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PERCEPTION OF THE BORDERLANDS IN SERBIA

“Neighbor is determined by the destiny, and the friend is chosen freely, friendship between neighbors is converting of destiny in to personal choice.”

Cross-border cooperation in Europe, Anđelko Šimić (2005)

INTRODUCTION

Present paper¹ aims at enhancing understanding of perceptions of borders in cross-border regions of Serbia and to evaluate influences of these perceptions on cross-border policies and cross-border cooperation (hereafter CBC). The study relevance is rooted in fact that only a small number of CBC projects and initiatives exist in Serbia². Problems of utilizing funds available for CBC in the regions of Republic of Serbia which are eligible for CBC under the IPA Programme are well known and already analyzed in literature (CESS-Vojvodina, 2010). Still, this instrument of European territorial cooperation that also serve as developing instrument of local self-governments is not used to its maximum.

Study of citizen's perceptions on borders and CBC programs will try to provide deeper insights in this area of analysis and will strive to find out how people in whole territory of Serbia and especially in border areas look at regions from other side of border and if these regions or states are close or distant in their perceptions. Furthermore, this study will examine how close they feel with the neighbors in terms of mental distance and culture and if there is a chance for number of CBC projects to be increased if population from both side is closed in they own territory and tradition, weighted by recent isolation and wars.

From the personal point of view of the author, Crossborder Cooperation is of great importance. The studies conducted on Join European Master for Comparative Local Development show that community driven development is extremely efficient in bringing solutions for local difficulties and that there is a number of difficulties regarding sustainability of CBC projects and evaluation of their effects in Serbia. Hence, research of perceptions of regions involved in CBC should provide the author with new insight in the matter of managing CB projects and answer this fundamental question: what is the biggest obstacle in minds of citizens that lives in CBR to be more involved in CB programs and initiatives, beside those already analyzed in literature? Have already conducted projects changed perception of citizens, and if yes, in what way and extent? What cities or regions in the future will be most suitable for even setting up an EGTC?

BACKGROUND

Regions have come to be seen as meaningful places, which individuals construct, as well as select, as reference points. Identification with a region is identification with one kind of "imagined community."

(Johnstone 2004:69)

Local development is an academic discipline that combines elements of many social science fields and concepts. As part of public policy, it is distinct from political science or economics in general because it is focused on the application of theory to practice. For this reasons, the study will apply mix of qualitative and quantitative methodology and mental mapping as research method. It will combine science disciplines that are essential for the research, such as: local economic development, public administration, regional studies, psychology, geography and policy impact analysis. In fact, "CBC deals with issues that include social affairs, economic development, minority rights, cross-border employment and trade, the environment, etc. CBC, however, has also been about attempts to use the border as a resource for economic and cultural exchange as well as for building political coalitions for regional development purposes." (Scott & Matzeit, 2006, p. 3) For this reason the research will be conducted on whole territory of Serbia and specially focused on border regions³. Study use Computer Assisted On-line Interviews⁴ (CAOI) and limited number of personal interviews will be conducted with people working on local and regional development issues and managing CBC projects in Serbia.

Main objectives of CBC as EU policy instrument are to erase the borders and to bring economic development to regions that stay behind the average development of national state:

"Nowhere is the need to overcome obstacles and barriers created by borders, which can then reoccur due to national laws despite the existence of the EU, more apparent than in the border regions of neighboring countries... In the framework of Europe-wide disparities, in addition to territorial cohesion, CBC is helping in particular to eliminate economic imbalances and obstacles in neighboring border regions in a regionally manageable framework, in partnership with national governments and European authorities." (European Charter for Border and Cross-Border Regions 2004, pp. 7, 8)

Research is looking at both of above-mentioned goals. First hypothesis is that borders are perceived as less important in regions with higher CBC. Second hypothesis is that more developed regions (higher GDP, more local institutions and actors, more CBC project) are already working (consciously or by chance) on creation of CB territory (well organized spatial and urban policies, good CB communication, cooperation between entrepreneurs, better infrastructure and cultural exchange

project). This is due to the fact that in globalized world local governments in bordering territories want to make resource out of borders and not an obstacle. In addition, national governments guided by principles of democracy, inclusion and subsidiarity are searching the models and methods to bring equal regional development on whole territory of a country. In the end, conclusion will try to argument what border regions are best prepared for future establishing of EGTC once legal basis are set and Serbia become candidate country for EU. Mr. Herwig van Staa⁵ indicate in his speech in the international conference "New Regional Policies and European Experience" held in Belgrade on 2nd of February 2012 that Regulation (EC) No 1082/2006 will be amended in April of the same year allowing the members of Council of Europe to establish EGTC.⁶

