchers (Błędowski, 2016; Buffel & Phillipson, 2018; Buffel et al., 2021; Theiss, 2007, 2017) there is the need to examine the ways in which such local policies are formed. In this subchapter, I examine ageing on the city level. In the beginning (3.1. Urban studies), I describe how the city became noticed by urban studies scholars. I will present the initial perspectives of urban studies scholars toward the city as well as more recent perspectives, that focus on relations between cities and their inhabitants (Buffel et al., 2021; Domaradzka, 2018; Harding & Blockland, 2014; Yung, Conejos, & Chan, 2016). Subsequently, I present ageing at the city level (3.2. Ageing in cities – social activity of older citizens), introducing research on the social activity of older citizens carried out on the city level. This literature review illustrates what social activity for older people can mean for scientists and its role in urban ageing policies.

In addition, the presented research indicates which areas of city functioning may be problematic for older people, i.e., infrastructure, lack of social networks, difficult access to city institutions or health centres.

3.1. Urban studies

Urban studies can be described as a multidisciplinary field, constituted by anthropologists, architectures, economists, environmentalists, geographers, planners or sociologists (Jayne & Ward, 2017). The emergence of urban studies was evoked in the nineteenth century by industrialisations and thus an immense migration of people into the city. From then until now urban researchers have tried to understand the phenomenon of the city as an administrative and geographical entity, a symbol of culture (*flaneur),* structural masterpiece, or a medium of capitalistic ideologies. The complexity of the urban life, as Simon Parker (2015) writes, can be described within four categories: culture, consumption, conflict, and community, later extended with a fifth category - commodification. These categories designate perspectives of various thinkers applied to the city for the past 150 years, which will be briefly described below.

To understand the multidimensionality of city, Max Weber in his essay *Die Stadt* goes back to ancient times through feudalism up to capitalism (Parker, 2015). M. Weber considers the city as „*a market settlement"* (M. Weber, 1958). In his analysis, he traced features of cities across different geographical placements. What seems to be important for the city is the economic power, meaning merchants, as well as political strength, expressed with city autonomy and defence capabilities. Furthermore, urban development was based on the feudalistic relation, which gave structures to simple settlement centres, introducing the power struggle and economic dependency between citizens (1958). In opposition to Max Webber's historical approach were George Simmel's (1950) research on the urban mentality, which was referring to the city as a more contemporary construct. The researcher was fascinated by the modern city, which caused the emergence of a new society, along with new social and economic relations. G. Simmel perceived the city as a chance for individual emancipation, where hitherto socially distant persons could *meet* in one endeavour, business, connected by money (Simmel, 1950).

The era of modernity involved great changes in cities, which made them an exciting metropolis. For Walter Benjamin, a modern city was the imagery of what ancient societies

had dreamt about the city (Benjamin, 1999). He was fascinated by the streets and the window shops, which blurred the private and public spaces of the city, transforming it into *'a masquerade of space'* (Parker, 2015). Another thinker of the modern city was Henri Lefebvre, an author of essays about city space, its commodification and labour division (Parker, 2015). According to H. Lefebvre, a capitalist revolution, introduced the production mode into the city, changing its space into *'heritage of industry'* and its community to *'consumer society'*. He saw the city as fragmented, encompassing a few realities, which assemble interchangeably (Lefebre, 2004).

Each of the authors mentioned above opened a thread of discussion in more contemporary urban studies, highlighting the political rules governing and constituting the city, noticing its class diversifications and commodification. They were observers of the emergence of the city, within its complexity. They attempted to find out the essence of what the city is in the social, historical, and political meaning.

Over time, two disciplines, namely sociology and geography, took a leading place in urban studies and the creation of urban theories (Jayne & Ward, 2017; Parker, 2015). Within the first one, the Chicago school had its beginnings, started by R.E. Park and E. Burgess in 1892. Their interest was focused on the influence of the market economy on the structure of the city, both in societal and spatial dimensions. They developed diagrammatic illustrations of the city, which later on, however, were perceived as an oversimplification. Another view on the city was held by Frankfurt School, rooted in thoughts of Karl Marx. They perceived what is happening in the city - fashion, music, or literature - a culture industry, which replaced a folk culture with more standardised products consumed by the urban working class. Walter Benjamin went further and came with a concept of *commodity fetishism* which aimed to distract the working class from socially unjust working conditions. The next thread, also related to the legacy of urban managerialists, developed in the 1970s. They were rooted in the work of Karl Marx and Max Weber. In their perspective, the city was governed by some agents who control assets and act for their gain. However, their approach was considered to not contribute anything significant to the development of the modern city (Jayne & Ward, 2017).
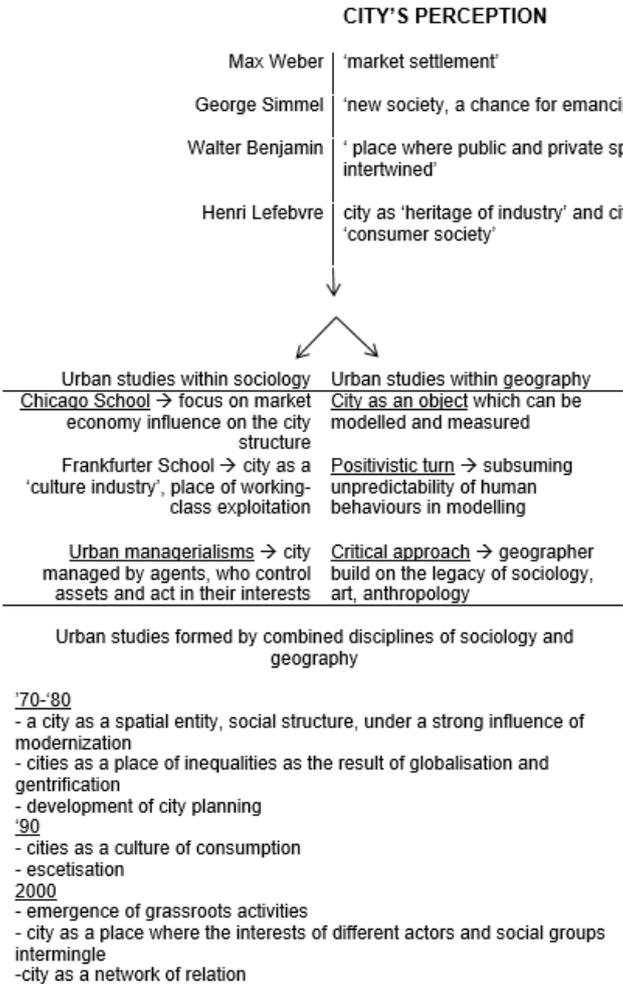
The development of urban geography took place simultaneously with the advance in urban sociology; however, they adopted a diverse perspective on urban theory. In their

beginnings, they perceived the city as an object that could be measured and modelled (Jayne & Ward, 2017). Such studies were seen as an *objective* representation of the city used in planning and policy formation. The positivistic turn in urban geography has introduced the unpredictability of citizen behaviour. It in turn induced scientists to extend the modelling and improve the planning process (Harding & Blockland, 2014). However, a more significant change has taken place in the 1970s, when geographers have turned to a critical approach, which linked urbanity with art, sociology, and humanities. In those times, geographers perceived city also in line with Marx and Weber heritage. This means that city was a spatial product of the capitalistic economy, as a result of which some actors possessed particular urban assets, whereas others, none (2014).

At this moment, the two perspectives on urbanity, namely sociology and geography, come together. Urban scientists speak of urban injustice, segregation, gentrification, and many more, which were considered from more sociological or geographical angles. Such scientists as David Harvey, Manuel Castells, or Peter Saunders represented separate in urban theory geography and sociology (Jayne & Ward, 2017). Their focus was to observe the influence of capitalism on the city, perceived as a spatial entity, but primarily as a social structure, having in mind its class structure (Castells, 1977; Harvey, 1989; Saunders, 1986). The urban theories of the 1970s and 1980s were also powered by the crises and common unemployment, as well as the decline of the city. The crises were succeeded by the era of globalisation and the pursuit of governments to support markets regardless of the social injustices. Such a revival of the city resulted in the gentrification of the entrepreneurial part of the city and an even stronger division between poor and rich urban areas. Whereas some urban theorists perceived those times as a time of further capitalistic development, others believed in the power of modernity, with its rationality and planning helping citizens (Harding & Blockland, 2014; Jayne & Ward, 2017).

The 1990s brought the concept of 'postmodernity' which was identified with the culture of consumption and 'aestheticization', described by Jean Baudrillard as *Disneyfication*, which meant the transformation of cities into a kind of hyperreal places, such as Las Vegas (Jayne & Ward, 2017). Such voices started a discussion on postmodernity lasting until the beginning of the next century. Scientists were discussing if we experience an era of postmodernity or just another stage of modern capitalism.

In more contemporary urban studies, cities are presented as a *scene* of grassroots initiatives and communities of different origins (Domaradzka, 2018). The power of globalisation makes the city a very powerful entity, but also very diversified (Jayne & Ward, 2017). The cities are seen more as a place of huge income inequalities. Its space is a matter of dispute between citizens, city authorities, entrepreneurs, and other social groups. This is a fertile ground for *the right to the city* movements fighting for a sustainable environment and social justice (Domaradzka, 2014, 2018). Within such a city, ageing individuals also try to participate and demand their needs to be respected.

CITY'S PERCEPTION

Max Weber	'market settlement'
George Simmel	'new society, a chance for emancipation
Walter Benjamin	' place where public and private space intertwined'
Henri Lefebvre	city as 'heritage of industry' and citizens as 'consumer society'

Urban studies within sociology	Urban studies within geography
Chicago School → focus on market economy influence on the city structure	City as an object which can be modelled and measured
Frankfurter School → city as a 'culture industry', place of working-class exploitation	Positivistic turn → subsuming unpredictability of human behaviours in modelling
Urban managerialisms → city managed by agents, who control assets and act in their interests	Critical approach → geographer build on the legacy of sociology, art, anthropology

Urban studies formed by combined disciplines of sociology and geography

'70-'80
- a city as a spatial entity, social structure, under a strong influence of modernization
- cities as a place of inequalities as the result of globalisation and gentrification
- development of city planning
'90
- cities as a culture of consumption
- escetisation
2000
- emergence of grassroots activities
- city as a place where the interests of different actors and social groups intermingle
- city as a network of relation

Scheme 5. The changing perception of city in urban studies.
Source: My own elaboration

This introduction of urban studies, synthesised in the figure above, demonstrate the emergence of the city, which within current research becomes a very complex phenomenon, formed by relational networks of human and non-human networks looming from city,

perceived rather as object than network (Farías & Bender, 2010). Considering city complexity, it is framed as an *urban assemblage*, which reflects the multiplicity of realities that intermingle there. Researchers focus on the process in which different actors enter the urban scene and interrelate with each other (Betancur & Arciniegas, 2018). By and large, it can be seen that aiming at exploring social activity among older people at the city level, there is a need to consider the city as an assemblage of urban networks, which driven by their own values and norm form what scholars regard as a city (Farías & Bender, 2010). This approach to the city, in turn, is related to applied in my research actor-network theory, which serves as analytical tool and allow to explore emergence of city as an assemblage of network between human and nonhuman actors (Latour, 2005)(See: II.1. Actor-network theory).

3.2. Ageing in cities - Social activity of older people in city

The idea of social activity for older people has emerged along with activity theory and continuity theory (see 1.2. Symbolic Interactionism paradigm), as one of the key elements of successful and active ageing ideas. Over the years, these ideas have set the general objectives for ageing policies developed by international and national organisations. This attitude towards ageing has been criticised by researchers affiliated with the critical strands of gerontology (Achenbaum, 2010; O'Rand, Isaacs, & Roth, 2010). Within this strand researchers accused successful and active ageing ideas of commodification of older people that means perceiving them as socially and economically useful entities (O'Rand et al., 2010). Introducing a drive for increased activity among older people, according to research by Stephen Katz (2000), is not always the answer to their problems, as the elderly are more concerned with making sense of these activities.

Despite the critical attitude of some researchers to the very idea of social activity of older people (Katz, 2000), it is still present in the strategies and policies (Council of the European Union, 2012; World Health Organization, 2002). At the same time, we are confronted with a shift in responsibility for action on ageing towards local levels of governance (Błędowski, 2016; Evans et al., 2018; Kutsar & Kuronen, 2015; van Hoof et al., 2018).

Along with the recent decentralisation trend, local government is burdened with the responsibility of implementing programmes toward ageing and thus play an important role in creating ageing policies (Błędowski, 2016; Theiss, 2007). Therefore, the construction of local ageing policies takes place largely in cities, depending on bottom-up and top-down relations and the interdependence of authorities at different levels (Kutsar & Kuronen, 2015).

Hence, the question arises: how is the concept of social activity, which has been known for decades, theorised at the urban policy level? The topic of social activity among older people has been the subject of many studies, which in turn have been analysed in systematic reviews of the literature (Douglas, Georgiou, & Westbrook, 2017; Oliveira, Pessa, & Avancini Schenatto, 2019; Wanchai & Phrompayak, 2019). However, it is worth noting that the reviews indicated focus exclusively on the relationship between social activity or participation and health (2019), emphasising the positive impact of the former on individual well-being. Attempts to elaborate on ways of studying social activity refers to the types of activities (Wanchai & Phrompayak, 2019), rather than to exploration of researchers' understanding of social activity itself. Additionally, none of reviews focus on the local level, so important in recent times. It seems interesting, therefore, how the idea of social activity of older people, which is a tool of public policies, is used in micro and meso-level research (DeLeon & DeLeon, 2002; Linder & Peters, 1989). The aim of this subchapter is to present a review of the literature that actually highlights the ways in which researchers translate the idea of social activism. The literature review aimed to identify what the idea of social activity means for researchers and what it means for urban ageing policies, is it a tool or an outcome? Furthermore, I wanted to capture the most local dimension of the idea of social activity and to look at its interpretations. Going down to the city level in the literature review was due to the decentralisation of public policies (Kutsar & Kuronen, 2015), and including policies toward older people, which are precisely the ones that can work most appropriately at this local level (Błędowski, 2002; Buffel & Remillard-Boilard, 2019; Theiss, 2007). As a result, I present seven dimensions of older people social activity in research, as well as individual and social perspectives of understanding older people's social activity.

Ageing vs. Population Ageing - Twofold Influence of Social Activity

The dominant aspect present in the analysed articles was the prevalent information on ageing societies, which served as an introduction and a starting point for further consideration. The presented data warned about the increasing number of people in the postproduction age to those still economically active (Afacan, 2013; Asadollahi, Hoseinzadeh, Tabrizi, & Nabavi, 2013; A. C. M. Chan & Cao, 2015; Chen & Chen, 2012; Dawidowicz, Zysk, Figurska, Źróbek, & Kotnarowska, 2020; Fu, Liang, An, & Zhao, 2018; Tong, Lai, & Walsh, 2019). As a result, the rising cost of care for the elderly and the problem of maintaining them, by those who work, have been predicted. It can be seen that a part of research frames the problem of ageing along with activity and continuity theory (Atchley, 1982; Marshall & Clarke, 2010). In particular, they refer to ideas of active and successful ageing as they promote endurance of older people social and economic activity and utility (Foster & Walker, 2015). An alternative picture, although appearing on the margins, presented issues of ageing from the perspective of older people for whom declining health is a challenge, preventing an active life, and subtracting a sense of utility and meaning (Ho, 2017; Novak & Vute, 2013; Pasquallie, 2018).

One of the answers to the presented challenges, namely ageing societies, was precisely the social activity of older people, which according to researchers has the potential to improve the living conditions of the individual and at the same time relieve the burden on society. This is noticeable in the ways in which social activity has been studied, either as a factor, favouring a certain state of affairs (here it is worth noting that these have always been positive effects) or a desired effect, which both can be influenced by social or individual conditions, which is presented in the table below.

*Table 2.*Representation of the levels of analysis (society and individual) and the factors that favour and limit the social activity of older people in cities.

	Society	Individual
What does social activity give older people?	- financial independency (Suzuki, Dollery, & Kortt, 2020) - a low-cost support for older people (Novak & Vute, 2013; Suzuki et al., 2020) - productive society (Carr, Fried, & Rowe, 2015) - decrease in the morbidity of older people (Carr et al., 2015; Granbom, Kristensson, & Sandberg, 2017) - addressing social marginalisation (Carr et al., 2015; Ho, 2017; Rezaeipandari, Ravaei, Bahrevar, Mirrezaei, & Morowatisharifabad, 2019) - unpaid work – volunteerism (Pei, Gunawan, & Chich-Jen, 2014)	- a prevention of dementia (Yung et al., 2016) - influence on self-satisfaction and stress reduction (Ahmad & Hafeez, 2011; Fu et al., 2018; Ho, 2017) - provides mental stability, satisfaction with life (Ho, 2017; Pei et al., 2014) - gives sense of utility and development (Ho, 2017; Rezaeipandari et al., 2019) - facilitates coping with problems (Pei et al., 2014) - maintenance of good health and physical performance (Bilotta, Bowling, Nicolini, Casè, & Vergani, 2012; Fu et al., 2018; Granbom et al., 2017; Pei et al., 2014; Tong et al., 2019)
What fosters social activity of older people?	- community support (Beard & Montawi, 2015) - availability of social and health services (Tong et al., 2019)	- confidence, sense of community (Pei et al., 2014; Yung et al., 2016) - good self-esteem (Yung et al., 2016) - religiousness (Pei et al., 2014) -public spaces, e.g. libraries, places to spend time, rest (Yung et al., 2016)
What limits the social activity of older people?	- globalisation, consumerism, emergence of metropolises (Barrett & McGoldrick, 2013) - patriarchy, marginalisation of women in conservative societies (Ahmad & Hafeez, 2011) - the role of men as breadwinners (Rezaeipandari et al., 2019) - stereotype of older people, age discrimination (Pasquallie, 2018; Rezaeipandari et al., 2019) - inadequate, unsafe environment, lack of adapted transport (Afacan, 2013; Ahmad & Hafeez, 2011; Barrett & McGoldrick, 2013; Beard & Montawi, 2015; Rezaeipandari et al., 2019; Xiong, Lu, & Hu, 2020)	- poor health, disability (Ahmad & Hafeez, 2011; Barrett & McGoldrick, 2013; Rezaeipandari et al., 2019; Tong et al., 2019) - a lack of self-confidence (Rezaeipandari et al., 2019) - family obligation (Rezaeipandari et al., 2019) - poverty, lower social status (Ahmad & Hafeez, 2011; Barrett & McGoldrick, 2013) - bad life experiences and health habits (Ahmad & Hafeez, 2011)

Source: own elaboration

In terms of society, activity provides a means of solving older people's problems without much financial investment. This, in turn, is desirable due to the lower expenditure on social services (Novak & Vute, 2013; Suzuki et al., 2020). For older adults, then, being active helps maintain mental (Ho, 2017; Pei et al., 2014) and physical well-being (Bilotta et al., 2012; Fu et al., 2018; Granbom et al., 2017; Pei et al., 2014; Tong et al., 2019), as well as gives a chance to thrive and live with a sense of purpose (Ho, 2017; Rezaeipandari et al., 2019). Turning to what stops an individual from being socially active, researchers point to limitations related to health and mobility (Ahmad & Hafeez, 2011; Barrett & McGoldrick, 2013; Rezaeipandari et al., 2019; Tong et al., 2019), as well as poverty (Ahmad & Hafeez, 2011; Barrett & McGoldrick, 2013). These characteristics, in addition to poverty, are somehow inherent in old age and therefore inevitable. Moreover, this part of the table reveals the marginalisation of older people who are unable to cope with the idea of being active (Afacan, 2013; Carr et al., 2015). Furthermore, from a perspective of society, activity of older people must fight against stereotypes towards older people, in general (Pasquallie, 2018; Rezaeipandari et al., 2019) but also separately in relation to women (Ahmad & Hafeez, 2011) and men (Rezaeipandari et al., 2019). Public spaces that do not provide safety (high kerbs, unsuitable urban transport) and opportunities to relax in their space can also be unhelpful and hinder older citizens from social participation (Afacan, 2013; Barrett & McGoldrick, 2013; Beard & Montawi, 2015; Rezaeipandari et al., 2019; Xiong et al., 2020). Although the research does not indicate what the community can do, in terms of specific actions, it does emphasise that its support is important (Beard & Montawi, 2015), for example, the local religious community, which can serve as a support network for the older person (Chen & Chen, 2012; Pei et al., 2014).

The idea of social activity can be seen in the research as a way to address older people's social isolation, declining health, and opportunity for self-development. At the same time, it relieves the burden on the state and local authorities by reducing the costs of future treatment and care for the elderly. Although research from around the world confirms this, the question arises as to what kind of community older people should be active in. What emerges from the articles analysed so far is the public space itself.

Dimensions of Older People's Social Activity

Based on the literature, I defined seven dimensions of older people's social activity (see *Table 3.* Contexts of social activity for older people implemented on the city level*). From the very basic activity of moving around in public spaces (Xiong et al., 2020) to diverse social, political, and cultural activities (Granbom et al., 2017; Novak & Vute, 2013). Moreover, some researchers considered social activity of older people as an individual's right to exist in society, which is denied to them due to age (Chiribuca & Teodorescu, 2020), income or mobility limitations (Afacan, 2013; Barrett & McGoldrick, 2013). While for others social activity is a responsibility of older people, their way of contributing to the community in which they live (Barrett & McGoldrick, 2013; A. C. M. Chan & Cao, 2015; Ho, 2017).

Within the first dimension related to **public space**, researchers have addressed the interaction between urban space and older people (Beard & Montawi, 2015; Dawidowicz et al., 2020; Xiong et al., 2020; Yung et al., 2016). They emphasised the large role of social activity in maintaining the health of the elderly. According to researchers, the streets of the city or the appearance of the neighbourhood are catalysts for the activity of the oldest citizens. Well-designed recreational zones, pedestrian crossings, bus stops (Afacan, 2013; Xiong et al., 2020), but also places of entertainment, cinemas, theatres, give a chance for people with reduced mobility or not used to crowds to stay there (Dawidowicz et al., 2020). The frameworks for the design of urban spaces are the ideas of active ageing (Chan & Cao, 2015; Novak & Vute, 2013; Pei et al., 2014) or Age-Friendly cities (Beard & Montawi, 2015; Chan & Cao, 2015) (See section 1.2. Symbolic interactionism paradigm and 1.3. Environmental paradigm). Both concepts provide guidelines for cities' actions and the policies they create. The latter, created by the World Health Organization, is the basis for a network of cities around the world that choose to subscribe to it and adopt the guidelines in their policies (Chan & Cao, 2015). The idea of active ageing, on the other hand, is a little older, having originated still in the last century, and provides a rationale for older people to spend their time as actively as possible (Council of the European Union, 2012). Based on these concepts, the researchers note that the condition of urban streets is an elementary condition for the social activity of older people.

*Table 3.*Contexts of social activity for older people implemented on the city level.

Context	Articles	Social activity definition	Related concepts	Notes
	(Xiong et al., 2020)	Understood as moving through the streets of a city (the street as a space for social activity).	- Spatial planning - Mobility - Social inclusion	
Public space	(Yung et al., 2016)	It determines active ageing and is one of the social needs of older people. Also understood as being in the urban space.	- Active ageing - Spatial planning - Urban planning	Space is seen as a catalyst for active ageing, as a key element of social activity for older people in the city
	(Dawidowicz et al., 2020)	Following the World Health Organisation, they see social activity as part of active ageing and therefore living as long a healthy life as possible.	- Age-friendly city - Active ageing	
	(Beard & Montawi, 2015)	Living in the local community and actively participating in its activities	- Age-friendly city	
Social exclusion, inequality	(Afacan, 2013)	Being able to enjoy urban spaces despite age-related limitations.	- social exclusion - urban planning - active ageing	The problem of poverty in the context of social activity. They draw attention to inequalities in access to social activity, due to a worse financial situation, origin, or education.

Context	Articles	Social activity definition	Related concepts	Notes
	(Barrett & McGoldrick, 2013)	Part of active and healthy ageing. Understood as active participation in social, cultural, economic, spiritual, and urban life, also as activity in the family	- Active and healthy ageing - Racism, inequality - Public space	The problem of poverty in the context of social activity. They draw attention to inequalities in access to social activity, due to a worse financial situation, origin, or education.
	(Carr et al., 2015)	Acting for the community in the form of volunteering.	- economic inequalities	They draw attention to inequalities in access to volunteering among older people, due to education or low income, which limit the possibility of receiving the benefits of such activity.
	(Chiribuca & Teodorescu, 2020)	Participating in social media, using its possibilities for your own needs.	- social media - empowerment	
	(Ahmad & Hafeez, 2011)	Opportunities to participate in political, local community and religious life.	- inequalities - well-being	They draw attention to the problem with the social activity of women and people of lower socio-economic status.
Loneliness	(Suzuki et al., 2020)	Understood as existing in social consciousness, having a social network.	- loneliness	Creating a local support network (co-production) outside the institutions of the state.
	(Coll-Planas et al., 2017)	Seen as a structural element of human social capital, necessary for human well-being. More specifically described as interaction with others.	- social capital	

Context	Articles	Social activity definition	Related concepts	Notes
	(Granbom et al., 2017)	Engaging in activities that individuals perceive as valuable.		
	(Rezaeipandari et al., 2019)	Definition adopted from the Canadian Association for Community Health, where social activity involves taking part in communal religious events, team sports, educational and cultural activities, and social or charitable events.	- successful ageing - loneliness	
	(Carr et al., 2015)	Acting for the community in the form of volunteering.	- volunteering -productivity	Volunteering as a socially beneficial, rewarding activity of older people for society as a whole.
Productivity	(Tong et al., 2019)	They divide it into formal and informal social activity. The latter refers to individual interactions with friends and family, while formal means participation in events organised by others.		The activities of older people in formal social activities are beneficial to society, such as volunteering. In turn, for older people, doing activities for others has health benefits.
	(Suzuki et al., 2020)	As existing in social consciousness, having a social network.	- co-production	Ageing generates costs that can be minimised by creating local communities that provide opportunities for social activity and a sense of security.

Context	Articles	Social activity definition	Related concepts	Notes
	(Novak & Vute, 2013)	Leisure and relaxation activities (climbing, walking, etc.) to keep older people in shape and able to participate in social, cultural, and economic life.	- well-being - self	The good physical condition of older people encourages them to remain active in the labour market for longer or to carry out voluntary activities, which benefit society as well as older people. In addition, they reduce the costs of caring for dependent older people.
	(Chan & Cao, 2015)	Involvement in the local community and participation in community events.	- productive ageing - active ageing	
	(Ho, 2017)	Perceived as an activity that allows rebuilding, re-forming the self after retirement.	- active ageing -volunteering - self	
	(Pei et al., 2014)	Religious activities, leisure activities, political activities related to education	- Quality of Life	
Independence and self	(Fu et al., 2018)	Understood as interaction with other people that has a positive impact on the well-being and health of older people.	- activity theory - well-being	
	(Novak & Vute, 2013)	Recreational and relaxation activities (climbing, walking, etc.) to keep older people in shape and able to participate in social, cultural, and economic life.	- Independence	Fitness gives a sense of empowerment and independence.

Context	Articles	Social activity definition	Related concepts	Notes
Quality of life, health	(Coll-Planas et al., 2017)	Understood as a structural element of human social capital, necessary for human well-being. More specifically described as interaction with others.	- Quality of Life - Social Capital	Social capital plays an important role in older people's quality of life, which is, however, threatened by ageing
	(Granbom et al., 2017)	Activities within some formal group - educational classes, or visits to places such as the cinema or theatre, or within informal groups such as family or friends.		
	(Bilotta et al., 2012)	Seen as part of QOL (Quality of Life), meaning being among people.	- Quality of Life	Social activity in the context of people undergoing outpatient treatment
Sense of community	(Pasquallie, 2018), (Tong et al., 2019) (Chan & Cao, 2015)	The kind of activities that give a sense of community and togetherness.	- community - practices	An alternative image of older people bonding the local community through their activity.

Source: Own elaboration.

Another dimension of research on older people's social activity are **inequalities.** Because social activity's impact is so beneficial to an individual, researchers highlight that it is not approachable to all older people (Afacan, 2013; Ahmad & Hafeez, 2011; Barrett & McGoldrick, 2013; Beard & Montawi, 2015; Carr et al., 2015; Chiribuca & Teodorescu, 2020). Reasons include poorer socioeconomic status, financial problems (Barrett & McGoldrick, 2013; Carr et al., 2015; Tong et al., 2019), and consequently poorer health (Ahmad & Hafeez, 2011). In the articles, researchers imply the positive impact of, for example, volunteering as a form of social activity, but at the same time emphasise its elitism. This is a strand of research on social activity as an individual's right to function in society. It is undoubtedly related to the previous dimension, public space, which can help counteract, at least in part, the marginalisation of older people due to their mobility. In this type of research, we see the idea of social activity as a way to fight inequalities but at the same time a possible tool for marginalisation.

The social activity of older people is also a means of counteracting their solitude by putting them on the map of the local community. The role of activity is to create some sort of **support network** that provides the elderly with a community, which will over watch their daily functioning (Suzuki et al., 2020). For example, as in Japan, where the co-production of local businesses and organisations was established to monitor the lives of lonely older residents. There is no denying that creating such a support network shifts the burden and cost of care from the state to the local community (2020).

Researchers also perceive the activity of older people as an extension of their preretirement activities. This ensures on the one hand their physical fitness and mental health as well as on the other hand benefits society, e.g., through volunteering or helping working kids or older ailing parents. This kind of study resonates with the problem of ageing and the associated costs - healthcare expenditure, financial assistance, and long-term care (Carr et al., 2015; Chan & Cao, 2015). The challenge is to keep societies **productive** despite their ageing (Carr et al., 2015). Social activity as a continuation of work, in an unpaid form, such as volunteering or community service, is the answer to these concerns.

There is also a body of research that portrays social activity as a route to **independence** and reconstruction of one's own identity after retirement (Fu et al., 2018; Ho, 2017; Novak & Vute, 2013; Pei et al., 2014). According to this research, the retirement process itself

challenges the perception of self and the identity one has (Nadobnik, Durczak, & Ławrynowicz, 2021). From the analysed articles, it appears that participation in social life provides the opportunity to find oneself in retirement, to regain agency and self-esteem through appreciation from other community or family members. Here, the emphasis is on interactions with other people that allow one to feel at ease and provide opportunities to enjoy cultural life, physical activity, or further education (Fu et al., 2018).

An individual perspective on ageing was also applied in studies that focused on the impact of social participation on the **health and quality of life of older people**. The accompanying concept was The Quality of Life, which in turn includes aspects of mental, physical, and social health (Bilotta et al., 2012; Fu et al., 2018). According to the researchers, it is difficult for an individual to have a good standard of living in the absence of social activities and social relationships (Bilotta et al., 2012). In a way, complementary to these studies are those that point to the role of participation in the formation of a sense of community, not only for older people, but also for other social groups (Pasquallie, 2018). The authors point to the participation of local actors who can create community support networks. Older people, by sharing their knowledge and experience, become leaders of such communities (2018), with their time (Chen & Chen, 2012) and regular financial resources (Pasquallie, 2018).

Some of the studies did not lend themselves to an unambiguous classification into one of the seven dimensions. Although the distinction of perspectives in which the social activity of older people is analysed is valuable and allows us to outline the cognitive spectrum, their fluidity should be emphasised. On the one hand, researchers have emphasised the necessary productivity and efficiency embodied in the idea under study, but at the same time have referred to the need for grassroots community action (Chan & Cao, 2015; Novak & Vute, 2013; Tong et al., 2019). Such oppositions reveal, so far, the ambiguous attitude of the researchers themselves towards the idea, but also local deciders and activists influencing policymaking.

What emerges from the review is the shortage in public resources for ageing policies, both financial and personal related. The remedy for this seems to be, first of all, to keep the old society as productive as possible, while at the same time passing some of the responsibilities to the elderly members to their immediate environment (Chan & Cao, 2015; Dawidowicz et al., 2020; Suzuki et al., 2020). Such a trend is interesting as it was the

immediate environment that was no longer able to help the elderly, which, more than a century ago, led to the emergence of the state in the role of caregiver (Bois, 1996). Nowadays, however, the need for a community that can be supportive of each other is apparent. The social activity of older people seems to be a way of organising such social networks. This raises the question of whether a contemporary social activity is like this, and if so, who co-creates it and what interests drive them.

The multidisciplinary nature of the concept of social activity, visible in the dimensions presented, with a relatively homogeneous methodological approach, suggests that it should be studied in greater depth. There is no doubt about its positive impact on older people, which is confirmed in various ways by the collected research. However, what is new from this review is its ability to combine different levels (macro and micro) as well as interests, and to highlight social inequalities. Thus, the idea of social activity requires further exploratory research to help clarify its complexity.

This review is a starting point for reflection presented in this book, which aims to unravel the idea of social activity among older people from a policymaking perspective. Its multidimensionality and dualistic nature (a lucrative factor or desired effect) induce us to explore the idea from the urban level and take a closer look at networks that enable its enactments. The results will introduce this idea from the opposite perspective of urban policy and add to the literature the understanding of its role on the local level of ageing policy.

In presentation of the following parts of subchapter I.1 Approaching the Ageing Crises – the Context of Older People Social Activity - I wanted to demonstrate firstly, how the idea of social activity of the elderly is embedded in the broadly understood gerontology. The idea itself, treated in my paper as an element of the politics of ageing, emerged within the paradigm of symbolic interactionism, as an aftermath of the theory of activity and continuity (Atchley, 1989; Marshall & Clarke, 2010). The location of my research within gerontology, however, is related to the critical and environmental paradigm. The former focuses on ageing policies as networks between different interest groups (Phillipson & Estes, 2007). From the second paradigm, on the other hand, I draw a conclusion about the influence of the environment on the ageing process of the individual and the possible impact on better,

more active ageing (Wahl & Gitlin, 2007). Addressing these gerontological paradigms implies focusing on local ageing policies. Moreover, as I showed ageing policies can be conceptualised from the perspective of the ageing process, a group of older people or old age as a phase of life. These three perspectives intersect within the framework of the activities carried out (Szatur-Jaworska, 2016). However, the important issue I have mentioned is the localisation of ageing policies, which stems from the decentralisation in public policies and also from the conviction that the answer to current problems of ageing can be formulated most accurately at the local level, where it is easier to diagnose the problems of the elderly and where there is more and wider access to local resources (Błędowski, 2002, 2016; Buffel et al., 2021; Theiss, 2007; Urbaniak, 2018). Going down to the local level of policy, researchers particularly emphasise the role of cities in policy making. Their growing power and reach makes them a place where local social policy regimes are created (Theiss, 2017). In this way, my research also touches upon the issue of urban studies.

Scientists of local public policy and urban studies show that their exploration requires taking into account the complexity of relations between actors and capturing ideas that influence policy formulation and then concrete action. As the literature review shows, the idea of social activity is a very broad concept, understood differently by researchers as well as practitioners, can serve the good of both the individual and society. What emerges from the review is a lack of investigation on what social activity is at the city level and how it is implemented by urban policies. Therefore, in the next subchapter I will try to conceptualise this problem in terms of analysing the implementation of the idea in policy, within the framework of the new trend in institutional economics, i.e., discursive institutionalism.

I.2. Social Activity for Older People and its Implementation

In the previous subchapter I discussed the concept of ageing from the perspective of four paradigms present in gerontology (I.1.1. Ways of ageing – The emergence of social activity for older people). Then, I have outlined the policies in Polish literature and political discourse which deal with the problem of ageing (I.1.2. Social activity within ageing policies). In the following subchapter I have referred to the fact that a great responsibility for its implementation lies at the local level. My literature review, in turn, shows that the idea of social activity for elderly itself is understood very broadly by its researchers. Furthermore, it is still a complex research problem which is not sufficiently explored. What is needed is an understanding of how such local ageing policies are developed. In this subchapter I will outline how such a complex problem can be framed within the discipline of economics and social policy analysis. First, I will present the types of research on public and social policies, including the local one - I.2.1. Research perspectives within social policy. Then, I will refer to a strand within new institutional economics, namely discursive institutionalism, which provides the conceptualisation of my research problem - I.2.2. Policy within institutional economics. In the last subchapter – I.2.3. Implementation process and ideational analysis - I will focus on the issue of analysing in policies the implementation process itself and the role of ideas in it.

I.2.1. Research perspectives within social policy

From the presented in the previous subchapter (I.1. Approaching the Ageing Crises - the Context of Older People's Social Activity) deliberations come up the need to understand how the local ageing policy is enacted and how the implementation of its particular assumptions, such as the social activity of older people, is framed with local policies and actors. Considering the implementation process within local ageing policy, it is necessary to take into account its complexity of top-down and bottom up constructions as well as vertical and horizontal governance (Andreotti & Mingione, 2016; Kutsar & Kuronen, 2015). The construction of local welfare, which takes place in cities, depends on bottom-up and top-down relations and mutual dependency between particular levels of administration and it refers to the way in which particular elements of local social policy can be implemented. As

for governance, one can distinguish vertical and horizontal governance, the first is carried out by higher levels of public administration, which passes through responsibilities, regulations, and sometimes financial resources to lower levels, for example counties or cities. Horizontal governance, in turn, involves various social, institutional, and cultural institutions and actors, who influence policymaking. The horizontal model of policy governance is more diversified due to local resources, various institutional development, and organisational cooperation (Barbosa, Feio, Fernandes, & Thorslund, 2011). Within this approach, the researchers speak of a network of public, private, and non-profit actors, who negotiate and determine policy aims (2011). Urban policymaking demands both types of governance, which connect the two edges of urban policy, namely its formulation, which can happen vertically, and implementation carried by local actors (Kutsar & Kuronen, 2015). Therefore, when studying local ageing policies, the concepts and analytical frameworks used should take into account their complexity and the intersecting directions of measures, as well as the unique set of actors and other elements involved in policies implementation.

Within social policy research, scholars distinguish various research typologies, based on different aspects analysed (O'Connor & Netting, 2011; Szarfenberg, 2013; Zybała, 2013). One division proposed by scholars of comparative public policy is to distinguish four schools of public policy research (Adolino & Blake, 2010, pp. 31–45):

- **The Cultural School** - focuses on the influence of tradition and history on the formation of public policies and the possible expansion of the role of the state in their provision. A large role is attributed to the attitude of a given society towards the role of the state and its performance of public tasks. This explains, for example, the extremely different involvement in the fight against unemployment in Great Britain compared to France. This is the result of less trust in the state in Anglo-Saxon countries than in France (Zybała, 2013).

- **The Economic School** - policy analyses take into account the resources available in a country as those that influence a given policy and the expectations of citizens. The influence of economic factors on policy formation is analysed. Within this school,

greater involvement of the state is observed among highly developed, wealthy countries, and correspondingly less in poorer countries.

- **The Political School** - within this strand of policy research, strategies and political parties and the interests of particular groups, e.g., employee vs. employer groups, often play a decisive role in the actions created by the state. Depending on which group is represented in power, the policies they create will respond precisely to the needs of workers or employers.

- **The Institutional School** - originally a strand of research focusing on state institutions and the rules they create that influence the policy-making process. However, with the emergence of currents of new institutionalism, informal institutions such as professed values are also included in the analyses. In addition, actors outside the realm of state institutions are brought into the analysis. This school considers the influence on policies of different levels of public administration as well as other decision-making actors.

Within this typology of public policy research, the most relevant to the problem I am posing is the institutional school, which relatively broadly encompasses factors that may influence policy formation, and moreover takes into account the interaction of actors from different levels and fields of action in this process. This is important because it goes down to the city level and considers different groups of actors, not only those representing public institutions.

A different typology of research, this time on social policy, is proposed by R. Szarfenberg (2013). The currents he presents are based firstly on how the given current understands social policy and research itself:

- **The neopositivist solutions approach** - in this view, social policy is seen as a way of solving social problems, in turn, the research conducted focuses on hypothesis testing and can be derived from accepted theories.

- **The redistributive constructivist approach** - is based on social policy actions that seek to maintain social justice. Reference to constructivism, in turn, relates to researchers' efforts to understand how people perceive social reality.

- **The interaction design approach** - policy actions aim to regulate people's interactions in different areas of their lives, such as the workplace. The research conducted, in turn, is geared towards its usefulness in creating policy solutions.

- **The participatory institutionalism approach** - understanding social policy is associated with public institutions whose task is to meet needs. The analysis undertaken seeks to understand the reality under study and, in the long run, to bring about change.

The presented typology of social policy refers to the extreme trends in policy analysis. As R. Szarfenberg (2013) underlines, a great number of research can be placed within more than one approach and this is also the case of my study. On the one hand, I strive to understand the policy implementation from the perspective of urban ageing policy in Poznan, which could mean *the redistributive constructivist approach*, but as I wrote in section 3.2. Ageing in cities–social activity of older people in city, understanding of this idea by scholars is very broad, and goes beyond a way to preserve social equality. However, the difficulty of fitting into any of the approaches may be due to the local framing of the problem under study. Therefore, I will cite another division of research, but this time within the framework of local social policy research, proposed by M. Theiss (2017) :

- **Research focusing on economic factors** – as in the previously mentioned typology (Adolino & Blake, 2010), local policy research recognises the impact of a municipality's budget on its policies. As the researchers emphasise, this area is of interest due to the decentralisation of tasks, resulting from the financial crisis in 2008, which allows the transferring of the costs of the crisis to municipalities.

- **Research focusing on structural factors** – scholars consider such factors as the type of municipality (rural or urban), its territorial arrangement, its location and demographic structure crucial to local policy formation. Researchers indicate that these determinants can cause different policy needs. As in the cities, the well-developed transport and health infrastructure unburden policymakers in comparison to rural municipalities, whose inhabitants have access to the worst transport infrastructure.

- **Research focusing on governance** - researchers emphasise the competent management of available resources, and the distribution of tasks among local actors. This approach relies on networking between actors and flexibility in managing available resources.

- **Research focusing on political characteristics** – this strand of analysis considers political affiliation of local authorities as a vital in policy design. Suggesting, that leftist local governance will imply generous expenditure on social services, whereas more neoliberal politicians will limit social services up to minimum. Furthermore, scholars also consider the social capital of the local population as influential. It can emerge in the high engagement of local elites in the policy-making or broad range of grassroots initiatives.