Serbia has had numerous transformations of borders during last 20 years. There is no other country in the world that witnessed this phenomenon in such a short period of time: from two types of federation to unitary state; from Self-governing Socialism dominated by single party to the authoritarian regime of Milosevic; finally, the most recent transition democracy. The phenomenon was followed by wars and strong media propaganda under which different territorial aspiration was present to the majority of the population⁷. An illustrative example of these changes can be the following: if you were born in Serbia in the end of 1980's and did not travel out of Serbia yet, you would have already changed 4 countries – considering, of course, just the name of the country. Presently, because of Kosovo independence⁸ issue, Serbia still has open debate and problems about its state borders. In December 2011, during the negotiation of Belgrade and Pristina, we saw how great problems can arise just about name or connotation the border will have: is it going to be state or administrative border? What uniforms will carry custom officers and how border is going to be managed, unilaterally or jointly? At this regard, it is necessary to remember that because of failing to achieve a compromise with Kosovo, the Council of Ministers of EU postponed to March 2012 the decision of granting candidate status to Serbia.

Furthermore, from biggest country in Former Yugoslavia and status of central power in the Balkans, Serbia has become a small country with still problematic definition of its territory. Also, Yugoslavia as Non-Aligned country was for a long time first free country after the Iron Curtain⁹ and the sense of bordering country is emphasized in dominant interpretation of History¹⁰. (See appendix 1) Presently Serbia is land-lock country bordering with 3 EU member States, 3 EU candidate countries, BIH with whom Serbia has a special relation agreement due to border with Republika Srpska, and with Kosovo, where border issue are highly problematic.

After the fall of Communist regime and following wars in 1990's, on territory of Former Yugoslavia, concluding with fall of Milosevic in October 2000, Serbia started the process of democratic transition and membership in the EU is set as one of priorities of all governments since that time. Serbia is presently involved in EU Programmes for CBC (ENPI and IPA) with all bordering countries except Kosovo.

Debate about boundaries is intensified because EU's will to become a "continent without borders" and refer to borders as "scars of history." On the other hand, we must be aware of role that borders play for all nation states. They have been considered as fundamental elements of state which represents security and serve as protection, distinction between eternal political division on "us and them" and boundaries of legal jurisdiction and sovereignty.

Local development must be bottom-up driven and supported by project proposals created from local population. For CBC in Serbia there is a chance for more actors to be involved in creating project proposals so the projects could be addressed to burning problems and increase development of these economically backward regions. This is possible, of course, if proposals *per se* are written to comply with EU standards. To this aim, involvement of state and regional government professionals are a necessity. Still, because of lack of evaluation of sustainability of projects, we do not know whether CBC initiatives and conducted projects have satisfied one of their main goals, such as promotion of local cross-border "people to people" actions and "of economic and social development in regions on both sides of common borders." (ENPI CBC Strategy paper 2006, p. 5)

CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION

A hundred years may pass until we have achieved our desired goal; or it may never happen at all. Nevertheless, sometimes we can also dream. Looking into the future, I see such a unity of forces which will bring peace and justice to the world, and I cannot but think that, even if nobody can openly stand for it as of yet, one day those who are yet to come will maybe live to see it . . .

Stanley Baldwin, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, 1935-1937

European Charter for Border and Cross-border regions states in its preamble that cross-border cooperation helps to diminish the disadvantages of national borders, overcome the marginal status of the border regions in their country, and improve the overall existence of the people living in these areas. "It encompasses all cultural, social, economic and infrastructural spheres of life. Having both knowledge and an understanding of a neighbor's distinctive social, cultural, linguistic and economic characteristics - ultimately the well-spring of mutual trust - is a prerequisite for any successful cross-border cooperation." (European Charter for Border and Cross-Border Regions, 2004)

In the phase of institutionalization of CBC the biggest attention must be paid towards developing demands of all involved sides, as well that mutual and equal representation of all actors from both side of border is guaranteed. The process of setting up CBC can traced over three phase:

- a) Initial cooperation;
- b) Strategic planning of development and cooperation and

c) Management and implementation of cooperation programmes. (Knezevic et al. 2011, p. 34)