- **Research focusing on cultural characteristics** – scholars claim that local traditions, cherished values, perception on policy and tenure of the current President can form local policy.

The presented strands of research within local social policy, can occur simultaneously (Swianiewicz, 2016). It is especially in case studies that it is beneficial to consider factors from the various streams outlined above. As the author writes (Theiss, 2017), the aim of such research should be an attempt to reconstruct the "local regimes of social policy", as well as to capture the factors differentiating them.

Choosing the economic approach, I took into account the research aims, which are to understand what the idea of social activity in Poznan is and how it is implemented by urban policy, as well as the presented typologies. To capture the understanding of this idea from

the perspective (Szarfenberg, 2013), and at the same time to consider the multiplicity of people, but also objects involved in its implementation, I am inclined to set my research in the institutional school (Adolino & Blake, 2010) towards, but with a focus on, an integrative approach (Theiss, 2017) in the study of local social policies, within which I will treat the concept of idea broadly. Thus, in the next parts of this subchapter, I will present a detailed analysis of the institutional approach policy , with focus on discursive institutionalism and ideational analysis as they pose an extension of older institutional variants (Schmidt, 2008), by introducing ideas and discourses in the formation process, and more importantly dynamicity in relations forming policy reality (Hall & Taylor, 1996).

I.2.2. Policy within institutional economics

As it was mentioned in the previous subchapter, based on characteristics of my research problem and the strand of research within public policy, social policy, also within its local levels, I strove to embed my study within new institutional perspective, applying discursive institutionalism as a conceptual framework. In this subchapter I explain how idea analysis is framed by this strands of economics.

Institutional origins of idea analysis in social policy

The emergence of an institutional approach was linked with observed shortcomings of orthodox economics, which omitted the social aspect in analysis of economic relations (G. Hodgson, 2018; Lambooy & Moulaert, 1996). The assumptions of institutional economics differ from mainstream economics, meaning neoclassical, in the perception of individuals. The latter asserts that individuals in their decision making are governed by rational and well-calculated decisions, which help them choose the most lucrative option. Whereas institutional thinkers, such as T. Veblen or later D. North underlined, that individuals are limited in their decisions and their agency is influenced by institutions, such as norms, customs, or policies (G. Hodgson, 2018). This is also applicable to policy formulations by various actors, which can be influenced by institutions, which in turn consist of normative systems, or sheer institutions can actively design policy (G. Hodgson, 2018; North, 1990). They are vehicles that can form policy from their mutual interaction (Pieliński, 2013). Furthermore, they stand behind individual behaviours and beliefs, but mutually they are also

formed by them (G. Hodgson, 2004). With their norms, institutions form rationalities, which with mutual relations influence the decision process of actors (Lambooy & Moulaert, 1996). To cite the classic of institutional economics, the institutions are agents of human interactions:

> *"Institutions are the rules of the game in a society or, more formally, are the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction. In consequence, they structure incentives in human exchange, whether political, social, or economic (North, 1990, p. 3)."*

Over the twentieth century, paths of institutional economists have crossed with events such as The Great Crisis in the late 30s or the emergence of newer theoretical constructs in economics such as behavioural science. These incidents caused the emergence of new institutionalism, which still deriving from classic institutionalism, formed a wide range of approaches, within economics, political science or sociology, explaining human behaviours and interactions (Pieliński, 2013). I will introduce the threads of new institutional economics' application in research concerning political science.

There are few ways to classify the threads emerging within new institutionalism. First, some researchers within the new institutionalism perceive institutions as constraints of individual actions, others analyse them as vehicles which help form social reality (Scott, 2014, pp. 31–34). Second, there is a dissonance between scientists on what kind of carriers *transport* institutions. Whereas it is culture, with a set of meanings and norms regulating how reality is interpreted, or routines and customs. Finally, threads within new institutionalism differ accordingly to the level of analysis they carry out, from global systems, throughout organisations to smaller entities (2014). However, the mainstream divisions of new institutionalism resist in three prominent types, such as *rational theory, sociological institutionalism,* and *historical institutionalism* (Hall & Taylor, 1996; Peters, 2019; Pieliński, 2013; Schmidt, 2008).

Within **the rational theory** scholars focus on individuals' perspectives, and their actions, as they claim that what we observe within economic and political life are just aggregates of human practices. Furthermore, individuals are treated as rational beings, who strive to elevate their utility as much as possible within available resources. Regarding the institution,

individuals are perceived as regulations that coordinate individuals' interactions (Pieliński, 2013).

In turn, **the sociological institutionalism**, also called by researchers as the theory of organisation (Hall & Taylor, 1996; Immergut, 1998), argued that contemporary organisations embody some kind of intuitional forms, but they are not adopted to maximise their performance. Researchers within this tread of institutionalism claimed that those are more cultural practices, established within society the organisation is functioning in (Hall & Taylor, 1996). Institutions are then understood as symbols, moral values, or cognitive texts, which influence individuals' behaviours. In research scholars focus on reasons why organisations choose some institutional setting and how different customs, beliefs, or cognitive maps can alter organisations across country or within one political system (1996).

Finally, there is the third strand, called **historical institutionalism**. At the bottom of this thread of new institutionalism underlies a premise that economic and political processes are formed by different groups, which compete over limited resources. The result of this struggle is dictated by the advantage of some groups over the others, stemming from institutional settings, consequential political decisions and difficult-to-predict coincidences (Hall & Taylor, 1996; Pieliński, 2013). In historical institutionalism, institutions are defined rather broadly in comparison to other approaches. They range from political structures, by formal institutions, to less formally designated social groups (Peters, 2019). What is also at the central point of this new institutional economics strand are the interactions between actors and their influence on political and economic systems. The definition of institutions within historical institutionalism is so broad that by some scholars their definition can be extended to ideas which are treated as institutions in the policy analysis (Immergut, 1998; Peters, 2019). They contain an array of solutions to a problem that emerged within a policy domain. This approach is further developed by *discursive institutionalism,* which takes actually ideas a central institutions and the unit of analysis (Schmidt, 2008, 2010).

Before I turn to this particular strand of new institutionalism, which is a part of the conceptual framework in my research, I want to mention that an institutional approach has also been applied in the analysis of urban economics (Lambooy & Moulaert, 1996). The institutional city is portrayed as combinations of sometimes opposing groups of interests and attitudes which results in a variety of categories in urban economy categories, such as

innovations, knowledge, relations, or information. Such diversity within the mentioned categories is caused by a diverse institutional context, such as market production, political, sociological and cultural life (1996). These interact with each other, forming city economics.

Discursive Institutionalism and the Role of Ideas

There are two crucial elements within this approach that serve as vehicles of political science analysis, namely an idea and discourse. These two elements are central for discursive institutionalism (DI), they derive from the role of institutions in policy analysis, and hence the importance of previously described rational (RI), sociological (SI), and historical institutionalisms (HI) (Carstensen & Schmidt, 2016; Schmidt, 2008, 2010). What, however, differs DI from older threads of institutionalism is its dynamic approach towards political processes, and active participation of institutions in their formation. It is in contrast to a very static view of institutions as guards of rational preferences (RI), path-depending circumstances (HI) or culturally constructed norms (SI) (Schmidt, 2008). In this subchapter, I will explain the role ideas and discourses can play in the policy analysis.

Firstly, I want to elaborate on ideas which have been perceived by political science scholars as signposts, ways of expressing interests, strategies, narrations, or reference point (Blyth, 2002; Goldstein & Keohane, 1993; Polakowski, 2012; Roe, 1994). These variety of ideas can be clarified with their division to three levels of abstraction, namely, *policy solutions, policy definitions or programmes, and public philosophies*. In the first case, an idea presents a **solution** to previously given objectives. This level is restricted to the moment when a problem has been established, for example, low retirement benefits caused by too brief labour activity. In this phase, possible solutions can come with the most suitable idea (Mehta, 2011). The second level of idea abstraction concerns **programmes**, frames that consist of essential premises for a policy. They provide a perspective, which frames a problem, designating possible choices and solutions to tackle an issue (2011). The **problem definition** phase is understood as a realisation of a particular paradigm, which is a way political reality is understood by some group or institutions; it provides a repertoire of choices, but also determines their nature (Hall, 1993). The process of defining a problem is complex and involves those who make a claim and their opponents (Mehta, 2011). In the example of my study, a major problem I refer to is the ageing of societies, causing a shortage

in the state's budgets. However, in this case, the problem was defined even earlier, when ageing was determined as a cause of state problems.

The third level of ideational analysis in policy research is **public philosophy** that is even broader than problem definition. Public philosophy determines policies and the programmes which stand behind them, providing society and economy with values, e.g., older people are a burden for the economy. In opposition to policy solutions and programmes, which are topics of public debate, the philosophy is something hidden in the background, sometimes it can even be unknown to the public, but also policymakers (Schmidt, 2008).

Furthermore, there is another way of idea division, for cognitive ideas and normative ideas. The first one is guiding scripts, which indicate what the problem is and what can be done with it. Whereas normative ideas imply judgements on what is supposed to happen. They serve as a legitimisation of programmes carried out by policies (2008).

What becomes an interest for researchers within ideational analysis of social policy is why some ideas develop into policy solutions, programmes, or philosophies, when other ideas disappear. For that, various scholars focus on different levels of idea abstraction in policy, mentioned earlier (Hall, 1993; Kingdon, 2014). Beside the question why some ideas are failures and others succeed or are the good ideas those that last, or maybe actually bad ideas endure, there are also doubts concerning how ideas move, who does it, why and how. These imply the question about their agency, which in turn is linked with the second element of DI, *discourse.*

It is a broader and more functional concept than ideas. Discourse encompasses ideas in different forms and reciprocal processes throughout which ideas are conveyed, so in the way discourse is responsible for idea *promotion* and thus their failure or success (Schmidt, 2008). Discourse itself can be defined as 'institutionalised structures of meaning that channel political thought and actions in certain directions' (Connolly, 1983). What is also important to underline is that discourses are multiple and can dominate or diminish with ideas and arguments behind them (Schmidt, 2008). The information which can be found in discourse concerns the process of policy development and communication, namely what is in it, to whom it is directed, where it takes place, and in what manner (Habermas, 1996). We can distinguish two types of discourses within policy: *coordinative* and *communicative*. The first one consists in the coordination of negotiations settled between actors, referring to chosen

and applied ideas. Coordinative discourse can be enacted by various coalitions, networks of actors, who share a common interest in functioning and endurance of particular discourse. The second type, a communicative discourse in turn, refers to the process of propagation and legitimisation of ideas to people. The role of such a promoter of a specific political programme can be played by the government, political parties, activists, NGOs, the media and other actors (Schmidt, 2008, 2010). However, the direction of discourse can also be from the bottom to the top, which means citizen engagement in discourse, grassroots initiatives or demonstrations.

In the end, I want to come back to the way the institution is understood in DI, as it is a prominent element of the other three institutionalisms. In contrast to rational, sociological, and historical institutionalism, with DI, actors are neither embodied in structures (institutions), nor impersonated in maximisation of one utility (RI), nor cultural custom (SI) nor path-dependent circumstances (HI). Instead, actors are driven by agency, expressed in DI by the understanding of institutions (Schmidt, 2008). First of all, institutions are both constitutive towards actors, and simultaneously they can be constituted by actors. Hence, institutions can be external factors that drive actors to act, but in the same time institutions are understood as result of actions taken by actors (2008).

The assumptions I have outlined for discursive institutionalism show its two main elements, namely the ideas and discourse with which researchers undertake describing the actions of individuals in economics, politics, and other areas of social life. As already mentioned, ideas play an important role at every level of policymaking: defining the problem, choosing the best solutions, and the values adopted by the policy. It is difficult to identify a single moment of influence of ideas in the process of implementing social active ageing in Poznan as these stages are interrelated. The ideas chosen in defining the problem may permeate subsequent stages of policy formation. It is worth noting, however, that in the research presented by me, the effects of the policy are analysed, and the aim will be to understand what ideas led to this.

I.2.3. Implementation process and Ideational analysis

In this subchapter, I continue deliberating on discursive institutionalism, however, with a closer look into the role of idea in policy analysis, to which I will refer as ideational analysis

(Wincott, 2011). Further, I will elaborate on one more concept present in policy research, concerning ideas, namely the implementation process, as it is the part of policy formulation, constituting my research problem.

As indicated in the previous subchapter with an assumption from discursive institutionalism, in contrast to other strands of new institutional economics (such as rational theory, sociological institutionalism or historical institutionalism), researchers assert that **ideas** provide policymakers with concrete **values and agreements** on how to frame a problem and what can be done about it. Furthermore, ideas assemble objects and actors. However, they, in turn, can change the idea responding to the environment in which it is implemented (Beland & Cox, 2011). The ideational analysis, rooted in *discursive institutionalism,* is currently applied in the field of policymaking, comparative policy analysis, the political economy or social movements (Blyth, 2018; Domaradzka, 2018; Katz, 2000; Wincott, 2011). However, in the past, it concurred with more-materialistic concepts of institutions and interests, perceived as a better explanation of policy outcomes, related to other threads of new institutionalism. As was presented by Peter Hall (1997), the tension between idea, institution, and interest comes from a diverse perspective towards policy analysis each concept present itself. He described the interest-based approach as strongly determined with economic narration driven by the *producer-group*. Their lobbying powers shape the policy. Alternatively, according to P. Hall (1993), deterministic interests can be also dictated by the *electoral group*, which then establish policies, which will lead to their re-election. Peter Hall (1997) presented the interest-based approach as still scarcely developed in comparison to the two mentioned before. In more recent literature (Beland & Cox, 2011) we can observe a great development in the ideational perspective, incorporating a more cultural perspective into policy formation. Within ideational analysis, researchers can grasp human interactions, missing in the institutional and interest-based approaches, in the process of policy formulation (1997). Furthermore, ideas, incorporated into strategies or good practices, shape policies that dictate appropriate values and actions. However, to have an impact the idea has to be embedded by the important actor, a kind of gatekeeper who has the decision in the process of policymaking (1997).

In the more recent literature, ideas are not placed instead of institutions and interests, but rather in relations to them. It means, that researchers attempt to combine them as a

complementary elements in policy analysis. (Beland & Cox, 2011; Campbell, 2002; Schmidt, 2008). **Institutions** can be perceived as operators of an **idea**, who for some reasons decide to implement the idea (Lieberman, 2002; Orloff & Palier, 2009). **Interests**, in turn, are seen as one of ideas components, among others, such as thoughts, desires, emotions (Beland & Cox, 2011).

As ideational analysis has taken a significant place in the research agenda on the policy (Berman, 2001), scientists started to explore how exactly ideas influence policy formulation. In the literature concerning the role of an idea in policy analysis, we owe naming two prominent figures, namely Peter Hall and John W. Kingdon, who both created a theoretical proposition to ideational analysis in the field (Wincott, 2011). The first one subordinates the idea implementation to its viability on the political, administrative, and policy level. The latter, in turn, claims that the idea is embedded when it fits *the political window*, meaning it has its proponents and necessary resources (Mehta, 2011).

By and large, ideas are important in policy analysis; however, they are hard to study within only quantitative methods, as they do not translate easily into testable variables (Guy, 2018). Nevertheless, a constructivist approach comes with the help to see how ideas and policies are established via interactions of actors. A. Wildavsky indicated the need to reject the objective perspective in the policy research in favour of inductive methods. He stated that an idea and then the policy are reflections of political struggles and social processes, and it resembles some conception about reality (2018).

To *work,* the idea has to be implemented that means its goals are being achieved with sequential political actions (Pressman & Wildavsky, 1974). Ideas form a casual chain of mutually dependent actions involving various actors. The seminal work on the policy implementation was presented by J.L. Pressman and A. Wildavsky in their study on the entitlement programmes implemented in Oakland by the federal institution, which ended with failure (DeLeon & DeLeon, 2002; Linder & Peters, 1989; Pressman & Wildavsky, 1974). However, their extended analysis has illustrated the complexity and unpredictability of policy implementation. Although all the money was invested and administrative decisions were obtained, the project, to reduce unemployment and improve the life of the city's minorities, did not meet its goals. It appeared that what seemed simple and beneficial for all

got lost in between the untranslated interests of actors, binding regulations, and levels of government (Pressman & Wildavsky, 1974; Wildavsky, 2018).

Starting from the 1970s researchers have begun to trace the bumpy road between policy definition and its implementation (DeLeon & DeLeon, 2002; Goggin, Bowman, Lester, O'TooleJr, & Glenview, 1990). In the decades following, researchers have been disputing the proper orientation of policy implementation. On the one hand, a group of top-down perspective proponents claimed that implementation has to be controlled and authorised by a relevant level of governance (DeLeon & DeLeon, 2002). On the other hand, an alternative opinion to hierarchic control was a bottom-up perspective - a successful implementation needs to account for street-level officials (2002). By the end of the previous century, implementation researchers thereinafter explored the local perspective, underlining, however, the importance of context in policy implementations. While embedding particular policy solutions, the bureaucrats, activists, or policymakers should observe how these solutions reacts with its surroundings (DeLeon & DeLeon, 2002).

The understanding of policy implementation is broad as it is simply: "what happens between policy expectations and (perceived) policy results" (DeLeon & DeLeon, 2002, p. 472). In this gap, previously made objectives are pursued, but along with different stages, they can evolve to meet the needs or interests of diverse actors. To more precisely describe an implementation, we present the scheme, established by Richard E. Matland (1995), which describes the implementation from two perspectives. Firstly, its ambiguity, meaning whether it is a clear-cut issue or raising much controversy taboo. The second dimensions define how confrontational the problem is between different interest groups.
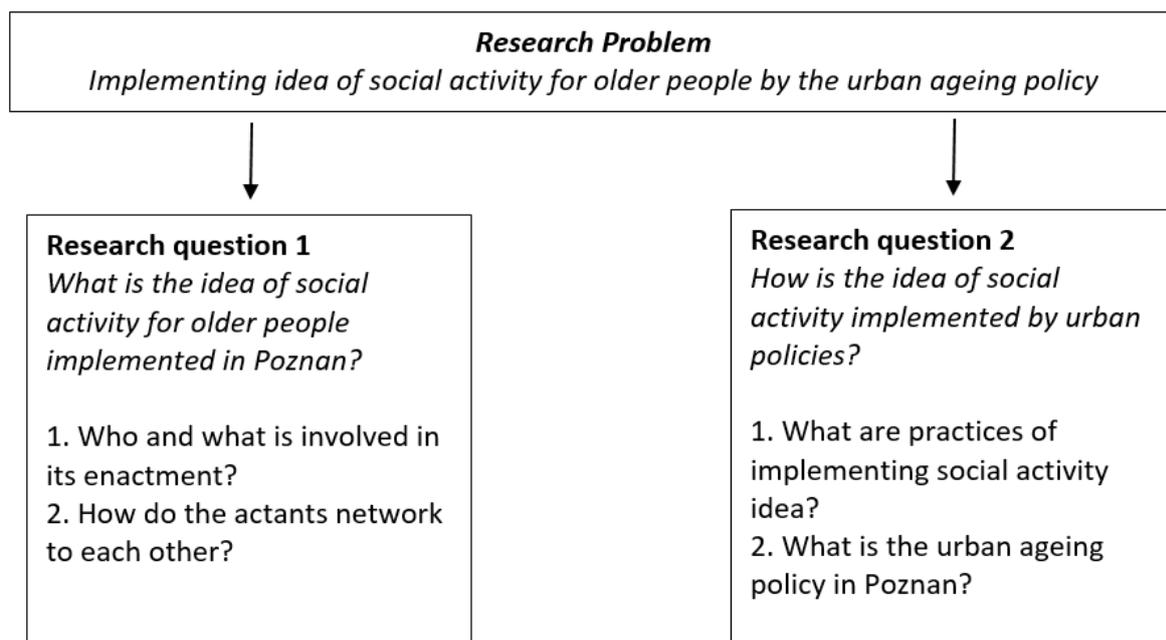
CONFLICT

AMBIGUITY	Low	High
Low	Administrative Implementation	Political Implementation
High	Experimental Implementation	Symbolic Implementation

Scheme 6.Ambiguity-Conflict Matrix: Policy Implementation Processes.
Source: Matland (1995, p. 160).

The low ambiguity and conflict are the *administrative implementation*, which encompasses significant procedures for the functioning of the government. In turn, *political implementation* indicates a high probability of disagreement between interest groups along with the approval of problem definitions. In this case, the power of the most influential actor is decided and previously designed actions can be revised to obtain assumed aims. Less confrontational is *experimental implementation*, when there is an overall agreement that some action must be taken, but it is not clear and agreed on how to achieve it. This includes bottom-up implementation as the most suitable for finding acceptable solutions for everyone. Finally, there is the most difficult one, namely *symbolic implementation*. In this matter, it is hard to agree on the definition of the problem and to achieve one direction of actions. It concerns problems from an ethical sphere of life, such as faith or abortion (DeLeon & DeLeon, 2002; Matland, 1995).

The conceptual framework presented in this chapter indicates the grounding of the problem under study in gerontology, social policy, with a special focus on local social policy and urban studies. Within the framework of gerontology, we can see how diverse the phenomenon of ageing is and how differently it can be understood by researchers. In my work I will refer to one of the newest paradigms - the critical paradigm - which sees the process of ageing as the result of a struggle between different actors, their interests and influences (Phillipson & Estes, 2007). For social policy, in turn, the issue of ageing is very important because it affects changes in demographic structures and can therefore disrupt the functioning of social security systems (Commission of the European Communities, 2002; European Commission, 2018). This is why it is so important to combat the ageing process. It is believed, however, that the measures taken are most appropriately formed at the local level of administration (Andreotti & Mingione, 2016; Błędowski, 2016; Theiss, 2007). Therefore, cities are becoming important actors in the development of ageing policies (Buffel & Remillard-Boilard, 2019; Buffel et al., 2021). These form a justification for the research problem I decided to address in this dissertation, namely **implementation of social activity idea for older people by urban ageing policy in Poznan**. Based on that research problem, I developed two research questions, which can be seen on the scheme, on the next page.

┌───┐
│   **Research Problem**   │
│ *Implementing idea of social activity for older people by the urban ageing policy* │
└───┘

┌────────────────────────────────┐   ┌────────────────────────────────┐
│ **Research question 1**   │   │ **Research question 2**   │
│ *What is the idea of social*   │   │ *How is the idea of social*   │
│ *activity for older people*   │   │ *activity implemented by urban*   │
│ *implemented in Poznan?*   │   │ *policies?*   │
│   │   │   │
│ 1. Who and what is involved in   │   │ 1. What are practices of   │
│ its enactment?   │   │ implementing social activity   │
│ 2. How do the actants network   │   │ idea?   │
│ to each other?   │   │ 2. What is the urban ageing   │
│   │   │ policy in Poznan?   │
└────────────────────────────────┘   └────────────────────────────────┘

*Scheme 7.*Research problem and questions.

Given the complexity of the problem I investigate I decided to set in the approach of new institutionalism, more specifically in discursive institutionalism. One of the central elements of discursive institutionalism is idea, which represent particular values and agreements (Schmidt, 2008). Ideational analysis is widely used in the analysis of policy implementation as it provides an opportunity to explore its complexity, including various actors and influences they have on the policy solutions (Hall, 1997). To understand implementation of social activity idea by urban ageing policy, I formed two research aims:

1. Explore what is the social activity for the elderly that take place in Poznan

    1.1. Recognise who and what (actants) organise these activities and why they do it.

    1.2. Establish relations between actants[5].

2. Understand the implementation of the idea of social activity for older people at the city level.

    2.1. Identified practices of implementation.

    2.2. Identify ontologies and scales which form urban ageing policy in Poznan.

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[5] This is term which comes from actor-network theory, refers to actors who take part in the process of policy formation, but it is broader as it includes human and non-human objects (Latour, 2005; John Law, 2019). I explain this term more deeply in Chapter II.1. Actor-network theory.

The achievement of these objectives will be possible thanks to the theoretical framework I have applied, which is a set of analytical tools I have used both in the process of forming the research process and in the stage of analysing the empirical material. The theoretical concepts I use in this thesis are network actor theory and the concept of glocalisation, which I will describe in the next chapter.

II. Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, I will present the theoretical assumptions that I applied in the conducted study. Above all, the researchers emphasise the complexity of urban ageing policy, which is a multidisciplinary area involving both social policy and urban studies. Equally complex is the subject of analysis, i.e., the process of implementing the idea of social activity of older people. However, the increasingly dominant decentralisation of tasks in social policy (Andreotti & Mingione, 2016; Kutsar & Kuronen, 2015; Theiss, 2017; Urbaniak, 2018), including the policy on ageing (Błędowski, 2016; Błędowski & Kubicki, 2014; Buffel & Remillard-Boilard, 2019; Theiss, 2017; Urbaniak, 2018), while at the same time growing the power of cities as the creators of its local varieties (Farías & Bender, 2010; Hewson, Kwan, Shaw, & Lai, 2018; Phillipson & Scharf, 2005; Thiel, 2017), argues for exploration of this area. The emerging complexity of the research problem requires a method that allows us to grasp the overlapping relations and interactions of individuals, institutions, concepts, and documents with each other to then unite these fragmented network that can help us understand the problem under study. This is what the actor-network theory and the concept of glocalisation presented in this chapter provide.

The actor-network theory, described in subchapter II.1 Actor-Network Theory, refers to the studied reality as a network of actants - that is, human beings and non-human objects who together form networks (Callon, 1984; Callon & Latour, 2015; Latour, 2005). Their mutual relationships are formed by the dependencies, interests, and goals they pursue. Through this, they push each other into action, thus enacting reality. The connections that arise between them are the result of a translation process in which the actants negotiate their place in the network, as well as the actions they take (Latour, 2005). It is through these categories that I will attempt to describe what social activity of older people in Poznan is and how it is implemented. In the next subchapter, I will explain the theoretical assumptions behind my chosen theory, explain the constructs I have used, and demonstrate the application of this approach to similar research on policy implementation. In subchapter two – II.2. Glocalisation I will discuss the second theoretical construct I use, the concept of glocalisation. Its application is related, among other things, to the topic of decentralisation I am undertaking, which prompts me to descend to the local level of analysis, i.e., the urban

policy of ageing. Given the phenomenon of globalisation, researchers using this concept seek to understand the changing relationships at the level of policy formulation and implementation. Taking into account the interaction of global and local actors, whose relationships are described using scales (Cox, 2009; Swyngedouw, 1996).

In the final subchapter – II.3 Data Collection and Analysis, I will present applied methodological strategies, namely a case study and content analysis as tool for data analysis, and strategies of data collections – observations, interviews and additional documents.
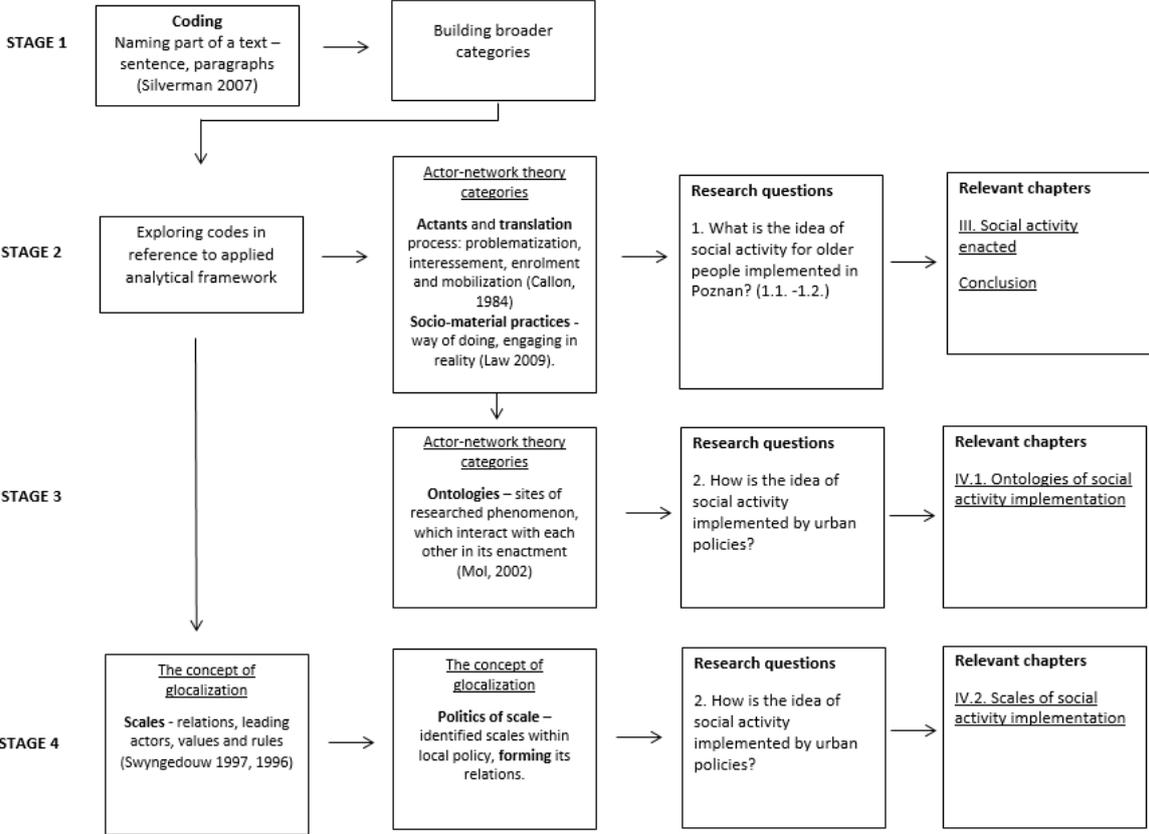
Scheme 8. The analytical process,

II.1.Actor-Network Theory

In this subchapter I aim to explain the philosophical foundation of actor-network theory, which influences the way reality is perceived by the researcher and also determine his or her role in the research process. Subsequently I present elements of ANT applied in the analysis. Finally, I demonstrate research within policy implementation conducted within actor-network theory and discuss its application within urban studies.

II.1.1. Philosophical underpinnings

Before explaining analytical constructs, which constitute the actor-network theory, I will present major theoretical threads, *namely ethnomethodology, science and technology studies and socio-material approach*, which all shape the framework used in this research. In the first place I would refer to ethnomethodology, although emerging from the field of sociology, became a much broader frame of reference for research in social science, anthropology, science or communication studies (Lynch, 1993). Its matter of focus is also a starting point for the research within the actor-network theory (John Law, 2009).

Ethnomethodology is claimed to be a field of research, which leans towards interactions happening in an everyday environment, such as on the streets, in shops or during socialising - simply micro-level phenomenon (Lynch, 1993). It was established by Harold Garfinkel in the 1950s, during his investigation of a jury's deliberations (Francis & Hester, 2004; Lynch, 1993). In those times he was influenced by Talcott Parsons' ideas on social order and under the impression of Alfred Schutz's phenomenological attitude towards the social world. In the course of his study on the jury's deliberations, H. Garfinkel strived to reveal methods, which lead jury members to common conclusions (Francis & Hester, 2004). Thus, he was interested in the interaction between them and the ways of communication, present in outwardly mundane actions and routines.

He was interested in methods applied by members of the group, which helped them to understand what takes place around them and how they can respond to it. The action of observing is then crucial for ethnomethodology and is complex, as it refers to a few observers, which constitute a situation under observation. In the beginning, there is a person (maybe a scientist), who notices something, let's call it some 'micro' phenomenon and based

on that she or he can react (Lynch, 1993). Furthermore, there is also another side of the observed phenomenon, which was somehow produced, in such a way that it can be noticed by others. All social activities are produced in this manner, by individuals or groups as the result of their methods of interactions and communications, based within observations (Francis & Hester, 2004). Ethnomethodology allows understanding why some social phenomena exist and how they are observable for other members (2004). Thus, within ethnomethodological studies, researchers tend to focus on a specific group, whose members are interacting and producing some observable social activity.

The subsequent foundation of actor-network theory is science and technology studies (STS), related to a new direction in perceiving reality developed by Bruno Latour, Steve Woolgar and Micheala Lynch (Latour, 1993; Latour & Woolgar, 1986; Lynch, 1993; Woolgar, 1991). The emergence of this interdisciplinary field is linked with the jettisoning of a modernist division of time (premodern, modern and postmodern) and claimed division between society and nature (Callon & Latour, 1981; Latour, 1993). Bruno Latour in his book *We Have Never Been Modern* presents the problem of modernity division to social and natural worlds. His point was that these two worlds, distinguished by modernity, are in effect interrelated and influence each other. He gives as an example of scientists and politicians, who are preconceived as belonging to these separate worlds, guided by different and independent ontologies. However, as B. Latour (Latour & Woolgar, 1986) argues, this is not the case and what happens in the laboratory is subject to political influence and vice versa. He deflates the relations and mutual influence of what we call scientific practices and facts from social or political order (Latour, 1993). B. Latour claims that such purification of our world by modernists deprive us of hybrids, namely networks of translation between objects of nature and subject of society, in which we function (1993). A non-modern reality, as he calls it, involves asymmetrical relation of the technical and social world, and it is construct within dialectical expression of local and global or natural and cultural (Callon & Latour, 1981).

In the 1980s and 1990s, B. Latour and S. Woolgar were interested in ethnography of what we know as science, invented in the laboratory (Latour & Woolgar, 1986). In their minds, all those scientific facts were able to emerge as the result of social or political circumstances in order to be translated from the laboratory and influence the society (Blok, A., Farias, I., & Roberts, 2020). These divided-by-modernity words of nature and technology become related

within science and technology studies (STS), which take over the uncovered space between this modern dichotomy (Latour, 1993). This very action of concatenating the social and natural world is central for the actor-network theory, it is accompanied with an essential question about how does what we call natural or social exist (Stasik, 2015, p. 38).

The excursion from *'modern divine'* also means resignation from its reductionist tendency to categorise phenomenon as simply one of a kind. In the non-modern approach, also emerging in actor-network theory, actants are constant, but their characteristics can evolve as they assemble in a different context (Abriszewski, 2010, p. XXI). An actant is described by his/her network of relations, so when we group individuals into social groups, we lose the whole network of relations, which weaved him or her (Stasik, 2015, p. 44). Within non-modernity, researchers rely on flat ontology and its relationality. The network of translations between things is not hierarchical, based on the known division of classes. An influence of one thing on another is the result of ways in which it is included in the network, as well as what other things are related to it and how (Callon & Latour, 1981).

This dialectic between nature and culture is also a subject of study within a material-semiotic approach, the third component forming actor-network theory. Scientists refer to it as a set of tools or practices enabling tracing empirical and theoretical matters to intersect. From its standpoint of view, the apparent gap is actually filled with networks of relations, which eventually leads to some effects (John Law, 2019). These networks are weaved from heterogeneous materials, human and non-human objects, such as animals, architecture, people, or technology, which tie together into a network of practice. Such heterogeneity of bits in the network is characteristic of the material-semiotic approach. This approach does not reduce things to their features, but focus on threads in which they are weaved (2019). The networks are not aimed to be explanatory of social order or simplified machinery of social practices. It is not what material semiotics looks for, instead, material-semiotic provides a patchwork reality of networks. Firstly, it is because networks are not a stable state of affairs, the role of particular elements can change, and further actants, within their characteristics, influence the web relations. Thus, the networks are performative, they influence each other and the weaves, but also in the result, on what will come from such process. However, it is worth mentioning that weaving can be an endless process with the potential to expand (John Law, 2009).

As it was mentioned earlier, material-semiotic tools will not provide an explanatory theory, as it is far from describing one social order, which will serve as an explanation of practices. Instead, it allows uncovering multiple orders, which interlink and thread the studied reality (John Law, 2009). The multiple realities, which are characterised by different practices and values, present different ways of materialising the phenomenon under study. Material semiotic aims to understand the differences in weaves of realities and how they occur, and then how the ontological politics emerges (John Law, 2009). The introduction of power relations between the actants that can thread a network allows the researcher to notice the dominant thread, but also, more importantly, the peripheral one. For example, the research of Ingunn Moser (Moser, 2008) aimed to trace different than biomedical, which is the dominant one, realities of Alzheimer's disease. Apart from one reality, which *explains* how dementia is developed in the medical context, I.Moser refers (2008) to another reality of this disease, which is the Marte Meo method. It introduces a special way of communicating with dementia patients. Although they are incapable of speaking and expressing themselves, they still experience some emotions, which can be articulated differently (2008). So as for medical reality, Alzheimer's patients become difficult to communicate with, for another reality they become understandable and can express themselves. Those two ontologies do not need to be separate, as they intersect in some points (Mol, 2002), for example both concerns Alzheimer's disease or expression of emotions.

In those three mentioned approaches, actor-network theory takes its origins, or better to say, its philosophical stances. It traces the network of relations between actants, who translate their interests to achieve some desirable set of effects. Actants within ANT are both human and non-human objects. They do not necessarily weave together due to common characteristics, but rather relations in which they influence each other (Latour, 2005). As ethnomethodology focuses on the way groups communicate with each other to perform something together, it is the same for actor-network theory. ANT strives to reveal networks of actants, which performs some practices (John Law, 2009). Both, communication within ethnomethodology, and networking within ANT, lead the emergence of reality.

Since the emergence of ANT in the 60s and 70s, it has been undergoing rebirth within the work of such researchers as Andreas Blok, Ignacio Farias or Cecilia Roberts, who refer to previously known ANT, but also designate its new companion (Blok, A., Farias, I., & Roberts, 2020). After years from its first application, ANT has remained an open book, which

disassembles the previously known reality and leave researchers with sensitivities for the way this reality could be reassembled. However, its advantage is the possibility to attune to the research reality and observe who and how constructs it (2020, p. 2). Scholars perceive actor-network theory as intellectual practice, which allow and a way to dispute the pre-established social world (2020, p. xxiii).

II.1.2. Actor-network theory framework

In this subchapter, I will explain what the main concepts of actor-network theory are and how they guide the analytical process. Bruno Latour in his book *Re-assembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (2005) laid out uncertainties concerning social sciences and simultaneously expounded core assumptions on ANT, which form a solution to diagnosed uncertainties. To understand how ANT perceives researched reality I will shortly explain them.

At first, actor-network theory reframes scientists' understanding of social and brings back its primary meaning *'someone following someone else'* (Latour, 2005, p. 108). In ANT, social does not refer to the *material* from which actants come, meaning social reality, but the movement in which actants are grouping. There are no fixed social groups made of classes, of individuals, of social networks or of organizations (2005, p. 28), which are the subject of research and whose existence is pre-established by scholars. Instead of it, the analysis consists in tracing how actants weave with each other and what makes these weaves durable, so one establishes social groups. The formed webs are visible to the naked eye in the practice they perform (Latour, 2005; John Law, 2009). This shift in the unit of analysis, in Latour's opinion, allows tracing how the association between observed objects are formed and thus how reality is constructed (Latour, 2005, p. 42).

Within the change in the way *'social'* is understood by actor-network scientists, the social world is being expanded to much more than society itself: its ties, forces, groups being causes of whatever is happening and what interests scholars. Social aggregates are not made only of human entities, but also from non-human objects. Hence ANT introduces the term *actant*, which serves as an extension of actant and embraces not only *anthropomorphism*, but also ideomorphism, technomorphism, or biomorphism. In the simpler way of saying that an actant in ANT is "*anything* that does modify a state of affairs by making a difference"

(Latour, 2005, p. 71). So far social science accepted only entities that could be described as humans, who acted intentionally, whereas, in actor-network theory, there are no such criteria. Thereby a hammer driving nails is an actant too. Although, objects do not provoke the action, but they can permit, stop, alter, or reverse it (Latour, 2005, p. 71; Latour & Woolgar, 1986).

Within another of his uncertainties, Bruno Latour revealed the confusion which emerges when we want to understand why something is happening. What he claims is that scientists should reframe this question and ask who made it happened. Among entities forming networks, there are ones called intermediaries and the others called mediators. The infinitesimal difference between those two types provides a divide among ANT scholars and social scientists so far. Within intermediaries, we look for a cause and we know its effect. Whereas with mediators, we deal with a concatenation of factors, which made someone, or something act, but it is not defined how it will end. Mediators are linked with the previous idea of social aggregates that are constantly evoking an evolving, influencing each other actions. To put it much simpler and more colloquially, B. Latour asks: "how come I never do what I want ?" (Latour, 2005, p. 43) This very day-to-day experience illustrates how action can be overtaken, meaning influenced by someone or something. For ANT scholars, the researched reality is complex as all forming it entities might be a mediator, who transforms and translates another object into something unsuspected, changing the existing state of affair. As B. Latour emphasised, a distinction between intermediaries and mediators is merely infinitesimal and responsible for uncertainty which a scientist needs to follow and decide what influenced one's action. Is there a simple cause of it or is it threaded from the *concatenation of mediators?*

In line with this, an action is not a deliberative and fully independent process but is constructed by an array of agencies that weave the action. Within ANT agency consist of its figuration and a theory of action. Furthermore, it embraces some transformation of affairs. A figuration of agency can be expressed with concrete individual figuration as well as with an abstract one, both equally powerful, prompt actions of actants. For example, an abstract figuration will be: 'common sense dictates to not spend more money than you have'; whereas an example of an individual is: 'my mother wants me to have children before thirty' (2005). Moreover, figurations are engaged by an earlier-mentioned theory of action, which responses to the question of how one actant made another actant do something. We can

have two different ideas on how this happens: the first is more limited as it treats agencies as a cause that transport an action to some expected effects (intermediaries). Whereas the second idea is that agencies trigger other ones and it can lead to unexpected and sort of unfinished traces. ANT stays with the latter one, as it prefers to see the world as *a concatenation of mediators* (agencies). Mediators can act and thus evokes other actions (Latour, 2005; Sayes, 2014).

The next uncertainty observed in social science by B. Latour is its objective to find the truth, as truth forms a frame of reference to whatever is happening. This kind of epistemological study searches for a source of knowledge in 'outside reality' (Latour, 2005; Mol, 2002). Whereas for actor-network scholars, knowledge is not an external source, about which objects are researched, but is constructed in various practices, the same as law or fashion (Latour, 2005). The focus on actions and the concatenations of mediators, which prompt others to act, illustrates the interlacement of networks that form those practices and enact knowledge (Mol, 2002).

The next premise of actor-network theory is flat land of researched reality. For B. Latour (2005), a division between local and global or micro and macro limits our understanding of what is happening and how it is enacted. All that seems to be a context for the local interaction, namely scale, place, or size, are all products of actions between various objects. There is no micro and macro, they are both equal and we can see it if we track associations that form micro and macro-objects, actants. They render some actants seemingly global, but it is only a relative scale assembled by more or less complex social aggregates.

Bruno Latour and Michel Callon (1981) in their essay entitled *"Unscrewing the big Leviathan: how macro actors structure reality and how sociologists help them to do so"* introduce the notion of the *black box,* which scales the flat landscape and forms this micro-macro reality, apparently so far from each other. Those black boxes contain: "modes of thoughts, habits, forces and objects" (1981, p. 285) which enact scales and make one actant more dominant over another. So, for a researcher to develop a map of associations and understand scales, it is important to unfold the reality packed in black boxes.

In some way, when we assume that local and global are equal sites, the actants are equal too and the researcher focuses on the interactions between them. We remain with local face-to-face interactions between actants. However, B. Latour warns, that local is much more complicated than pure interactions (Latour, 2005). For ANT scholars, local is visible

when we notice a change, a displacement of actants and their actions. During the process of such change arise webs of actants and relations between them. These webs, in turn, produce practices and enact realities (Mol, 2002). The plural noun is deliberately used because in ANT one reality is limited with its ontology, as it was mentioned earlier, and there is more than one ontology in the social world. For this reason, we can say that there are more realities and they are multiple, as they are not cloistered beings, but related sites, influencing each other (2002).

The process that helps describe what happens between actants is translation (Callon, 1984; Outila & Kiuru, 2021; Po-An Hsieh, Keil, Holmström, & Kvasny, 2012). With ANT, translation describes the process in which actants negotiate and delimit their identities, possible interactions, and plans (Callon, 1984). As writes S. Star, "translate is to exercise power: some elements are endowed with the capacity to delegate, coordinate and translate other elements into specific programmes of action, while others are translated, coordinated and become delegates of others instead" (Star, 1991, p. 29). Furthermore, we can distinguish four stages in the translation process, namely: *problematisation, interessement, enrolment* and *mobilisation.* Those are moments that are not visible to the naked eye but are crucial for actants whose *lots* become tied together (Callon, 1984).

Table 4. Moments of translation.

PROBLEMATISATION	In this stage actants of the network are identified and their interests are being formed
INTERESSEMENT	Actants are locked in the network of social activity, within declared identities and goals and become indispensable for each other.
ENROLMENT	The ways in which actants are assigned to previously declared roles.
MOBILISATION	The emergence of new elements from the network.

Source: (Callon, 1984).

In the first step, each actant in some way *voices* their problems. As within this approach, we do not exclude non-human objects, thus the expression of their issues can be less direct than claimed. For example, policies produce documents expressing their assumptions. Doing this, actants express their goal and interests and find a common problem important for all of them. Furthermore, actants cannot achieve what they desire only by themselves, they need

the whole network of actants. Thus they are prone to make alliances and plans to fulfil what they want (Callon, 1984). Relations between the actants, members of a particular project, are strengthened by *the interessement*. By this, we understand the construction of particular dependencies between actants, making their relations more exclusive and their aims more available (Hardy & Williams, 2008; Ranerup, 2008). So far, actants' interests are combined by a common aim, which makes them related to each other. In the next moment, actants become *enrolled* into "a set of interrelated roles" (Callon, 1984, p. 211; Ranerup, 2008), which will ensure the achievement of earlier accepted aims. In the final stage, the interests of actants are *mobilised* by a spokesman, who is responsible for achieving the mutual goals of the other actants (Callon, 1984). If the network is working, meaning the needs of particular actants are met, then mobilisation will succeed, and the network will gain its performative function of establishing something new (Po-An Hsieh et al., 2012). The translation process will serve as an important construct in the process of analysis to understand enactment of social activity for older people and its implementation by various local actants.

Another concept used by actor-network research to describe results of networks is **ontology**. It was used by A. Mol (2002) to describe various enactments of disease she was researching, namely atherosclerosis. Ontology is considered by researchers associated with ANT as one of the possible embodiments of the phenomenon under study. Hence, A. Mol in her study, established a few of ontologies of atherosclerosis, but not to imply that there are few realities of the disease. The identified ontologies refer to the different practices that constitute a given phenomenon. In addition, they may conceive of the phenomenon under study differently; in the case of A. Mol's research, atherosclerosis was, on the one hand, a swollen leg that makes walking difficult, and on the other, a narrowed vein that prevents the free flow of blood. The different ontologies interact with each other to constitute the totality of a given reality. Within ontologies scholar can observe the multiplicity of studied reality (John Law, 2009; Mol, 2002). Researchers apply ontologies to understand a studied phenomenon and observe different discourses influencing it. In the next subchapter I present how ANT constructs were applied within the research on policy implementation and urban studies, also drawing attention to the role ontology plays in understanding different realities of policy formation, for example the disabled and policymakers (Galis, 2011).

II.1.3 Application of Actor-network theory

In this subchapter, I would like to demonstrate the employment of ANT in research on policy implementation and next within urban studies. In my study, I combine those two disciplines by analysing urban ageing policy, represented by its element, namely social activity of older people. In the first part, I draw attention to the application of ANT within research on the policy implementation process. The review of policy research with ANT indicates that this theoretical framework is unique for this type of research (see Table 2. *Policy research with ANT application*). Secondarily, I present ANT as an important concept in current urban studies (Blok, A., Farias, I., & Roberts, 2020; Farías & Bender, 2010). Its application resulted in the establishment of the special term – *urban assemblage* – which refers to the reassembling of relations between actants at the urban policy scene. Within this subchapter I aim to present ANT as a more concrete scientific tool, showing its analytical capacity in my research.

Policy analysis within Actor- network theory

The application of actor-network theory in policy research is strongly linked with researchers' aim to trace the process of policymaking, with particular emphasis on policy implementation (Galis, 2011; Kaljonen, 2006; Po-An Hsieh et al., 2012; Ranerup, 2008; Sanders et al., 2017). Moreover, scholars were drawn to employ this theoretical framework as it allowed to explore the context of the studied problem as well as its local characteristics (Galis, 2011; Outila & Kiuru, 2021; Po-An Hsieh et al., 2012). The *Table 5.* Policy research with ANT application contains all information and illustrate applied by scholars' research aims and justification of ANT application.

As for policy implementation process, scholars underlined an advantage of ANT to capture it as a networking activity between different actants, which could be human or non-human objects. Within such a tool, meaning network of actants, scientists strived to grasp the complexity of the implementation process, from its formulation, usually at the global level, to its practical implementation. Furthermore, the emphasis on the assembling of the network, which reflects multiplicity of policy implementation, are another important ANT's concept (Galis, 2011). Within ontologies, scholars are able to see how different realities, constructed from assemblages of relations, are allowed to speak in the implementation process, and values and interests stand behind their actions. Ontologies also enabled the

analysis of phenomena formation, such as disability. It works on recreation of vocabulary used in daily experiences of body impairment and its problem definition with the policymaking process.

Another aspect of actor-network theory weighing in favour of its applying to policy implementation research is scholars' interests in contextualising this process (Kaljonen, 2006; Outila & Kiuru, 2021; Po-An Hsieh et al., 2012). Meaning, taking into consideration social, economic, political factors as well as technological developments. Furthermore, the context that scientists are looking for in this kind of research is the local one. Tracing the implementation from a top-down direction, they strive to understand how indigenousness influences globally formed ideas (Sanders et al., 2017).

The actor-network openness for human and non-human aggregates, multiplying researched reality, gives space to the analytical process. Namely, it allows the researcher to look for additional and new aspects of policy formation and to expand existing knowledge on the subject.

ANT was used by researchers to explore the process of policy implementation or the relation between various public policies and other concepts. What is worth noticing is that scholars take and adjust elements from ANT to suit their research need. Whereas some researchers strive to detect ontologies of political reality, intermediaries and mediaries of network formations, specific actants and their role, such as assistive technology, others focus more on translation process, tracing its four moments: *problematisation, interessement, enrolment* and *mobilisation.*

*Table 5.*Policy research with ANT application.

Article	Aim of research	ANT concept used	ANT justification (What/ why it contributes to this research?)	Accompanying concepts	Data
Hsieh et al. (2012)	- Investigation of broadband Internet initiative lunched by municipal of La Grange. - Attempt to understand why such initiatives fail. - To grasp different context engaged in this implementation within its actors and interests	- Translation process - how interests are translated and influence the initiative enactment - Focus on the four moments of translation	- Complex interplay between stakeholders, interested in implementation of initiative - The need to consider a wide set of contextual triggers (sociological, economical, and political) in the analysis.	- Digital inclusion - Information and communication technology (ICT) - Implementation process	- 3-year case study
Galis (2011)	- Exploration of disability construction, through body limitations, surroundings, and policy - Propose alternative framing of disability in literature	- Politics as a compromise between human and non-human actors. - Ontology as a political reality - Network of actants	- Allow combining dichotomy in disability construction between the body and socio-material practices, present in the literature.	- Social constructivism - Policymaking	- Literature review - Analysis of scientific fora
Outila & Kiuru (2021)	- Effects' analysis of assistive technology influence on older people's network – *picture phone*	- Actants - Intermediators, mediators - Translation process - Network	- Current conclusion on the elderly's technological preferences are recognised to be unified, lacking social context and individual preferences.	- Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA).	- Interviews with eight older adults from Finland.
Carson & Koch (2013)	- See if taking into consideration scale and mobility can enhance understanding of local economic planning within rural areas	- Actor-network - Association	- ANT allows to set aside applied predesigned scale, such as social, spatial, and temporal.	- Scale - Fragmented development	- Comparative case study
Ranerup (2008)	- Analysis of implementation process - pension system reform accompanied by decision support system	- Translation process	- It is assumed to be a good tool for researching interrelation in between public policy implementation and technology	- Public policy implementation	- Case study – elements of ethnography - Interviews, observation, document analysis

Article	Aim of research	ANT concept used	ANT justification (What/ why it contributes to this research?)	Accompanying concepts	Data
Hardy & Williams (2007)	- How e-procurement policies are translated into practice	-Translation process - Obligatory passage point -Inscription	- ANT includes socio-material reality - Underline role of power and politics in the analysis	- Social construction of policy - Implementation process	- Three case studies
Sanders et al. (2017)	- Explore implementation process of global initiative (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation) to the local level	- Translation process - Intermediaries and mediators	- Help to understand problems in top-down implementation process, tracing matters of local irregularity	- Implementation process - Multilevel governance	- Case study with elements of ethnography - Field observation
Kaljonen (2006)	- Strive to trace how European agri-enviromental policy goals were implemented in Finland.	- Agency performed with network - Network of relations between actants	- ANT is used to help understand the process of implementation global goals of agri-environmental policy in local settings – how the agency of this policy is con-constructed by global aims and local settings. - Allow to combine a hybrid character of environmental policy	- Implementation process -Local knowledge - Co-construction of agency	- 31 interviews with farmers
Iskandrova (2016)	- Explore development of policy within emerging industry of wave energy	- Network - Actants as a human and non-human objects	- Provide a chance for observation of policy perceived as a network and actant	- Policy as an actant	- Case study

Source: Own elaboration.

In turn, the urban research to which I refer when studying urban policy in Poznan argues that actor-network theory is applicable because it helps us understand the muddled nature of urban processes (McFarlane, 2011b, 2011a; Swanton, 2011). *Assemblage,* the term commonly used by scholars, is perceived as valuable by introducing socio-material practices which form urban reality. Moreover, it involves the issue of agency, which is a driver of assemblage forming and allowing tracing the dynamicity of urban processes (McFarlane, 2011b, 2011a). Within the broad discussion on ANT application in urban research, which was published in the journal *City* vol. 15, its supporters drew attention to additional possibilities that ANT offers in comparison to critical urban studies. Namely, it shifts attention from a critical analysis of capitalism domination to the inquiry of urban assemblage (Swanton, 2011, p. 245).

Furthermore, the analysis of agency distribution within the city allows for better understanding of its multiplicity and incidental character (Farber, 2020). It challenges the well-known perception of the city as an object of study, and instead proposes urban assemblage as a new way of seeing the city (Farías & Bender, 2010). As a result of ANT's relational, flat, but symmetrical attitude, scholars are able to see more unexpected phenomena than with settled concepts of critical urbanity, such as capitalism, war of power or inequalities (Farías & Bender, 2010; Swanton, 2011). It is not that they are not important and unnecessary in city analysis, but they can bring limitation to the study by narrowing it to issues related with analysed concepts (McFarlane, 2011b).

The issue of relativity refers to common pursuits of different actants, such as humans, objects, devices, documents, and many others, which instead of being perceived as distinct entities, are seen as collectives forming each other (Latour, 2005; John Law, 2009). Symmetry, in turn, brings equality between human and non-human worlds, and changes the understanding of social. It does not refer to the matter of study, but rather describes it. Social world is being enhanced with *non-social* elements and associations, which has a performative role in the assembling of reality (Farías & Bender, 2010). Furthermore, the mentioned earlier flatness of reality within ANT (see p. 77), does not indicate the lack of hierarchy or domination in the city reality, but it rejects taking them for granted. The role of the researcher is to trace socio-material practices and based on that reconstruct possible relations of power (2010).

The actor-network inquiry into urban assemblage also brings plurality of urban reality, framing it with ontologies. Thanks to this, the previously mentioned messiness of the city can be framed with networks of actants. These webs, in turn, form multiple realities (Blok, A., Farias, I., & Roberts, 2020). These multiple ways of city's being enacted are introduced by A. Mol (2002) in her book *The Body Multiple*, where she also presented the notion of ontology. She demonstrated that it is not that the object, here the city, is being enacted differently, in the matter of epistemology, but rather in the matter of ontology. It means that an urban scholar can encounter more than one reality behind the studied process or phenomenon (Farías & Bender, 2010). Thus, the term urban assemblages reflects multiplicity of enactments and underline that there is no one single object, but a variety of them. The aim is to trace how they are produced and late how they become visible.

The actor-network theory, then, is claimed to bring to urban research the possibility to scrutinise '*the context of context'.* The diversity of actants and plurality of network in which they enter enhance observation of city, which simultaneously can be a historical heritage, transporting system, age-friendly community or space for graffiti and street art fulfilment. Furthermore, within ANT distinction, present also in the urban studies, between local and global, or endogenous and indigenous, disappears. The ANT scholars claim that this gap between mentioned pairs of object classification can be explanatory for city process and practices (Blok, A., Farias, I., & Roberts, 2020). By and large, urban assemblages are perceived as a valuable set of sensibilities, accompanying the exploration of complexity and contingency of city's reality (2020).

II.2. Glocalisation

In this subchapter, I introduce the concept of glocalisation, aimed to support the analytical process. It was introduced as a result of globalisation, as it changed the distribution of power within economies, societies and politics (Robertson, 1995). The researchers observed new constitutive forces, namely global and local, which both formed *glocal spaces*. It is also of great significance in the field of public policy, as based on this concept scholars draw attention to *the politics of scale* that are aimed to understand new and floating relations between actors (Swyngedouw, 1997, 2005, 2010). Glocalisation, thus, strives to unveil this new system of allies that govern local public policy and explore characteristics of glocal (Wathen, 2020). It corresponds with a decentralisation of ageing policy and social policy in general, which is altering the old order of vertical policy implementation and is causing the emergence of multiply polices manged horizontally or with other more specific scales, for example networking (DeLeon & DeLeon, 2002).

II.2.1. From global to glocal

The term globalisation was introduced into social theory in the 1980s (Robertson, 1995). The globalisation perspective does not see society as a unified force, but it rather draws attention to trans-societal flows. The concept of globalisation is considered mostly in terms of global and local and the interaction between them. The relation between them has been perceived by some researchers as dialectical, which comes from tension between universalism and particularism. Globalisation is evoked by market forces – reorganisation of production, differentiation of capital locations, and its flaws across boundaries. It, in turn, influences political, social systems, which have to deal with a new set of actors, meaning new entrepreneurs, their workers, social system payers and beneficiaries (Hong & Song, 2010). The universalistic power of globalisation leads to the emergence of social problems that increasingly concerns the majority of the population. However, they can vary when it comes to a more particular set of circumstances of the local environment (2010). The International Federation of Social Workers defines globalisation as a common experience of global populations in the matter of social, economic, and cultural conditions. Globalisation changed the rules of the game, knocking off the influential position of the nation-state

(Poole & Negi, 2008). Paradoxically, this has empowered local levels of government, contributing to strengthening their political identity, shaped by networks of various international and local actors (Robertson, 2013).

The global and local forces of globalisation can be seen also within the ageing problem, which concerns a great part of societies. Moreover, the ageing issue is addressed by the global civil community (Hong & Song, 2010; Poole & Negi, 2008), as members of international or national organisations (European Union, World Health Organisation) strive to tackle the issue with such ideas as active ageing, within Decade of Healthy Ageing [6] or The Global Network of Age-Friendly Communities (Buffel et al., 2020; World Health Organization, 2002). These ideas, in turn, arrive at local levels of governance, and are implemented by local social movements, policymakers or civil society initiatives, often bypassing the national levels of administration (Błędowski, 2016; Buffel et al., 2021; Kubiak, 2018; Michael, Green, & Farquhar, 2006). It can be seen, then, that the phenomenon of globalisation also frames the societies' ageing issue, as it also is affected by its universalistic and particularistic powers.

To capture this polarity of globality, Robert Robertson (1995) proposed the term *glocalisation.* In the chapter *"Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity"*, he disputes the misleading understanding of globalisation as a homogenisation in the result of modernity. Instead, he introduced *glocalisation* as a more adequate description of tension between the global idea, which is a collage of local practices, and the local idea, constructed within the elements provides by global forces (Drori et al. 2014).

Glocalisation by some researchers is perceived as one of discourses of globalisation and the positive one, in the contrast to grobalisation. The first one focuses on the process of adaptation to the local levels, resulting both in homogenising but also heterogenising effects. The latter concept, constituted from words *growth* and globalisation, refers to the devastating power of global forces within local levels, dominated by the standardisation of consumer culture (Robertson, 2013; Roudometof, 2015).

The glocalisation concept, although, introduced firstly in the management and organisation studies (Czarniawska, 2000; Drori et al., 2014; Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007; Robertson, 2013) has disseminated also into other disciplines, such as geography, political

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[6] https://www.who.int/initiatives/decade-of-healthy-ageing

economy (Cox, 2009; Swyngedouw, 1996, 2005, 2010), urban studies (Brenner, 1999; Roudometof, 2015; Tsukamoto, 2012), local policy studies (Sun et al., 2017; Wathen, 2020). The application of this term and its understanding varies (see Table 6).

Table 6. The glocalisation concept within management and political studies.

	Management and Organisational Studies	Political studies
Focus	Ideas, concepts translated within organisations (Drori et al., 2014).	Politics of scales – transformation of relation between social, political and economic actors from international and local levels (Roudometof, 2015; Swyngedouw, 1997).
Accompanying concepts	Translation theory –ideas and concepts travel – they are re-embedded within time and space into new local context (Wæraas & Nielsen, 2016).	- Scales – describes temporal relations of power, binding compromises and strategies (Swyngedouw, 1997), - Glocal - new sphere emerged in the result of globalisation (Paganoni, 2012; Roudometof, 2015; Wathen, 2020)
Glocalisation definition	Glocalisation describes the specific types of translation of ideas between different entities, organisations. In regard to the different relations between those, three dimensions of glocalisation can be listed: vertical, horizontal, and temporal (Drori et al., 2014).	Glocalisation is understood as rolling of the state, upward to the international organisation and downward to the local level of governance (Cox, 2009; Swyngedouw, 1997).

Glocalisation used by organisational and management researchers (Czarniawska, 2000; Drori et al., 2014; Wæraas & Nielsen, 2016) brings multidimensionality of forces, causing cultural variance against globalisation tendencies for homogenisation. Glocalisation introduced a new quality to division between global and local and seeks to find processes that interlace the global and local world. The implementation of some global concept is compared to isomorphism, which can be a result of corrective regulations, an imitation of the best practices or the adjustment to norms of some group. Thus, the localisation of certain global ideas (translations) is done in relation to the identity and alterity of the entity in question.

Translation is an attempt to achieve similarity and at the same time preserve the character of the entity in question (Czarniawska, 2002, p. 35).

Glocalisation describes the specific types of idea translation between different entities. Regarding the different relations between those, three dimensions of glocalisation can be listed: **vertical, horizontal, and temporal**. The first one refers to a hierarchical order or nested entities; horizontal represents the transfer of ideas between equal entities, such as companies from the one industry. The last one provides for the translation of ideas in time, meaning from the past up to now (Drori et al., 2014, p. 91). All of them refer to one direction of glocalisation, however, they rarely occur individually, but rather intersect with each other. What is more, the four different phases of glocalisation can be distinguished. Each of them allow the researcher to identify what an object of glocalisation is, who the subject is and how it is performed.

The way glocalisation is used within local policy and urban studies will be described in the next subchapter, as it is an element of analytical framework in study, presented here in this dissertation.

II.2.2. Glocal and the politics of scale

Glocalisation is a process of interaction between two forces engaged in globalisation, namely global and local. According to M. Watchen, this is a kind of narration that opens up the marginalised, in some globalisation discourses, actors such as: "local professional organisations, governments, policymakers, educators and social work practitioners" (Wathen, 2020, p. 150). The term glocalisation, within urban and local policy studies, is strongly related to globalisation that led to the decentralisation and rescaling of political systems, diminishing state power in favour of the international organisation, but also local levels of administration (Swyngedouw, 1996, 1997; Wathen, 2020). Within this process regional actors, such as cities, become much more powerful (Roudometof, 2015).

Furthermore, glocalisation's combining global and local forces form a kind of new spaces, called *glocal*, which characterises with great differentiation between localities as well as relative and unforeseen processes within society. Individuals are not dominated by leading forces and discourses, but instead are able to accommodate, operate, and evolve within the glocal space (Ritzer, 2004).
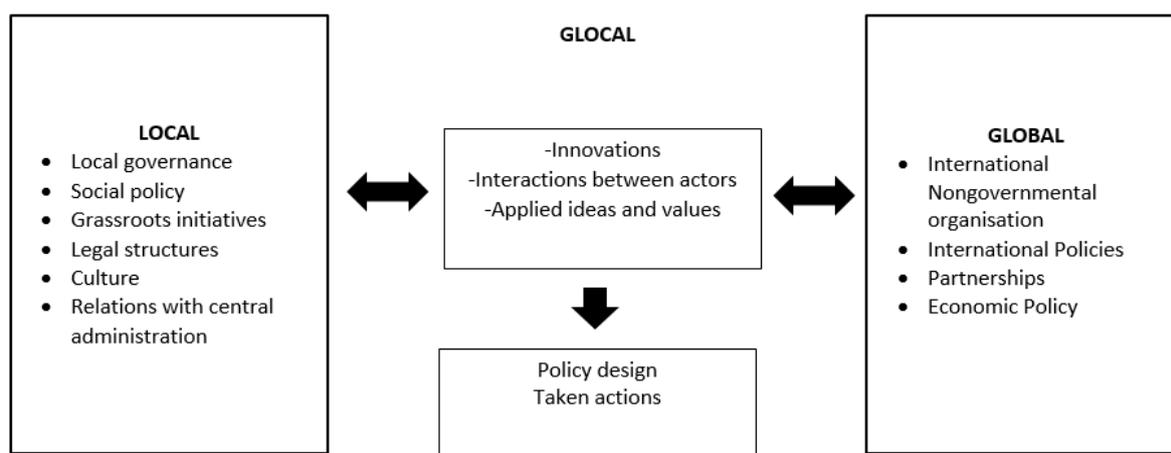
Scheme 9.Glocal space.
Source:(Ritzer, 2004; Wathen, 2020)

As presented in the scheme 9, the glocal space captures a unique set of interactions between actors and their values, influenced by global and local contexts, which then contribute to measures taken by policymakers or community workers (Wathen, 2020). Of course, the scheme presents a very idealistic view of influences from both sides, namely even distributions of it. However, their impact is in constant flux and their force of impact can vary, depending on the areas of action taken (2020). Thus, local policy and urban studies researchers refer to glocalisation as an 'ongoing conversation' (Szulecki 2011, Swyngedouw 2004). The glocal as *place of this conversation* gives ground to the interchange of ideas and values between actors, to give it back in the next step (indicated by two-way arrows in the scheme 9).

   Glocal space can be understood as a state of limbo, in relation to both locally and globally applicable scales. They are one more element of glocalisation, taken into consideration within policy and urban studies. The processes that glocalisation describes are referred to by researchers as politics of scale (Latham & McCormack, 2010; Sun et al., 2017; Swyngedouw, 1996). Scale traditionally has been associated with geographical division of territories, within politic of scale is perceived as representation of binding strategies, relations between actors and compromises. Scale articulates socio-spatial and political order of the analysed reality (Swyngedouw, 1996, 1997). Furthermore, they are subjected to constant influences and dynamic relations of the glocal. Scales, then, are not given way of structuring the socio-spatial reality, but they express a metaphorical representation of local relations. They cannot be taken for granted, but rather as discourse, capturing the fluidity of the world and

expressing processual character of relations between political actors (Swyngedouw, 1997, p. 140). The fluid character of scales is linked with the globalisation, which resulted in "stretching and deepening of social relationships and institutions across time and space" (in Dickens 2004: 9). Scalar researchers thus strive to explore how applied scales transform, what social relations and actors they embrace and which they omit (Latham & McCormack, 2010).

Taking into account the actor-network attitude towards hierarchical order and scales and its encouragement to flat ontology, I must explain how those two seemingly contradictory assumptions are complement within my research. As it was mentioned, scales within glocalisation in the policy and urban study (Farías & Bender, 2010; Latham & McCormack, 2010; Mehta, 2011; Sun et al., 2017; Swyngedouw, 1996, 2005; Wathen, 2020) reflects narratives of ruling strategies and relations between actors. They nest actions of actors within a socio-spatial context, linking it to the local, national or international levels. Actor-network theory, in turn, proposes to see studied reality as flat ontology. This means abrogating top-down scales, or prevailing hierarchies, and equating local and global actors. However, ANT scholars do not recognise that micro and macro actors are equal, but in doing so they seek to abrogate the arrangements that stand behind the superiority of one actor over another (Callon & Latour, 1981; Latour, 2005). In turn, these assumptions, formed as a result of the translation between actors, are what create scales, in glocal space, and influence the possibilities and actions taken by local policy makers (Farías & Bender, 2010; Latham & McCormack, 2010).

Emerging Scale

Arrow represent research, which help to reconstruct scales – relation of power.

A1 – actant one
A2 – actant two

The flat ontology of actor-network theory
At the starting point research assumes that there is no hierarchical relations between actants
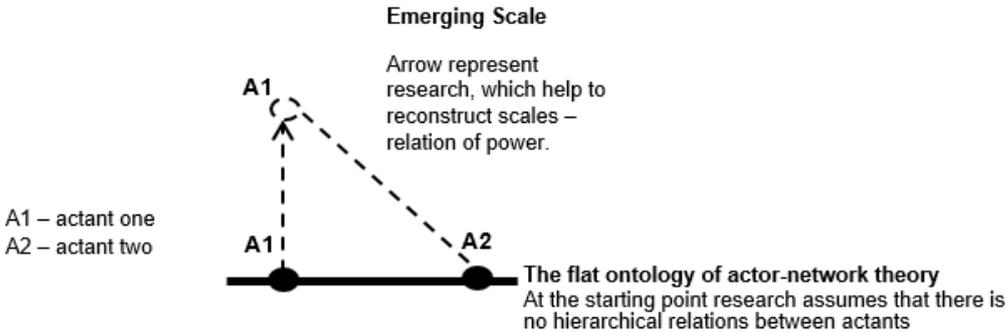
Scheme 10. Actor-network theory and glocalisation framework within my research.

Scheme 10 illustrates how two analytical frameworks, applied in this research, relate in the matter of scales. The research process, in turn, is marked with the black arrow in the scheme and represent the search for translations' forming emerging scales. The straight line represents flat ontology, which should be a determinant of researcher approach in actor-network theory (Latour, 2005). The aim of study, then, is to unveil existing hierarchies between actors and the reasons for it, black boxes, which cloak agreements between actants, translated into networks. Within glocalisation, this framework is being extended by the *glocal* space and its reference to globalisation (Latham & McCormack, 2010). It is important for the research context of my study, namely handling the global crises of ageing societies, which is being passed to local policies. The glocalisation and the politics of scale allow to go a step further in the analysis, and apart from tracing the networks of actants' enacting social activity of older people, see within what scales these policies work.

Glocalisation is therefore a framework for the phenomenon that is occurring within public policy and ageing policy in particular, namely its decentralisation and this locality (Błędowski, 2016; Buffel et al., 2020; Theiss, 2007, 2017). This concept allows to describe this process within politics of scale and seeks to unveil what scales can describe the implementation of urban ageing policy.

II.3. Data Collection and Analysis

In this subchapter, I present methods and research strategies applied within this study. Within the first subchapter, I introduce case study as a research strategy, and sequentially observations, interviews, and additional material as ways of data collection. In the end of subchapter II.3.1. Case study in Tables 7 and 8, I present all collected data, included in the analysis. In the next subchapter – II.3.2. Data analysis – I demonstrate the process of analysis, which was based on the content analysis, with the application of categories from actor-network theory and the concept of glocalisation.

II.3.1. Case study

Presented in this dissertation, research is based on case study, which was conducted with the help of observations, interviews, and additional materials, such as collected leaflets or documents concerning activities for older people from the city of Poznan. The application of case study as a research design for my research was dictated by the aims and popularity of the method in policy analysis, especially within studies of policy implementation (Pal, 2005; Pressman & Wildavsky, 1974). Firstly, I will describe the method of case study to later refer how it is a good method for policy research and my study in particular.

The case study is one of the methods of the qualitative approach, which is characterised by a desire to understand why certain phenomenon occur and how it becomes real. The emphasis in this type of research is on process, interaction, and dynamics of the phenomena. The researcher, on the other hand, seeks to capture the problem in its environment to understand its impact, taking into account how it is perceived from the perspective of the subjects (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Strumińska-Kutra & Koładkiewicz, 2012). The use of the case study method is very widespread among researchers who, however, represent different paradigms, reflecting different ontological and epistemological assumptions about the reality under study. As a result, the method itself may serve them to achieve different goals. For example, in the positivist paradigm, researchers aim to make generalisations about the theory on the basis of the case study, whereas in the relativist approach the aim is to describe and understand the phenomenon and its local context (Strumińska-Kutra & Koładkiewicz, 2012, p. 2). Consequently, individual researchers, specialists in this methodology such as R. Yin (1989), B. Flyvbjerg (2006) or R. Stake (2009)

specify different types of case studies. However, before I refer to them, I will try to broadly define how this research strategy can be understood. Following J.W. Creswell (2007), a case study can be defined as a study method in which the researcher analyses a limited system, a case, and as a result obtains a comprehensive description of the case together with its relevant themes. The study is conducted through the use of in-depth data collection strategies such as observations, interviews, documents or audio-visual materials (2007, p. 73). As far as the types of case studies are concerned, I will start with the division made by R. Yin (1989), which takes into account questions of the purpose of the type:

- Exploratory case - can be treated as a prelude to further research, allows questions or hypotheses to be raised for future analysis.

- Descriptive case - a comprehensive description of a case, taking into account its context, features and possible structure.

- Exponential case - the aim is to examine the causes and effects within the case under study, e.g., the introduction of health care reform.

The above three types of case study are related to the research possibilities that the study may have, and what goals it may therefore achieve. A slightly different classification is presented by H. Eckstein:

- Disciplined-configurative case studies - in this type of case study, the researcher focuses on some unique problem, and by describing it, aims to create some laws that define it. This type of study, in the analytical procedure applies a theory, on the basis of which interpretations are created (Eckstein, 2000).

- Heuristic case studies - in this case study, the researcher aims to clarify a theoretical problem, so the selection of the case and the research design itself are designed to do so. This type overlaps with exploratory case study detailed by R.Yin (Eckstein, 2000; Pal, 2005).

- Plausibility probes - this type serves to confirm or refute a certain hypothesis or theory. Thus, this type of case study can give support for further research already on a larger scale (Eckstein, 2000).

- Crucial-case study - a kind of case study which, by its very nature, can help to verify a given theory. The choice of case is then strictly dictated by the theory to be disproved or confirmed (2000). This kind of case study is also called by other scholars as *critical case study* (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Strumińska-Kutra & Koładkiewicz, 2012).

Classifying a study into a specific type of case study is difficult, as researchers specialising in this method stress that the boundaries between specific types are fluid (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Pal, 2005; Strumińska-Kutra & Koładkiewicz, 2012; Yin, 1989). However, referring to the classifications presented, the study presented in this thesis is, on the one hand, a comprehensive description of a local policy on ageing, which aims to provide knowledge in the field of implementing local policies and to propose concrete theoretical implications. Therefore, it is classified as a kind of descriptive study, or considering H. Eckstein's classification *disciplined-configurative case study*. At the same time, the study responds to a research gap concerning the local policy on ageing and, more specifically, the processes that comprise it. Therefore, the case study presented in the next subchapter can be partly called an *explanatory or heuristic case study* as it seeks to explain a certain phenomenon.

Another important issue in the case study is the place of theory. Namely, whether it is the basis for the selection of the case and the design of the study itself, or rather whether it emerges at subsequent stages as a tool for interpretation and the creation of theoretical implications (Strumińska-Kutra & Koładkiewicz, 2012). The former approach will involve a positivist paradigm in research, i.e., focusing on the discovery of general facts that can explain the causes of a given phenomenon. The second approach, on the other hand, is more characteristic of the interpretative paradigm, which is directed more towards understanding the reality under study, taking into account the individual's understanding (Sławecki, 2012). In the case of the research presented in this thesis, theory was not a criterion for case selection, but was included as a conceptual framework for the study, which helped to clarify the research problem. In turn, in the analytical part, I apply a theoretical framework as a set of research tools to help interpret the observed phenomena (Strumińska-Kutra & Koładkiewicz, 2012). Thus, the collected data were analysed using actor-network theory (Callon, 1984; Callon & Latour, 1981; Latour, 1993), and then the concept of glocalisation was applied in the next stage of theorisation (Latham & McCormack, 2010; Swyngedouw, 1997).

Turning to the application of the case study to the field of social policy itself, it is important to note the considerations regarding the possibility of generalisation based on this method (Pal, 2005). However, as emphasised by researchers using case studies also in the field of policy research, the role of this method is not to provide a sufficient sample for the verification of specific variables. The study, due to its nature, makes it possible to test the validity of some theory, then a researcher is guided by it in the choice of a particular study, or to provide the most complete description of the phenomenon under study (2005). For my study, the aim was not to produce some general knowledge on the level of policy theory, but to understand the process of the implementation of ageing policy at the urban level. It was related with the decentralisation of ageing policy to local levels of governance, so the lowest layers are given the most responsibility for its implementation (Błędowski, 2016; Buffel & Phillipson, 2018; Buffel & Remillard-Boilard, 2019; Perek-białas et al., 2006; Theiss, 2007). As there is not much research on how such ageing urban policy is implemented (Andreotti & Mingione, 2016; Błędowski, 2016; Theiss, 2007, 2017; Urbaniak, 2018), I strive to conduct research that will give a chance to understand it and be able to present a broad picture of the occurring process (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

The use of case studies in policy research is very popular (Pal, 2005). Especially if the focus is on the process of policy making, and trying to understand its specific outcomes (Hall, 2013). In particular, the method is popular among public policy researchers associated with historical institutionalism, related to the discursive institutionalism I use in this dissertation. Researchers believe that the case study method allows the complexity of the processes that constitute a given policy to be explored, providing the opportunity to capture the context that is so important in this approach. Furthermore, for researchers who recognise politics as an ongoing process that is defined through ideas, discourses and language, the case study is an opportunity to capture these elements, including their use by policy makers. Such an approach will be alien to policy researchers who focus on its effectiveness and the verifiability of expected outcomes, in which case methods such as surveys or structured interviews will be more appropriate (Eckstein, 2000; Pal, 2005; Yin, 1989).

The method presented was chosen for this study because of the possibilities it offers in the context of this research. Firstly, it allows to explore what the idea of social activity of the elderly in urban policy is, and secondly, how the process of its implementation takes place, i.e., through which ideas and discourses (Schmidt, 2008) it is carried out. The selection of the

case study is related to the purpose of the study. In case selection, the researcher may aim to collect as standard a group of cases as possible, in order to generalise the findings. He or she may also make the selection based on the information needed, arising from the objectives of the study. Then it is not about generalisation, but about exploration of the given phenomenon. In my study, the second principle applies. The selection of the case study was dictated precisely by its informative value for understanding the local level of urban ageing policy. Besides, in case selection, the researcher may aim to look for the most extreme, diverse, or appropriate for the research area, that is, able to provide the information needed to explore a given research problem; such selection is called paradigmatic. In the research presented in this thesis, the case study selection was based precisely on the inclusion of the most canonical case possible to answer the research problem posed (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

The study of Poznan, the fifth-largest city in Poland, is therefore aimed at exploring local ageing policies and presenting theoretical findings as a contribution to knowledge on policymaking at the city level. The choice of Poznan as a case study was dictated by two issues. Firstly, it was a city that is a typical case study, i.e., one that could serve as an example of a medium-sized city (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Pal, 2005). In the selection, I avoided a city which would be particularly large or which, because of its location, e.g., its proximity to other major metropolises, would have characteristics that might influence the policymaking process. Secondly, the city of Poznan is a place I am familiar with, which enabled me to move around and avoid initiation into its structure and familiarisation with its specificities. The study presented here consists of observations, interviews, and additional material collected during data collection and analysis. The following sections describe these different data collection methods, and I conclude with an inventory of the data included in the analysis.

1.1 Observations

One method of collecting data for a case study is observation. It is a way of capturing the dynamics of interaction between specific actors in the study, and possibly noticing additional actors relevant to the phenomenon under study. By means of this method, researchers try to capture the **space** in which the observation takes place, its characteristics, which may possibly co-shape the studied phenomenon, but also its influence on people in it. It is also

obvious to focus on the **actors** who take part in the observed situation, what **actions** they undertake and what objects accompany them. Within the framework of observation, the researcher may try to group activities which together form concrete **measures** and then **events**. Other elements to be considered in the observation are the **time**, that is the sequence of the action, and the **goals** of the actors. Moreover, the researcher can take into account his or her own **emotions**, feelings related to the observed situation (Bratich, 2017; Ciesielska, Wolniak-Bostrom, & Ohlander, 2012).

Within the different kinds of observation, we can distinguish several types due to the attitude of the observer to the situation under study:

- Direct participant observation - most characteristic of ethnographic research, where the researcher becomes totally involved in the given environment, e.g., being employed in the researched organisation or living with convicted minors. It is a form of observation that requires great commitment and time from the researcher. However, it makes it possible to obtain very detailed information which is difficult to grasp by an ordinary observer. A special case of such observation is when the researcher does not reveal his or her identity, but becomes one of the subjects, in which case access to information is even more detailed.

- Direct non-participant observation - the researcher is an eyewitness but does not become involved in the situation being observed. The researcher can then take on the role of an observer who properly blends into the background and tries to be unnoticeable to those involved in the situation to capture as much of its ordinary course as possible. He or she may also interact with the people being observed, asking them questions about their actions and behaviour while they are still being observed.

- Indirect observation - the researcher collects information about a given situation indirectly, using a hidden camera or dictaphone, or using available materials documenting the situation, e.g., archive recordings or available databases of recordings from webcams (Ciesielska et al., 2012; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2000).

In practice it is difficult to distinguish those types of observation, as they often occur in combination. A mass observation can consists of two types, for example when one researcher is actively participating in some event and conducting direct participant

observation, while other researchers only observe the event and make direct non-participants observation. During my research I also came across two types of observations (the full list of observations and their descriptions are presented in end of this subchapter). Namely, when I was attending events organised for older people, which were aimed at their social activity, it happened that I also was a participant of such an event, for example during a museum tour or a tour of the old market. Another time, I was just observing older people sitting together and making paper decorations during a special event.

Observation is very particular method, in comparison to other qualitative ones, as a researcher has very little control over the studied situations, and he or she must be flexible to unexpected situations and be able to react if necessary (Bratich, 2017; Ciesielska et al., 2012). Within the observation, the researcher take field notes that are later included into the data. Thus, they need to comprise as much information as possible, regarding the situation, but also additional observation and reflection made by the researcher during and after the observation. Apart from the field notes, observation can bring also additional materials related to organised events or to the institution organising it, such as leaflets or posters (2012).

1.2. Interview

Another data collection method used in case study strategies is the interview. It is a method used by researchers coming from both positivist and interpretivist approaches. However, the difference lies in what researchers expect. In the case of the former approach, the researcher is compared to a miner who digs out valuable stones and has to separate them from the less valuable ones. This can be understood as the researcher's quest to discover objective facts. In the interpretative approach, the researcher, in contrast, is identified with a traveller who explores new territories and tries to learn about them from the perspective of the people who live there. In the same way, during the research, the person collecting the data is open to everything that happens and that he or she encounters, and pays particular attention to how the world is created by the world under study (Gudkova, 2012; Kvale, 2010). Thus, the purpose of the interview in qualitative research is to understand the perspective of the people we are studying, to understand the meanings they use, creating their reality. The researcher retains a certain sensitivity to emerging themes and is flexible

about the themes explored, as new themes may emerge during the course of the research which the researcher had not previously assumed (Kvale, 2010).

Within this method of data collection there a several types of interviews. Firstly, a distinction is made between standardised and non-standardised interviews based on the order in which the questions are asked. In the latter case, the interview is loosely structured, there is a script of questions, but it is more of a support for the researcher, telling him what thematic areas he wants to cover in the research (Gudkova, 2012; Silverman, 2007). We then distinguish between structured and unstructured interviews, which differ in terms of the questions asked. The latter, otherwise known as free-form, refers to interviews that use open-ended questions with phrases such as 'why' or 'how'. A structured interview, on the other hand, will consist of closed-ended questions, where the form of the answer is restricted, e.g., 'How many times a year do you go to the cinema?' (Gudkova, 2012).