This general definition is an adequate assemblage of what we find at different authors. For example Parkmann (2003) on page 4 is operationalizing the term of CBC through four criteria:

1. Main protagonists of CBC are always public authorities and CBC must be located in the realm of public agency.
2. CBC refers to collaboration between sub-national authorities in different countries whereby these actors are normally not legal subjects according to international law. They are therefore not allowed to conclude international treaties with foreign authorities, and, consequently, CBC involves so-called “low politics”. This is why CBC is often based on informal or “quasi-juridical” arrangements among the participating authorities.
3. In substantive terms, CBC is foremost concerned with practical problem-solving in a broad range of fields of everyday administrative life.
4. CBC involves a certain stabilization of cross-border contacts, i.e. institution-building, over time. (Emphasis mine)

Serbian Constitution adopted in 2006 represents the legal foundation for the principle of guaranteeing the right of citizens to provincial autonomy and local self-government. Serbia has in total 123 municipalities (without Kosovo) and 46 of which are bordering.

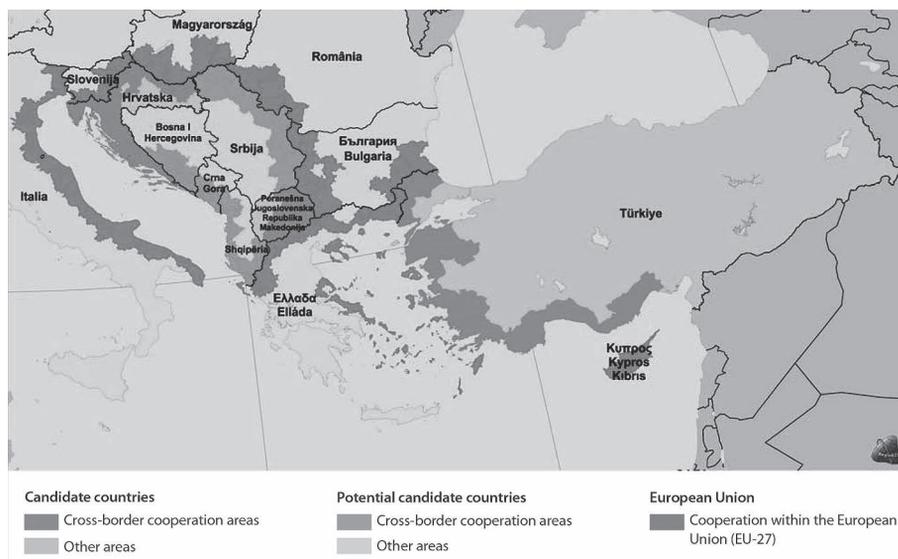


Figure 2 Source: *Cohesion Policy 2007-13 Commentaries and official texts 2007*, p. 137

At the moment Serbia is involved in six IPA CBC Programmes and two transnational Programme¹¹. To clarify how important is IPA as an instrument of local development we must scrutinize the EC decision on multi-annual indicative planning documents in which creation Serbian government actively participated.

Cross border co-operation is crucially important for stability, cooperation and economic development in Serbia's border regions. The aim of EC assistance will be to develop local capacity in relation to cross border co-operation in all of Serbia's border regions while also targeting specific local development projects. Development of cross-border cooperation is dependent on general capacity building activities of the local and central authorities responsible for development policy. (MIPD 2009, p. 14, 18) (Emphasis mine)

EGTC

We have learnt from our experience that borders shouldn't be lines dividing people but places where people come together. For that reason alone cross-border cooperation is indispensable as "cement of the European House" and key element of the European integration.

Association of European Border Regions:
White Paper on European Border Regions, 2006

European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation (EGTC) was created on July 5th 2006 European Union¹² as an opportunity for member states to establish a crossborder institution. EGTC, in one word, are non-profit organizations with legal personality which are to facilitate the efficient use of Union resources and supporting establishment of successful cooperation of the municipalities, local and regional authorities of two or more member states.

The Committee of the Regions (CoR) has highlighted the added value of the EGTC:

- Territorial cohesion: It helps to achieve the objectives of the EU as stated in the Treaty of Lisbon.
- Europe 2020: It can be a a tool to implement the Europe 2020 Strategy, boosting competitiveness and sustainability in Europe's regions.
- Multilevel governance: The EGTC offers „the possibility of involving different institutional levels in a single cooperative structure”, and thus „opens up the prospect of new forms of multilevel governance, enabling European regional and local authorities to become driving forces in drawing up and implementing EU policy, helping to make European governance more open, participatory, democratic, accountable and transparent”. (<http://portal.cor.europa.eu/egtc/en-US/whatis/Pages/welcome.aspx>)

BORDERS

This part of paper emphasis dynamic character of borders in contemporary world and focus on complex influences of borders on people perception of space providing a definition of cross-border region and different notion of borders.

Borders are not some fixed lines of state sovereignty but rather mutually constitutive dynamic practice of "bordering" and "de-bordering." Moreover bordering processes are "often implicit, latent, meaningful, and contextual strategies." (Berg & Houtum, 2003) Therefore, the border is not regarded as being at one side and them at the other, but as an area open to co-operation and not an abyss which divides people, but a community with its own energy, direction and future. (Oda-Angel, 2003) (Emphasis mine)

Just by ordinary contemplation we could outline many different types of borders that would go from the political-administrative, traditional, historical, linguistic, cultural, economic, maritime, fluvial, "to those borders which are more intimate and refer to thought, collective imagination or mentality." (Oda-Angel 2003, p. 2) Borders can both serve as bridges and barriers, as demarcation lines for country sovereignty and safety and lines that serve as excuse to wage a war. That is why border areas were always specific from different socio-economical aspects. „Conditions in borderlands worldwide vary considerably because of profound differences in the size of nation states, their political relationships, their level of development, and their ethnic, cultural and linguistic configurations." (Martinez 1994, p. 1) However, the need for overcoming obstacles created by borders is not more obvious then in border regions. Even in the EU, due to different legal frameworks, these obstacles for cooperation are still present. There is no need after what was said before to point out at Serbia where "border issues" were used for mobilization of fear, rising of nationalistic prejudice and war propaganda just 20 years ago. Nowadays this agenda is also the focal question in Serbian media and political discourse due to problems with Kosovo independence declaration in 2008.

Today globalization and Europeanization are permanently contesting the power of nation state. Increasing integration, interdependence and mobility of people, goods and services are testing the significance of the borders more than ever before. Still we must stay aware that consumption of the advantages that comes from globalized world or united Europe is just a fortunate happening for the privilege group of people. Not everyone can use the benefits of borderless Europe. Therefore the people in developing countries or economically backward regions have numerous differences in perceptions of the border regions. This is because the existence of the border had and still has a significant influence on them. The biggest proof is that some of the least developed municipalities in Serbia are placed along the national border¹³.

From spatial divisions on center and periphery over constantly shifting EU internal and external borders (due to enlargement policy) to religious and language obstacles for communication and trading, people who live in border areas must pay attention

to this factors usually caused by the negative consequences that vicinity to the border present. Negative because it limits the services and movements and also hinder the economical activity. Thus, CBC is not only a developing instrument for the LSG and state in general but moreover it's a tool for the people that live in the border areas to realize their rights to equal standard of living and freedom of movements and better mobility in general. We must always have in mind that the result and sustainability of the CBC is directly dependent from the will of national, regional and local authorities, EU regulations, as well as from the quality for programs, projects and contracts signed by all mentioned actors. Hardi Tamas (2010) in his study on Trans-border mobility is noticing well on the page 5 and 6 that:

[B]orders and border areas are all unique, individual phenomena. The, birth, change and character of the spatial borders depend to a large extent on the spatial unit (in this case: state) they surround, but this is a mutual relationship: states, border regions, and the characteristics of the state border all influence each other...This differences is true in the neighborhood of central area of the state just like in areas more distant from that, and it is a question where we can draw the boundary of the zone where the proximity of the border has a strong impact on the socio-economic processes than the distance from the centre does. The proximity of the border can increase the features that get worse and worse as we approach the periphery (e.g. isolation, bad accessibility, worse economic indices), but the border may as well have positive impact on economy and society, effects that can even turn around this tendency (a nearby traffic junction of neighbor country may alleviate the isolation, capital may find the border region more attractive as a result of geographical proximity or cultural similarity. (Emphasis mine)

We must have some kind of a gain or profit which motivate us to ignore the barrier coming from the reality of state border and diverse socio-cultural context. Movements between border regions are different in a way because advantages arising from the differences of systems are more available if one has the residence close to the border region. "All people who cross international borders must negotiate not only the structures of state power that they encounter, and new realtions and conditions of work, exchange and consumption, but also new frameworks of social status and organization, with their concomitant cultural ideals and value." (Donnan & Wilson, 2001, p. 108)