Unstructured and non-standardised interviews are often used in qualitative research, especially those of an exploratory nature, as they allow the researcher to explore the understanding of certain facts and actions from the perspective of the individual's experiences. The interview script may then be just an outline of the general topics the researcher will want to address or the questions proposed. However, the aim will be to obtain information of interest in relation to the problem under investigation, so it will not be necessary for the interview to be in a strictly prescribed form, but rather to give the researcher the opportunity to explore the perspective of the person they are talking to (Silverman, 2007).

The interview used in this study can be described as unstructured and non-standardised. The interviews were usually combined with my observations, i.e., during the observation process I also tried to talk to people who were involved in running the events I was following. To supplement the data, I also conducted follow-up interviews to gain as much knowledge as possible about the activities carried out in Poznan to promote social participation of older people. The choice of people to interview was linked to events I came across during my research. The purpose of the interviews was to talk to people involved in the organisation of events related to social activity for older people. Some of my interlocutors were also organisers of the events I observed (museum employees, The Centre for Older Citizens' Innovation employees, the founder of the Mill of Support Foundation), and the remaining group consisted of people involved in activities for older people within

NGOs, the City Council for Older Citizens, or an informal group. I wanted to include in my group of interviewees people with the widest possible range of experience, i.e., people working in public institutions, in the third sector, activists or activists of informal groups such as Older Citizens' Clubs. The interview schedule was based on pre-prepared questions related to a given person's activities for older people or concerned a specific event I had observed. Below are sample questions that formed the script for the interviews. However, their content was revised depending on the interviewee and what he or she told (Gudkova, 2012):

1. I wanted to talk about these events that you are organising for older people, I understand that you are the person who does this. Could I ask who came up with the idea for these events or why do you organise them at all?

2. How does it work in general, the very process of organising these events, coming up with this idea and so on?

3. And do I understand correctly that the fact that you are doing something for older people is due to the kind of organisation you are?

4. Apart from the strategy and consultation, what else inspires you in your activities for older people?

The collected interviews in the form of transcriptions were included in the data, as were field notes from observations.

1.3. Additional materials

The last group of data used in the research were documents and additional materials. In research, the introduction of such additional materials allows to extend the scope of the study and include areas that are difficult to reach or concern events that have already taken place. Such data may include formal documents such as official regulations, laws, or agreements, but also informal documents such as sketches or diaries. The use of documents can have a variety of applications:

- it can be used to create a research problem,
- deeper exploration of the phenomenon under study,
- explaining a phenomenon (Łuczewski & Bednarz-Łuczewska, 2012).

It is precisely in the analysis of policy and public action that documents are particularly relevant, as their content is precisely about policy regulation. The study of documents, for example strategy documents (Buffel et al., 2021; van Hoof et al., 2018), policy documents (Sun et al., 2017), city hall documents (Kotus, 2013), is also popular in urban policy research on ageing. As in other studies, formal and informal documents (see *Table 7.* The list of additional materials) were included in the study to deepen the understanding of the studied problem, but also according to the applied actor-network theory, they were considered as actors who could take part in policy making and thus their inclusion allows for a better explanation of the studied problem.

Photograph 1

Photograph 2

Photograph 3

Photograph 4

Photographs of sample documents collected during the study.
Photograph 1. It presents a leaflet of the VIVA OlderCcitizens' programme, which consists in providing basic services for elderly residents, e.g., Handyman.
Photograph 2. An example of a newspaper aimed at older people, containing information about events for them and beneficial offers.
Photographs 3 and 4. They are the first pages of an older citizens' magazine, which is a collection of information on events taking place in Poznan that may be of interest to the elderly.

*Table 7.*The list of additional materials

	Title	Type of document	Source	Level	Dates	Length
1.	Statutes of the TRAKT Centre for Cultural Tourism (pl. *Statut Centrum Turystyki Kulturowej TRAKT*)	Formal document	www.bip.poznan.pl	Organisation	Enacted on 10th of July 2012	5 pages
2.	Organisational Regulations Centre for Older citizen Initiatives in Poznan (pl. *Regulamin Organizacyjny Centrum Inicjatyw Senioralnych w Poznaniu*)	Formal document	www.bip.poznan.pl	Organisation	Enacted on 27th of November 2020	4 pages
3.	Declaration on cooperation of mayors in the field of older citizen citizen policy (pl. *Deklaracja Współpracy prezydentów miast w obszarze polityki senioralnej)*	Formal document	www.bip.poznan.pl	City	Singed on 20th of October 2017	1 page
4.	Older Citizens' Policy of the City of Poznan for 2017- 2021 (pl. *Polityka Senioralna Miasta Poznania na lata 2017- 2021)*	Formal Document	www.bip.poznan.pl	City	2017-2021	27 pages
5.	Older citizen package (pl. *Tytka Seniora*)	Informational document	www.poznan.pl	City	October and November 2019	150 pages
6.	Programme of Older Citizen Days (pl. *Program Senioralni)*	Informational and promotional document	www.centrumcis.pl	City	November and December 2019	75 pages
7.	Announcement of the open competition No. 45/2021 for assigning the tasks of the City of Poznan in the area of activity for people of retirement age. (pl. *Ogłoszenie otwartego konkursu ofert nr 45/2021 na powierzenie realizacji zadań miasta Poznania w obszarze działalności na rzecz osób w wieku emerytalnym.)*	Formal document	www.poznan.pl	City	Enacted on 12th of March 2021	8 pages
8.	Act of 24 April 2003 on public benefit activity and voluntary work (pl. *Ustawa z dnia 24 kwietnia 2003 o działalności pożytku publicznego i o wolontariacie*)	Formal document	www.isap.sejm.gov.pl	Country	Enacted on 23trd of April 2003	60 pages

Table 8. The list of interviews and event's observations.

	Interviews	Place	Type of social activity for older people	Date	Length
1.	Interview with workers of the Centre for Older citizen Innovation.	Centre for Older Citizen Innovation.	Older citizen Clubs animation, city events for older people, promotion of event in Poznan, realisation of Older Citizen Policy.	November 2019	36 min
2.	Interview with a museum worker at Porta Posnania ICHOT.	The Museum of Porta Posnania ICHOT	Tours of museum's exhibitions		44 min
3.	Interview with a museum worker at The Museum of Applied Arts.	The Museum of Applied Arts	Tours of museum's exhibitions	February 2020	30 min
4.	Interview with the foundation worker (interview granted anonymously).	Foundation's building	Reading club, writing club		48 min
5.	Interview with a worker at the Centre for Older citizen Innovation.	Online	Older citizen Clubs animation, city events for older people, promotion of event in Poznan, realisation of Older Citizen Policy.		45 min
6.	Interview with a worker at the Flandria Foundation.	Online	Language and sport activities		30 min
7.	Interview with the founder of the *Green Group of NGOs* and the leader of the Centre for Local Innovation.	Telephone	Older citizen club, Memory Day	April 2020	74 min
8.	Interview with the founder of The Mill of Support foundation.	Online	Integration of older citizen clubs, Engagement of older people into actions for others.		46 min

9.	Interview with the Director of the Centre for Older citizen Innovation.	Centre for Older citizen Innovation.	Older citizen Clubs animation, city events for older people, promotion of event in Poznan, realisation of Older Citizen Policy.	May 2020	45 min
10.	Interview with a member of The Municipal Council of Older citizen Citizens.	Online	Consultation of city's actions for older people and co-organisation.		81 min
11.	Interview with the founders of the Silver Years Foundation and older citizen Club.	Foundation's building	Older citizen Club, Open Concerts, Storytelling by older people in kindergartens		80 min
12.	Interview with a worker at the Municipal Centre for Family Support.	Telephone	Animations of local community, among other older people		37 min
13.	Interview with older citizen activists.	Telephone	Leader of Older citizen Clubs, Volunteer at the Centre of Older citizen Initiatives, Member of The Municipal Council of Older citizen Citizens	July 2020	95 min
	Events observations	**Place**	**Collected material**	**Date**	
14.	Older People's Club Leaders' Forum (pl. *Forum Liderów Klubów Seniora*)	City Hall building	Field notes, Presentation of available financial support for older citizens' clubs	September 2019	3 h
15.	Guided tour for the elderly titled *History of Certain Loves* (pl. Oprowadzanie dla seniorów pod tytułem *Historia Pewnych Miłości)*	The Museum of Porta Posnania ICHOT	Field notes	October 2019	2 h
16.	VIVA Older Citizen Fair (pl. *Targi VIVA Senior!*)	Municipal Trade Fair in Poznan	Field notes, photos and leaflets.		6 h
17.	Meeting on air pollution in Poznan under the coal burning boiler replacement programme (pl. *Spotkanie dotyczące zanieczyszczeń powietrza w Poznaniu w ramach programu wymiany pieców węglowych*)	Centre for Older citizen Innovation	Field notes		1,5 h

18.	Guided tours of the museum exhibition for older people (pl. *Oprowadzanie po ekspozycji muzeum dla seniorów*)	The Museum of Applied Arts	Field notes and photos		2 h
19.	The debate of generations titled: *Is the development of new communication technologies the solution to human loneliness?* (pl. Czy rozwój nowych technologii komunikacyjnych jest rozwiązaniem problemu ludzkiej samotności?)	Adam Mickiewicz University Campus	Field notes and photos.	November 2019	3 h
20.	Excursion of the Polish Tourist Country-Lovers' Society for older citizen citizens (pl. *Wycieczka Polskiego Towarzystwa Turystyczno-Krajobrazowego dla seniorów*)	Old town	Field notes and photos		2 h

II.3.2 Data analysis

In this subchapter, I will show how the analytical framework presented in the previous subchapter was translated into the process of analysis. Scheme 11 below outlines the process of analysis, highlighting the use of specific analytical concepts within each stage, and indicating what their role was in answering the research questions posed earlier. The results of research are presented in the next two chapters – III. Social Activity Enacted and IV. The Implementation of Social Activity in Poznan. The overarching analytical framework for my work is actor-network theory. This means that the assumptions of this theory were used to explore the idea of social activism among older people as an element of implemented ageing policies. Similar studies applying ANT to research on the process of implementation and creation of public policies are referred to in subchapter II.1.3. Application of Actor-Network Theory. The use of such an analytical framework allows us to take into account the complexity of the reality under study, to include in the analysis not only human actors, but also objects, documents or mechanisms that co-created the social activity itself, thus taking into account the broadly understood context of the phenomenon under study (Latour, 2005; Mol, 2002). Secondly, I decided to apply the concept of glocalisation, also drawn from research on local public policy (Cox, 2009; Swyngedouw, 2010). The aim of applying this concept was to answer the question about urban ageing policy implementation, considering rolling of the stated and social policy decentralisation. The combination of these two analytical approaches has taken place in studies (Epple, 2018; Gond & Boxenbaum, 2013), including those on city-level actions (Farías & Bender, 2010; Latham & McCormack, 2010). In this subchapter I will demonstrate in detailed analytical process, what it consisted of and how I came to the categories presented in the findings from the collected data.

STAGE 1	**Coding** Naming part of a text – sentence, paragraphs (Silverman 2007)	Building broader categories		

| STAGE 2 | Exploring codes in reference to applied analytical framework | Actor-network theory categories

Actants and **translation** process: problematization, interessement, enrolment and mobilization (Callon, 1984)
Socio-material practices - way of doing, engaging in reality (Law 2009). | **Research questions**

1. What is the idea of social activity for older people implemented in Poznan? (1.1. -1.2.) | **Relevant chapters**

III. Social activity enacted (How social activity happens?)

IV.2. Conclusion |

| STAGE 3 | | Actor-network theory categories

Ontologies – sites of researched phenomenon, which interact with each other in its enactment (Mol, 2002) | **Research questions**

2. How is the idea of social activity implemented by urban policies?
2.1. What are practices of implementation? | **Relevant chapters**

IV.1. Ontologies of social activity implementation |

| STAGE 4 | The concept of glocalization

Scales - relations, leading actors, values and rules (Swyngedouw 1997, 1996) | The concept of glocalization

Politics of scale – identified scales within local policy, **forming** its relations. | **Research questions**

2. How is the idea of social activity implemented by urban policies?
2.2. What is the urban ageing policy in Poznan? | **Relevant chapters**

IV.2. Scales of social activity implementation |

Scheme 11. Stages of the analytical process.

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Coding process and category building

The aim of the conducted analysis was to approach collected data with a constructed analytical framework, namely actor-network theory and the concept of glocalisation. However before applying it, I needed to establish codes and categories that helped me understand the data (Adu, 2019). The coding strategy chosen for my study is content analysis, which is, in comparison to other strategies used within qualitative studies, not related with any specific theoretical framework. That is why its application is recommend if a researcher wants to use earlier established theoretical assumption towards the study, which is the case within this work (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Yin, 1989).

The qualitative approach to data analysis that I use in this thesis means that the research focuses on the search for meanings and perceptions of phenomena attributed by people. The qualitative approach undertakes interpretative practices to discover and understand the phenomenon under study, paying particular attention to the categories used by the respondents themselves (Denzin & Lincoln, 2017). This research approach derives from the tenets of phenomenology, developed by E. Husserl and further developed by A. Schutz, who found particular value in researching the process of constructing a given phenomenon by the individuals involved individuals. The idea was to avoid imposing assumptions on the observer (researcher) that may consequently not reflect the reality we are dealing with (J. A. Holstein & Gubrium, 2005). Such an approach towards data is in line with this dissertation's research aims and literature recommendation. I strived to understand what older people social activity implemented in Poznan is and further how it is implemented within urban ageing policy there. The answers for these questions fit the need for further research of urban ageing policies, which accordingly to scholars, should be explored within its complexity and diversity of actors (Andreotti & Mingione, 2016; Buffel & Remillard-Boilard, 2019; Buffel et al., 2021; Kutsar & Kuronen, 2015; Theiss, 2007). Therefore, qualitative analysis application seems to respond to those requirements.

Content analysis is an analysis strategy that can be used with a wide range of data, for example interview transcripts, observations, photographs, documents etc. The main assumption of to reorganise data within established codes and later broader categories (Julien, 2005), which definitions are presented in the Table 9 The Final reesult, can be described as "aboutness" of text, meaning it gives the researcher information on data interpretation and meaning found there (2005). During this process, the scholar stays very

close to the text and tries to capture the emerging context and relations between them. This process is iterative and embraces few phases of coding. It means, that the researcher after establishing codes later reviews them and compares, to observe repeating patterns, links related codes or groups them. In the next phase, the scholar can once more look for a part of the text and, in the reference to already established codes, form significant categories (R. P. Weber, 1990). Creating categories is a higher level of analysis, as they embrace not only meanings, but also relations, and can refer to the earlier researched theories. In my case, ANT and glocalisation concept are embraced (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Julien, 2005).

Table 9.An example of coding process in Atlas.ti

Interview transcription	Codes
*Interviewer: **And do they come to these other events or rather not?*** *Interviewee: Occasionally. If a workshop has to be paid for, no matter if it's 30 zloty or something, it's a step backwards, although I had a lady at a workshop (gardening in jars) which cost almost 150 zloty and there was no problem with that.*	ANT_t_enrolment_boundries
I say: maybe it's because Poznan is really doing so much for seniors that you can choose an event either for symbolic money or even for free.	ANT_t_mobilisation_availability Practice_ creation of offer
Interviewer: **So, is it the case, then, that you can enter the foundation's premises from some hour to some hour every day, just like that**?	
Interviewee: Generally, I am on duty, they last from 9 a.m. to 12 p.m., and on Wednesdays and Fridays until 1 p.m., but it's not like someone just comes in for a coffee - although it happens sometimes. Because that's not the point, the Foundation's Council decided that we rent the premises, because it's rented from the Foundation's funds, but it's not supposed to be a typical café, that's not the point, that wasn't the intention.	ANT_t_problematization_interests ANT_t_problematization_silent ANT_t_enrolment_boundries Practice_using space Practice_implementation of objectives

The data analysis comes to an end when created categories are saturated. It means that when the researcher goes through the data, he or she does not find any new relevant information in regard to research phenomenon and established categories (saturation). To

achieve it, and also the validity and reliability of the study, research can do data triangulations (Flick, 2017). It can be carried out in two ways - to pass the data to a second researcher for analysis, or to include data of a different nature in the analysis, such as interviews, documents, or photographs. In my study, the saturation of the categories created, as well as their reliability and validity, was ensured by triangulating the data, consisting of interviews, field notes of observations, and documents collected during the observations and included in the course of the analysis (see Tables 7. And Table 8 at the end of subchapter III.1.3. Case study). Moreover, during the process of data collection and analysis I consulted the collected material and the emerging codes and categories with other researchers in order to triangulate the data and confirm the validity of the categories I created (Flick, 2017).

The coding process in my study was enhanced with preformed concepts, which stemmed from Actor-Network Theory and the concept of glocalisation. The following table describes their use at successive stages of coding. As it was written, the coding process was iterative, which means that I started coding with small amount of codes that had broad description and later on I came back to data a few times to develop sequential codes, built categories and establish relations. This work was partially done within notebooks, which served as place for code descriptions and development of theoretical categories and patterns (Latour, 2005, p. 134).

Table 10. The applied codes and categories during data analysis.

	Applied codes
Initial codes – firs units of meaning, helping to organize the collected data. Those are *working* units of meaning, which help get first impression what is in the data.	<u>Actor-network theory code:</u> **Actants** – human and non-human objects, which together create the network and thus the phenomenon. actant_values; actant_city; actant_document; actant_initiator **Socio-material practice –** the way of doing something, engaging in specific action. Practice_using space; practice_realisation of tasks; practice_noticing older people **Moments of translations** – problematisation, interessement, enrolment and mobilisation. <u>Glocalisation codes</u> **scales** - moments in the text which refers to relations between actants and their mutual interdependency glocalisation_scales

	Applied codes
Clustering codes – grouping codes which has similar meaning, linking related codes into broader categories.	ANT - Elimination of redundant codes, which were not appeared once. - Grouping codes into broader codes and describing it: Actant_ space → merged with codes: place, meetings; described: space as an actor in social activity. - Iterative coding within moment of translations, to obtain more detailed and context depenedent codes: ANT_interessement → interessement_fininicing; interessement_declaration; interessement_ grassroots - describing codes and relation between them Glocalisation - Iterative coding within scales to find categories describing their relations and elements Scales → values; assumptions, interests, network - Applying codes developed within ANT, which are siginificant for glocalisation concept– actant_docements, practice_taking over etc. - describing codes and relations between them
Categories – are ready-made theoretical categories that link the information found in the data with the theories applied by the researcher, through which the results themselves are presented.	- Combining codes into categories which describe enactment of older people social activity, based on identified moments of translations and engaged in it actants, such as reason for problematisation described in subchapter III.1. What do you care? – interests (actant_fininicng, actant_programme) , associations (interessement_membership; actant_document), coming ahead or reasons comes by themselves. - Forming ontologies – which are sites of social activity and describe realities of its enactment and implementation – IV.1. Ontologies of older people's social activity implementation Weaving the network → practice_weaving; actant_network; practice_gemmation

	Applied codes
	- Building scales of older people social activity implementation – <u>IV.2. Tracing scales of older people's social activity implementation</u> Resource mining → glocalisation_scales; actant_financing; actant_time; practice_using space

Source: Own elaboration

The code types presented in the Table 10, on the left, and the specific activities performed in my data analysis, on the right, are a simplified representation of the analysis process. As part of the coding process itself, I went back to the data several times to verify the codes I had created and to describe the dependencies between them. I started my analysis with broad codes to help me group the data, which contained overlapping translation processes. Isolating practices, actants and scales allowed me to navigate through quite large fragments of data. However, only re-coding these areas with more detailed codes provided me with better information about the process of translation between actors (practices → practice_using space), the ways in which they engage in relationships, i.e., practices, as well as first indications of how relationships between actors are perceived, what the local and global level is in a given urban ageing policy. The codes and categories I obtained, in turn, allowed me to understand what the social activity of older people in Poznan is, that is, how it is constructed by acting people, institutions, binding documents or other objects. At a further stage I was able to see ontologies, i.e., dominant narratives, as well as scales, understood as a reflection of dependencies between actors, involved in the implementation of the idea itself. The results of the analysis are presented in the next two empirical chapters.
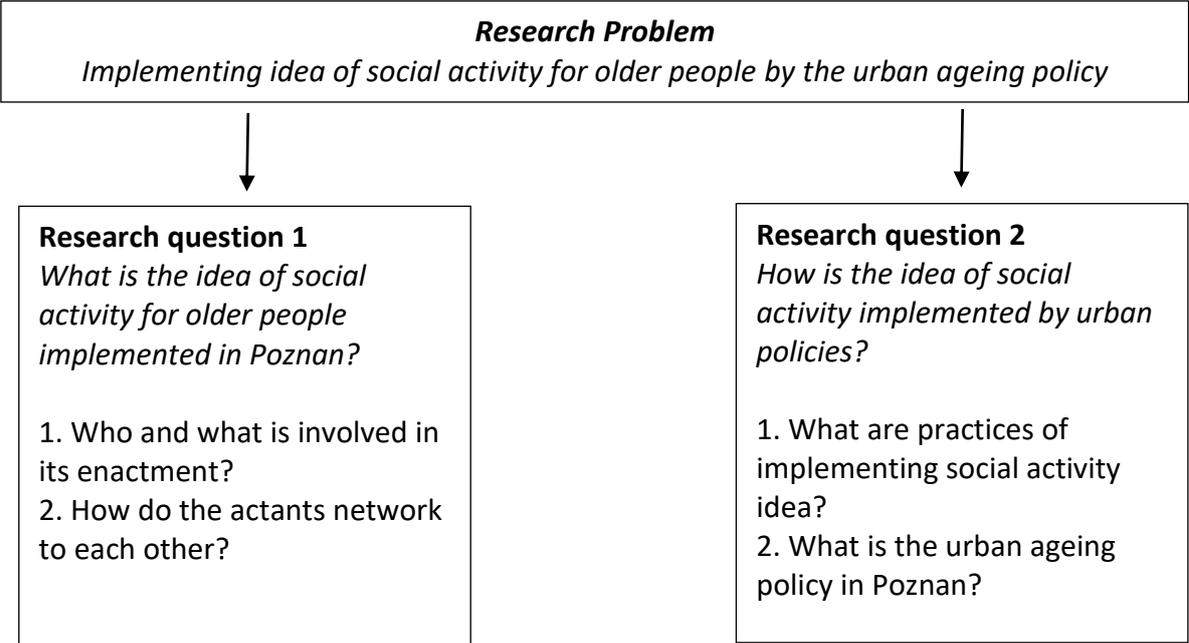
III. Social Activity Enacted

The conceptual and theoretical framework presented earlier was intended to situate my study within academic fields such as gerontology, social policy, urban policy, and discursive institutionalism. Discovering each of them, I unveiled the complexity of the research problem and point to premises for theoretical framework. The latter, in turn, provided analytical guidance for answering the posed research questions, by conducting case study research and analysing it with actor-network theory and the glocalisation concept. Therefore, in this chapter I present the results of my study.

At the beginning of this chapter, I will explain the research design recalling theoretical construct which led my analytical process – III.1. Research Design. Furthermore, I will demonstrate and describe data presented here. In the next subchapter – III.2. How Does Social Activity for Older People Happen in Poznan? – I introduce the first part of my findings, answering the question **what social activity for older people is in Poznan.** How it is perceived and formed by actants [7] as well as what influences its enactment. I refer my findings to the studies on social activity of older people in the city, to imply the research contribution. The understanding of this phenomenon is an introduction to the next chapter – IV. Implementing Social Activity for Older People in Poznan, where I describe urban **ageing policy implementation**, within two constructs, namely ontology and scale; the first is an element of actor-network theory and the latter refers to the glocalisation concept.

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[7] Actants is word I use to describe human and non-human actors identified in my data. The term comes from actor-network theory (Latour, 2005, p. 71).

III.1. Research Design

In the presented research I decided to use a case study as a strategy of data collection (Chosen strategy is widely discussed in subchapter II.3. Data collection and analysis). This decision was dictated by research problem and research questions:

Research Problem
Implementing idea of social activity for older people by the urban ageing policy

Research question 1
What is the idea of social activity for older people implemented in Poznan?

1. Who and what is involved in its enactment?
2. How do the actants network to each other?

Research question 2
How is the idea of social activity implemented by urban policies?

1. What are practices of implementing social activity idea?
2. What is the urban ageing policy in Poznan?

Scheme 12. Research problem and research questions.

Research problem and questions, taken in my study, imply a need for study, allowing a deep exploration of urban ageing policy. The qualitative case study method is used by policy researchers just to scrutinise the complex process of policy making at the local levels of governance (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Pal, 2005). Furthermore, the idea behind application of this qualitative method is to gain an expertise knowledge on the studied phenomenon, rather than providing generalisation theory, applied to the whole population (Strumińska-Kutra & Koładkiewicz, 2012). Besides, the qualitative case study offers the possibility of a more intersectional approach to the study of urban ageing policies. According to researchers, the analysis of urban policies so far has been too narrow, focused on one aspect, e.g., cultural or financial. In contrast, the case study I used provides an opportunity to take a broader look at the process of urban policy formation and to identify important areas involved in its implementation (Theiss, 2017).

The research results are therefore intended to provide answers to the following research objectives:

1. Explore what the social activity for the elderly that takes place in Poznan is.

    1.1. Recognise who and what (actants) organises these activities and why they do it.

    1.2. Establish relations between actants.

2. Understand the implementation of the idea of social participation for older people at the city level.

    2.1. Identify practices of implementation.

    2.2. Describe ontologies and scales which form the urban ageing policy in Poznan.
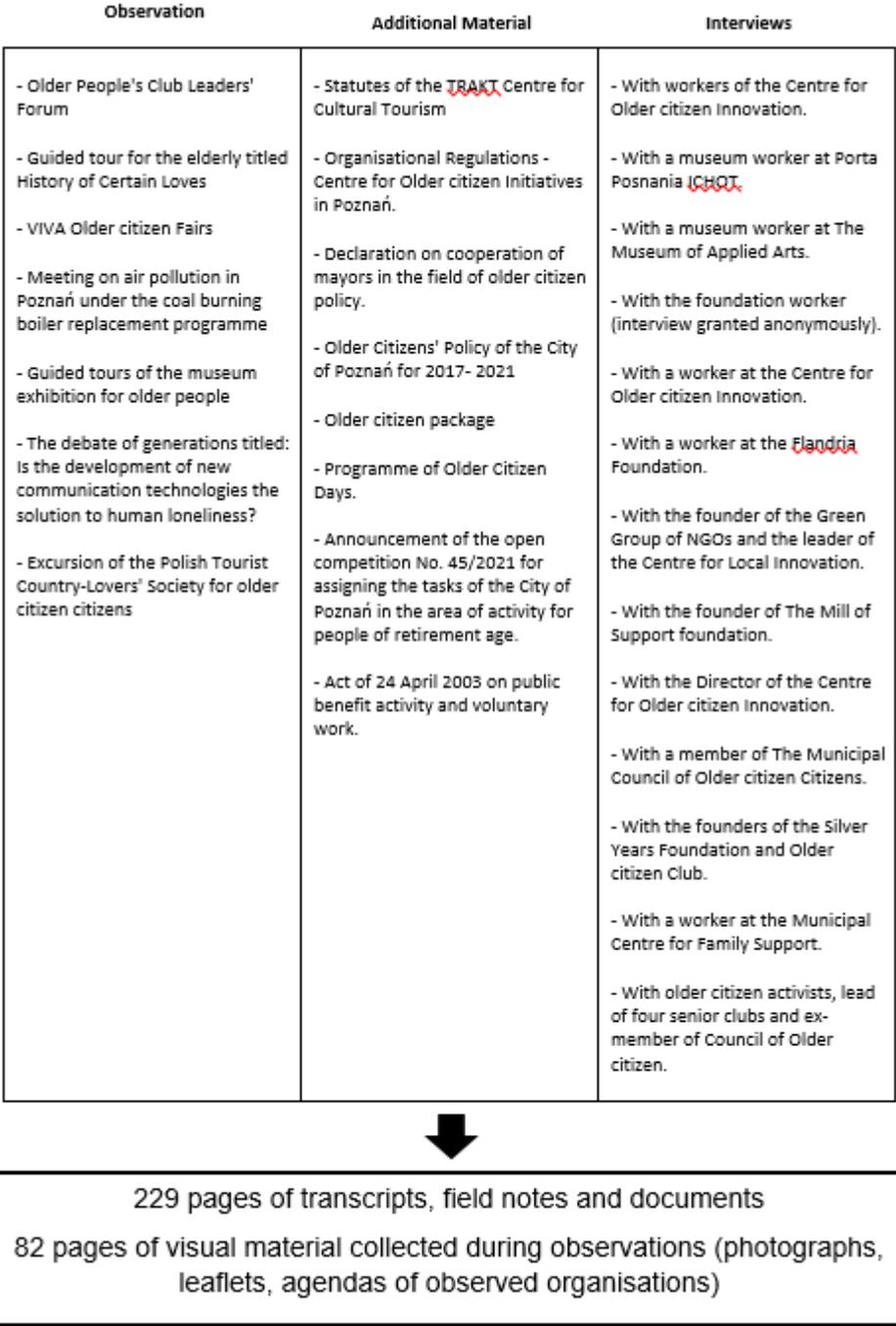
To fulfil research task, I decided to conduct observations and interviews within the city of Poznan. The choice has two justifications, firstly Poznan represents a medium-sized Polish city. The fifth-largest city is both the capital of Wielkopolskie Voivodeship and the seat of the county of Poznan and the municipality of Poznan.[8] This type of city, according to literature is becoming of great significance in the matter facing global issues and the establishment of local welfare (Andreotti & Mingione, 2016; Bauman et al., 2017; Theiss, 2007). Furthermore, the city of Poznan can be considered as the one without any extraordinary characteristics, such as being nearby other agglomerations, membership to special economic area or other factors, which could influence local policy formation.

I followed and observed social activity events organised for older people happening in the city from February to December 2019. The event was understood as any form of gathering for older people published in newsletters, social media, or advertised[9] on outdoor posters. The large source of this information was the Internet, where I started to search for events. I was checking agendas of major cultural institutions (such as museums, cinemas and other), a comprehensive source was also in the material provide to older citizens by The Centre for Older Citizens, which is a municipal institution. Simultaneously to this period of participatory observation, I conducted interviews with people engaged in organisations of social activity events, which were held from April 2019 to June 2020. Another group of data consists of

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[8] In Poland there are three levels of governance, namely in order from the largest area: voivodship, county and municipality. The last one can embrace territories with several smaller towns or one bigger city (http://administracja.mswia.gov.pl/adm/baza-jst/843,Samorzad-terytorialny-w-Polsce.html).

[9] The source of information were Facebook profiles of nongovernmental organisation, city's website (https://www.poznan.pl), The Centre for Older Citizens website (https://centrumis.pl).
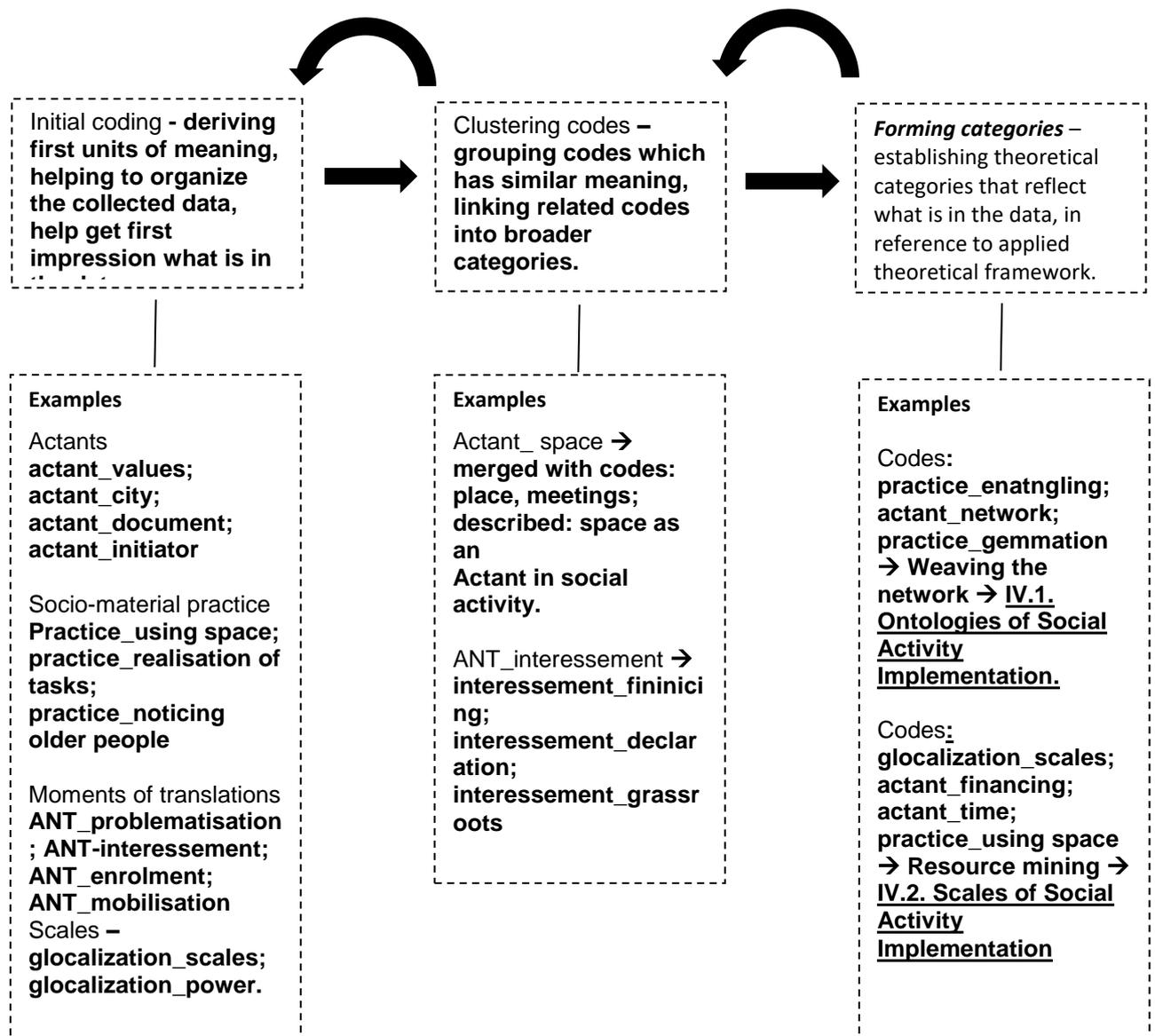
materials and bodies of documents, created by City Hall, organisations and other government-level institutions. This group of data was collected along with the observations and interviews process, and once again during the process of analysis, when additional materials and documents emerged as important for the research.

Observation	Additional Material	Interviews
- Older People's Club Leaders' Forum - Guided tour for the elderly titled History of Certain Loves - VIVA Older citizen Fairs - Meeting on air pollution in Poznań under the coal burning boiler replacement programme - Guided tours of the museum exhibition for older people - The debate of generations titled: Is the development of new communication technologies the solution to human loneliness? - Excursion of the Polish Tourist Country-Lovers' Society for older citizen citizens	- Statutes of the TRAKT Centre for Cultural Tourism - Organisational Regulations - Centre for Older citizen Initiatives in Poznań. - Declaration on cooperation of mayors in the field of older citizen policy. - Older Citizens' Policy of the City of Poznań for 2017- 2021 - Older citizen package - Programme of Older Citizen Days. - Announcement of the open competition No. 45/2021 for assigning the tasks of the City of Poznań in the area of activity for people of retirement age. - Act of 24 April 2003 on public benefit activity and voluntary work.	- With workers of the Centre for Older citizen Innovation. - With a museum worker at Porta Posnania ICHOT. - With a museum worker at The Museum of Applied Arts. - With the foundation worker (interview granted anonymously). - With a worker at the Centre for Older citizen Innovation. - With a worker at the Flandria Foundation. - With the founder of the Green Group of NGOs and the leader of the Centre for Local Innovation. - With the founder of The Mill of Support foundation. - With the Director of the Centre for Older citizen Innovation. - With a member of The Municipal Council of Older citizen Citizens. - With the founders of the Silver Years Foundation and Older citizen Club. - With a worker at the Municipal Centre for Family Support. - With older citizen activists, lead of four senior clubs and ex-member of Council of Older citizen.

229 pages of transcripts, field notes and documents

82 pages of visual material collected during observations (photographs, leaflets, agendas of observed organisations)

Scheme 13.The collected data. . (The full lists of collected data with Polish translation is enclosed in the Appendix 1, and for more detailed description see subchapter II.3.1. Case study)

The process of data collection was designed to follow events of social activity geared toward older people. To gather a diversified group of observations, the inclusion criteria of observed events for the research were open, meaning that I followed events organised by various types of organisations as long as they were directed to older citizens. However, I decided to exclude events focused on health promotion or physical activity from the analysis, as their overall aim was to influence the health of the elderly, whereas the focus of this research was to examine activities intended for social activity of the elderly. Furthermore, during observation and interviews, I aimed to collect data from various type of organisations and people. In the result my knowledge comes from municipal and cultural institutions, university, the third sector organisations, older citizens clubs, local council, The Municipal Council of Older Citizens or city fairs. This multiplicity and diversity of places, which I enclosed in my study, was dictated by the aim to capture researched phenomenon from as many different perspectives as possible. There are three reasons for that. First, I wanted to see the social activity of older people in Poznan from different angles, which could compliment and allow to obtain realities of social activity. Second, I strived to understand how these various realities intersect with each other and influenced enactment of the studied policy. Third, the aim to obtain data from diversified sources is important to get a comprehensive expert knowledge within a single case study (Pal, 2005).

Other important elements of this research design are the theoretical frameworks, namely actor-network theory and glocalisation concept, which guided my analytical process. Data analysis was based on content analysis, which is a qualitative method for research analysis (Julien, 2005; R. P. Weber, 1990). It is an iterative process, consisting of multiple data readings and its reorganisation with codes and categories established within the applied theoretical framework (Julien, 2005). This qualitative strategy allowed me to recognise content of my data and in the next stages refers it to actor-network theory and the concept of glocalisation (see subchapter *II.3.2. Data analysis* for detailed scheme of the analytical process). My applied coding strategy was based on forming *initial codes,* next *clustering them into codes*, according to their relations and similar meaning, and then *forming categories from them*, which represented the empirical findings of my research. The scheme below illustrates the coding process in relation to analytical categories drawn from actor-network theory and the concept of glocalisation.

Initial coding - deriving first units of meaning, helping to organize the collected data, help get first impression what is in	→	Clustering codes – grouping codes which has similar meaning, linking related codes into broader categories.	→	*Forming categories* – establishing theoretical categories that reflect what is in the data, in reference to applied theoretical framework.

Examples

Actants
**actant_values;
actant_city;
actant_document;
actant_initiator**

Socio-material practice
**Practice_using space;
practice_realisation of tasks;
practice_noticing older people**

Moments of translations
**ANT_problematisation ; ANT-interessement;
ANT_enrolment;
ANT_mobilisation**
Scales **–
glocalization_scales;
glocalization_power.**

Examples

Actant_ space → **merged with codes: place, meetings; described: space as an Actant in social activity.**

ANT_interessement → **interessement_fininicing;
interessement_declaration;
interessement_grassroots**

Examples

Codes**:
practice_enatngling;
actant_network;
practice_gemmation → Weaving the network → IV.1. Ontologies of Social Activity Implementation.**

Codes**:
glocalization_scales;
actant_financing;
actant_time;
practice_using space → Resource mining → IV.2. Scales of Social Activity Implementation**

Scheme 14.Coding process and applied codes,

Scheme 14 illustrates how my analytical process occurred. The three stages of coding were applied, and it is important to reiterate that the coding process was an iterative one, which is marked with the black arrows over the coding stages on the scheme. It means that while coding a part of data with initial codes and moving to the next steps, namely clustering, I happened to go back again to the initial coding. This repeatability of coding process stemmed from the need for data saturation. This term describes the moment in the process of qualitative data analysis, when a researcher finds his/her categories, describing the studied phenomenon, comprehensive. This means that adding new data will not change the results, and the created category descriptions and recognised relationships between them

allow the results to be presented (Creswell, 2007; Silverman, 2007). Hence, when the researcher finds some category incomplete, he or she goes backwards to search for missing information or maybe an error in interpretations made earlier. To help with data saturation, qualitative scholars do data triangulations, which in the case of my study, consisted of collecting wide types of data, coming from diversified sources as well as deep and multiple data readings (Julien, 2005).

Within each stage of coding, I strived to understand the idea of social activity for older people, applying established theoretical framework. Thus, at the first stage I searched for actants, socio-material practices, and moments of translations (Callon & Latour, 1981; Latour, 2005; John Law, 2009). In reference to actor-network theory I aimed to understand what human and nonhuman objects take part in enactment of the studied idea. The aim was to see what elements form **the networks**, which are a performative construct, weaving reality (Latour, 2005). Apart from **actants**, networks are formed with **translation process**, which consist of aggregation of actants striving to achieve a common goal. The engagement of actants in the translation process is divided into four moments: **problematisation, interessement, enrolment and mobilisation** (Callon & Latour, 1981). The first one refers to problem definition, which induces actants to enter the network. Within interessement, in turn, actants present their interests and check if they can be fulfilled with this network. The next step is the enrolment, which leads to achieving the common goal. Finally within mobilisation, if the assumed aims and actions became performed by actants, the network endures further and in the result form new elements of reality (Callon & Latour, 2015; Galis, 2011). As the result of network weaving, ANT's scholars speak about **socio-material practices**, which became a broader concept. Practices describe how things are done and hence how reality occur. Practices are weaved with networks (John Law, 2009, 2019). As it can be seen in the analytical process, I strive to find mentioned elements of ANT framework to understand and get an expertise knowledge of the social activity for older people, enacted in Poznan. In the final stage of coding process, I move one step further and attempted to trace the implementation process, thus I applied one more ANT term: **ontology** (Mol, 2002). This construct was introduced by A. Mol (2002) in her research of atherosclerosis, in which she strived to understand how the disease was enacted by medical practices. Within different ontologies, she demonstrated various realities of the disease. Each of them was separate, but at the same time all of them co-created the studied phenomenon. Ontology,

thus, is the construct, which allows to see how various realities, with distinct values and practices, can weave a single phenomenon. It was also used in other research on policymaking (Galis, 2011), when researchers aimed to see influence of policy formulation on experience of disability. Seemingly in my study with ontologies, I strived to illustrate how different realities enacted the same idea, framing it with different values and practices. I also propose this construct as a counterpart to the term discourse, which is an element of *discursive institutionalism* (for full explanation of DI see I.2.2. Policy within institutional economics). Discourse is, along with ideas, a mean of policy formation, it encompasses ideas in various forms and reciprocal processes throughout which ideas are conveyed (Schmidt, 2008).