We can sum up above mentioned arguments by quoting the professor Hardi once more:

[M]ovements, migrations between two states occur as a result of differences that have involved between socio-economic developments levels (and accordingly the realisable incomes) and the national systems (e.g. taxation, healthcare, educational etc.) Naturally, this motivation can also appear in case of movements between border regions; in fact, the probability of movements is greatly promoted by the spatial proximity of the neighbour system. Fro example, between Slovakia and Hungary, it is espacialy the inhabitants on the Hungarian towns and cities near the border who establish businesses and buy cars in slovakia, motivated by the differences in the taxation systems. (Hardi, 2010, pp. 12-13)

MENTAL MAPPING

Nothing is experienced by itself, but always in relation to its surroundings, the sequence of events leading up to it, the memory of past experience.

(Lynch 1960: p. 1)

Perception of one's immediately surrounding residential environment is directly affected by the communication infrastructure. This perception is encapsulated in mental images and maps that often tell residents what areas of the social space in which they live should be avoided or frequented—are friendly or not to neighborly discourse. These maps and perceptions are the product of social interaction, which develops within the storytelling communicative infrastructure. The quality of the exchanges and the linkages between storytelling systems components directly reflect on the perception of space.

(Matei, 2001 p. 431)

We are all aware of the fact that time is a subjective category and that sometimes, usually when we are feeling good, it flies. On the contrary, when we are feeling bad, it seems that every second is like a minute and a minute is like an hour. One of the first to observe this interesting phenomenon was Hudson Hoagland who conducted an experiment with his wife once he realized that she had totally distorted perception of time due to her fever. She was complaining that her husband took too much time to get to her and that he too often went away. Hoagland then proposed to his wife quite an interesting experiment. She would count off 60 seconds while he was timing her with his watch. The result of this simple experiment was amazing. When her minute was up, his clock showed 37 seconds, almost double faster than the real time. In subsequent experiments he showed that his wife's mental clock ran faster the higher her temperature became.

The obvious connection between time and space reminds us of the connection, often neglected by majority of people, between space and territory. In fact, a person with different experiences and feelings may perceive the same space differently: "Border people do not perceive the border in the same conditions as those at each side who do not hold such a condition." (Oda-Angel 2003, p. 2) Other researches on correlated subjects have shown that variety of factors are influencing perception¹⁴ of space, as for example frequency of travel, media reports, fear from being attacked, being adult or a child, communication networks, distance, signalization, territories separated by border lines or not, various travel modes, neighborhood, demographic characteristic, race, ethnicity, age, sexuality, socio-economic status, education level etc. The biggest obstacles, especially in post-conflict countries, are still in the minds: for example, in Serbia one would think that Serbian citizens maybe think that it is easier to travel to Russia than to Albania due to the cultural proximity to Russia and, of course, its influence on our personal value system; this is exactly one of the questions this research is trying to scrutinize. Therefore, we should not be surprised if this comes up as a true hypothesis after all conflicts Serbia witnessed in last 20 years.

Some of the researches on the Austro-Hungarian border region have already shown that perceptions of the people who are living in the border regions are significantly different than those from inland parts of the country. The object of study was “to reconstruct the “mental map” of residents in the border region, with a special emphasis on their construction of a mental border and the use they make of for their daily activities.” (Hintermann 2001, p. 269) Perfect example was the perception of the Austrian citizens towards the EU enlargement process in 2004. Those one living close to Hungarian border by majority supported the enlargement, while citizens from the central parts by majority did not support enlargement, probably frightened by newcomers, criminality and mass migration. Therefore, the results of above-mentioned research in the border region “show that the perception of the people residing in the respective region is far more differentiated: in their perspective, with the opening of the border after 1989, a first step of the enlargement of the European Union has already taken place” (Hintermann, 2001, p. 269).

In other research of the Northern Greek CB zone authors focused on “the type and level of interaction, the perception and policies occur across the border between Albania, FYROM and Bulgaria” which is by their words “most fragmented economic, social and political space in Europe.” (Topaloglou, 2008) This study is an example on how perception of border regions can be changed over time with cross-border cooperation policies leading socio-economic changes in Central and Eastern Europe, turning these backward regions into areas of cooperation with neighboring countries.

Directly correlated questions from above-mentioned studies with this research are: “Whether or not the map of geographic borders is associated with the map of perception and what are effects of the borders as dividing lines between two countries on their overall interaction and economical cooperation?” (Topaloglou, 2008)

[H]owever, the border line in terms of its intellectual and geographic dimension contributes significantly in the formation of the “us” vis-à-vis “others” identity. In fact, one could claim that the definition of “us” in relation to the boundaries presupposes the existence of the “others” in the opposite side of the borders. The manner that the people of these two countries perceive the concept of borders is not simply a matter of lines drawn on a map or on the ground but something rather more complex and dynamic. The issue lends itself to further complexity when borders divide large geographic territories such as the EU-25 with neighboring countries. In such cases, the grouping of characteristics that form integrated perceptions like religion, language, historical and cultural affairs all lead to an intellectual hierarchy in space. It is obvious that this “intellectual” special hierarchy is not always associated with the “geographic” spatial hierarchy.

(Topaloglou, 2008: p. 63) Emphasis mine

Furthermore it is rather interesting how Blatter (1997) interpreted CBC: a group process “where the willingness to solve a problem was seen as determined by the specific interests with respect to a problem and by the perception of the problem ... However, the willingness of collective participants (e.g. sub-regions) to act was not

determined by the “objective” focus of interests. Culturally normative and cognitive factors also influence the perception of problems and the definitions of self-interest and preferences.” (p. 152) A little bit further, the author discusses the importance of different factors for CBC, emphasizing the importance of intangible ones by stating that:

[I]nterests, values and capacities within the relevant subregions are important for policy outputs but they do not play a decisive role for CBC. For cooperation the crucial matter is the constellation among subregions, as well as the possibly different perceptions of the problem in the subregions... Also, differences in the problem solving capacity and the compatibility of the administration systems are important factors. Not surprising, but nevertheless very central, is the conclusion that situations with symmetrical interests and values make cooperation easier and that asymmetrical constellations are much more difficult to handle. However, it is also important to recognise that the interests are seldom totally asymmetrical ... scale of social and economic linkages and a common CB regional identity play a minor role in a specific environmental problem-solving processes. In contrast, history, language, and institutional aspects seems to have major influence on the cooperation outcome. (Blatter, 1997, p. 153-154) (Emphasis mine)

This means that a common language permits a better communication and the social capital to flourish in the form of trust and understanding.

Complexity and interdependence of relationships between different political arenas in the context of cross-border cooperation is witnessed on the next figure

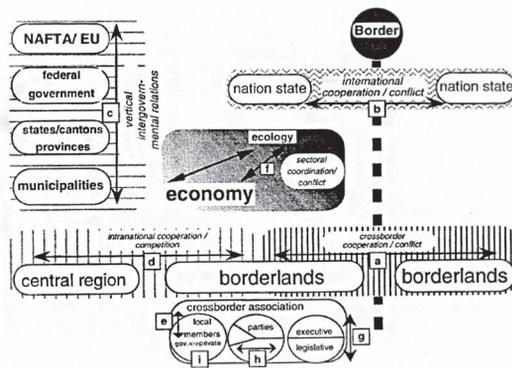


Figure 5: Political Arenas in the Context of CBC; Source: Blatter, 1997

When it comes to mental mapping as a research instrument, when we especially measure discrepancies of mental and physical distance in space, we must notice as Montello (1997) that it is “difficult in naturalistic settings to disentangle which characteristics of the environment provide distance information (pathway slope, aesthetic appeal, number of trees and curves, etc.)” This is because “naturalistic research on subjective intra- and interurban distance is difficult to interpret because the relative influence of locomotion-based and symbolic-based distance knowledge is uncontrolled and un-assessed.” (p. 2)

Mental mapping as a research instrument applies mental picture of different individuals within groups with specific characteristics. In this way we can measure perceptions of city identity and the general functioning of a territory inhabited with specific groups. As a specific method mental mapping, as Sluster explain, is used in the following way: "All individuals construct their own map based upon a questionnaire using different tools for answering such as different line types, icons or symbols. After the exercise people are asked to comment their own results." (Slusters 2005, p. 1) The added value of MM as a research method results from the fact that MM

[S]eeks to give insight in different, interrelated levels of mapping. The different mental maps are thematically grouped, super positioned and compared. Synthesis or conclusive maps can then be created upon specific combinations or series of individual maps. Similarities might appear between maps of people with a comparable lifestyle, age, interest or grade of experience with the area. In this way, the meaning of specific parts of the area for specific groups can be revealed. (Sulsters, 2005, p. 1)

Researches on connections between cognitive mapping and urban planning started with Lynch (1960) who picked Los Angeles, Boston and Jersey City and asked their citizens to draw maps of environment they live in and later describe it.