Simultaneously to coding within ANT framework, I also applied codes within the glocalisation concept. As it can be seen in Scheme 14, within initial coding I aimed to identify **scales** and the indication of power one actants over others. Scales are elements of the glocalisation concept widespread in policy research (Swyngedouw, 2005; Szulecki, 2011; Wathen, 2020). Glocalisation within my research is understood as the rolling of the state, upward to the international organisation and downward to the local level of governance as a result of globalisation (Cox, 2009; Swyngedouw, 1996, 2005). Scales, in turn, are elements which allow to capture these shifting directions of policy formations on the local level, which become significant as an outcome of welfare decentralisation (Andreotti & Mingione, 2016; Kutsar & Kuronen, 2015). They are represented in the data with dominant values and leading actants (Wathen, 2020). The searched scales were in the next steps divided accordingly to common values and dominant actants. In the final stage, I strove to retrace the politics of scale, which describe how studied policy implementation can be described in the reference to international and local forces (Swyngedouw, 1997). This element of glocalisation was an additional theoretical framework aimed at considering the decentralisation process within ageing policy, which pose a new set of relations, far from well-known vertical governance (Kutsar & Kuronen, 2015). While establishing codes of glocalisation concept, I also used codes from ANT framework, such as actant_values, actant_assumtions or practices_using space, as they provided an additional explanation to emerging from data scales.

In the next parts of this chapter, I explain what social activity is for older people in Poznan. I remain with the actor-network theory in these sections. However, in the next chapter (IV. The Implementation of Social Activity for Older People in Poznan) I present the

answer to the question on the process of this idea implementation by urban ageing policy in Poznan. Then I apply both ANT and glocalisation framework.

In both third and fourth chapters, I apply terms that need clarification to avoid reader confusion. First, I refer to the implementation process, which is the term related to the terminology of policy, described in the earlier parts of this work (I.2. Social Activity for Older People and its Implementation). However, in this chapter, I used it interchangeably with the term *enactment,* which coming from ANT literature is to be treated as synonyms. Second, the main term, social activity, has been chosen based on the literature on ageing as the most popular. Nevertheless, it happens that I use this in rotation with participation or engagement to avoid repetition. Finally, below I present the names of organisations and events used in the empirical chapters, specific for the city of Poznan:

Table 11. The names used in the empirical chapters.

Polish name	English name	Applied shortcut	Description
Centrum Inicjatyw Senioralnych	The Centre for Older Citizens' Initiatives	CIS	The municipal institutions, called by the president and city board, which is responsible for realisation of policy for older citizens.
Centrum Inicjatyw Lokalnych	The Centre for Local Initiatives	CIL	The programme formed by the city but carried out by nongovernmental organisations. The aim is to animate local communities within city districts.
Organizowanie Społeczności Lokalnych	Animation of Local Communities	OSL	The method applied by CIL. It underlines the need for self-organisation of local communities. The emphasis is put on available within community human, social, and material resources
Targi Viva Senior!	VIVA Older Citizens Fairs!		Annual event organised by the city and voivodship in the space of city fairs. The exhibitors are organisation from private and third sector acting for older people.

Klub Seniora	Older Citizens Clubs	Those are formal (when established within some organisation or company) or informal groups of older people, who meet regularly. Older Citizens Clubs are formed based on members' district, but not necessarily. They are also established by non-governmental organisation or parishes and then gather older citizens from various part of the city.
Miejska Rada Seniorów	The Municipal Council of Older Citizens	The council called every four years in the by vote. The elected representatives represent both the city and NGOs working for the elderly. The Council is an advisory body.
Tytka Seniora	Older Citizens Package	A form of newsletter published by CIS, collecting information on all events in the city.
Miejsca Przyjazne Seniorom	Older Citizens Friendly Spaces	A programme created by CIS to identify age-friendly places - restaurants, cinemas, cultural institutions, shops. The programme has a programme board and described criteria that must be met to obtain the title.
Senioralni	Older Citizens' month	An annual event inspired by the Students' Days. It includes a month-long series of events for older residents, usually in October.

I have included below a list of the documents cited in Chapter III and IV, together with the designations that identify them, i.e., [Dx]. This is not a complete list of the sources I used. A list of all materials: interviews, field notes, photographs, and additional materials can be found in the appendix or in subchapter II.3. Data Collection and Analysis.

List of citied documents:

D1 - First interview with a worker of the Centre for Older Citizens' Initiatives
D2 - Interview with the Director of the Centre for Older Citizens Initiatives.
D3 - Interview with a museum worker at Porta Posnania ICHOT.
D4 - Interview with a museum worker at The Museum of Applied Arts.
D5 - Interview with the foundation worker (interview granted anonymously).
D6 - Second interview with a worker at the Centre for Older Citizens' Initiatives.
D7 - Interview with a worker at the Flandria Foundation.
D8 - Interview with the founder of the Green Group of NGOs and the leader of the Centre for Local Innovation.
D9 - Interview with the founder of The Mill of Support foundation.
D10 - Interview with a member of The Municipal Council of Older Citizens.
D11 - Interview with the founders of the Silver Years Foundation and Older Citizen Club.
D12 - Interview with a worker at the Municipal Centre for Family Support.
D13 - The interview with older citizen activists.
D14 - Older Citizens' Policy of the City of Poznan for 2017- 2021
D15 - Programme of Older Citizen Days
D16 - Declaration on cooperation of presidents in the field of older citizen policy
D17 - Announcement of the open competition No. 45/2021 for assigning the tasks of the City of Poznan in the area of activity for people of retirement age.
D18 - Act of 24 April 2003 on public benefit activity and voluntary work
D19 - Report on the implementation of the annual programme of cooperation with non-governmental organisations in Poznan for the year 2020
D20 - The report on the activities of the Astra Senior Club in the local newspaper of the Kiekrz district.
D21 - An offer for the realisation of a public task submitted by the Polish Association of the Blind - Wielkopolska Voivodship and its Older Citizens' Club Hillary.

III.2. How Does social activity Happen in Poznan?

In this subchapter, I want to present four phases of social activity enactment, as stages of the translation process, applied from actor-network theory (Callon & Latour, 2015). In the course of this research, it was impossible to distinguish one smooth translation process. Moreover, social activities were not enacted by a strictly delineated group of actants, but rather constantly reassembling networks of them (Latour, 2005; Mol, 2002). Instead, I attempted to find moments in social activity enactment which could provide an understanding of older people social activity in Poznan and appeared to be an important point on a map of social activity implementation, serving as its explanation. Beneath, Table 12 demonstrates moments of translation and the respective sections describing them.

Table 12. Moments of translation.

Definition	The moment of translation	Section
In this stage actants of the network are identified and their interests are being formed	PROBLEMATIZATION	*III.1.1.Why do you care?* *Interests* *Obligations* *Measures* *Reasons comes by themselves*
Actants are *locked in* the network of social activity, within declared identities and goals and become indispensable for each other.	INTERESSEMENT	*III.1.2. Entering the network.* *Looking for the support* *In search of sites* *Positioning* *Casting the net*
The ways in which actants are assigned to previously declared roles.	ENROLMENT	*III.1.3. Vehicles of social activity.* *Seduction* *Engaged social activity* *Commission to actants* *To kill two birds with one stone*
The emergence of new elements from the network.	MOBILISATION	*III.1.4. Desired product.* *Life full of events* *Acting for others* *Endurance of relations* *Proliferation of networks*

Source: (Callon & Latour, 1981; Galis, 2011; Po-An Hsieh et al., 2012)

In reference to an earlier described (see I.2.2. Policy within institutional economics) level of abstraction in policy formation, which are *policy solutions, policy definitions* and *public philosophies* (Mehta, 2011), in this subchapter I tried to unveil public philosophies, maybe sometimes unconsciously hidden behind actant actions, which push them to implement social activity for older people.

III.1.1. Why do you care?

During my research, I managed to observe and attend a quite differentiated group of events, carried out by various public entities, such as non-governmental organisations, older citizen clubs, private enterprises, or public institutions. Along this process, I tried to find a starting point for actants to join a network, the thread, which would lead me to others actants engaged in the network and further sequential moments of translations. So, the above question *Why do you care?* places actants enacting social activity on different endings of these threads, which together form a starting point for enactment of the social activity for older people. In the next four sections, I will therefore describe the reasons why the actants decided to join the network. I will start with *Interests*, which refer to the possibility that the actants see in the social activity of older people to realise their own benefits. Then I will refer to *Obligations*, which, contained in the documents, push the actants to act. In the next section - *Measures* - I will present the actants' involvement in creating social activity as a way to counteract the crisis of ageing. In the last section, *Reasons come by themselves*, I will draw attention to the issue of grassroots activism initiated by older people themselves.

Interests

The emergence of social activity is related to the desire of the actants for alliances and their identity that trigger them to weave into the network. In some cases, the social activity of older people appears to be valuable from the perspective of their functioning. Taking part in social activity seems for them lucrative and they see it as an engagement that can bring profit.

Such perspective was mentioned by the director of the Centre for Older Citizen Initiatives (CIS) who talked about cooperation with private companies, which have come forward to participate:

> *Most companies that have an interest like this do a bit of CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility), a bit of promotion, and a bit of selling their services. I don't see anything wrong with that so that older peoples can benefit, but it has to be clear, fair, and transparent. (...) The business needs sales, some CSR, some promotion, some attention to the needs of older peoples to create a product tailored to them [D2].*

In saying so, the director explained the presence of private enterprises as their partners in organisation of social activity for older people. The firms' interest is to reach their potential older customers, but also their friends and relatives and in exchange donate some money for actions, which could be a response to older people's needs. Yet, the idea of CSR is not purely promotional, as it is supposed to impose the social duty on large companies and give them a chance to redeem themselves if their actions contributed to some social inequalities or harm (Latapí Agudelo, Jóhannsdóttir, & Davídsdóttir, 2019). However, it is also known that CSR serves as a good tool for promotion (Freitag, 2008; Mullerat, 2009). The firm, which supports social ventures, presents itself as sensible and responsible, builds a positive organisational image, and as a result, attracts more customers.

Photograph 5. Halls of VIVA Older Citizens Fairs. Visitors marching from stall to stall, established by firms, travel agencies, public bodies or non-governmental organisations.

Furthermore, as it was mentioned by CIS director and was also visible during my observations at *"VIVA Older Citizen Fairs!"* the private entrepreneurs participate in the social activity of older citizens, as they make up the majority of their customers. In this sense, the social participation of the elderly is somehow used to establish a consumer-producer relation and, as mentioned by the director, adjust the offer to specific needs of older customers.

Photograph 6.Leaflet from a company offering gas valves recommended for use in the homes of dependent people with memory impairments.

Photograph 7.Leaflet from a company offering gas valves recommended for use in the homes of dependent people with memory impairments.

Above, one of the leaflets shows a company specialising in products dedicated to the elderly, specifically to their caretakers. The product addresses the issue of memory problems among some of the elderly. The company offers safe gas valves to be installed in homes of the elderly. The social activity of a trade fair for older people is therefore used by the company as an opportunity to meet potential customers.

The private sector is not the only one interested in the social activity of older people. During the fairs and while interviewing, I came across nongovernmental organisations and public entities expressing a similar desire to ally themselves with older people, among. It seems that having activities for older people in their offer they also strive to attract an audience. When talking to museum staff and trying to see the moment when they engage in

the network, I also observed that social activity is a chance for promotion for them. The following is an excerpt from a conversation about the involvement of the Museum of Applied Arts in Poznan in the Older People month programme organised by the city:

> **Interviewer:** *They (representatives of the city) are encouraging you to take part in this event (Older Citizens month), yes?*
>
> **Expert:** *Yes. Each year, they collect a proposal from various institutions and organisations. They announce a deadline, and then they collect proposals. (...)*
>
> **I:** *And why do you decide to do it?*
>
> **E:** *Because, first of all, we are open to various initiatives and we know that we can also attract new viewers, who may not otherwise come to the museum, and then they come and experience something nice here, see the interiors, and they will want to come back and attend other meetings [D4].*

It was also true for the worker from another museum, with whom I talked:

> *That is, we generally assumed that we wanted to create an offer for very different audiences, which is why we wanted to create an offer for older peoples [D3].*

The social activity of the elderly is a chance for these places to carry out their mission. It takes the form of museum tours, educational workshops, or thematic lectures. Older visitors through their activity ally with museums in realising their aims, namely, to disseminate cultural heritage and knowledge of humankind development. It is worth mentioning that although museum workers use the word '*offer*', their services are free of charge, funded by the city budget or appropriate ministry.

By and large, both private and public entities use social events for older people to develop their activities. For the private sector, social activity for older people provides an opportunity to attract a wider range of customers or to promote a positive image of themselves through their involvement in activities for older people. For cultural institutions, in turn, it is also a promotional tool, but one aimed at fulfilling the institution's mission. In both cases, we are dealing with the involvement of these actants in social activity because of the possible benefits. In the case of the private sector, these benefits include increased profits from new customers. For cultural institutions, on the other hand, it is the possibility to fulfil their mission and gain popularity among different groups of citizens.

Obligations

Another element, prompting an actant to be interested in the implementation of social activity for older people, is the idea's proximity to the actant's mission:

> *I: So, it is a bit like these activities for older peoples are a part of the idea of the foundation itself?*
>
> *E: Yes, yes, absolutely, it has to be embedded in that, well that is the first thing that it has to be consistent [D5].*

From this statement, the social activity for older people to be enacted needs to be put somehow in regulatory documents of organisation from the second and third sector as their actions are determined with organisations' statutes. Such a trigger for this man, a foundation leader, is the mission of his organisation, which involves him into the sequential networks of actions. One more example comes from the Porta Posnania Museum:

> *This also stems from the nature of the institution, because since we are in the field of interpreting heritage, bringing it closer, and helping people to experience it personally, we need to find ways of doing this. And education is a very good way to do it, because we can use various forms and methods of work and adapt them to particular groups, their needs and interests, and also adapt them so that learning about heritage is a pleasure and is also fun. So, education is very important here [D3].*

This quotation shows that the social activity of older people can emerge as an emanation of an entity's mission. For this museum worker, participation in social activity was a way to execute strategies present within the museum. Furthermore, there can be other documents than statues, which weave actants into the network of actions. Those two examples below demonstrate threads involving the city of Poznan into social activity implementation.

> *For example, there was a document entitled "Social Policy for the City of Poznan", in which older peoples were strongly emphasised. Then there was the strategy for solving social problems, then older peoples were included in the city development strategy, etc. But we needed a new, up-to-date document, and based on the fact that we are a network of Ageing Friendly Cities, based on their experience and recommendations, the city prepared a separate document. (…) Because the Ageing Friendly Cities programme defines a certain course of action and indicates certain things that we should do. It is divided just like the WHO guide [D2].*

Another extract, this time from policy documents:

> *The Program 'Older Citizenship Policy of the City of Poznan   ' for 2017-2021 indicates actions, tasks, and initiatives that shape conditions for a healthy and dignified and healthy ageing [D14].*

Similar to museum statutes, these documents direct action that should be taken, in this example, by local public entities. The obligations embraced in the documents link them with the idea of social activity as one of the ways to execute the city's policy. In addition to their missions and other documents, the actants also refer to the term of a public task, which comes from *the Act of 24 April 2003 on public benefit activity and voluntary work*[10]. It determines the activity of third sector organisations and names public tasks commissioned to them. An excerpt from the Older Citizens' Club's newsletter reports on events aimed at the social involvement of its members. The activities were carried out by the club as part of a public task delegated to the club for implementation in a tender conducted by the town hall:

> *In this year, the club activities were co-financed from the funds of the City of Poznan - two public task projects were delivered, which received support in the competitions of the Department of Health and Social Affairs of the Poznan City Hall [D20].*

As can be seen in this section, sometimes the reason for getting involved in older people's social activity is an obligation that creates a link between an organisation or institution and social activity. Such an obligation may arise from the statutes adopted by the organisation, documents created, such as the Older Citizen policy of the City of Poznan. It may also refer to acts regulating e.g., the activity of the third sector, which impose on them a certain range of tasks, among them the activity for people at the retirement age. As in the previous section, I have pointed out the interests and benefits that drive actants to engage in social activity, I introduce another element, namely obligations that weave organisations and institutions into the network of social activity implementations.

---

[10] pl. *Ustawa z dnia 24 kwietnia 2003 r. o działalności pożytku publicznego i o wolontariacie*.

Measures

The sequential elements which bring about the reality of social activity are diagnosis and observations. The city authorities are triggered to take some actions towards older people as the response to worrying prediction of ageing societies:

> *The city authorities, aware of the challenges that result from the ageing of society, meet the changing needs of older residents and their families by taking various measures aimed at ensuring dignified ageing by improving the quality of life and creating conditions for the professional and social activity of older people [D16].*

The fact that actions of authorities on the state level come from implications and recommendations based on research and expertise concerning society or the economy is not surprising. However, what I want to indicate in this section is that local policymakers see actions towards older people, among them social activity, as a response to the ageing problem. If they did not think so, they would not consider undertaking social participation activities. It serves as a justification for designed and planned policy actions:

> *Poznan's current demographic situation and projections indicate a need to continue the current plan and take further measures, in particular, to introduce increasingly effective instruments to ensure the best possible living conditions for Poznan's elderly citizens [D14].*

These two examples show that at the city level and in emerging documents shaping the city's activities, social activism for older people is emerging as a way of counteracting the effects of an ageing society. As a measure it is supposed to foster the creation of a better environment for the elderly, precisely by creating opportunities for their social activity. Social activity of older people is also used as a response to the ageing problem on the lower city levels, namely by foundation, which regularly carries out events for them:

> *In another project that we had, I noticed that very often older citizens in older citizens' clubs are not fully integrated, they form groups, subgroups, that if older citizens' clubs have some funding for activities, that is great, but very often they don't, and they don't necessarily know how to make use of the time they have when they meet [D9].*

In the account presented, the foundation worker refers to social activity as a way of addressing the integration problems of older people who form older people's clubs. What I attempted to grasp here by connoting these examples is a different starting point for the implementation of social active ageing compared to the previous two sections, where the idea was an element of the organisations' or institution's interest or obligation. This section

deals with a different perspective on the implementation of social activity, namely the perspective of ageing societies and the individual perspective. Both from a societal and an individual perspective, social participation helps to mitigate the effects of this process, adapting the local environment to be more conducive to social participation of older people or, as in the case of the individual perspective, for whom social participation is a way to integrate and mobilise. These two perspectives of looking at the social activity of older people, i.e. social and individual, are common in research on it, and were pointed out by me in an earlier part of the thesis - I.1.3 Urban ageing. Researchers point out the influence of social activity on individuals' self-satisfaction and stress reduction (Ahmad & Hafeez, 2011; Fu et al., 2018; Ho, 2017), but also facilitates coping with problems (Pei et al., 2014) and aid maintenance of good health (Bilotta et al., 2012; Fu et al., 2018; Granbom et al., 2017; Tong et al., 2019). In the perspective of society, social activity is perceived by scholars as a measure to enhance financial independency of older people (Suzuki et al., 2020) or provide them with low cost support of local community (Novak & Vute, 2013). Thus, the results of my research are in line with the conclusions reached to date regarding the impact of socially active older people on society and the individual. But importantly, through my research I would like to point out that this attitude to the idea under study is relevant to the very formation of urban ageing policies.

Reasons come by themselves

The implementation of social activity for older people in Poznan is not only induced by documents or the desire to attract customers or participants, but also by older people, who come up with initiatives:

> *The Centre for Older Citizen Initiatives, which will soon be 10 years old, was not created because some politicians thought it up, but because older citizens came to the president and said: "We want such a Centre to be created" [D2].*

For the director of the Centre, it is important to underline that the establishment was not just the decision of local authorities, but rather it came from the bottom, from older active citizens, who proposed such initiative and so they were heard.

This autogenesis of actions, among them social activity events, is reoccurring also in other cases:

> *Voices that these local clubs need a bit of support from someone who will devote a bit more time to them were linked to voices from the older citizens themselves. (…) The clubs themselves come to us with their doubts and problems, and this is probably the greatest joy of our work, that apart from the fact that we animate a little bit, they also stimulate themselves to give us some suggestions, ideas, and proposals, so it is interesting [D1].*

Once again, the fragment cited from the interview with the worker at the centre suggests that initiatives to act for older people come from themselves. Therefore, the enactment of social activity, which could be carried out by the centre, is also possible thanks to the already-existing social activity of older people. Those who came up with the proposal to establish the Centre for Older Citizens Initiatives or those who advance their problems and needs, which could be addressed by its workers.

However, there is also another aspect of this generative tendency of social activity. The examples below present two workers from nongovernmental organisations, who were referring to the way they were arranging the activities:

> *Let me explain. All activities come from the older peoples themselves, because every time we carry out a project, for which we receive funding, we first diagnose their needs [D9].*

And the second example also from nongovernmental organisation:

> **Interviewer:** *So, the ideas for your projects were from the bottom up?*
>
> **Expert:** *Yes, but we always try hard to listen to what they want, because it is quite important for us. We don't want to come with a ready-made offer, but rather to ask [D8].*

For some reason the opinion of older people is also important for them. As it appears, in the second case these consultations are in line with the model of local community animation (See the Table 11 In this subchapter), another element of the urban policy, which promotes a particular way of cooperation between local communities and nongovernmental organisations. The idea behind it is that to make a change and improve the livelihood of some communities. NGOs, first, have to recognise community needs, but also available resources and possible ways to engage them. As for the first case where the foundation worker also declares to carry out the diagnosis, it is important to note that the context for it is the running of the project. For them, the need for participants' opinion may stem from

requirements that come with every public task carried out within a project. Each public task is commissioned to the chosen entity based on competition, which in its regulations, also demands from a task implementer (non-governmental organisation) to conduct a diagnosis of needs and problems among a targeted group. The table below shows the requirements for potential project implementers selected through competitions held by the city. The projects refer to tasks received by the city as a result of its role as a municipality and a district. Among the criteria there is the necessity to conduct an analysis of needs and their problems (see point 1.4.).

Table 13. Criteria within the framework of the open call for proposals for activities related to people of retirement age.

	Specific criteria for the selection of the offers	Maximum number of points
1.	**The possibility of carrying out a public task:**	**34**
1.1.	The offeror's experience in implementing tasks in: "Activities for people of retirement age".	8
1.2.	Size and characteristics of the audience, method of recruitment.	10
1.3.	The housing and material resources necessary for the proper implementation of the actions.	14
1.4.	The analysis of needs and the degree of problem identification.	12

[D17]

In both cases, i.e., of the OSL model and the project implemented by the organisation as part of a commissioned public task, the need to address older people turns out to be dictated by the requirements of the programme in which the surveyed organisations participated. What we can see is that both municipal entities, as well as for third sector organisations, jointed the network in reference to bottom-up information. It can be important as a justification of their actions or as a requirement from programmes to which they apply. Referring to the title of this section - *Reasons come by themselves* - I wanted to show that for my interlocutors it was important, when talking about the social activities of older people, to show that its source comes from the older people themselves. As can be seen from the examples I presented, certainly for NGOs this desire also comes from the requirements of the programmes they implement. As far as the director of the Centre and the staff member are concerned, such an assumption is inherent both in the statute of the organisation and in the older citizens' policy they try to implement. Thus, the spontaneity of emerging ideas for social activism of older people is in fact written down, sometimes hidden in documents or programmes. This means that the ideas contained in the above-mentioned documents,

policies or programmes are the starting point for the implementation of the analysed idea of social activity. Such an idea is the concept of empowerment popular in public policies (O'Connor & Netting, 2011; Olech & Kaźmierczak, 2011), and also in ageing policies (Walker, 2009a). It consists in empowering citizens, residents and giving them initiative and agency in the field of emerging social services and activities.

In summary, in this subchapter I attempted to expound different points on the map of social activity implementation, which could be called starting points, at least for the events I observed. I tried to show what the perspectives of different actants might be when problematising the social activity of older people. We are dealing with the interests of private companies, which are joining the social activity of older people and seeing benefits for themselves, such as creating a positive image of their company within the framework of CSR, reaching a larger group of potential consumers, or perhaps adapting their services to older consumers. Therefore, companies joining in become actants in the network's implementing social activity of older people by means of CSR or the silver economy[11]. These are further, as idea of social activity, global ideas that have been developed at an international level and embedded at a local level (Cox, 2009). This shows what a mosaic the public philosophy (Mehta, 2011) behind policies can be. It is even more diverse if we consider the further elements of problematisation presented in this section. In the part about obligations and reasons that come by themselves, there are further reasons why NGOs, cultural institutions, or informal groups (such as older citizens' clubs) get involved in making social activity a reality. Their willingness to do so may stem from documents, policies, statutes, or projects. We can call all these elements actants, which induce further actants in the network to realise the idea of social active ageing. In turn, the mentioned documents, policies or statutes are pushed by again other actants, another idea such as the mentioned empowerment (Olech & Kaźmierczak, 2011), popular in social policies. Another reason for the emergence of social activism of older people is its practical function as a

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[11] It is a concept developed within the paradigm of symbolic interactionism, relating to activity and continuity theory (Marshall & Clarke, 2010). At that time, in addition to the idea of successful or active ageing, a parallel idea emerged for productive ageing, which emphasised prolonging the usefulness of older people through their continued work but also active consumption. Hence the term silver economy, which refers to the offerings of companies focused on older consumers, often significantly profiling their activities (Klimczuk, 2015; Walker, 2009b).

measure that can minimise the social and individual effects of the aging process, much emphasised by researchers of social activity for older people in cities (Ahmad & Hafeez, 2011; Ho, 2017; Novak & Vute, 2013; Suzuki et al., 2020).

In summing up this subchapter, I answered the question - *Why do you care?* - to individuals, organisations and other actants who make social activity for older people in Poznan a reality. By looking for what binds them together, we see further actants, namely interests, ideas, legal documents that make the implementation of this idea beneficial to actants. This shows how complex local public philosophy is, but also how globally rooted it can be.

III.1.2. Entering the network

As a continuation of the previous subchapter on the problematisation, I will further trace threads of relations, which place actants within the network. Through four sections, I will show how the actants became part of a network making the social activity of older people a reality. Starting from the first section - *Looking for the support* - I discuss joining the network by the need to get resources for the organisation's activities. The next section, *In search for sites*, focuses on another aspect of networking and bonding, namely the issue of space for social activity. In the next section, *Positioning*, I discuss the relationships in the network that make actants indispensable to each other. The final section, *Casting the net*, to show the formation of a network of connections between actants through the metaphor of casting a net.

Looking for the support

I will start with a description of how respective actants enter the network of social activity implementation. At first, we can see different kinds of entities that enter the network of projects and programmes formed by city authorities, to gain some funds for their activities with older people:

> *We have started some form of cooperation with the city, but it is still a work in progress because I am not the kind of person who would say that I want to do this and it is a brilliant idea and everyone should support me and give me money [D5].*

As we can see from the statement on the previous page, the foundation leader seeks to find some resources for his ideas by applying for money from city projects. However, if his ideas for activities are not in line with the assumptions formed by the city, he cannot receive the municipal funding for it. It is important to add that getting a project is substantial for NGOs:

> *We are NGOs, the third sector, and we operate mainly when we have grants (…). Everything is connected to the source of our funding. If we do cultural activities, we apply for funds from the culture department (Poznan city hall), then we have to include in the application that we will go with a group of selected older peoples for example to a museum. [D9].*

As a result of this fragment of the interview, NGOs need to apply for city projects in order to operate. This, in turn, allows local authorities the opportunity to influence what is going on in third sector organisations, as they may not support the ideas of NGOs, whenever they are not compatible with the project agenda. Furthermore, social activity for older people can be enacted by various sources of funding and thus different assumptions toward elderly participation, causing the multiplication of social activities within one entity:

> *However, last year some of the activities for older citizens came from CIL[12], some came from the project of the Health Department project, and some came from the Department of Culture. Now we are going to try to submit some projects for re-granting, for small grants, and to do something at least in this direction, because generally there is a need, and those of our residents who have contact with us and our leaders call and ask if we are going to do something if we can do something together [D8].*

By these examples, I demonstrate how social activity implementation looks from the perspective of NGOs. Events that emerge as the result of their action must meet expectations given by the funds donor, which itself has some assumptions, such as promotion of culture in Poznan or empowerment of local communities.

Moreover, the need for finding support is also present within Older Citizens' Clubs, which, however, need not only financial support but also a legal one, as they are not a legal entity, thus they are not eligible for public benefit activities (according to the Law on Public Benefit and Volunteerism). However, what can happen is the Older Citizens' Club cooperates with NGOs, companies, local parishes, or housing councils, which have legal capacity, and through their support apply for funds. However, this condition forces Older Citizens' Clubs into alliance with possible patrons. However, what I observed more was that different entities

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[12] The Centre for Local Initiatives (pl. *Centrum Inicjatyw Lokalnych)* for further explanations see p.9.

decide to set up an Older Citizens' Club within their structures, rather than clubs starting the cooperation:

> *I don't know how it was, anyway, we belonged to the Centre Club, we were under the Association's care, and the Association wrote projects and received 10,000 or 15,000 (polish zloty) for older citizens. And we had to say what we wanted to do for those 15 000, what kind of workshops. The ideas were ours. There were trips, gymnastics [D13].*

So, we can see that social activity to be enacted by older people themselves also needs support, but even more complex than in the case of NGOs. However, there are also other possibilities for Older Citizens' Clubs, which as an informal group can apply for some dedicated to such groups. They can try to raise funds for their activities within grants:

> *The leader of this club wanted, for example, to organise Christmas, but they did not have the funds. We thought together, I searched for the nearest grants, small ones, which would allow us to achieve this goal. After searching for it, we sat together to discuss what the plan is and the older citizen presented how she sees it (…) And, of course, the next step was to receive this grant, and the older peoples started implementing it, according to these guidelines [D12].*

The mentioned grants are a small amount of money that is transmitted to various informal groups for their actions. Money is dispensed by nongovernmental organisations, which were chosen to do so within another municipal project.

It can be seen that *looking for support* is a way entities enter some networks of social activity implementation, impersonating into a role of contractor, who will deliver a task in exchange for necessary resources.

Looking for financial support by getting involved in available projects is part of the phenomenon of projectisation described in public policies (Godenhjelm, Lundin, & Sjöblom, 2015; D. Hodgson, Fred, Bailey, & Hall, 2019) as a way of public management (Jałocha, 2019, 2021), of implementing policies (Jensen, Johansson, & Löfström, 2018), also on the local level (Skórzyńska, 2018; Skrzypek-Prawelska & Jałocha, 2014; Snopko, 2014). The existence of this phenomenon, as researchers point out, on the one hand is an improvement (Jałocha, 2021; Snopko, 2014), however on the other hand it favours temporarily introduced policies, limits NGOs and imposes some ready-made ideas (D. Hodgson et al., 2019; Kuura, 2011; Skórzyńska, 2018).

However, also as the researchers and my analysis indicate, such design promotes the temporality or one-off nature of politics. In return, policymakers receive a tool that is easy to manage, allocate money and seemingly more measurable. However, according to my research, projects leave some grassroots initiatives created by local activists unrealised and focus on actions towards specific groups included in documents, omitting other locally relevant groups of people in need of support.

In search of sites

As was explained earlier, actants seek financial support to go on with their activities. However, there is one more significant element, namely, a site of action. It seems to play an active role in the social participation of older people's social participation. During my visit to CIS, I was acquainted with activities carried out by CIS, but also with the place itself:

> *I will show you the centre, well, the heart of the centre is the information*
> *room, the first one, where there are brochures, information and where older*
> *peoples can come on their own, use, search, relax, and I think this is the best*
> *formula because there are older people who come to us every month and they*
> *know where to look and what to look for [D1].*

What is visible from that interview is that the sheer space of entities can enact social activity by welcoming in its visitors and *giving* them further information on what events they can attend. Furthermore, it seems that the centre's activity focuses on exposing the sites available for older citizens in Poznan and, by doing so, enhancing their activity. There is a special programme *Older People Friendly Place*, within which different firms, restaurants or other entities could get a certificate of such *Older People Friendly Place* if they will meet the conditions of the programme, concerning the availability for older people and additionally offer some discounts. In exchange, such a place is given a certificate and recommendation, which in turn serve as an incentive for older people to visit.

Furthermore, tracing other programmes that take place in Poznan, one could notice that they also sort of open the city space for its older citizens:

> *Mr. President, together with us... We had the idea that one of Poznan's cinemas should be an older citizens' cinema, and that is what happened. After the renovation of the Muza cinema, we can boldly say that it is an older citizen cinema. On Wednesdays there are performances, you can go for 10 zloty, which is a good price, and there is also coffee, tea, cake, and the opportunity to talk. There is also the Palace cinema in the Castle (cultural centre), which is also an older citizen's cinema. There is also the private Rialto cinema, which also hosts screenings for the elderly, and there are crowds of people there [D2].*

The above-mentioned city spaces, cinemas, are examples of already existing places that offer activities for all, but through a special name and dedicated service, they aim to attract older people to participate in social activities happening there. Another example of place with a special role in the social activity of the elderly is an event called *Older Citizens Days (Senioralni).* It takes place every year in Poznan, usually at the beginning of autumn for one month, thus called a month of older citizens. For 30 days, older people are encouraged to participate in different activities available in the event's programme. Moreover, for its opening, the President hands representatives of older citizens keys to the city, as from this time they are hosts of the city. This programme was established based on a similar event called *Students' Day (Juwenalia)*, which is focused on younger citizens. During the month of older people, the city establishes a wide offer of events. However, what can be seen is that a big part of events enlisted in the programme are happening independently from this special event, they are actually regular meetings, workshops or one-time events open to the broad public. However, through events such as Older Citizens' Days, elderly people are becoming more frequent visitors to city spaces, e.g., theatres, museums, cinemas or simply parks and monuments in the old town.

Apart from being available for older people, city space is also an important element in social activity enactment by NGOs or Older Citizens' Clubs:

We opened our club, then we started looking for a room. We found one in the kindergarten, which needed to be renovated, and we asked the president to finance it because the basement needed to be completely renovated and adapted. So, the club was set up in the kindergarten. And that is how the club operates [D11].

And the club started to have such a nice real activity, we had 40-50 members. Because there were 3 rooms, a social room, a computer room, a lecture room, and there we could develop, you know, in the sense that we could have all kinds of circles there [D13].

Both examples show that space forms the foundation for action. Therefore, actants must ally with others to find a venue for their meetings. From the perspective of actants who have space, in turn, it can incline an engagement in the enactment of social activity:

I always liked social work in some NGOs. And that contact led to some cooperation, where it turned out at some point that they were not able to serve so many interested older citizens. I said: "Why not, I have the room, I have days", and it is the case that two weeks in advance the place is full [D5].

The space presented in this section is presented as an actant, which is a starting point for the realisation of social activity, through its functions and characteristics, e.g., the free space of an NGO or the space of a cinema hall or a museum. As a result, activities such as Older People's Wednesdays, Older People's Cinema or museum visits appear. Furthermore, space is also needed to tie relations between participants so that their social activity lasts.

We make friends with this group of elderly who come to us because there is no denying that relationships are formed. These meetings and workshops are always held over coffee and cakes, and they have a slightly different character. It is not about stressing anyone out, it is about creating a friendly atmosphere, and that is why it can have such a nice effect later on [D3].

Within the data analysis process, the *search for a site* appeared to be an important action. Social activity is perceived as staying in spaces, particular places trigger actions and events, which allows implementing social activity of elderly. Furthermore, we can see that actual space is an actant, which shapes social activities through its features, such as old buildings, interesting exhibitions, or spare space to drink coffee and chat.

The role of space in the social activity of older people has already been highlighted by various researchers, which is also included in my literature review (see subchapter I.1.3. Urban Ageing) (Beard & Montawi, 2015; Dawidowicz et al., 2020; Xiong et al., 2020; Yung et

al., 2016). Also in the environmental gerontology paradigm, researchers emphasise the strong relationship between space and older people, highlighting the mutual influence (Wahl & Gitlin, 2007). Moreover, the idea of Age-Friendly Cities, popular and promoted by the WHO, places great emphasis precisely on the city space, its accessibility, and adaptation for older residents (Buffel et al., 2021; Moulaert & Garon, 2015). However, in my research, the city space, fragmented into buildings of public institutions, cultural institutions, monuments or headquarters of companies or non-governmental organisations, becomes an actant, actively shaping social activity, influencing the forms it takes. Because it is also a permanent element of the city, it can foster more long-term activities and the involvement of the participants in given activities.

Positioning

In this section, I would like to demonstrate how in another way they enter the network and start to share a common interest with others to consolidate in a common aim, namely social activity of older people. Actants are *locked in* the network of social activity enactment by the support they receive or the space in which they stay, which I call *interposition*. It was visible in the declaration[13] between Polish cities:

> *We declare our willingness to work together to develop the best possible solutions in the field of older citizen policy, which will foster the creation of an age-friendly environment while ensuring conditions for dignified and healthy ageing and preserving as much activity and independence as possible [D16].*

In addition to the Declaration between the mayors quoted above, international programmes also play a similar role, offering membership in exchange for the adoption and implementation of specific objectives:

> *In July 2016, the city of Poznan joined the World Health Organization's Age-Friendly Cities network, which brings together cities open to the needs of older people. This is, on the one hand, recognition of the City's activities to date in support of older citizens, but also acceptance of the assumption that actions to improve the quality of life of all residents should be integrated, giving them a common goal: making the city increasingly age-friendly [D14].*

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[13] Declaration is a common understanding between twenty cities. In it, presidents declare common effort for sake of better live of older people. It was signed on 20th of October 2017.

Participation in such declarations can be seen as a frame within which actants, here the city, decide to function, it binds them to achieve common goals, among them social activity of older people. Interpositioning means that an actant is found among other actants with similar endeavours. Another example of it was, when actants entered the network of social activity throughout projects, established by the city:

> *We started, as far as I remember, with a grant-funded project, it was such a big project based on older volunteers work and that was the first thing that was done here [D3].*

Or by the Ministry:

> *We participate in two different programs that are in September in Poznan. (…) Sometimes we also get proposals to join projects from the city or the Ministry [D4].*

In these examples I wanted to show the initiating role of the programmes. As a result of their implementation, the museums mentioned above have taken further steps to activate older people. In the first interview, the museum worker describes how it all started, namely how the museum began the social activity of older people. The first trigger was some project, which helped to start cooperation with older visitors as volunteers. This allowed them to make relationships and get to know the needs of older people and to be able to offer next events for them. Similarly in the second interview, the worker referred to projects in which museums participate, which makes them well-known actants in social activity for the elderly. Therefore, these projects place these entities on the city map of the elderly ventures.

Furthermore, it also happens that actants decide to enter already-exiting and working network:

> *So, I called them, found out how it works and, in general, decided that we would be the coordinating point for Debiec[14], that is, we collected volunteers, all their data, etc. We reported them to Caritas, and now the City Hall has a general telephone number that older peoples call if they want to buy something, they give their data and if the older person is from Debiec, they send this information to us, usually several orders in bulk, and we distribute it among the volunteers in Debiec who volunteered to help and do the shopping [D8].*

In the process of social activity implementation in Poznan, it seems that mentioned declarations, programmes, and projects are powerful actants, gathering others, supplying

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[14] It is the name of district in Poznan.

them with necessary sources to take action in favour of mutual aims and at the same time fulfilling the interests of each actant separately. *Positioning* is the moment in the translation process when actants are grouped and weaved with each other, so they become dependent on each other. These conclusions allow us to develop the previously-mentioned phenomenon of projectisation (D. Hodgson et al., 2019; Skrzypek-Prawelska & Jałocha, 2014), noting the resulting links and dependencies between actants. Thus, projects are not only a tool to facilitate the management of public policies, but they also foster the creation of commitments and dependencies between local actants, which appeared to be a part of the implementation of social active ageing.

Casting the net

Finally, I want to focus on older people and on the process of becoming weaved into the social activity. As the title of this section suggests, the elderly are sort of decoyed into the net:

> *Reaching out to the group of the elderly with whom I was able to work, I started looking for environments where I could present what community animation is all about[15]. Do the organisations know anything about it, are they interested in cooperating in this area? The first such institution that I went to was the Day Care Centre (Dom Dziennego Pobytu) on Konopnicka Street, and it was there, after discussions with the staff, with the director, with the older citizens who were at the meeting, that I was able to identify their needs [D12].*

As we can see, for this activist, who aims at local community animation, to gain older members of the community, she strived to get to know their needs. The needs are what connects her with others, and common understanding of what is necessary for them can conduce to further common action:

> *Every action, I would say, requires, apart from the fact that there is an action, an initiative, and it is ingenious or has a very noble goal in itself. It is always grassroots here through discussions, and then we think about how to do it, to make it happen, but it always requires a network of people to help us make it happen and to bring these people together to achieve a common effect [D12].*

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[15] She refers to OSL model, which is an abbreviation of *organizowanie społeczności lokalnej*, meaning animation of local community. It is a way of cooperation with local communities applied in Poznan by some public institutions, such as City Centre for Family Support (Miejski Ośrodek Pomocy Rodzinie).

She is aware of the fact that if any venture was to be successful, people engaged in it need to gather under a shared goal, so within *casting the net* construct, she strives to tie older people with social activity initiators. Sometimes activists also use a *trick to fill the net*:

> *The Long Table is something we started even before the epidemic. We are doing it with an informal group called the Mutual Aid Society, and the main idea was that we would meet and cook together, and at the same time talk, build relationships, and so on. (…) It was also about involving as much as possible those people who would come to such meetings, including the fact that they would, for example, bring food. It was supposed to be a kind of spontaneous cooking, where everyone brings what they have at home, e.g., what they don't use at the moment or will have to throw away soon, so it is better to use it right away [D8].*

In this case, local leaders try to gather members of the community through joint cooking. The aim is to build relationships that will last and allow other initiatives to emerge. However, as it will be visible in the next fragment of the interview, it can be difficult to cast the net in such a way that all actants would be content with it:

> *However, when the meetings were held in a closed space, more organised, it was much worse, as there were various conflicts because the children were too loud. After all, the elderly wanted to pour the wax first, etc. (laughs). So, the following year, we decided to divide it up, at least in part, and hold meetings specifically for older people. Because then you can devote more time to them, and this relationship is more convenient for them [D8].*

So, one can see that sometimes creating a network of participants requires adjustment, which in this situation meant separating a group of older residents from others to give them the space and time they needed. This allowed them to start forming relationships with each other, which are the basis for future activities. *Casting the net* is a section that illustrates how social activities impact on older people to win them over and keep them engaged. This type of activity highlights the need for networking between actants, so that their involvement is sustained and stays until the end, bringing new value, which was the aim of the cooperation between actants, established within the network. This is the aspect of entering a network implementing social activity, which, unlike the previous ones, focuses on the sustainability of the activities carried out.

In this subchapter – *III.1.2. Entering the network* - I wanted to show how actants become indispensable to each other. As M. Callon (1984) wrote, it is the moment when the actants involved prove to be important for each other, necessary for their goals to be achieved. Thus, in the **Looking for the support** part, the binding element is the projects, and more specifically the money behind them. For the project implementers, the NGOs, it is important to get funding so that they can work. For the authors of the projects, on the other hand, the NGOs are important, because they have the resources, mainly personal, but also the knowledge to carry out such a project. Another indispensable element, presented in the section - **In search of sites** - to implement social activity of older people in Poznan turns out to be the space of the city, the buildings of organisations, cultural institutions, restaurants or cinemas. Understanding the social activity of older people as just being in the public space of the city has already been noted by researchers (Beard & Montawi, 2015; Dawidowicz et al., 2020; Xiong et al., 2020; Yung et al., 2016), and moreover is an element of the concept of Ageing Friendly Cities (Buffel et al., 2021, 2020). However here, it is not only about the good influence of space, the environment on older inhabitants, but also about showing how important it is in creating urban policies. How having it or not having access to it can be an incentive to implement social activity network or for older people simply take part in it. Another such indispensable element was described in the **Interpositioning** section, documents, declarations, which "produced" between actants commitment, making them mutually bound to perform a given task. What is more, such indispensability was sometimes also imposed on older people, which I tried to describe in **the Casting the net** section. It shows that some organisations, cultural institutions, or other entities try to include older people in social activities, also in a way that for them it is beneficial or even necessary to participate in this network, which can enhance to stay active for a longer time. The issue of indispensability of individual actants raised here will be relevant to the endurance of the emerging network and whether the stated objectives are achieved, and the network contributes to the creation of new value, as I will discuss in subchapter III.1.4 Desired product.

III.1.3. Vehicles of social activity

Previously, I described how a social activity implementation network for older people can emerge and under what conditions actants enter it. But now I present an analysis of how they can carry out their tasks to bring about social activity. I will try to describe the different vehicles that bring about social activity for older people in Poznan. I will start with a mode of social activity that I have called *Seduction*. Its emergence is then associated with the efforts of various agents (NGOs, companies, or public institutions) to entice older people with their offer of events. The next section - *Engaged social activity* - shows how education, self-development or civic activity of older citizens can be the vehicles of social activity. Yet another way of making social activity more tangible is to delegate it from the city in the form of commissioned tasks to be implemented by NGOs - *Commission to actants*. The last way to realise social activism, presented in the final section - *To kill two birds with one stone* - is to realise social activism through previously created activities, accessible to a wider audience in the city.

Seduction

During my observations and interviews with people who organise events, I noticed that there is some desire to attract older people to an exact place. Thus, events are sort of presented as a service; the customers being older people. It is the case of the museum, where a worker describes its events and activities*:*

> *I mean, we assumed that we wanted to create **an offer** for very different audiences and therefore we wanted to create an offer for older peoples [D3].*

It is similar for another entity, which is a non-governmental organisation, mainly dedicated to the elderly:

> *Again, the second option is for active older people. We meet them at various places in Poznan, primarily in all older citizens' activity clubs, formal and informal older citizens' clubs, and very often we simply ask them what they would like, what activities they would like. Very often, **the offer** is simply educational, recreational, or cultural, or exercises that focus on improving mental or physical fitness [D9].*

Both fragments show a particular way of thinking about activities that take place in these entities.

The term **offer** seems to be a key word here, as it sets the relation between these entities, older people and also social activity in the end. Such a nomenclature was also very popular when talking about activities also within other events, described in *The Older Citizens Policy for Poznan:*

> *The trade fair presents companies for which mature consumers are important, which appreciate the challenge of meeting the expectations of determined, experienced, and wise consumers. The offer covers topics related to health, work and education, travel, sport, beauty and lifestyle, passions, new technologies and media, as well as law and finance. (…) The VIVA OLDER CITIZENS Fair is also a space for nongovernmental organisations and municipal units that work for the benefit of mature and elderly people and undertake efforts to activate them. During the two days of the fair, the organisations present their **offer** and show how many meetings, cultural events, social and civic activities are organised daily in and around the city [D14].*

When the two first examples illustrated seldom actants, who describe their activity in the field of older citizen policy as making an offer, the latter one describes a bigger venture – *The VIVA Older Citizens Fair* – which is an event for older peoples to acquaint with a rich offer of companies as well as NGOs, operating in Poznan location. In addition to more conventional stalls with leaflets and entity representatives, the exhibitors aim to lure visitors with activities available at their place:

> *For example, some of the members of the literary club arrived on the basis that I organised an open meeting, so everyone could come and see what it looked like, whether they liked it or not. (...) It was a kind of promotion of the foundation at a certain point. That we were doing something like that, like it or dislike it because it is obvious that one event is like that [D5].*

Another way of attracting older people issued by the centre is monthly brochure with all events happening in Poznan, which could be interesting for the older citizens.

> *We also published our offer through the CIS, and many older citizens' clubs approached us to conduct activities that would improve, activate, and integrate them [D9].*

Furthermore, the elderly are also seduced into activities with such programmes as Poznan Golden Loyalty Scheme[16] or Older Citizens-Friendly Places, which encourage them to benefit from discounts offered by a wide range of companies, restaurants, shops, etc. and become

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[16] Card which entitles Poznan citizens aged 60 and over to discounts in selected restaurants, shops, and businesses.

their customers. However, here we notice a clear difference as older customers are not offered free activities, as is in the case of NGOs or public entities (such as museums, universities, etc.), but instead, they become more privileged customers.

By and large, the offer is a vehicle for social activity, used by both non-profit and market players, and it is intended to seduce older people. According to it, older people become recipients or clients, and social activity is a type of service provided to them, which may or may not meet the interest of older people. Within this section, social activity for older people appears as a service, offered by companies but also by NGOs or public institutions. This way of referring to participants in social activity refers to the service approach present in social policy, related with New Public Management[17] (Guy, 2010; Jałocha, 2021; Szarfenberg, 2010). The aim of which is to create social services for residents which will respond to their needs, with high quality provided by professionals (Szarfenberg, 2010). Moreover, the form of services, which implies calling recipients as clients, mitigates the stereotypical image of a person using social benefits (Chaczko, 2021; Grewiński, 2009). Thus, social activity for older people is understood in this as a rich offer of events available for older people.

Engaged social activity

Following the implementation of social activities for older people in Poznan, I was looking for events that would be dedicated to them. I also wanted these events to aim at social activity of the elderly, consisting either simply in participating in events with a group, or in integrating with a community or acquiring skills to be socially active. In my observations and subsequent analysis, I noticed that one of the vehicles for social activity is educational cycles:

> *And in the end, it worked and a lot of people were so interested in it that I decided to make a cycle 'On the way of tea', last Friday we had more than 50 people, so you can see that there is a very big interest in this tea, there were three meetings [...] I can also add that apart from "Icons of design", "On the way of tea" and "Meditation in the Museum" there is also a cycle "Graphic Concept", which also attracts a lot of older people [D4].*

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[17] The trend of public management that emerged in the 1970s. It focused on increasing the effectiveness of public action, as well as more accurate monitoring of its results, and is also associated with the introduction of projects as a tool for carrying out public policy tasks.

Those few events invite people into the space of the Museum of Applied Arts and propose tours of its exhibitions. Another example of such an event comes from NGOs acting within the local community.

> It was a very popular activity, we even had whole cycles of hortiterapeutic[18] activities and it was very successful [D8].

Moreover, the social activity of older people is also enacted through the development of their competencies:

> We cooperate with the Gorczyn[19] older citizens' club, where I was with Ewa, we were in the Academy of Women Leaders, we spent half a year there, we are always learning, you know, we laugh that we are eternal students (laughs). It is cool, there's always something new [D13].

This example differs a little bit from the previous one as it involves further involvement of two older leaders in the animation of the older citizens' club. The development of competencies among the elderly is one of the activities also proposed by other NGOs:

> I: And these technology consultations, they are just one-to-one?

> E: There is a group of people who bought a smartphone for the first time out of necessity. And there we learn, so to speak, from the basics. Making calls, receiving calls, sending, receiving text messages. And these are total basics [D5].

Education and self-development, then, are vehicles of social activity for older people, which are understood as an extension of their knowledge and competencies. For the first two examples, education is a trigger for older people to engage and maybe come back to the museum or NGOs. The three last pieces of training dedicated to older people were supposed to arm its participants with abilities, which in turn could be used for their further engagement.

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[18] It means therapy through work in garden.
[19] It is a name of a district in Poznan.

This leads to another way in which the elderly are activated, meaning that they are engaged in action taking place in the city, for example as supervisors:

> *Fifteen representatives are elected to the Municipal Council of Older Citizens, all of whom must be over 60 years old. However, nine persons are represented by civic movements, various local councils, associations, foundations, and organisations working for the benefit of older citizens. The idea was to reach out to people who are active in the older citizen community so that we could work with them. The remaining 6 people were: three people were indicated by the President and three by the Poznan City Council. (...) People come to the Older Citizens' Council and say: "Let us do something for older people! But we have no budget, we are not a legal organisation, we have no legal standing, we cannot do anything for people [D10].*

Being a council member is another embodiment of social activity, which is less temporary than simply attending the event. Older people act as representatives of the older citizen community and try to advise local policy designs so that it will also serve them and their peers.

The vehicles of social activity for older people in this section were their involvement in educational, self-development or civic activities. These vehicles of social activity extend the dimensions of social activity I have identified in the literature, referring to areas such as self through educational and self-development activities (Fu et al., 2018; Ho, 2017; Novak & Vute, 2013; Pei et al., 2014), or sense of community (M. L. Chan, Gustafsson, & Liddle, 2015; Pasquallie, 2018; Tong et al., 2019) in the case of civic activity. The identified areas of social activity of older people in Poznan illustrate how the implementation of one idea - social activity of older people - entails other ideas. The latter may be the carriers of the former, but this relationship may be two-way, i.e., the social activity of older people serves to implement the idea of active citizenship. These conclusions illustrate the complexity of the implementation process within urban policy, drawing attention to important actants such as ideas about education or self-development, but also others absent in my case study.

Commission to actants

In the previous section, I trace social activities enacted by offers of various entities; here another term would be crucial, namely a task. In the previous subchapter, I mentioned several projects, which are important actants forming the network of social activity enactment. However, the projects themselves are also the result of others' translations,

which makes them so powerful. As I attempted to show earlier, projects are an important source of financing for entities engaged in the network of social activity enactment. Their description can be found in the Act of 24 April 2003 on Public Benefit Activity and Volunteerism:

> *Project means a public task in the sphere referred to in Article 4, implemented*
> *by a project implementer in the manner referred to in Article 16a [D18].*

This extends the understanding of the project to public tasks, which are in turn defined in the same Act as areas of activities for third sector entities; amid them are tasks devoted to people in the retirement age. Such tasks are to be implemented by selected entities in the process of competition:

> *An open offer competition is a way, defined by the Act on Public Benefit*
> *Activity and Volunteerism (Art. 13), to select organisations that receive grants*
> *from a local government unit to implement specific public tasks [D17].*

According to this, NGOs engaging in such a project will need to realise a task described in such offer competitions. Tasks, in turn, are transformed into planned results:

Table 14. The proposed results and their indicators.

Proposed outcome	Planned level of result achievement (target value)	Means of results monitoring /source of information on the achievement of the indicator
Organisation of a sports tournament for older people.	Number of seniors who participated in the tournament.	E.g., attendance list, photographic documentation.
Organisation of integration events for senior citizens.	Number of events.	E.g., photo documentation, website article, newspaper article.

[D 67]

The table above is an excerpt from a competitive bid, announced by the city, for the implementation of activities for the retired. In the first column, the authors of the competition list the suggested results of the task, i.e., specific forms of events. In the middle column and the third one, on the other hand, measures are proposed as evidence of the completed event. This is where the commissioned tasks materialise and become a list of attendees or photographs documenting the event. In the competition process, each participating entity must submit a bid that reflects the requirements introduced in the competition notice.

In the presented competition documents, social activity of older people was presented by means of suggested events, desired outcomes, and their measures, i.e., photos from the event or a social media post. Within this section it can be seen that social activity is realised

through a network of documents, i.e., laws, policies, or competition texts. Just as in the previous sections, the vehicles of social activity were the creation of an offer, the attraction of older citizens, the self-development of the individual, or their civic activity; here a new element appears. With *Commission to actants*, the social activity of older people is embodied in the content of acts or local documents, through which it is materialised as a public task or project.

In this section, I show that a locally implemented idea is in fact weaved into networks created by policies at higher levels of government, and that local actants are its implementers. This complements my earlier findings (e.g., in *Reason come by themselves*), where I wrote about the bottom-up nature of social activity. This section, as if in counterpoint, shows that the activities carried out by the city are the result of commissioned tasks, which are passed on to organisations from the third sector.

To kill two birds with one stone

The events that I traced during my data collection were not only established for older people. It means that the social activity of the elderly was not their only desired goal. It happened that along with some events, older citizens had the opportunity to engage in activities for all citizens.

> *During the inauguration, it was possible to obtain the Poznan Golden Card and vote for projects in the Poznan Civic Budget [D15].*

This is a fragment of the *Older Citizens Days' programme* that takes place annually in Poznan. During its inauguration in the courtyard of the Municipal Office, participants had the opportunity not only to participate in the activities of the elderly but also to participate as every citizen and decide what to spend the money from the Civic Budget.

During my observation, I was attending a similar event, which was held within the *Older Citizen Days* programme. The meeting I took part in was held at the Centre for Older Citizens' Initiatives and was described as a meeting on air pollution in the city and the exchange of coal-fired boilers. However, during the meeting, it appeared that the meeting was devoted only to the programme of coal-fired boiler exchange, whereas the topic of air pollution was not raised. It means that it was a regular meeting about the boiler exchange programme. This is similar to the earlier issue described of inviting older citizens into city spaces by somehow making it dedicated to them, like an older citizens' cinema. In this way,

sites available for everyone become known to the elderly too. Consequently, programmes targeted at all citizens through dedicated agendas become familiar to the oldest members of the community. It also works the other way around, at least in the declaration of the municipality:

> *As this is generally an Age-Friendly City, we have decided that these age-friendly cities are friendly to everyone. Not only do we prepare projects and activities typically dedicated to the elderly, but the projects and activities are dedicated to everyone to a large extent [D2].*

My interlocutor refers to the Age-Friendly Cities programme, launched by the World Health Organization, to which Poznan also joined. The idea behind its action is that friendly city should be seen also a beneficial aim for all city groups, thus he would expect their engagement in its enactment.

What I also observed was that social activity was enacted with already available networks. The activity of Older Citizens' Clubs was waved with a life of other already existing groups or entities:

> *Today we went to a meeting with Caritas to ask about the groups that operate in parishes, which are also kind of like older citizens' clubs, only they are called something else, so we are already making some contacts with Caritas [D1].*

The worker of the centre describing her daily work talks about extending the network of older citizens clubs into existing groups, gathered around a big religious organisation. Instead of approaching those older people with her programme or offer, she strives to link to a network that is already functioning. This type of web threading was present also in the action of people whose work was related to the earlier model of local community animation mentioned:

> *I have managed to introduce older peoples to other environments, for example, I have associated them with the Forest Dwellers kindergarten, and now they are invited to all celebrations, for example, Christmas, Easter, Grandmother's Day, Grandfather's Day, so they are very well cared for in this kindergarten [D12].*

This kind of consociating between the elderly and children aims to fulfil the need of those two groups at the same time. For the older one, it provides social activity and a feeling of usefulness and belonging. For kindergarteners, it is a chance to meet with the older generation, embrace their experience, and maybe have step-grandparents if the real ones

are not around. Apart from introducing older people to existing in the city or local community networks, their social activity is also used by some activists, so it can bring good for others:

> *I am also very keen to stimulate the older peoples themselves, those who are still fairly active, to help those who are less active, who are at home. I would like to build a self-help network, I started such activity last week, and already this week, I would say, we managed to meet the needs of one of the elderly, who needed certain things because he was in a difficult situation, and I would like it to work like this [D12].*

Here, the need of older people to be active is displaced into their volunteering abilities to help those much older, for whom everyday duties are challenging. Both cases, the alliance with a kindergarten, as well as the devotion of spare time to those in need, show a kind of consolidation of relations and networks already existing. In general, undertaking social activity by older people can be described as a practice of reuse. This means that it carries events, encounters those that already exist but are only adapted as activities for older people. These are events open to the general public, i.e., all residents, or meetings of groups, not necessarily older people, but e.g., writing oriented. In this way, the social activity of older people takes place within the available resources and networks between actants who create events together. This can be seen as saving money and effort on the part of local policy makers on ageing, but also as a way of integrating older people into existing communities and counteracting their isolation from other groups of residents.

In this subchapter – III.1.3. Vehicles of social activity - I presented four vehicles which takes part in implementation of social activity for older people. The idea was to show which methods are used by companies, NGOs, or municipalities to achieve the goal of social activity. In the beginning, I referred to the **seduction** used by private actants, but also by third sector organisations and cultural institutions in terms of their offers for older people. While it seems obvious for private companies to create offers and promote their activities, it is less obvious for public institutions or NGOs. However, such a service approach to the recipients of social activities is a well-known phenomenon in social policies from the 70s of previous century, especially in Western European countries (Guy, 2010; Jałocha, 2021; Szarfenberg, 2010), whereas in Poland it appeared with little delay (Chaczko, 2021;

Grewiński, 2009). Under this approach, public institutions and entities implementing various types of projects provide social services, and their recipients become clients.

A different way of realising older people's social activity was shown in the section - **Engaged social activity**, where older people were engaged in activity through education, development of their technological competences or engaging them as advisors to the older citizens' policy in Poznan. This is different to the previous section, as it draws more on the ideas of social activity as self-development (Fu et al., 2018; Ho, 2017; Novak & Vute, 2013; Pei et al., 2014) and participation (A. C. M. Chan & Cao, 2015; Novak & Vute, 2013; Pasquallie, 2018; Tong et al., 2019). It is worth noting that within a single entity, social activity can be carried out in both of these ways.

The next section has already resounded several times in the previous subchapters where I wrote about projects and public tasks **commissioned** by municipal institutions to third sector organisations. The commissioning of a public task of social activity for older people is a further consequence of this process. It is then operationalised into concrete results and measures. This is an interesting aspect of urban policy, whose form is limited then to available projects and grants, which addresses the problem of non-recurrence, limited by the project framework, i.e., its duration, concrete results to be achieved, finances, etc. This issue I will address in the next subchapter – III. 1.4. Desired product, which deals with the sustainability of networks of social activity.

The last section - **To kill two birds with a one stone** - can be seen as contrast to this limitation imposed on urban policy by projects. It refers to the reuse of activities taking place in the city. When one of the events, turns out to also meet the criteria of activities for older people to activate them. While this may seem like a shortcut, on the other hand, it promotes the inclusion of older people in the city's existing social activities, while at the same time realising the idea of intergenerationality, which is a premise of ageing policies.

The vehicles of social activity implementation, presented in this subchapter, illustrate the mechanisms of this urban policy. Although, the service-approach (Guy, 2010; Jałocha, 2021; Szarfenberg, 2010), participation approach (Beresford & Carr, 2018; Taylor-Gooby, 2018) and projectification of policy (D. Hodgson et al., 2019; Kuura, 2011; Skrzypek-Prawelska & Jałocha, 2014) are not new phenomena in social policy. What is new, however, it is identified diversity of actants engaged in the implementation process within urban policy, such as ideas about education or self-development. Moreover, in this section I present the other

side of the bottom-up approach to urban ageing policy, presenting public tasks commissioned by successive levels of government as a vehicle of social activity towards older people. This implies the co-occurrence of these two directions of policy formation in the urban policy of Poznan I have studied. Furthermore, the results presented in this section draw attention to the reuse of the city's activities and different organisations resources to involve older people in existing communities. These issues of how to make social activity for older people a reality will be developed in the next subchapter, which will focus on the effects of social activity networks.

III.1. 4. Desired product

In this subchapter, I wanted to focus on the last moment of translation, which is mobilisation. The aim is to see how networks, weave together to implement a social activity, last, and if, what entities they bring about, in other words, what result we can observe. In the first section, *Life full of events*, I refer to the large number of events for older people in Poznan, which is precisely the result of making social activity a reality. Another effect of the social activity network could be *Acting for others*, where the aim of the event is for older people to act for others. So social activity is transformed into a new form of activity. The duration, or rather the *Endurance of relations* within a network, will be described in the next section. In it I will look at the endurance of relationships between actants as they bring some social activity events among older people. The last section - *Proliferation of networks* - will continue, in which I will discuss the issue of proliferation of networks that form the social activity of older people in Poznan. These four sections lead to the conclusions presented in the last section, suggesting a distinction between networks that create social activity of a one-off nature or of a long-term nature.

Live full of events
Along with data collection, I experienced a great number of events to attend. It seems that at nearly every public entity, namely museum, university or library, as well as private ones – cinemas, restaurants or sport centres - have something to offer.

My observation was also shared by others:

> *When you talk to them, the elderly are very busy in Poznan. I also have an*
> *older friend, who I wanted to ask for help in one project, she is a specialist in*
> *Russian, but she said that she would love to, but she doesn't have the time.*
> *(...) I am saying: maybe it is because Poznan is doing so much for older people*
> *that you can choose an event for free, or for a small price [D5].*

This involvement of an older friend, although disappointing for a foundation worker, can reflect the network aimed at establishing social activities for older people and their participation. The intensity of events in Poznan for older people was also claimed by the director of CIS, who said that older citizens are *sick and tired of* activities, as there are so many of them. Moreover, he considers all this richness of events as a cause for change in the thinking of older people about themselves.

> *So, to say **senior**, returning to the fact that not everyone identifies with this, it*
> *is no longer so passe, many people feel very good about it, they are proud of*
> *it. That maturing into old age is also an important part of the city's activities,*
> *and we manage to do this [D2].*

We can see that the efforts of municipal entities focus on noticing the elderly as an important local group. To this mission also refers a worker of the centre:

> *We are interested in finding out about all activity for older citizens. (…), we*
> *provide information on what is interesting in the city, I recommend*
> *associations, places that cooperate with us, older citizen-friendly places, these*
> *are reliable places, foundations, but we also perform an informational*
> *function, because older peoples call us with various questions. These are often*
> *different kinds of problem [D1].*

This was also an observation of a museum worker, with whom I talked:

> *I have the impression that the elderly are very well informed, there are some*
> *older people here who come to almost all our meetings [D4].*

Keeping older citizens informed seems to reflect the work of social activity. A life full of events is the picture that emerges from the excerpts presented. At least this is the kind of life older citizens are offered by NGOs, companies, or CIS. What emerges is an image of an active older person who actually has no time to get involved because he or she is so busy. Thanks to this abundance of events, being an older person is not a negative thing, it breaks down negative stereotypes. So, social activity made real by information of events mobilises an older person, present at the events of the city. This is a fairly new finding with respect to my research review. Among the articles I found, being socially active was not equated with

being informed. Some researchers, however, referred to social participation as an individual right, and emphasised the need for accessibility for people of different socio-economic profiles (Afacan, 2013; Ahmad & Hafeez, 2011; Barrett & McGoldrick, 2013; Beard & Montawi, 2015; Carr et al., 2015; Chiribuca & Teodorescu, 2020). However, this area remained hidden in my study. Visible are those seniors who are at events, who have personal space to get involved. However, as the leader of the senior clubs and a long-time activist for the elderly mentioned, there is little interest in dependent people who are confined to their homes. One can conclude that their social activity in the form of information does not reach them.

This image of older people is in line with the idea of active ageing, which focuses on being active and promoting a positive image of older people in society (Boudiny, 2013; Foster & Walker, 2015). However, according to research (Katz, 2000; Nadobnik et al., 2021), for older people themselves, activity is not enough to mitigate the process of ageing, and these are the sense of the activities undertaken, usefulness or finding oneself.

Acting for others

One more example of successful social activity translation between actants was aimed at in the process of creations. When older people do something:

> *We managed to hold a larger meeting, a culmination of our first year of work, which was a Christmas meeting in December 2017, where we met at the Pireus club, in Lazarz20 and there was a meeting about Christmas. Such a meeting, in which we jointly prepared Christmas decorations, were invited in addition to the elderly, people with disabilities, young people from schools, of course, also the local community, and together here, with our forces, we produced such basic decorations for Christmas [D12].*

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[20] It is a name of a district in Poznan.

Photograph 8.The members of older citizens' club produce charity greeting cards. They do it during VIVA Older Citizens Fairs.

Furthermore, it could be something they create for others' benefit:

The first concept we did, when the club was founded, was to make Christmas decorations, which were sold for the benefit of a sick boy with a tumor in his head. So, that is where we do our social work, as a club [D10].

These two examples can be extended with my observation during *VIVA Older Citizens' fairs* when on many stalls older citizens' clubs were promoting themselves as producing various decoration and crafts, which can give to charity. The process of creation was then used as an integration of the group and a way of engagement in the local community. Moreover, creative work appeared to attract older people, even if only for its utility:

However, to my surprise, the literary group, i.e., older peoples who write, came as a very pleasant surprise. We started with three people, now we have 11, and this is the maximum, because such a meeting lasts about two hours, so to process what we create, well, this is the optimal group [D5].

By developing their literary skills, the elderly also become home-based writers, which kept them engaged with the group and meeting, as opposed to an earlier attempt of foundation workers to form with them a reading club.

In this section, I have shown examples of how the social activities of older people can develop into activities for others. This process of translation is an important aspect that seems to be important for research on the development of urban ageing policies. On the one hand, it refers to the researchers' perception of older people's social activity as voluntary work (Carr et al., 2015; Gawron, 2017; Ho, 2017). On the other hand, it points to a possible outcome of social activity, i.e., the weaving of its participants - older people - in successive networks of activities and their connection with other actants. Such interconnectedness of

networks can foster their persistence and maintenance of activity, as will be discussed in the next two sections.

Endurance of relations

Another effect that was important for my interlocutors was to cause a formation of relations between participants of social activity, so the network could endure and become more permanent, fulfilling the need for activity. Such endurance was seen as a challenge by one leader of the older citizens' club.

> *And the fact that it came into being is good because having a baby is easy. A club and that's it, for me it is a piece of cake! Sit down, invite people, the club is there. But keep it now and give them what they want [D13].*

From her statement, we can see that setting up a club, which is gathering people to meet, is easy. However, it can be hard to keep everyone happy and involved in the club later on. In conversation with me, she recalls that there are still clubs that are chaired within a strong division between club leaders and its members, and then they first decide in the name of all, what to do. However, she perceives them as old-style clubs that survive as long as the leaders are active, then they will be shut.

The relations seen as a chance of endurance for the network formed between the participants in the social activity were also observed by the activists of one of the foundations:

> *We did such a project that we conducted integrating activities for one and a half to two hours, which were supposed to stay with these older people for longer so that after we left, when they meet up with us in a month or two, they could carry out these activities on their own and they would still be fun [D9].*

The matter of links between participants is also important for those who have fewer networking actions, such as tours or training. They observe a self-evolving net of communication between older visitors.

> *Anyway, I see how many people actually come here again and again, and these are often familiar faces; I see how they recommend various events or tours to other friends [D4].*

Thanks to the exchange of information between participants, the events have a greater popularity, which is desirable for their organisers. Such word-of-mouth is an engine of events that drives more and more people. It can also influence a course of technology training:

> *In this second group, I have to tell you that there are fads. That is, if theoretically the first person in a given week comes and throws the slogan 'WhatsApp', it means that for a fortnight we will talk about WhatsApp. Because they mutually: "aha, because you have WhatsApp, and what is it, how to use it?" And that kind of circle goes on later and they want to learn this WhatsApp [D5].*

These relations, about which we speak both previously mentioned individuals, were also observed by me. During museum or old town tours I could see people who see each other there regularly, exchange news and information. Although it was not a fundamental assumption of such events, for sure it was very often a side effect of it, which displaced one-time events, or even cycles of events into lasting relations.

The issue of network endurance is related to the ***Engaged social activity*** or ***To kill two birds with one stone*** sections described in an earlier subchapter. The described ways of implementing social activity, whether by involving older people in self-development or civic activity or including them in activities already taking place in the city, promotes the endurance of social activity. In the case of my study, this is the social activity of older people. That is, the activity enacted by the actants after through the network of connections between them (Callon & Latour, 2015) is likely to create new value within the intended purpose. In the case of my study, this is the social activity of older people. The aspect of sustainability of social activity is new in relation to research on the social activity of older people, but it is part of a new trend in social policies, especially local policies (Beresford & Carr, 2018; Taylor-Gooby, 2018; Theiss, 2017) aiming to create a support network around older people, which could respond to these needs in the event of problems, relieving public institutions that lack resources and staff.

Proliferation of networks

This section is sort of a continuation to the previous one, as it stems from endurance of relation, which favours its further proliferation. Very illustrative is an example of one older citizens' club which has grown so much, that was split into three new ones:

> *You know what, when there are too many leaders, they want to split up. The most beautiful thing is that they parted in harmony, with blessings such as love. (…) When there are three leaders in this club, three strong personalities, they have to part, because everyone has a different vision. (...) Each one has a different vision, and it is impossible to work together. Now we can work together [D13].*

The evolution of one club into three separate is seen by a leader as a success and natural course of events. It seems that the interests of all members could not be satisfied anymore, so the split could bring more benefits. In the perspective of translation, we can see how one network of negotiations ended and at the same time make a ground for new alliances. A similar mechanism can be observed between two NGOs:

> *A place that is made available to us by a befriended foundation as part of the so-called CIL, which it runs. We rent a room there, free of charge, of course, as part of our partnership [D9].*

From this statement, I think the functioning of the speaker's foundation, more exactly an event *'Older Citizens' Wednesday', would not* be possible if not for the help of other NGOs. This case illustrates that the enactment of social activity is based on the rule of continuation. This attitude was also shared by the activist, who worked with local communities, with the already mentioned model of local community animation (OSL):

> *But over time, as I got to know the older people community, it was not just the Day Care Centre, but there were also meetings during festivals, picnics, I would say informal ones, where I met various older peoples, and these, for example, were already members of a club, and then they invited me to come and talk about community animation, about volunteering for the elderly, and that is how I got into these environments [D12].*

She talks of sequences of events and activities, which allowed her to weave into the local environment and derive from it for the next events and ventures. In this section, I wanted to draw attention to the mechanism of continuation, which was present in the data. I find this unusual as it is difficult for third sector organisations to pursue such a goal, as the public tasks they are commissioned to undertake are usually funded as short-term projects. This point has been made by me several times in the sections - Commission to actants or

Interpositioning. This is a new value that is emerging alongside social activities for older people carried out as part of a commissioned public task. In the case of the activities presented in this section, social activism tended towards long-term involvement of older citizens. This trend is a countervailing force for the activities of NGOs, which are known to struggle precisely with the short-term nature of their activities (Godenhjelm et al., 2015; D. Hodgson et al., 2019; Skórzyńska, 2018), due to the project framework that governs their activities, which is unfortunately due to the way the third sector is funded. However, it is worth noting that the city authorities are aware of this limitation. In their report[21] on the cooperation between NGOs and the city, they showed that some of the tasks were commissioned in the framework of long-term projects, aiming for better effects of the activities. Another indication, based on the research conducted, could be the just-mentioned reuse of activities taking place in the city anyway.

In all four sections, I strove to present a reflection on mobilisation, meaning this moment in translation between actants when goals they aimed for becoming visible and entities not visible before emerged (Callon, 1984). In this case, those entities would be the endurance of relationships between older people, taking part in various activities, and the possibility for its repetition or better long-term engagement, presented in sections *Acting for other, Endurance of relations* and *Proliferation of network.* However, there also were events that occurred once. They were aiming more at practices creating a rich offer and positive image for the older citizen among the others, like in the section *Life full of events*. The diverse effects of social activity for older people in Poznan are linked to the different intentions of the actants. It is about the goals of the actants, the networks in which they were involved, but also how they perceived the older resident, i.e., as a client, participant or perhaps co-organiser. This last section will lead to conclusions about social activity which I encountered during my research in Poznan. I present its two types in the conclusion to this subchapter. The issue of the perception of older people, on the other hand, is related to the different narratives present in the urban policy of ageing in Poznan, which I discuss in the next subchapter – IV.1. Ontologies of Social Activity Implementation.

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[21] *Report on the implementation of the annual programme of cooperation with non-governmental organisations.* - https://bip.poznan.pl/bip/wydzial-zdrowia-i-spraw-spolecznych,32/news/sprawozdanie-z-realizacji-rocznego-programu-wspolpracy-miasta-poznania-z-organizacjami-pozarzadowymi-za-2020-rok,c,8840/sprawozdanie-z-realizacji-rocznego-programu-wspolpracy-miasta-poznania-z-organizacjami-pozarzadowymi-za-2020-rok,164910.html (Date of access 22.03.2022)

III.1.5. Conclusions

In this subchapter I presented the moments of translation of social activity for older people in Poznan. In subchapter - **Why do you care?** - I identified the key starting points for its implementation. Next, in **Entering the network**, I presented the ways in which the actants in a network of activities become interdependent. The next moment of translation, the enrolment, is described in the subchapter **Vehicles of social activity**, in which I showed how, in the cognition I had investigated, the actants are carrying out the activities assigned to them. So that in the last subchapter – **Desired product**, I described what the result of the weaving of the network of urban ageing policy by the actants is. The described characteristics of social activity enactment can be divided into two types, i.e., a one-off activity that aims at the realisation of a given event or an activity with long-term effects which aims at generating relations and involvement between participants. The proposed division is explained by the following diagrams:

One-time implementation of social activity
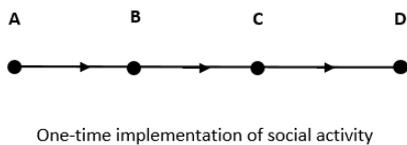
Scheme 15. Types of social activity in Poznan.
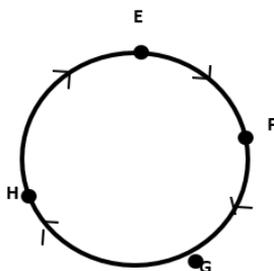
Long-term implementation of social activity

Scheme 16. Types of social activity in Poznan.

Phases of implementing social activity :

A / E *Interests* *Obligations* *Measures* *Reasons comes by themselves*	*Diagnosis of the problem* *(problematization)*
B / F *Looking for the support* *In search of sites* *Interpositioning* *Casting the net*	*Searching for the resources* *(interessement)*
C / G *Seduction* *Engaged social activity* *Commission to actants* *To kill two birds with one stone*	*Deriving from resources* *(enrolment)*
D / H *Life full of events* *Acting for others* *Endurance of relations* *Proliferation of networks*	*Providing an activity* *(mobilization)*

In the initial phase, marked by the letters A and E, the actants decide to engage in social activities for older people. They are driven to do so by the possibility of self-interest (*Interests*), by obligations resulting from documents that oblige them, i.e., bylaws, statutes, policies, or projects *(Obligations)*. They may also be motivated by other ideas, such as CSR, empowerment *(Reasons come by themselves)* or active ageing *(Measures)*. At this point, whether a social activity is a one-off or a long-term activity depends on the mosaic of these elements and the ideas that shape them.

At the next stage (point B and F), the actants become dependent on each other. An important element of this dependence is the question of funding (*Looking for the support*). For NGOs, this is an important issue, because for those without their own budget, the question of raising funds for activities is crucial. What funding they manage to obtain will also have an impact on the nature of their activities, such as a one-off guided tour of the old town or a series of integration workshops for senior citizens' clubs. In turn, a certain degree of financial independence, which cultural institutions such as the Museum of Applied Arts can boast, can influence more long-term activities that maintain the social activity of their participants over the course of a year or years. Another element binding the actants at this stage of social activity may be the attitude towards space (*In search for sites*) - its possession, lending, needing, or lacking. A more permanent relationship with the urban space favours long-term social activity. Permanent does not necessarily mean being there all the time but can also refer to a certain cyclicality of being there in the framework of weekly meetings. Decisive in this phase of becoming socially active may also be the location of the actants *(Positioning)*, which results from their contracts, documents, or policies. The more actants become dependent on each other, the more densely the network of social activity is weaved. This means that one activity does not only involve one foundation and a group of older people, but also the kindergarten children for whom the older people will act. Another example is the city's commitment to a policy on ageing, by embedding it in other specific policies. At this stage, older people are also targeted in order to make the social activity beneficial for them *(Casting the net)* and to encourage them to stay involved for longer.

The next phase of the implementation of social activity, referring to points C and G in the diagrams above, describes how the actants perform their activities that fall to them within the given network. One of the possible ways is to create an interesting and appealing offer for the elderly (*Seduction*). This marketing approach is valid not only for companies, but also

for second and third sector actants, such as museums and foundations. This way of making social activity a reality builds relationships between consumers and service providers. This is the service approach in politics, which does not aim to involve the citizen, but rather to fulfil his or her needs and expectations. The more participatory role of older people in social activity is described in the next section (*Engaged social activity*). Here again the idea of empowerment but also of participation comes into play and older people are involved in further networks through self-development or civic activity (membership of a municipal senior citizens' council). This is the kind of social activity that will promote its long-term sustainability. The same is true of reusing events and activities that have already taken place (*To kill two birds with a stone*), where older people's activities are interwoven into the existing networks of organisations and institutions in the city. On the other hand, a certain limitation that contributes to the one-off character of the activities is the task-based nature of the implemented social activities (*Commissioned to actants*). In this case, the project framework implementing a given public task has a limiting effect on its long-term impact and the social involvement of older people. This is due to limited time, funding and rigidly limited measures and results (Durczak, Ławrynowicz, Nadobnik, & Sławecki, 2019; D. Hodgson et al., 2019; Jałocha, 2021).

In the final stage, which is marked with points D and H in the schemes, when the event takes place, a sustainability created by the network may emerge (*Acting for others, Endurance of social activity and Proliferation of social activity*), which will foster participants' re-engagement. It can also turn out to be a rather one-off event, which an active senior citizen can enjoy without commitment (*Life full of events*).

Based on the data collected, I presented two types of social activity for older people: one-off and long-term. The former describes activities that aim to deliver an event. In the second type, the activity is aimed at long-term participant involvement, by creating support networks between them and integrating them into existing networks. These two types reflect the attitude towards social activity among the organisations, public and cultural institutions I studied. The types of social active enactment in Poznan presented are not negative and positive. Rather, they are types of social activity for older people implemented in Poznan. Representing two different approaches to policy implementation, one-off social activity refers to service approach (Guy, 2010; Szarfenberg, 2010), which can suit a certain group of recipients who do not want to commit or bind themselves permanently to a

particular organisation or community. The second type, favouring long-term social commitment, will pursue the ideas of empowerment (Dudgeon, Scrine, Cox, & Walker, 2017; Olech & Kaźmierczak, 2011) and participation (Taylor-Gooby, 2018). In addition, it will allow for the creation of a support network for older people, present in case of problems and limitations due to age (Beresford & Carr, 2018). The kind of activity that will take place depends on which actants are involved, what other ideas and values influence their approach and goals, and how, and with what resources. In the following Chapter IV. The implementation of Social Activity for Older People, I will try to organise this multiplicity of social activity by presenting ontologies of its implementation and scales that describe relations between actants.

IV. The implementation of Social Activity for Older People in Poznan

In the previous chapter (III. Social Activity Enacted), I showed how, based on a process of translation, social activity for older people in Poznan is enacted. In recreating this process, I drew on four moments of transference (problematisation, interessement, enrolment and mobilisation) to explain how actants bind together to form networks of activity, then negotiate their tasks. Based on the data collected, I also presented two types of social activity for older people: one-off and long-term. The former describes activities that aim to deliver an event. In the second type, the activity is aimed at long-term involvement of the participants by creating support networks between them and integrating them into existing networks. These two types reflect the attitude towards social activism among the organisations, public cultural institutions I studied.

In this chapter, referring to the features of social activity of older people that I have identified, i.e., all the categories with which I have described the different moments of translation, I will present the ontologies (IV. Ontologies of Social Activity Implementation) involved in the implementation of social activity and the scales (IV.2. Scales of Social activity Implementation) that define it. The former refers to the actor-network theory, which uses ontologies to describe the process of implementation of a phenomenon by actants (Blok, A., Farias, I., & Roberts, 2020; Galis, 2011; Mol, 2002). The researcher aims to isolate realities that co-construct the phenomena in question in parallel, complementing but also excluding each other (Blok, A., Farias, I., & Roberts, 2020; Galis, 2011; Iskandarova, 2016). In turn, the second issue (scales) described in this chapter, refers to the concept of glocalisation. Noting the phenomena of globalisation and decentralisation in the policy field, scholars within this conceptual framework try to reconstruct which global and local forces influence policy making and what are the relations between them, within the framework of research on a particular policy, in my case the urban policy of ageing.

IV.1. Ontologies of Social Activity Implementation

Presented in the previous chapter, moments of translation were aimed at illustrating the formation of social activity implementation network. In this subchapter, my aim will be to present ontologies that describe the process of implementing social activism for older people in Poznan. In line with the ANT analytical theory, which I adopted in my study, I aim to uncover the networks of relationships and the ways in which these networks are constituted between actants, which in turn create practices. Composed of networks of actants, practices form realities - ontologies - that co-create a given phenomenon (John Law, 2009, 2019; Mol, 2002). Therefore, it can be assumed that exposition of my ontology will help to structure the process of implementation of social activity for older people in Poznan, and to look at it from a broader perspective of urban ageing policy. As I mentioned in the section describing the analytical framework of my study (II. Actor-network theory), ANT researchers perceive the investigated reality as a network of relations which are difficult to describe using the order of things, because they are the result of the mentioned practices, composed of complex networks. The separation of ontologies will allow seeing realities constructing the studied urban policy. Their application also relates to the theoretical concept of this thesis, namely discursive institutionalism, which within economics seeks to understand the complexity of policies and decisions made by individuals. An essential element of this approach is discourse, understood as the narrative through which the ideas that make up a given policy move (Schmidt, 2010). Thus, recreating an ontology will allow us to understand how urban ageing policies are made.

The application of ontologies within actor-network theory had had place also in the policy research (Galis, 2011; Iskandarova, 2016). In the study on renewable energy policy (Iskandarova, 2016) ontologies were used to explain different regulations, which formed a distinct network of actants in the implementation of this policy. However, in research on policy toward the needs of people with disabilities (Galis, 2011) application of ontology, understood as separate realities, helped to combine the implementation of this policy, taking into account the experience of disabled people and the relations of power that influence the policy.

Based on my data, I was able to distinguish four ontologies of social activity enactment. In Table 15, I describe distinct characteristics, taken from A. Mol (2002) research on ontologies of medical practice enacting atherosclerosis. Such ideas behind them, socio-material practices, and actants engaged in this ontology establishment, perception of older peoples as the desired product of social activity and finally meanings ascribed to social activity.

Table 15. Ontologies of social activity for older people implementation.

Ontologies	Ideas behind	Engaged actants	Socio-material practices	Perception of older people	Social activity meaning
Weaving the network	- Empowerment of older people; - relationships formation - *use* of older peoples' resources such as time, knowledge, experiences; -long-term engagement of older people	-Older people, - Existing communities, organisations, and programmes in the city - Individuals, organisation which can use older people resources, such as kids, dependent persons - Municipal institutions	- Working for others - Connecting different actants, NGOs, cultural institution, informal groups, kids etc, -Integrating older people -Using of already available resources, e.g., cities events, programmes (OSL).	-Volunteer -Partner -Source of knowledge and experiences, -Citizen, -Member of the local community	Social activity implies the agency of older people within a group; relations emerging between older people
Providing a service	- Promotion of organisation or institution - High rate of visitors/ participants; -Recipient's contentment	-Companies, - NGOs, -Public institutions (museums, universities, schools), -Older people needs, - Policymakers	- Creation of offer; - Recognition of older people's needs; - Promotion practices – discounts, dedicated offers	- Customer; - Receiver, - Brand ambassador	Service provided to older people; events.
Responding to the ageing crisis	-The realisation of agenda and achievement of results; -Improvement of older people life with the city of Poznan	- Policy documents, - Strategic plans, - the danger of aged society; - Third sector organisations, - Local authorities, - Strained economy	-Data presentation -Taking actions, initiatives; -Planning; -Developing strategies; -Reporting	-Retired person, over 60 years; - Reason of society ageing	Solution for the ageing process; task with assigned results
Using space	-To use and occupy the city space; - Belonging to a space, as part of participation in an organisation or event - Private firms' promotion	-Public space, -Buildings, -Parks, -Private buildings: cinemas, restaurants -Events	-Visiting the city and museums -Creating age-friendly places -Renting of premises - lending space between organisations - Organising events, festivals, meetings for older people	-Citizen, -People in the need of safe environment	Meeting with other people in the public space; taking part in a common activity within public space or organisations' and institutions' space

Source: Own elaboration.

IV.1.1. Weaving the network

To start explaining the qualities of this ontology, I will relate to the perception of older people held by actants enacting it. This somehow involves ideas behind used practices and clarifying relations between actants. Therefore, older citizens are seen as volunteers, who have time, knowledge, and experience to engage for their own sake or others benefit:

> But then the Older Citizens' Initiatives Centre just left us, the volunteers, to do things, packing leaflets and various other things there, helping at the Fair, helping at the Older Citizens' Days. For what CIS needed us there, we were open [D13].

This is how one of the older activists, who set up four older citizens' clubs and was a member of the Older Citizens' Council, describes her role and activities while cooperating with the CIS. Next example similarly shows the engagement of older people as helpers for others:

> Among other things, they also had more manual therapy, which was introduced alternately with these classes. This consisted of the fact that older peoples, who themselves also have some cognitive problems, using their resources: sewing machines, hands, and all the other products they needed, we simply bought them and sewed 20 such specialised sensory aprons, which we later donated to the Wielkopolska Association for People with Alzheimer's Disease [D9].

Apart from being volunteers for others, the elderly are seen as partners in action, citizens of their local communities, and sources of experience and knowledge, which could be passed to others:

> I think this is a very valuable group of people to work with because we can also learn a lot from each other, they are a rich source of knowledge and experience [D3].

The older people are then weaved into various networks. The activities proposed for them lead to more long-term involvement in Older Citizens' Club, local NGOs or some dedicated group led by a public institution. Within this ontology, it is useful to recall the section entitled *To kill two birds with one stone,* in which I described how the enactment of social activity is inscribed into existing resources, such as networks in local communities or non-governmental organisations.

Here is another example of weaving practice, which reflects this reality:

> *I mean, I will put it this way, as an example, when we were doing one of the initiatives, I was approached by the leader of an informal group of older citizens, and I invited her to one of the events, I organised a meeting with the local community and the youth, and with people with disabilities, and she was very pleased not only that she could participate in the meeting, but also that I met her with other people, representatives of particular organisations, institutions. This was also very important to her, and it helped her make those first contacts, to get to know the environment, to get to know who is from non-governmental organisations, that there is a psychologist from this school, or that there is a teacher, for example, or that there is a clergyman, for example, so that she would also have contacted so that she would know who to contact if she needed to [D12].*

This description of how my interlocutor introduced an older leader into her environment underscores that this ontology is about cooperation and partnership, and older people are just another group that can weaved themselves into these networks of relations. On the one hand, such inclusion of older people is beneficial for them, promoting their activity and consequently their well-being (Bilotta et al., 2012; Coll-Planas et al., 2017; Granbom et al., 2017). On the other hand, their inclusion is dictated by the resources they possess which may be useful to others. We are talking here about time, knowledge, experience that can be devoted to those who need help (Alzheimer's patients) or time (children in kindergartens).

In such reality, social activity implies an agency of older people, who as partners or volunteers are encumbered with obligation and responsibilities, such as recall one of older leaders:

> *I ran all the activities, in terms of lists. We had to elect a treasurer because we had a statute. The director of the Association helped to write the statute so that it was all official. And we had to have our contribution, so we could participate in projects. And if money from the local government came in, we would write a project on health and life, what we wanted to do in the club in a given year, and we'd get money [D13].*

The similar empowerment of older people was mentioned in the previous subchapter – Vehicles of social activity (section on *Engaged social activity*).

It is once more reflected in the local documents, namely in the *Older Citizen Policy of Poznan 2017-2021*:

> *The elderly community, represented by the City Council of Older Citizens and nongovernmental organisations, will be involved in monitoring activities, expressing their opinions, comments, and proposals. Monitoring will be a continuous and constant process of observing quantitative and qualitative changes aimed at providing information on the effectiveness of the actions undertaken and the results achieved. In this way, current and phased control over the degree of implementation within the outlined tasks will be ensured [D14].*

This kind of deliberate recognition of older citizens as advisers, written in policy documents, aims at the inclusion of elders in matters concerning them which are decided in the particular municipal departments.

Weaving the network is an ontology within which social activity is enacted through older people's networking. Within this ontology, it is important to see social activity as a set of practices that connect actants to each other. The ideas behind it, such as empowerment, the creation of relationships of dependency between actants or the use of available resources result in the networking of the urban policy of ageing in Poznan, in which the older person has agency and the possibility of influencing their environment.

On the one hand, this ontology refers to the social activity of older people, which empowers them, engages them, and weaves them into local communities. The presence of such ontologies in the urban policy of ageing in Poznan, which I researched, fits in with the more popular trend in the west towards the welfare state, which seeks to create networks of support between citizens (Beresford & Carr, 2018; Olech & Kaźmierczak, 2011; Taylor-Gooby, 2018). In this way, a part of the responsibility for meeting needs is shifted to local communities and support networks. This is a solution that allows for a reduction in state expenditure on social objectives. On the other hand - **Weaving the network** - raises another issue, namely intersectorality in the management of local social policy (Buffel et al., 2021; Theiss, 2007, 2017). This is a practice trend related to local social policy, which perceives policy to be more effective if it is built on a support network of different actants. This means a move away from a sectoral approach to a more networked or even informal one. In the case of my research, a similar tendency can be seen in the activities of city authorities, which try to incorporate activities for older people into already-existing networks, programmes,

and city policies. What is more, they try to make sure that the policy on ageing is also perceived as beneficial by other residents.

IV.1.2. Providing a service

The implementation of this ontology is linked with the transformation of social activity into service provided to older citizens by various entities. For the private companies, this kind of approach is rather understandable, as for third sector organisations and public institutions it is not so clear-cut. They also offer their services to the elderly, at least so they speak about it; however, they do not charge them for that.

For the market-based organisations, older people were seen as a customer, with specified needs, within their need for social activity. This was used by them, so the older customers were displaced into the role of brand ambassadors, who in exchange for a discount or specially designed services were supposed to encourage others to also use their services. During my observation on *The VIVA Older Citizens' fairs,* I also saw a great number of companies, such as tourist offices, language schools or sports centres, which even decided to dedicate their endeavour to older people. Below is a leaflet from a travel agency that caters exclusively to older people. Among trips to various places in Poland and abroad, there are also offers of trips to sanatoriums.

Photograph 9. Photos of leaflets collected during the VIVA Older Citizens' Fair. They advertise a tourist office dedicated to seniors, which offers domestic and foreign trips. Their clients are active older people.

This market-based enactment of social activity for older people is consciously accepted by a municipal worker:

> So, business needs to sell, it needs some CSR, it needs some promotion, and it needs to study the needs of older peoples to create a product tailored to them. (...) I don't think we should be afraid of business to the very end, I mean, of course, we are a municipal unit, so we don't accept everything that comes along. Because it is also true, I have to say directly that if we wanted to open ourselves completely for business, we would not have financial problems. Because many companies come and say: 'we will throw you this money, promote us' [D2].

However, as he later notes, this approach to the elderly may involve some risks for them:

> We also know that many companies view older peoples typically as business customers and sometimes apply unfair rules, mechanisms, and schemes, and we must avoid this and warn older peoples against it [D2].

As the director of the Centre for Older Citizens' Initiatives recalls, they need to be careful with such cooperation, as it can be harmful for elders, by tricking them into buying expensive products or services or by exploiting their lack of knowledge of, for example,

technology. However, he also notes the benefit of involving private companies as they provide additional financial support and extensive lists of possible social activities in Poznan. In any case, as I mentioned, public institutions and NGOs import from private companies the service-based approach toward older people, which is expressed in the establishment of *offer* and thus market diagnosis:

> *I process them to a large extent through myself and through what interests*
> *me, and also through what I know interests other people because I observe all*
> *kinds of trends, needs, I read, I watch what is happening in other museums in*
> *the world and I see what catches my fancy and what does not [D4].*

To respond accurately to the needs of older visitors and prepare the most suitable for the offer, the museum worker performs reconnaissance of what might attract them. One more example, from another museum, illustrates the tailoring of services, to mould the offer:

> *So, the offer has evolved over the years, but at the beginning, when it was*
> *created, it was also created in consultation with the City Older Citizens'*
> *Council, i.e., with the older peoples themselves, so that we knew what interest*
> *them and what would be good for them [D3].*

This gentle process of the need to diagnosis in the form of consultation can be juxtaposed with an opinion on older people's satisfaction.

> *I always say to the president, to anyone, to older peoples: Recall that an older*
> *citizen needs three things: to eat, to have fun and to go out, these are the*
> *three basic things that will satisfy an older citizen. And we are moving in this*
> *direction [D11].*

This practice of probing the needs and problems of older people is crucial to grasp the values in this ontology, which is *to provide* an event, entertainment, or some form of development. Referring to the quoted statements of an employee of an NGO, a museum, or an organiser of an older citizens' club, it can be noted that the practices used also transform older people into customers, recipients of services. In creating a given activity, their expectations are taken into account, but, as we see in the last section, they can sometimes be reduced to very basic ones, such as free food and entertainment. This determines the relationship between them as provider and client, which can be satisfying or irritating. This relationship is shattered by the gratuitousness of events organised for older people. As the organisers themselves explain, it stems from a desire to include all seniors, regardless of economic status. This is why the vast majority of events organised for them are free of charge. For some community organisers, this is normal, but during the survey it was also claimed that

the absence of fees causes disrespect on the part of participants, e.g., by not turning up at events where there was a registration requirement, or by taking food out of events. These reflections of my interlocutors support the earlier conclusion of a more service-oriented relationship between the event provider and the audience, lack of commitment and responsibility.

Furthermore, practices of this ontology also involve dividing the elderly according to their special needs and then the formation of proper offer:

> *Usually, these activities are two-fold - for more active older peoples who may want more from life and who want more, we try to stimulate them to want more, to be more independent and to stay independent for longer. We also divide older peoples into a group of more dependent ones, mainly those with dementia, for whom we usually have other activities [D9].*

Such profiling of older people shows that social activity is also a type of service not only in the market but also in the non-profit sector, to meet these needs. Within such reality, relations which emerges between actants were more strictly defined and occasional, which can be once a week, and usually, they were limited to some period:

> *It is usually the case that they sign up for a whole series of classes, so we are together for, say, six months or a whole year, depending on how our schedule is laid out [D3].*

To conclude the ontology of providing a service, I would like to emphasise that the practices that comprise it, i.e., creating an offer, identifying the market and the needs of older people, encouraging customers in the form of free products or discounts, lead to social activity understood as a service. For market players, this understanding of the activities undertaken is linked to their approach to business. This form of providing services is an opportunity for them to promote or implement CSR strategies (Freitag, 2008; Latapí Agudelo et al., 2019). As noted by the director of the CIS, the involvement of companies in ageing policies in the city is beneficial, because it allows companies to offer more to older residents at lower cost. This is a form of public-private partnership, which, as described in the literature, refers to the joining of forces of public and private institutions in meeting the needs of the residents. However, this is a quantitative rather than a qualitative response to the problems of an ageing population and older people.

Within this ontology, organisations from the II and III sectors also present a service character. This is related to the service approach in social policy I already mentioned in the

previous chapter (Guy, 2010; Jałocha, 2021; Szarfenberg, 2010). Its premise is to approach people using state aid as service recipients. The aim of this approach is to reduce the stigmatisation of persons benefiting from various forms of state aid (Chaczko, 2021; Grewiński, 2009; Guy, 2010; Theiss, 2017). In the case of my research, however, one can also see a problem resulting from such a relationship between the public entity and the service recipient, namely less involvement of the participants or a demanding attitude towards the services received. This may also result from a misconception of what social activity events are supposed to be for older people, and moreover indicate a lack of satisfaction of basic needs such as food, financial independence, or lack of funds for paid social and cultural activities.

IV.1.3. Responding to the ageing crisis

Within this ontology, there are practices involved in depicting the ageing process with data that illustrate its impact on the functioning of the state and the economy. Older people are then seen as the causes of this phenomenon, and their very social activity is seen as an opportunity to deal with this problem. It therefore takes on a new dimension, which goes beyond the local activities of organisations and institutions to become an action to counter the demographic challenge, which can help to minimise the problem of the large number of older people in relation to the working population, the problem of the efficiency of social, health or long-term care systems.

Presented statistics were placed within city policy and aimed at illustrating a problem of enlarging a group of older people in comparison to decreasing in other social groups and imposing its effects on the society and economy:

> *A commonly observed demographic phenomenon is the ageing of societies worldwide. Also in Poznan, a phenomenon that will intensify in the coming years is the ageing of the population. According to data from the Central Statistical Office, covering the state and demographic structure of Poznan in 2016, the indicator of demographic old age, determining the share of people 65 years and older (103 291), is 19.1% (in 2000 - 13.6%). (...) The only group in which there will be an increase in numbers (by 20.1 thousand, or 19%) is the population in the post-working age. According to the Central Statistical Office forecast, in 2035 the number of people in all age groups up to 24 years of age will fall. However, the number of elderly people will increase. The population over 65 years of age will increase by 32%, including those 85 years and over by 87% [D14].*

As it can be seen, the statistics are triggers in this reality for action; however, before action is taken, the authors of policy depict challenges, which comes with a defined problem:

> *Poznan's current demographic situation and projections indicate a need to continue the current and plan and take further measures, in particular, to introduce increasingly effective instruments to ensure the best possible living conditions for Poznan's older citizens [D14].*

What comes from these short declarations are a few practices, which are employed in this ontology, namely *planning, taking measures,* and *introducing effective measures*. What is worth noticing is that these practices are limited with desired results, which need to be reported. In such a reality, social activity is a closed cycle, precisely described and divided into pieces, a tool of local policy, along with others, such as putting up apartments adjusted to the needs of older peoples, promoting preventive healthcare or prolonged labour activity.

Moreover, social activity is also one of the conditions to achieve established plans and linked with them results. In the policy documents the authors claimed that determined tasks were realised and in their results leads to desired future:

> *The Program 'Older Citizenship Policy of the City of Poznan for 2017-2021 identifies actions, tasks, and initiatives that shape the conditions for dignified and healthy ageing [D14].*

During my data analysis, I came across offers which were answers to competition for the delivery of public tasks, carried out by The Municipal Office. Within these documents, social activity was enacted also by practices linked with tasks, measures, and results:

> *Synthetic description of the task*
>
> *Meetings at the club will be held a minimum of twice a week. During this time, older peoples will be able to benefit from various types of social activity, including, among others: physical, educational, cultural, and recreational and, indirectly, care activities.*
>
> *Results name*
>
> *Social activity of older peoples with visual impairment. [D21]*

The ontology presented shows that in implementing the idea of social activity of older people in Poznan, it was important to recognise the significance of the problem of ageing and the resulting threats to society and the economy. This type of representation of the problem presents older people, on the one hand, as the source of the problem and, on the other, as the recipients of activities undertaken in relation to it. A similar reality emerges

from research on the social activity of older people (Carr et al., 2015; Granbom et al., 2017; Ho, 2017; Novak & Vute, 2013; Pei et al., 2014; Rezaeipandari et al., 2019; Suzuki et al., 2020), identified by me within the framework of the presented review (see subchapter I.1.3. Urban ageing, section 3.2. Ageing in cities – Social activity of older people in city). The ontology identified provides an understanding of why the city engages older people. Previously emerging ideas of empowerment, fostering participation or networking local social policy could indicate that the implementation of social activism is an embodiment of these very ideas. However, within the framework of the ontology described in this subchapter, I wanted to show that social activity of older people is an activity which is a response to the pressing problem of ageing. Moreover, it is an activity undertaken based on public tasks, defined in laws and strategic documents, and finally it is also the result of the above-mentioned activities, included in documents, programmes and strategies at the local but also national level. Social activity is therefore implemented through all these activities, and by combining them it becomes the impetus for creating an urban ageing policy.

IV.1.4. Using space

Within this last ontology, I present a group of practices that refer to the city space, but also to the buildings of public institutions, restaurants, or NGOs. The use of space is therefore one of the realities responsible for the implementation of social activity for older people. Within this ontology, the politics of ageing acquires a spatial character, and the focus is not on the activity itself or on older people, but rather refers to practices that describe different kinds of interactions with space, not only of older people, but also of organisations and informal groups that do not have this space. My aim is to bring within this ontology of local politics the material perspective that is the city, its buildings, and streets. This is particular to this level of policymaking, because the projected actions are made real, among other things, also by the place in which they take place, but also by the relations to it of the participants or organisers of the action.

The photo below is an advertisement for the University of the Third Age, organised by the local University of Life Sciences. This is also offered by other universities. Below is a quote from an interview with the director of the CIS, who notes that creating such a space is important for older people, as it gives them a space to meet and have fun together.

Photograph 10. Fragment of a leaflet of the University of the Third Age, organised by the Poznan University of Life Sciences.

Photographs of older people in the role of students further capture the imagination of the audience, emphasising the belonging of older people to the university space and giving them the role of students.

> On the other hand, they [older people] sometimes need information support,
> who need space for entertainment, and this is what the University of the Third
> Age offers [D2].

The very fact of having a place to stay triggers social activity among older people. For an organisation that does not have its own premises, it is necessary to find such a free space to carry out an activity. The following excerpt refers to this situation, where the activities of one organisation can be triggered by borrowing space from another:

> This room is located in the Old Town and this is where we came up with the
> initiative so that every Wednesday older people could come to us if they
> wanted [D9].

In these examples, space appeared as a site for meetings. They draw attention to social activity as staying somewhere because it involves activities of going out, making acquaintances, and performing various activities. Without the space, no matter if it is a museum, cinema, or public park, activities do not have any embodiment and this chance to interact with others.

Photograph 12. A tour of the Museum of Applied Arts in Poznan, organised as part of the Older Citizens' Days.

Photograph 11.A tour of the Museum of Applied Arts in Poznan, organised as part of the Older Citizens' Days.

The photos opposite show a tour of the Museum of Applied Arts, by a group of older people, organised by the museum as part of Senior Citizens' Days. The space actually makes social activity a reality by providing a place to meet and, with the exhibits on display, creates content for the activity itself. It can therefore be said that through programmes and activities of various public entities, space is given to older citizens.
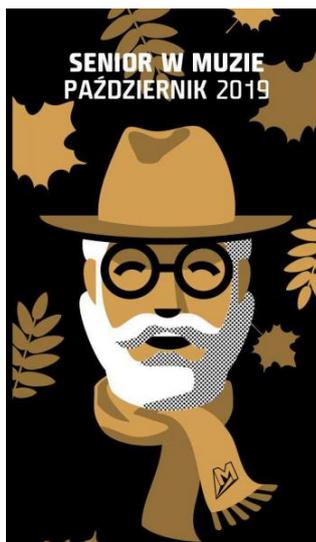
Photograph 13. Leaflet advertising the Muza cinema as the Older Citizen's cinema.

Photograph 14. Excerpt from the bulletin of the Poznan Local Tourist Organisation, offering trips in and around Poznan for the elderly.

The pictures above illustrate social activities that rely on older people being in some kind of space. This could be the enclosed space of a local cinema, which becomes a dedicated space for older people once a week. In the second case, the ad concerns a more open and extensive public space. It is an advertisement for walks in and around Poznan with the Poznan Tourist Organisation, which offers tours specifically for senior citizens.

Furthermore, apart from social activity enactment by the sheer activity of staying in some common space, it can be enacted by space ownership, which could be seen in the examples of older citizens' clubs and NGOs, which need space when planning some activity or even regular group meetings. Space seems to be right, without which it is difficult to act.

It is also visible in the ventures of municipal workers and their programme *Age-Friendly Spaces*. Within it, older people can visit local restaurants and cafes, on a low budget:

> But we also provide information on what is going on in the city, recommend associations, places that work with us, places that are friendly to older peoples [D1].

As part of this, private companies are also opening up to older people and taking part in social activity. Like stated by a CIS employee, thanks to these activities older people were better informed about what was happening in the city, where they could stay and where they could meet, which may encourage them to undertake other less formal social activities.

In general, just being in a space can be a trigger for social activity, such as visiting a museum or an old town. But space is also an essential element of social activity, sometimes unnoticed. This point is the context of social activity discussed in the literature (Beard & Montawi, 2015; Dawidowicz et al., 2020; Xiong et al., 2020; Yung et al., 2016), discussed by me in earlier parts of the thesis (see subchapter I.1.3. Urban ageing, section 3.2. Ageing in cities – Social activity of older people in city). This ontology can be seen as the distribution of older people's social activity across the available public and private spaces. Researchers emphasise the need for equal access to this space. Equal in terms of financial and infrastructural accessibility. The Senior Friendly Places action, which certifies places based on their accessibility for older residents, is one such action.

However, this ontology also includes the complexity of the relationship between the city space, including public institutions, and residents, NGOs, or informal organisations such as senior citizens' clubs. It is worth noting that social implementation gives older residents a right to it, through dedicated events and adapted infrastructure. However, it also draws attention to organisations' right to have a space in order to function. The same is true of senior citizens' clubs, which, as sometimes informal groups, are forced to seek space in friendly associations or public institutions. This shows a certain friction in the process of giving space to the inhabitants. On the one hand, this takes place in the form of various events, but on the other hand, the lack of such space for use by local NGOs results in this space being taken away. Similar issues are raised by research on local initiatives, also in Poznan (Durczak et al., 2019), but above all by the current contemporary urban studies referring to the phenomenon of gentrification or the right to the city (Domaradzka, 2018; Harding & Blockland, 2014; Jayne & Ward, 2017). However, these studies emphasise the commercialisation of urban spaces, even for the purposes of policy, with the result that they become too valuable, too expensive for the average resident. These findings can also be applied to urban policies on ageing in Poznan. Where, on the one hand, the city opens up to residents, in the framework of one-off events, but remains difficult to access for organisations wishing to work on behalf of older people.

The materiality of the city and its role in policymaking are also strongly evident. Space is crucial and necessary for any activity. Besides enabling social activities for older citizens, it is also something permanent, and even if an activity is a one-time event, space is a carrier for

further similar activities, a link for equal interests. If there is an event somewhere that activates older people socially, then a relationship is created with that place.

IV.1.5. Conclusions

In this subchapter, I strove to introduce four ontologies of social activity implementation. They represent different realities of this process. Each of them is enacted within different socio-material practices, which would refer to the mentioned earlier moments of translation (Mol, 2002). Although they form separate realities, distanced in their interests, and relations between actants, they interact with each other (Mol, 2002). Their prevalence is not to be exactly described, but they rather form four threads, which can connect, complete, or dominate over each other within implementation of social activity for older people (Mol, 2002). As an example, I will mention the case of the Porta Posnania Museum, which systematically creates offers of events for older people (***Providing a service***). As a museum employee comments, older people are one of the groups that are important for the museum because of the mission it has adopted. Therefore, they cannot imagine not having an offer of events for older people. Within this ontology, we can see the practices of public institutions aiming to deliver social activity as a service to one of their audiences, which corresponds to a service approach in social policy. However, at the same time, within each cycle of events created by this museum, more lasting relationships are established between the participants, some of them stay and get involved in subsequent projects, which already indicates social activity seen in the perspective of ***Weaving the network*** ontology, where the agency of the older person emerges and the social activity itself aims to network its participants and include them in support networks.

Another example that will illustrate the implementation of social activeness of older people is the senior policy of the city authorities, which in its content presents the need to take action in the face of the problem of ageing societies (***Responding to the ageing crisis***). Among the measures proposed by this policy is the promotion of social activity of the oldest inhabitants. Moreover, as the director of the CIS, who was the co-creator of this policy, mentions in an interview, the aim is for the policy to draw on the resources and activities of specific policies, such as infrastructure policy, spatial policy, or social assistance (***Weaving the network*** and ***Using space***).

The aim of identifying these ontologies was to understand the implementation of social activity of older people at the level of urban ageing policy in Poznan. Although the identified ontologies refer to well-known trends, ideas and approaches in social policy, including local social policy, i.e., the ideas of empowerment (Dudgeon et al., 2017; Klimczuk, 2018; Olech & Kaźmierczak, 2011), participation and networking (Beresford & Carr, 2018; Taylor-Gooby, 2018), public-private partnership (Jałocha, 2021; Snopko, 2014), the phenomenon of projectisation (D. Hodgson et al., 2019; Skrzypek-Prawelska & Jałocha, 2014), distinguishing these concepts within the presented ontologies allows to understand the complexity behind the creation of local ageing policy, and even local social policy. Above all, because the coexistence of these ontologies means the coexistence of practices that can be mutually exclusive, when more emphasis in a given policy is placed on providing a service, i.e., social activity, which is monitored by the number of activities undertaken (***Providing a service***), and less on networking older people (***Weaving the network***). Both ontologies will result from a different understanding of social activity, which will also imply different intended outcomes. In my study of urban ageing policies in Poznan, I identified two types of social activity, described by me in the previous chapter. Their existence may be indicative of the twofold directionality of measures taken in Poznan towards older people. I do not assess this, but rather point to it as a result of the implementation of social activity through the ontologies I have identified.

Furthermore, referring to local social policy research (Czupich, 2018; Klimczuk & Tomczyk, 2016; Kutsar & Kuronen, 2015; Theiss, 2017), which focuses on analysing economic, political, cultural or structural factors, the ontologies I propose provide a new perspective for further local social policy research. Using the approach of discursive institutionalism, I have searched for certain discourses (Hall & Taylor, 1996; Schmidt, 2008, 2010), which, within the analytical approach of actor-network theory, I have just called ontologies (Galis, 2011; Iskandarova, 2016; Latour, 1993; Schmidt, 2008). Together they form a picture of the dominant narratives in a given policy, while touching on the aforementioned areas previously analysed separately as concrete factors shaping local social policy. Thus, referring to the mentioned need for a more comprehensive approach to the study of local social policy (Theiss, 2017), I proposes to understand it through dominant ontologies, which are the result of different practices and the ideas and interests behind them that push actants to act.

IV.2. Scales of Social activity Implementation

Until now I presented the result of my research, which came from the application of actor-network theory. The aim was to understand what social activity for older people enacted in Poznan is (**III. Social Activity Enacted**) and how it is implemented (**IV.1. Ontologies of Social Activity for Older People Implementation**). I introduced four ontologies, which aimed to understand and somehow clarify the implementation process emerging from my data. In this subchapter, I extend emerging from data process of social activity implementation with the concept of glocalisation, described in detail in subchapter II.2.Glocalisation. The application of glocalisation was an additional theoretical framework aimed at considering decentralisation process within social policy and ageing policy in particular (Błędowski, 2016; Theiss, 2007; Urbaniak, 2018), which pose a new set of relations, far from well-known vertical governance, responsive for hierarchical implementation process (DeLeon & DeLeon, 2002; Kutsar & Kuronen, 2015). Glocalisation within my research is understood as the rolling of the state, upward to the international organisation and down-ward to the local level of governance as a result of globalisation (Cox, 2009; Swyngedouw, 1996, 2005). Hence the formation of local policies is not a simple result of a hierarchical system of administration, but is subject to the action of both global and local forces resulting from economic, social, political and territorial circumstances (Kutsar & Kuronen, 2015; Swyngedouw, 1996; Theiss, 2017; Wathen, 2020). Researchers within the concept of glocalisation use the concept of scale to understand local policymaking in the age of globalisation (Swyngedouw, 1997). Scales are elements of the glocalisation concept widespread in policy research (Farías & Bender, 2010; Latham & McCormack, 2010; Nygren et al., 2005; Smigiel, 2019; Sun et al., 2017; Swyngedouw, 2005; Wathen, 2020) and they are elements which allow to capture these shifting directions of policy formations on the local level, which become significant as an outcome of welfare decentralisation (Andreotti & Mingione, 2016; Kutsar & Kuronen, 2015). They are represented in the data with dominant values and leading actants, which influence relations in the political process (Wathen, 2020).

In this part of the dissertation, I introduce the scales I have identified in the data, describing them by the extreme values they use. I start with a scale called **Initiation of Social Activity,** which relates to the source of the social activity undertaken. That is, whether it is

an activity that emerges from below or rather arises as a result of ideas coming from outside. Next, I will present the scale - **Execution of social activity**. Within this scale, I focus on describing the spectrum in the process of implementation of social activity, which relates to how the activity is carried out, from project-based initiatives to those realised by local initiatives or informally. Another scale is **Embeddedness of social activity**, which refers to whether the activity is embedded in an organisation, community or not. Finally, I will present the last scale, **Resource mining**, which deals with the resources involved in the implementation of social activity, from individual to public to market.

IV.2.1. Initiation of social activity

Within this scale, I will discuss the issue of initiating social activity of older people in Poznan. The aim is to show what forces influence its implementation, and more specifically, what prompts actions taken at the level of the policy examined. Based on the collected data, I distinguished two extreme values of the presented scale. The first indicates the *grassroots* initiation of social activity, while the second, on the contrary, and is initiated by *external forces* to the local communities.

Grassroots initiatives

I will start by discussing the bottom-up aspect of initiating social activism among older people. This direction of social activity enactment, and policy generally, is mentioned by the director of the Centre for Older Citizens' Innovation.

> *It is difficult to say that the policy is established from the top down because the policy has been prepared from the bottom up. It is established by the president, he coordinates it, and watches over it together with the city council, while the policy itself was created from the bottom up. And the initiatives are bottom-up. So, in my opinion, this is a very grassroots approach, and this is probably the success of the city policy, that no one is imposing anything and the policy is changed, updated and adapted [D2].*

He underlines that what happens in the process of older citizens' policy design is its bottom-up direction, which means that older citizens and activists form it.

Further, he exemplifies:

> *Or she comes and says: "Listen, my mother has problems moving around the cemetery. She will not tell anyone because she is ashamed, because she cannot, because she cannot communicate". But it is such a voice: "do something about it". And the city listens, and the result is Handyman[22], free transport to the cemetery, moving around the cemetery, renovating graves, etc. [D2]*

This is a recognition of relations between the Centre of Older Citizens' Initiatives, The Municipal Office and the older people, receivers of their actions. However, a bottom-up flow of initiatives was also present in the relationship between NGOs and older citizens' clubs.

> *Older Citizens Clubs and older peoples in Poznan know us quite well, and it is they who most often come to us, saying that they need us to run activities to improve their cognitive functions. Or to do a project that would allow them to get to know the cultural offer, for example, in the Old Town [D9].*

What is underlined by the speaker and seems to be crucial for the idea of who shapes action for older people is the fact that *they are coming to us.* Such a bottom-up direction was also underlined by other NGOs or older citizens' clubs. The bottom-up direction of initiatives seems to be their great advantage.

The described aspect of the scale refers to the grassroots implemented social activity among older people. This issue has already been addressed in earlier parts of this dissertation, when I referred to the idea of empowerment or participation in social policymaking, which were the actants responsible for the implementation of social activity for older people. These ideas aim at a greater involvement of the residents and their influence on policymaking. According to my interviews, in the opinion of the organisers of activities for older people, the initiative for these activities comes from the interested parties themselves. However, given the presence of the aforementioned concepts aiming at the empowerment of citizens in policies, the emphasised bottom-up approach to these activities seems to be driven by existing policy approaches and strategies.

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[22] It is a programme under which older people can use the services of a handyman, a taxi, or the repair of minor defects at home. All services are funded by the city, you just need to apply to CIS.

External forces

There is also the other side of the scale, which, in contrast to the bottom-up character of initiating social activity, refers to more top-down forces shaping a given initiative. It consists of the values that guide the actants, those at the local level, but also the values adopted by higher level policy makers. It can be illustrated with the *Older Citizens' Animator* (Animator Senioralny) project, an instructional programme dedicated to people who work with Older Citizens' Clubs. It aims to give them tools to successfully develop the functioning of their clubs, enhance their independence, and help them solve their problems. This project was mentioned twice in interviews. First, by a worker of the Centre for Older Citizens' Innovation, and then by the leader of a foundation, dedicated mostly to older people. However, both talk about the programme differently. For the centre worker, the project aims to empower older people in their role as leaders of Older Citizens' Clubs. The worker of the foundation, in her accounts, recalls these workshops and commented on the low number of young participants. In his opinion, young people should work for the old one, which is a bit different from the aim of the programme of qualifying older people as local leaders. This friction in older people's perception illustrates how the initiative of social activity can be taken over, to provide it by someone younger. Such a reconfiguration of scale can be found also in another example:

> *Activists: As part of this 'older person to older person' cooperation, we used to go there for Valentine's Day, there was a May party, there was a ball, it's all in the archives. Older Citizen's Corner continued this, but then the city took it over and we were no longer wanted.*
>
> *Interviewer: But where were you not wanted?*
>
> *A: No, the president took over the patronage of these "Ugory[23]" events, and he organised other breakfasts there, ones on a larger scale. So, our club went... [D13]*

Another type of external influence on the implementation of social activism are the programmes, policies, or strategies that feed this process. An example of such a programme within the framework of the urban ageing policy in Poznan that I researched is *The Age-Friendly City* (AFC) run by The World Health Organization (WHO), to which Poznan joined in 2016. It is based on the certification process. It means that the city that joins the network of

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[23] The event in the nursing home for the elderly.

AFCs receives a certificate, which attests to their age-friendliness. However, to become a member, a candidate must fulfil specified WHO criteria and make future commitments. As was reflected in the Poznan data, the joining of AFC was partially initiated by the group of local older activists, who came with the idea to the President's Office. As a result of the membership in the AFC network, municipal workers were obliged to create an older citizens' policy, which would be based on the WHO guidelines:

> *We prepared such an application, the president prepared, sent such an application to the WHO, in this application, it was necessary to indicate what the city has done, what it has managed to do in the field of older citizens' policy, plus he transferred such an obligation - because such obligations are also on the side of the city - to prepare a new plan, that is, a plan related to older citizens' policy. Such an action plan has been in place for several years. Later: in all city policies, such as "small" ones, for example, roads, construction, the needs of older peoples will be taken into account and that the city will take a strong stance on this. Such an application was submitted, we were accepted into the network, and Poznan was the second city in Poland to be accepted into the network of ageing-friendly cities; here is a certificate saying that the city has been accepted into the network. And now this is it: There were certain tasks, obligations on the part of the city. Our main task was to prepare a plan; the President decided following the resolution of the city councillors because the procedures are such that for a city to be admitted to the network, the councillors had to agree that the city should apply, and such an agreement was given by the councillors, in other words, it was an authorisation for the President. The President issued a special request, prepared a commitment on the part of the city, i.e., the preparation of this plan, the inclusion of the needs of older citizens in local policies, etc. And we proceeded to implement the commitments. Our basic commitment is to prepare a plan [D2].*

This commitment to the programme induces a particular way of designing older citizens' policy and even a sectoral one¸ meaning partial policies responsible for city infrastructure, housing, etc. As the director of the Centre for Older Citizens' Innovation mentioned, these measures were aimed at enhancing the friendliness of the city for older people, which could encourage them to activate social networks and a sense of security.

Within this scale, I wanted to zoom in on the issue of initiating social action, which is not so explicit in the urban policy of ageing in Poznan. Thus, this scale captures the very process of initiating action for the elderly, which on the one hand is attributed to the grassroots endeavours of the residents, but on the other hand is also driven by forces external to the residents, such as the activities of non-governmental organisations or programmes,

strategies and policies adopted by the city, which contain certain assumptions about the conduct of activities in a particular area. Therefore, the scale presented here illustrates certain tensions existing within the framework of initiating social activity. Referring to the literature, however, it is possible to view these two opposing points on the scale as complementary (Putnam, 1995). This is because the bottom-up element is considered by researchers to be an important social element in the creation of local social policy, which allows to increase its relevance, effectiveness, as well as a quicker response to emerging problems (1995). It thus complements external ideas implemented in local policies. The emphasis placed by the organisers of social activity on its initiation from below may result from the need to gain credibility and trust in their actions on the part of citizens who, by being involved in the decision-making process, may supervise the actions undertaken and enforce the declarations made by the decision-makers (Theiss, 2017).

IV.2.2. Execution of social activity

While in the previous subchapter I referred to the driver of events concerning older people and politics in general, here the scale allows us to frame how activity is realised. My aim was to understand within which categories the realisation of social activity takes place. Based on the material I collected, I was able to distinguish two levels of this scale. The first one refers to activities implemented based on projects and guidelines included in them. The second level includes activities implemented locally, by NGOs or seniors' clubs. Implementation of social action is a broad concept that includes funding, but also action planning and expected outcomes.

Carried within a project

Within project-based activities, social activity obviously differs from one another, depending on the task the project is to carry out, the results it proposes, and the metrics.

However, it is these elements that provide some constants in this way of realising social activity for older people:

> *We started, as far as I remember, with a project that was funded, it was a bigger project based on older volunteering, and that was the first thing we did here. And then it turned into a second project, which involved older men and women running classes for families with children in cooperation with our educator, which were created together, with a common scenario. Because in this project we gathered a group of people who are very diverse, willing to cooperate and who also work in different professions, or did, and based on this we created a series of classes, during which, for example, veterinarians talked about their work [D3].*

The example shown illustrates the process of creating social activities for older people within the Porta Posnania Museum. According to the museum worker's account, the engagement in activities for the elderly was based on the projects in which the museum was involved from the very beginning. The successive projects framed the initiatives undertaken by the museum. The project-based implementation of social activity put the entity's activities on track, equipping it with the necessary tools. Unfortunately, it also happens that such assistance is, as was the case with the ideas for action in one of the foundations:

> *Yes, I wrote two projects, one for the Ministry, at the end of last year when I already knew more or less what to do here. The other was for the city. Unfortunately, neither one nor the other got funding [D5].*

Applications, both for municipal and ministerial funds, have failed. This example shows a grassroots initiative put forward by a given foundation, which, however, cannot come into being because it does not meet conditions of available projects. We can therefore see the interpenetration of the two scales of initiating and implementing community activity. Their interplay in the quoted example on the one hand points to the grassroots character of the activities undertaken, or more precisely of the ideas, but if they do not fit into the framework of available projects their implementation is impossible. Therefore, it can be concluded that for a bottom-up initiative to be realised it has to fit into external and top-down programmes and projects. It was the case of venture for older activists:

> *We wanted to support such a project for older peoples who do not go out at all, who are trapped. It was the Municipal Council of Older Citizens that did a lift there for one, and for the rest, they said it was too much [D13].*

Similar to the previous example, it can be seen that people working for older residents in some way need the project as a legitimisation of their activities and ideas, and as a source of

funding for planned activities. Unfortunately, assisting elderly dependents is not part of the resources available to activists through projects. By drawing attention to the project-based level of implementation of social activity, it was possible to detect a certain problem in the fit between precisely the bottom-up initiation of social activity, described in the previous scale, and its implementation within projects commissioned by the city or the ministry.

Carried out locally

Such a failure in carrying out the desired actions leads to the opposite side of *Executing social activity* scale, which is called *Locally*, refers to ventures completed with the local forces of NGO:

> *Because at the very beginning we also received such opinions "from below",*
> *and we also had such observations ourselves, that in general there were a lot*
> *of older peoples on the street and in the market and the shops, and that*
> *maybe it would be good to organise such a shopping campaign for older*
> *peoples so that they would sit at home [D8].*

As this example shows, it is also possible to carry out social activities for older people within the resources available in the organisation, i.e., the people involved in the community and their time, which they are prepared to devote to the activity. Another example could be the actions implemented by local older citizens' club:

> *That's when we thought about how to help people in these difficult conditions*
> *and situations, and that is when we came up with the idea of sewing masks*
> *together with older citizens and volunteers. We sewed to help, we organized a*
> *group, and we sewed masks and delivered them directly to the homes of older*
> *peoples who could not go out due to the pandemic and who needed these*
> *masks to feel safe that they had such a mask [D12].*

Moreover, the implementation of a given project, its sense and success depend on the initiators themselves, i.e., an organisation or an informal group, as in the case of an older citizens' club. This leads to the conclusion that the realisation of social activity is largely dependent on the resources available within the organisation. They provide a certain independence in the activities undertaken. However, as can be seen with the lack of financial resources, organisations cope with the work of volunteers, so they give up their salary, which can be a problem for the survival of their organisation. Consequently, this may rather limit the independent willingness of organisations and informal groups to initiate or implement activities, as it deprives them of the means to maintain their organisations. This

problem is part of the phenomenon of the dominance of grants and projects in locally implemented policies (D. Hodgson et al., 2019; Jałocha, 2021; Skrzypek-Prawelska & Jałocha, 2014). While so far I have mentioned the limitations resulting from this, related to the duration of the project, which can be a hindrance to the long-term effects of the activities undertaken, here another issue appears, namely the problem of matching the activities envisaged in the project. Commissioning of public tasks within the framework of projects is one of the forms of giving the local organisations the responsibility by transferring funds for realisation of specific goals. However, as it results from the data, the tasks commissioned for implementation result from the assumptions of top-down policies and laws, regulating the tasks of a given unit, and they may not be in line with the activities that local organisations and groups want to undertake, based on their experiences and observations.

IV.2.3. Resources mining

When describing the previous scale, I mentioned the issue of resources that are of concern under this scale. They are an important element in the implementation of social activities. In the collected data, the word resource does not refer only to financial resources, but also to time, needed space, qualifications, or knowledge. In the framework of the scale described below, it is explained which resources are used by actants implementing social activities for older people. I have classified them as those coming from the market (brand-based resource) as well as those belonging to individual organisations or individuals (individual-based resource), and public institutions (public-based resource).

Market-based resources

The reference to resources coming from companies also implies the presence of another actant, in the case of my research it was a public institution.

This kind of combination is called a public-private partnership (Jałocha, 2021; Snopko, 2014), in which it is possible to see social activities carried out with resources coming from companies and initiated by public institutions:

> *But that is not the point. We have our own rules, we have this campaign*
> *"Older Citizens-friendly places", we promote only those businesses that are*
> *older citizens-friendly, that is, certified, older peoples... we have a committee,*
> *a chapter, we visit, we see what it all looks like and we certify them, and we*
> *can only promote the certified ones [D2].*

Mentioned in the fragment above, the programme I described earlier is called *Older Citizens' Friendly Places* [24]. It is a great example of mining resources to carry out social activity for older citizens. Based on the mutual benefit of companies, who have a chance of promotion, and the elderly, who enjoy discounts in cafes and restaurants, the city programme establishes an activity within already available resources. Through the cooperation with private entities, the potential for ventures extends:

> *This is also a good moment to promote them, they may not be a city unit, or*
> *any entity with which we cooperate, or any nongovernmental organisation, it*
> *is an institution, as if it were a private company, but this is a good moment to*
> *promote such cooperation [D6].*

Such a compromise between private and public entities implies negotiations and triggers, which will attract both sides. The cooperation between the private sector and public entities, however, is framed with the concept of corporate social responsibility (CSR). It is a concept, which tends to belong to management studies, however, through decades it became incorporated by various agencies of the United Nations and European Union, to make it a standard for international and national corporations (Latapí Agudelo et al., 2019). In short, it is a concept that aims to incline companies to include in their ventures the social aspect. It prompts them to feel responsible for a closer or further environment in which they are functioning, by supporting social equality and development. In this research, CSR was mentioned by workers at the Centre for Older Citizens' Innovation as a justification for the interests of private companies in the action for older people. Their support for various ventures or their desire to join older citizens' programmes were explained, among other reasons, by their need for CSR.

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[24] It is a programme whereby restaurants, cinemas, sports facilities, etc. can apply to become certified as age-friendly places.

Public- based resources

Within this level of resource mining scale, I refer to public resources, which are not necessarily money, but also museums or universities, who are engaging in the enactment of social activity, along with their resources such as its history, monuments, and know-how. Those are actants that form a great number of events, which can be found in bulletins for older peoples. The connecting element here is the mission of these places, which oblige them to disseminate cultural heritage:

> *This is organised by the city, and we get involved in various such initiatives if we can. I am also sensitive to what is going on in the city, to what initiatives are being undertaken for various groups, not just older peoples, and I try to attract audiences that we might not otherwise reach [D4].*

In this case, I would argue that resources are not just buildings or the people who work in them, but also the commitments enshrined in their statutes and missions. Within the framework of these commitments, cultural institutions, or other public entities, such as universities, decide to enter networks that implement the social activity of older people by deploying their resources. As is the case with museums, these are spaces and exhibits. However, in the case of universities of the Third Age, it is about academics and their knowledge, which become the resources deployed in a given social activity, e.g., a lecture or a debate.

Another public source is the financing of social activities that take place within the framework of commissioned public tasks or projects from other sources. When talking about implemented activities, my interlocutors referred to several sources of public funding, i.e., municipal projects allocated through a bidding process, national older people' policy projects allocated by the relevant ministry, or EU project funds. Of course, the availability of these funds is subject to specific requirements. In the case of municipalities, for example, it may not be possible to use national resources, as these are earmarked for less developed municipalities where senior citizens' activities are less developed. However, municipalities successfully apply for projects from the European Union to finance part of their initiatives. Within this level of resource mobilisation, we can identify some stratification. It is about the use of public resources from the perspective of the city and of NGOs and informal groups, such as senior citizens' clubs. In the case of the former, they turn to national and international institutions, such as the European Union, to obtain funding for their activities

that goes beyond their budgets. In the case of organisations from the third sector, in addition to applying for funds from the city, they can also apply for national and international projects. These can be funds from the EU, but also from other institutions supporting NGOs. This is the case of the Flanders Foundation, which is in partnership with a Belgian foundation, from which it draws resources in the form of ideas and statutory assumptions. By the fact that both city institutions and NGOs can apply for resources from national or international agencies, it makes them equal in a way, giving the third sector a chance to act more autonomously.

Individual-based resources

The more extreme point of this scale would relate to individual resources of a person, which within my data was time, knowledge, and experience. The following quote is an example of the use of individual resources. It describes an action taken by members of an older citizens' club in which they tried to collect products for Christmas parcels for more vulnerable older people with mobility problems. They therefore volunteered their free time to collect the products, including walking around shops and restaurants and encouraging people to join in:

> *Some signed up, some did not, and we collected. I was in three places of those who gave. And some shops said that they did not enter. But three places joined, it was Orange, Petit Paris and Kahawa or something like that, I don't remember anymore. Anyway, when we announced upstairs at CenterMed, where these dispensaries were, doctors even brought, there were cartons upstairs and they brought it, I had to add cartons for two days because even these patients, some of them brought a packet of coffee or chocolate. These were articles, it was not money [D13].*

This example of involvement shows the realisation of a social activity based on their own resources, in this case, their free time. This is a valuable resource that is also recognised within the framework of ideas promoted globally, such as active or productive ageing (Walker, 2009b). These ideas emphasise the need to involve older people in the life of the community and maintain their productivity, not only by extending the work of older people, but also precisely by volunteering for the benefit of others.

This type of resource was also used by CIS as part of the Senior Fair, where it was older volunteers who helped organise the fair and kept watch over participants, supporting the event. In addition to this, however, some actants also benefit from the knowledge and experience of older people:

> *Because during this project we gathered a group of people who are very diverse, willing to cooperate and who also have different professions, or did, and on the basis of this we created a series of classes for children, during which, for example, veterinarians talked about their work, and we talked about... I don't know exactly what the topic was here, but, let's say, about animals in the old days. Or there were people who had a hobby related to letters, telegraphs, stamps, this kind of postal, communication hobby, and they talked about communication in the old days, in their youth, also about these telegrams, something that contemporary children don't know [D3].*

The excerpt above shows a project carried out by the museum in which older people shared their professions and passions with children. The next quotation, on the other hand, also refers to an activity by older people for the benefit of children, in which members of an older citizens' club use their storytelling skills:

> *We do a lot of work, the manager of the club, Czarek, has just created a nice project called "Older Citizens Read to Children" and it works very well. This project is presented in kindergartens. The idea is that our members are dressed up in Winnie the Pooh costumes and go to kindergartens with a story [D11].*

The last level of the presented scale allows us to see social activities carried out precisely based on individual resources. On the one hand, it shows older people as useful individuals who can be useful to other members of the local community, but on the other hand it supports the inclusion of older people, strengthening their subjectivity and sense of belonging (A. C. M. Chan & Cao, 2015; Katz, 2000; Nadobnik et al., 2021; Pasquallie, 2018; Tong et al., 2019).

The identification of the scale described in this subchapter was aimed at tracing the resources used in the process of implementation of social activity of older people. Within the framework of the collected data, I was able to distinguish three points of this spectrum, namely *market-based, public-based, and individual-based resources*. However, the availability of a variety of resources in the implementation of social activity seems to be driven by the needs of local social policy, i.e., its high task load, as a result of decentralisation, and limited resources. As a result, policymakers look for resources that can

serve the implementation of policy in public-private partnerships and among the recipients themselves, who can become its resources, through volunteering. For all parties the situation seems to be beneficial. In the case of companies, it is an opportunity for additional promotion and for older individuals it is an opportunity for social activity in the form of volunteering. This type of social engagement is well-known in research on the idea of social activity in the city (Carr et al., 2015; A. C. M. Chan & Cao, 2015; Ho, 2017). However, the researchers also emphasise that social activism in the form of volunteering may not be accessible to everyone, due to their physical and economic limitations (Carr et al., 2015).

Resource mining from the perspective of third sector organisations, as well as other public institutions, allows us to draw attention to an alternative way of raising funds by the abovementioned organisations through international organisations or foreign partner organisations. However, a certain limitation of my study is the lack of information on the extent to which organisations and institutions in Poznan take advantage of such assistance. Supporting such a flow of resources is desirable to support the independence of their activities, which, as illustrated by previous scales (*Initiation* and *Execution of social activity*), is often problematic. Because fundraising is linked to the implementation of specific project objectives, this may preclude bottom-up initiatives within a given policy.

IV.2.4. The embeddedness of social activity

This scale can be juxtaposed with the issue of space, addressed within one of the ontologies, namely the issue of the use of space. In this case, however, it is not only about the spatial aspect. By distinguishing this scale, I wanted to show how deeply the projects are rooted in the district or organisation, or on the contrary, how they are not. The aim was to answer the question to what extent the implementation of social activism of older people in Poznan is related to the affiliation of the actants, and if so, to what extent it is vertical. This embeddedness relates both to the participants of the organised events and their organisers.

Lack of affiliation

Within the analysed framework of the activities for older people, I encountered events whose setting was difficult to define. The example is the NGO, with its address in the centre of Poznan, whose events gather much diversified group of older people:

> *I: And as if you were to say, are you more of the local activity in this neighbourhood or more on a city scale?*
>
> *N: As far as older peoples are concerned, it is rather non-local because, to be honest, looking at this literary group, I don't even know if there is anyone from Jezyce[25] here. More like Piatkowo[26], Poznan in general [D5].*

In this example, embedding comes along with the origin of the event's participants. They can be a group of locals from the nearby neighbourhood or group coming from different districts. Thus, the activities carried out by the foundations in question do not have a neighbourhood dimension, but rather can be classified as aimed at older people with literary interests. So, the activity has escaped territorial classification. Another example relates to a foundation that does not have a registered office, causing it to be described as a mobile foundation. Its target audiences are specific groups of inhabitants, belonging to city districts, while its affiliation is unspecified, allowing for a wide reach:

> **Interviewer:** *So, you are such a mobile foundation?*
>
> **Expert:** *Yes, yes, exactly. I think that is a big benefit because it also stems from the fact that we listened to the older peoples, saying that it is fine, they would like to come to the classes that I run, but not everyone finds the city centre convenient, so we suggested that they could try to get to a given place, and it works very well. I think it is even much better received than all classes in one place because then they are dedicated more to the local group, and we manage to act a little bit wider than just in the old town, where we have a place, but in many districts [D9].*

Whereas in the previous example the activity was not embedded in any specific district, then the above statement applies the district distinction, however, it rather moves around them than inscribes itself into a particular one. Its activities are rooted, but only temporary, so enactment of social activity stays a rather ambiguous matter. A sort of combination of these two examples is the older citizens' club, described by its leader in the quote below. Founded in the city centre by the Polish Medicine Association, it brings together older residents from

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[25] It is a district of Poznan.
[26] It is a district of Poznan.

different parts of Poznan. The only thing they have in common is the fact of being an elderly person. However, over time, the number of members has grown so much that the club has split into smaller ones:

> *We first met twice a week, on Thursday and Tuesday, and then once a week. It was the end of 2016-17 because other clubs started to spring up closer to where our members lived, and out of those 53 - even on the list we had 120 (members), it was too many. Only that not everyone came because some used gymnastics, others used bridge, others used these lectures, up to 20 people. So there was no room [D13] .*

The development of the older citizens' club and its growth in members resulted in division and the establishment of new clubs, placed within the neighbourhoods of participants.

In general, at this scale, the implementation of social activities jumps from being for everyone, where the main aim is only to activate older residents, to activities embedded within a neighbourhood, for example. Within this range of scales, social activity appears as an activity primarily aimed at older people. Its neighbourhood focus is secondary or a further step in the development of an organisation or a local community.

Belonging

In the case of the second dimension of the presented scale, social activity is realised in relation to some affiliation of the activity participants or organisers. This may be an affiliation within a neighbourhood or profession. These belongingness markers can be seen as actants of social activity because they lead to activities for people coming from a certain neighbourhood, a certain area, or with other common characteristics. Here the question of being an older person is not a connecting element, as it was in the previous dimension. An illustrative example of belonging is the election of members to the Municipal Council of Senior Citizens. It is appointed for a four-year term among senior citizens in Poznan. Some members of the Council are representatives of organisations that are active in Poznan, others are representatives of the City Council and the Mayor. Its task is to represent the voice of senior citizens in shaping city policy.

The Council works in cooperation with the CIS, which, as an agency of the City Council, undertakes various activities for older people:

> *Because a year later I entered the Council because I was on the additional list because I was one point short. And a year later I started. But I entered the Council, on behalf of the Polish Medicine Association, I worked there, I basically worked with CenterMed, which created a place for older peoples [D13].*

In this statement, the belongingness is different, namely, it comes with an NGO or a private firm, which gives the older citizens a mandate to start in the election. Another example of embeddedness is cooperation within cities. The level of belonging is different because it refers to a different level and the belonging is determined by the classification of the area as a city. In the example cited, this refers to certain ideas used in Poznan which are borrowed from another city and implemented in Poznan:

> *I remember for sure that a taxi for older peoples, which is in Poznan, was probably brought to us from Siemianowice Śląskie as an example. The box of life in Poznan, for example, and Łódź has an envelope of life, so it is as if the cities are observing each other and taking these ideas from each other [D1].*

Moreover, Poznan is a place of activity for a great number of non-governmental organisations. Some of them work together with the local community animation mode, which suggests a particular way of working with local communities, focusing on partnership and drawing on local resources.

As it can be seen from this example, social activity for older people can also be embedded within the city. The point is to show that not only the activities of organisations or seniors themselves can be associated with an area or group, but also the city itself through the affiliation of social activity to city activities. As a result, activities for older people are the subject of cross-fertilisation between different urban centres.

In addition, Poznan is a place of activity of many non-governmental organisations, which direct their activities to a specific group of inhabitants, a given district, and only later define their affiliation with such categories as age or needs. Their activities are based on the OSL model (see III.1. Research design), which proposes a specific way of working with local communities, focusing on partnership and drawing on local resources. The activities of these organisations or individuals are strongly rooted in the neighbourhood, its spatial and human resources, but also in its constraints and problems.

The last of the scales covers issues of embedding social activism towards older people. On the one hand, it refers to activities that can primarily be described as social inclusion of older people. On the other hand, it includes those social activities that in some other way link the actants involved in its implementation, e.g., a partner organisation, a neighbourhood, or a type of territorial unit. Noting the different characteristics within this scale, it can be stated that some events take place outside of local networks, which can make them one-off and short-lived (described in chapter III. Social Activity Enacted). On the other hand, it is an opportunity for non-committal engagement for people who do not want to be associated with a community. Then this affiliation is a gathering point for the participants of the event, it anchors them and gives them the possibility to further involve themselves, thanks to the generated relations.

IV.2.5. Conclusion

Through the scales I present in this subchapter, I wanted to show the tension between the actants involved in the process of implementing social activism for older people within the framework of the urban policy of ageing in Poznan which I have studied. The reason why I looked for these relations was the decentralisation of social policy, including the policy of ageing, commonly defined in the literature. By framing my research within the concept of glocalisation, I also wanted to address the issue of globalisation, which causes a kind of collapse of the temporal vertical hierarchy in policymaking (Roudometof, 2015; Swyngedouw, 1997; Wathen, 2020). Causing greater influence of global actants and ideas within local communities, and giving these local levels greater responsibility for dealing with global challenges (Andreotti & Mingione, 2016; Kutsar & Kuronen, 2015).

The first of the two scales identified relates to the issue of initiating and implementing social activism. The conclusions that can be drawn from these scales suggest a tension between these two directions. The question also arises whether the bottom-up approach identified by me, which was also strongly emphasised by the employees of municipal units as well as non-governmental organisations, is possible. This is because even grassroots ideas and initiatives, if they are to be realised with public funds, have to fit into the framework of a given source of financing, i.e., a project. On the other hand, the scales that exist in the local politics I have studied show the possibilities that third sector organisations and public

institutions have in raising funds, bypassing the vertical model of policymaking and applying for support from international organisations or other foreign partner organisations.

Moreover, the scales show the diversity of the participants due to their affiliation. This has an impact on the activities and values of the organisations or companies described. On the one hand, this diversity represents an opportunity for local social policy, because it offers different resources and possibilities, which is necessary as a result of the underfunding of policies at local level (Błędowski, 2016; Theiss, 2017). On the other hand, it can lead to a divergence of visions as to what is being implemented, so that its effects are not very visible and may even turn out to be mutually exclusive, depending on the understanding of the social activity of older people and its role in the process of ageing. An example of such tensions is the cooperation between the Centre for Older Citizens' Initiatives and private companies. They come together to organise social activities, but each carries different goals and values. The CIS is an institution set up by the city for older people. A travel agency, for example, is a private enterprise, and although it organises trips for older people, the aim is to make a profit. Another example is senior citizens' clubs, which can operate as informal groups, in which case they are not affiliated. Or they may be attached to an NGO or a parish. Then, their activities are linked to the umbrella organisation.

Conclusions

Ageing is a challenge for modern societies and their economies. This is not a new problem, as in the 1970s, researchers already predicted an influence of ageing process on economy and the functioning of social systems (Achenbaum, 2010). Moreover, throughout the XXth and XXIst centuries, scholars have put forward different conceptualisations of old age, and thus of older people and their role in society (Foster & Walker, 2015; Hooyman & Kiyak, 2017; Klimczuk, 2016; Marshall & Clarke, 2010; Phillipson & Estes, 2007; Wahl & Gitlin, 2007). One contemporary research approach is the critical perspective (C.L. Estes & Portacolone, 2009; Carroll L. Estes & Grossman, 2007), which pays attention to the construction of old age by society, the policies pursued, and the ideas behind them (Carroll L. Estes & Grossman, 2007). Although the process of ageing has been in the minds of researchers and politicians for several decades, it is gaining new relevance today. In the result of globalisation ageing become a global problem, but strongly diversified within local communities. Within the economic crises, in turn, public policies, responding to the effects of ageing issue, have to face with savings in social expenditure. Furthermore, the decentralisation of social policy and the devolution of its implementation to local policies (Andreotti & Mingione, 2016; Błędowski, 2016; Kutsar & Kuronen, 2015; Theiss, 2017), as well as the recognition of the local level as the one which most accurately responds to the diverse problems of older people's communities. As a result, regional and urban policies gained in relevance. These factors make it desirable to know how measures that are part of ageing policies are implemented at the micro level.

Therefore, the subject of my research was **how urban policies on ageing are implemented**. Since the concept of ageing policy is very broad, I set out one area, i.e., the implementation of the idea of social activity of older people, which is derived from the idea of active and happy ageing (Council of the European Union, 2012; Walker, 2009b; World Health Organization, 2002). These are concepts which originated in the last century, and which promote the most active way of spending old age, benefiting both the individual, by supporting his or her mental and physical health, and society. From the latter perspective, active ageing means being useful in the form of volunteering, continuing to work, and being involved in the social life of the local community. These ideas are still part of the policies and

strategies developed at the level of international organisations, such as the European Union and the World Health Organisation, as well as at the level of national policies. However, their practical implementation remains the responsibility of local politicians and other actants (Álvarez-García, Durán-Sánchez, Del Río-Rama, & García-Vélez, 2018; Joy, 2018; Perek-białas et al., 2006). **Therefore, to understand the urban ageing policy implementation, I studied the implementing of social activity idea for older people in Poznan.** In order to address this problem I formed two research questions:

1. *What is the idea of social activity for older people implemented in Poznan?*
2. *How is the idea of social activity implemented by urban policies?*

With the first question I aimed to understand **what the idea of social activity** for older people **and hence ageing** is in the case of Poznan. To achieve it I applied ideational analysis and seek to explore how idea reflects studied reality (Wildavsky, 2018). The answer for second question, in turn, concerned how the idea is implemented by urban ageing policy. As the result I strived to know **how political actions occurs and form urban policy.** In this question I referred to discursive institutionalism and explored practices, which introduce political change, as well as values and norms forming them (Schmidt, 2008).

The two empirical chapters I have presented – **III. Social activity enacted** and **IV. The implementation of social activity for older people n Poznan** - provide insights into urban ageing policies. This was possible by following the implementation of the idea of social activity of older people in Poznan. The collected data, analysed using actor-network theory, allows to follow the formation of an urban policy.

Perspectives on ageing

Although my research focused on understanding urban ageing policies, a conceptualisation of **ageing** also emerges from my findings. It is seen as **a phase of inactivity with good health and available resources of knowledge, practical skills, and time**. Therefore, **policy measures are aimed at managing older people's resources** through volunteering, community engagement or education through events such as museum tours or telephone learning. However, I noticed that the ageing phase, characterised by dependency and physical limitations, is missing from my data. **Ageing does not apply to the '*third floor prisoners*'**. For

them, the social activity I encountered would be difficult due to physical limitations or lack of personal space. Exclusion within the social activity of older people is the subject of research (Afacan, 2013; Ahmad & Hafeez, 2011; Barrett & McGoldrick, 2013; Beard & Montawi, 2015; Carr et al., 2015; Chiribuca & Teodorescu, 2020). Scholars emphasise that this is a policy element available to people of high socio-economic status. Based on my research, in turn, it is apparent that this also focus on people with good physical and mental health. This is an important conclusion, as social activity at the local level should accurately diagnose the needs and barriers of older people. Also those, and perhaps especially those, who find it difficult to express their voice and to fight for it. In summary, **ageing in the perspective of the policy I have studied concerns people who are physically active, willing to get involved and develop**. It refers to a critical perspective in gerontology that was a conceptual framework of my research here. It emphasises the need to examine how ageing policies are made and what ideas feed into them. Furthermore, critical perspective perceive ageing as a product of struggle between influential political and social actors (Carroll L. Estes & Grossman, 2007). As a result, this may lead to a focus on meeting the needs of older people, whose need to be socially active is different from those with less power to influence and influence policymaking, i.e., the less able.

On the basis of the findings I have presented, conclusions can also be drawn in the context of research on social activity itself implemented at the city level. In previous research, social activity was understood as activity in public space (Dawidowicz et al., 2020; Xiong et al., 2020; Yung et al., 2016), volunteering (Carr et al., 2015; Ho, 2017), action for the local community (Pasquallie, 2018; Tong et al., 2019; Yung et al., 2016) or self-development (Fu et al., 2018; Ho, 2017; Novak & Vute, 2013; Pei et al., 2014). All these dimensions of social activity have been identified in my study. Additionally, my research found that **social activity is also a kind of commodity**. The need for social activity is exploited by companies, restaurants, and other private enterprises, which offer discounts to encourage older people to take advantage of their offers. What is more, **public institutions**, such as museums, also try to **offer a social activity service for older people**. They treat older people and their need to be active as an opportunity to fulfil their missions.

The **commodification of social activity** (Tittenbrun, 2014; Ziółkowski, 2004) offers opportunities for its **wider implementation** through the involvement of actors who may find it beneficial to have such a commodity in their offerings. Thus, increasing the offer of such events. However, there is an issue of the above-mentioned effects that a given activity may bring. It is about the one-time and long-term nature of social activity. In the case of **commodification of social activity, there is less chance for longer engagemen**t, as this is not the purpose of such events.

Diversity of urban ageing policy

To start with, I was interested in why the organisers, co-organisers get involved in creating social activity, meaning **why do they care?** According to actor-network theory, this is the moment when actants reveal their goals. But more importantly they manage to make them common, which induces them to work together in a network of activities (Callon, 1984; Latour, 2005). In turn, researchers, but also practitioners of elderly policy, point to the importance of its implementation at local level. The rationale for this position is greater accuracy in diagnosing the needs of older people and accessibility to local resources (Andreotti & Mingione, 2016; Błędowski, 2016; Buffel et al., 2021; Kutsar & Kuronen, 2015; Theiss, 2007). I drew on one strand of new institutional economics, namely discursive institutionalism, in conceptualising the problem presented (Hall & Taylor, 1996; Schmidt, 2008). From this economic perspective, policy is the result of ideas and discourse with which researchers undertake to describe the actions of individuals in economics, politics, and other areas of social life. As already mentioned, ideas play an important role at every level of policymaking - defining the problem, choosing the best solutions, and the values adopted by the policy.

My research shows that **policy implemented at the city level becomes a mosaic of interests, strategies, statutes, as well as other political ideas.** The latter are the links between policies, feeding one policy into those already existing policies. This included the idea of empowerment, social investment, or CSR. Their presence is visible for example in the activities of private enterprises which decide to organise social activities within the framework of corporate social responsibility (CSR). This shows how **the implementation of ideas by city policies**, in the case of my research the idea of social activity of older people, is

weaved with already present and influential ideas. Thus, it could be said that the formation of an urban policy on ageing is dependent on an already established array of ideas and the influences exerted by them. This might be named as the **ideational background of urban policy.**

The diverse background of ideas feeding into the policy I have studied, has also influence on **diverse practices** evident in the ontologies I have identified – *Weaving the network, Providing a service, Responding to the ageing crisis* or *Using space*. Practices are part of trends in politics such as **empowerment** (Dudgeon et al., 2017; Klimczuk, 2018; Olech & Kaźmierczak, 2011), **participation** (Beresford & Carr, 2018; Taylor-Gooby, 2018), **public-private partnerships** (Jałocha, 2021; Snopko, 2014), the phenomenon of **projectisation** (D. Hodgson et al., 2019; Skrzypek-Prawelska & Jałocha, 2014) or the **service approach** in politics (Chaczko, 2021; Grewiński, 2009; Guy, 2010; Szarfenberg, 2010). Other practices may not be captured by a single concept, but they relate to the urban space and its accessibility for older residents as well as activity organisers. Identifying these practices and therefore the concepts they represent allows for an important conclusion about urban ageing policies. Based on my case study, it can be said that **urban ageing policy is a collection of practices**, coming **from different approaches to the realisation of social policy**. We can see, for example, the service approach, which was present in the social policy of Western European countries back in the last century. However, it is still valid within a polish context. It is reflected in the implementation of social activity as a service, which is visible in the creation of event offers by companies, but also by NGOs or public institutions, that fosters the creation of customer-service-provider relationships. However, some of the practices of the policy I studied were related to participatory approaches, which see older people as co-participants and co-creators rather than just customers. These findings **point to the diversity of urban ageing policy measures**. That means, on the one hand, urban ageing policy can be seen as positive, as it **increases the possibility of reaching different audiences**, but on the other hand, **the implemented policies lose strength**. The reason being is that these approaches pursue different goals, e.g., promoting empowerment and creating services.

Likewise, the scales I have identified relating to the concept of glocalisation also indicate a certain divergence in the urban policies I have studied. Scales within glocalisation in the policy and urban study (Farías & Bender, 2010; Latham & McCormack, 2010; Mehta, 2011; Sun et al., 2017; Swyngedouw, 1996, 2005; Wathen, 2020) reflects narratives of ruling

strategies and relations between actants. They nest actions of actants within a socio-spatial context, linking it to the local, national, or international levels.

Scales, within my study, show the **great diversity of** actants and thus of **their affiliations**. This means that the forces influencing their actions and values are influenced by different levels of organisations or companies. On the one hand, this **diversity represents an opportunity** for local social policy and its actors, because it offers different resources and possibilities, which is necessary as a result of the underfunding of policies at local level (Błędowski, 2016; Theiss, 2017). On the other hand, **it can lead to a divergence of visions** as to what is being implemented, so that its effects are not very visible and may even turn out to be mutually exclusive, **depending on the understanding of the social activity of older people and its role in the process of ageing**.

Relations in urban ageing policy

The cooperation between actants responsible for **the implementation of the urban ageing policy is also based on the formation of relationships between the actants**. It is about what influence they have on each other, or what they can do for each other, or why they are important to each other. It turns out that in the urban ageing policy I studied, **projects and space played an influential and binding role**.

In the case of projects, I referred to the well-known issue in the literature of projectisation in public policies (Godenhjelm et al., 2015; D. Hodgson et al., 2019; Jensen et al., 2018). The literature shows this phenomenon as an element which facilitates policy management, but also as a time and financial constraint on policy implementation (Jałocha, 2021; Skórzyńska, 2018; Skrzypek-Prawelska & Jałocha, 2014). However, based on my research, **projects could also be defined as means of support, commitment or bonding between actants**. These words describe **the types of relationships between the actants** involved in the urban ageing policy in Poznan. Projects provide support to NGOs and other actants who are looking for resources to implement their activities. However, entering into and carrying out a project implies a certain commitment, which consists in fulfilling set goals and achieving certain results, as defined in the project. Moreover, projects bind the actants involved in them, making them interdependent. An example is the participation of the Porta Posnania Museum in a project involving older people as volunteers. As a result, after the

project ended, the cooperation between the volunteers and the museum remained, generating further activities for older residents.

Thus, as my research has shown, **projects** are not only a tool for efficient management in public policies, but they are also **responsible for the emerging relationships between the actors of the created policies**. However, the question is what are these relationships? That is, to what extent do projects support NGOs and other organisations, and to what extent do they limit their own grassroots initiatives? Based on my research, it can be said that while the bottom-up nature of the activities was strongly emphasised by the employees of municipal institutions (*Reason comes by themselves*). It can be seen from the interviews with third sector organisations and employees of cultural institutions that the grassroots initiative has to meet the assumptions of the available projects (*Looking for the support* and *Commission to actants*). This is interesting in the context of the decentralisation of tasks in ageing policies, which is dictated among other things by the better accuracy of local policies in diagnosing community problems. In reality, however, projectisation in such policies is an obstacle to bottom-up initiatives.

Also, the **city space** is important for the implemented policies. According to research, but also to emerging programmes such as Age-Friendly Cities, space is important in policy making, and moreover, being in public space is important for older people, having a positive impact on their well-being and independence (Beard & Montawi, 2015; Dawidowicz et al., 2020; Xiong et al., 2020; Yung et al., 2016). However, **space** is, like a project, **an element of urban policy that affects the relationships between its actants**. The ownership of a space, by public organisations or institutions, can makes them organisers of social activity. For organisations and informal groups, such as an older citizens' club, the lack of a space encourages them to search for it and to cooperate. Thus, **urban policy on ageing is materialised through space**. Such a connection, in turn, may lead to further questions for next research, namely how does access to public space affect the creation of local policies?

Referring my findings to local social policy research (Czupich, 2018; Klimczuk & Tomczyk, 2016; Kutsar & Kuronen, 2015; Theiss, 2017), which focuses on analysing economic, political, cultural, or structural factors, the ontologies I propose provide a new perspective for further local social policy research. The conclusion concerns effects of local policy implementation, which I defined as one-off or long-term implementation of social activity. These are the different products of social activity for older people. They aim either for **long-term effects**, in

the form **of continuity of the activities carried out and the emergence of lasting relationships between its participants**, or providing **a one-off event that results in a single event**. This duality of activities within urban policy on ageing illustrates its nature. Namely, **urban ageing policy** in Poznan can be an **array of single and independent actions**, or a **network of actions**. On the one hand, there were events that seek networking within the urban policy. This applied both to the entities organising the events and to the participants themselves. For the organisers, this meant forming relationships of cooperation. NGOs, public or cultural institutions and Older Citizens' Club were supporting each other in organising events, e.g., by exchanging ideas or exchanging resources, such as space or free time of older people. For older people, in turn, long-term social activity meant an establishment of social ties. It was achieved through the elderly's long-term commitment within a community or organisation. In turn, the engagement of older people in the local social networks, is benefit as being part of a community can be a source of support for an older person and unweighting for social systems. The **question of the formation or absence of relationships between recipients and organisers of urban policies offers a new perspective on local policy research**. It is about looking at local politics from the perspective of the networks it creates.

The types of policy implementation I proposed can complement the division of **policy implementation** created by E. Matland (1995) (I discuss them in subchapter I.2.3. Implementation process and ideational analysis). He used two perspectives. The first, described as **ambiguity**, concerns the question to what extent the implemented measure responds to a clearly defined problem. The second one, in turn, concerns the extent to which implemented actions may cause **conflicts** among the actors of a given policy. The **types of implementation I have identified concern** not so much the assumptions and activities undertaken in the implementation of the policy, but **its effects**. Moreover, they refer to a narrow group of policy actions, namely social activity of older people. However, they can be treated as complements to the division proposed by E. Matland. **One-off implementation** will concern clearly defined problems, the implementation of which does not create conflicts among policy actors. On the example of my research, these are events aimed at ensuring social activity of the elderly. **Longer-term implementation**, on the other hand, will involve fewer clear-cut goals, the implementation of which requires greater involvement of individual actors. This involvement may not necessarily be beneficial. In the case of the social

activity I investigated, its long-term effect, i.e., the continued activity of older people in the community, is not an obvious and desirable outcome for all actors. Its introduction involves more work, which may not be beneficial or cost-effective. To sum up, the conclusions I proposed may help policy scholars and practitioners **look at the implementation process not only from the perspective of its assumptions and activities, but also of its effects**. This is an important element, because often the subject of research on policy implementation is its success or lack (Schmidt, 2008).

Practical implication

My study of urban ageing policies also contributes to debate on the process of decentralisation of ageing policies (Błędowski, 2016; Buffel & Phillipson, 2018; Kutsar & Kuronen, 2015; Theiss, 2007, 2017; Urbaniak, 2018). For this reason, I have decided to study the policy of ageing at the local level. One of the reasons for decentralising ageing policies is to diagnose the needs of residents more accurately, by getting in closer contact with them. However, according to my research, **the bottom-up nature of the policy is not fully realised**. Policies in the city are the result of adopted strategies or concepts. Moreover, **grassroots activities** of third sector organisations or older citizens' clubs **have to fulfil predefined criteria to get funding**. This means that it is not entirely true to diagnose the needs of the inhabitants more accurately, as certain needs have already been identified at the stage of creating policy documents. An exception are the mini grants available to informal groups to support their daily activities. So, my study raises the questions, how much bottom-up action is possible in urban policies and how is it feasible in practice? Is a complete bottom-up in politics possible?

Another practical implication of my research is the question of accessibility to public space by **activists, informal groups, or NGOs**. My research shows that **for the activities of these groups** to be possible, while at the same time independent, it is **necessary to have access to a space** that can be a certain constant in their activities. Policies implemented at the urban level are materialised, among other things, by the space in which they are implemented. Moreover, the **relationship between space and its users**, i.e., its absence or possession**, reflects the relationship between political actors and their power of influence** (Durczak et al., 2019).

Limitation

The study deals with **one element of ageing policy**, although the narrowing was necessary because the scope of ageing policy itself is too broad. Therefore, **further research in the field of urban ageing policy** may help to understand even more fully what such a policy is and what other elements constitute it. Furthermore, as my study focuses on one case study of Poznan, there is a need for comparative studies. It can inform researchers and practitioners of local policy on local circumstances influencing the dominance of practices and ideas.

The study I present was mostly conducted **before the COVID-19 pandemic** and does not take into account some of the changes that have taken place in the way older people carry out social activities, namely moving them online. However, based on other research I have conducted, which referred to the **issue of using social media as a tool for activation of older people during the COVID-19 pandemic** (Nadobnik, 2021), it can be seen that the ways in how events are communicated and delivered have gained new modality, through the inclusion of social media. However, **the understanding of social activity idea remained the same**. In turn, **practices and ontologies, identified in my research, used in policy formation are also applicable within online policy actions**. The question for further inquiries is It this way of policy realisation will appear as long-term solution?

Although the data I have collected comprises 300 pages of transcripts and documents, 12 hours of interviews and 20 hours of observation, the data I have presented do not cover all organisations and actors working for older people in the field of social activism in Poznan. However, the collected data allows us to explore the very implementation of the idea of social activity, its practices and relationships. They constitute a basis for **further research**, which may **verify the adequacy of the identified ontologies** and **practices** in the case of activities carried out by other entities and organisations.

Appendixes

Appendix 1. The list of data sources

Interviews

1. First interview with worker of the Centre for Older Citizens' Initiatives [D1].

2. Interview with a museum worker at Porta Posnania ICHOT [D3].

3. Interview with a museum worker at The Museum of Applied Arts [D4].

4. Interview with the foundation worker (interview granted anonymously) [D5].

5. Second interview with a worker at the Centre for Older Citizens' Initiatives [D6].

6. Interview with a worker at the Flandria Foundation [D7].

7. Interview with the founder of the Green Group of NGOs and the leader of the Centre for Local Innovation [D8].

8. Interview with the founder of The Mill of Support foundation [D9].

9. Interview with the Director of the Centre for Older Citizens Initiatives [D2].

10. Interview with a member of The Municipal Council of Older Citizens [D10].

11. Interview with the founders of the Silver Years Foundation and Older Citizen Club [D11].

12. Interview with a worker at the Municipal Centre for Family Support [D12].

13. The interview with older citizen activists [D13].

Observations

1. Older People's Club Leaders' Forum (pl. *Forum Liderów Klubów Seniora*)

2. Guided tour for the elderly titled History of Certain Loves (pl. *Oprowadzanie dla seniorów pod tytułem Historia Pewnych Miłości*)

3. VIVA Older citizen Fair (pl. *Targi VIVA Senior !*)

4. Meeting on air pollution in Poznan under the coal burning boiler replacement programme (pl. *Spotkanie dotyczące zanieczyszczeń powietrza w Poznaniu w ramach programu wymiany pieców węglowych*)

5. Guided tours of the museum exhibition for older people (pl. *Oprowadzanie po ekspozycji muzeum dla seniorów*)

6. The debate of generations titled: Is the development of new communication technologies the solution to human loneliness? (pl. *Czy rozwój nowych technologii komunikacyjnych jest rozwiązaniem problemu ludzkiej samotności?*)

7. Excursion of the Polish Tourist Country-Lovers' Society for older citizen citizens (pl. *Wycieczka Polskiego Towarzystwa Turystyczno- Krajobrazowego dla seniorów*)

Additional materials

1. Statutes of the TRAKT Centre for Cultural Tourism (pl. *Statut Centrum Turystyki Kulturowej TRAKT*)

2. Organisational Regulations Centre for Older citizen Initiatives in Poznan (pl. *Regulamin Organizacyjny Centrum Inicjatyw Senioralnych w Poznaniu*)

3. Declaration on cooperation of presidents in the field of older citizen policy (pl. *Deklaracja Współpracy prezydentów miast w obszarze polityki senioralnej*)

4. Older Citizens' Policy of the City of Poznan for 2017- 2021 (pl. *Polityka Senioralna Miasta Poznania na lata 2017- 2021*)

5. Older citizen package (pl. *Tytka Seniora*)

6. Programme of Older Citizen Days (pl. *Program Senioralni*)

7. Announcement of the open competition No. 45/2021 for assigning the tasks of the City of Poznan in activity for people of retirement age. (pl. *Ogłoszenie otwartego konkursu ofert nr 45/2021 na powierzenie realizacji zadań miasta Poznania w obszarze działalności na rzecz osób w wieku emerytalnym.*)

8. Report on the implementation of the annual programme of cooperation with non-governmental organisations in Poznan for the year 2020 (pl. *Sprawozdanie z realizacji rocznego programu współpracy z organizacjami pozarządowymi w Poznaniu za rok 2020*)

9. The report on the activities of the Astra Senior Club in the local newspaper of the Kiekrz district. (pl. *Sprawozdanie z działalności Klubu Seniora Astra w lokalnej gazecie dzielnicy Kiekrz.*)

10. An offer for the realisation of a public task submitted by the Polish Association of the Blind - Wielkopolska Voivodship and its Older Citizens' Club Hillary. (pl. *Oferta realizacji zadania publicznego złożona przez Polski Związek Niewidomych – Okręg Wielkopolski i działający przy nim Klub Seniora Hillary*)

11. Act of 24 April 2003 on public benefit activity and voluntary work (pl. *Ustawa z dnia 24 kwietnia 2003 o działalności pożytku publicznego i o wolontariacie*).

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