On the other hand, Kitchin and Freundschuh (2000) speak about closely related notion of cognitive mapping "as a process composed of a series of psychological transformations by which an individual acquires, stores, recalls, and decodes information about the relative locations and attributes of the phenomena in everyday spatial environment." (p. 1)

In addition, Fenster (2009) explains how he became aware of great possibilities cognitive temporal (CT) maps as a method offered through the drawings of a 19-years-old girl; an Ethiopian Jewish immigrant who came to Israel. He asked her to draw the map of her childhood environment back in Ethiopia. Her map is simple but it also shows a clear distinction regarding valuable, close and pleasant places in her life and how human cognition is functioning.

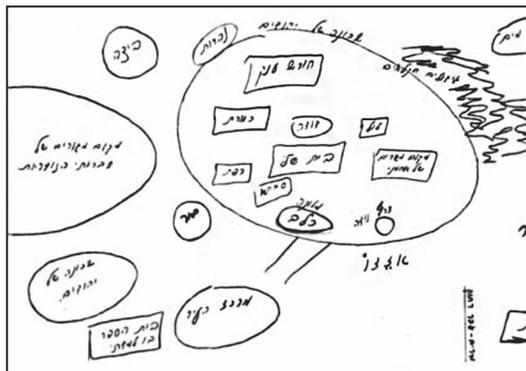


Figure 7 Fenster 2009, Miriam Mental map of her childhood environment, p. 480

She illustrated the shapes and then marked them with meaning she attached to them: "my home", "my aunt's home", "my sister's place of living", "menstruation hut", "dog shed", "cow shed", "big forest". "Then she drew a circle around this central area and wrote on it "Jewish neighborhood" and in the upper right hand side of the sketch she wrote "areas for vegetable growing". On the circle in the left-hand side of the sketch she wrote "living area of my Christian friends". (Fenster, 2009, p. 479)

Fenster used three steps methods which includes in-depth interviews, drawing CT maps and dialogue between the researcher/planner and the interviewee/resident as a method which helps to expose the local spatial knowledge necessary for effective planning. (Fenster, 2009)

We can conclude that MM is used as a valuable tool both for orientation, judging of distance, importance and therefore motivation of people. Moreover, mental maps are used, in a different form, as a scientific method for gaining information about interior cognitive representation of the outside world. The connection point between all mentioned studies with this one, which is focused on influences of perceptions to CBC and image of BR, can be find in fact that mental maps are generally regarded as way-finding tools and psychological "controllers" of our decisions: "Should we stay or should we go?" Thus, the way we perceive the space we live in can improve communication with others and help us to use the opportunities. We all know that information are scattered all around our living environment and several above-mentioned studies showed how spatial cognition shapes access to opportunity in complex environments, such as BR. Entrepreneurs and project planers could consequently utilize this information for their activities in these areas.

As Mondshein (2005) said, "to a careless job seeker, job opportunities not easily reached by transit are effectively out of reach and even transparent. Modally constructed cognitive maps, in other words, are key to understanding both travel behavior and accessibility in cities." Follow by valuable insight of Montello (1997) that mental maps assist us in using resources like time, money and food more efficiently. As a result, "knowledge of distances in the environment affects the decision to stay or go, the decision of where to go and the decision of which route to take. It therefore seems likely that an understanding of the perception and cognition of distance will prove fundamental to the prediction and explanation of spatial behavior." (p. 297) (Emphasis mine)

RESEARCH

Anthropologists have increasingly probed new ways of theorizing the conditions and practice of modernity and post-modernity. Much of this theorizing has sought to liberate notions of space, place and time from assumptions about their connection to the supposedly natural units of nation, state, identity and culture. These new theories regard space as the conceptual map which orders social life. Space is the general idea people have of where things should be in physical and cultural relation to each other.

In these sense, space is the conceptualization of the imagined physical relationships which give meaning to society.

(Donnan & Wilson 2001, p. 9)

I realized a series of interviews and on-line survey is to gather data that will serve to evaluate the process of borders perception of citizens living in Serbia and to measure influence of these perceptions on managing of CBC projects¹⁵. Data gathered from questionnaires provided material for constructing of conclusive mental map that would reflect the “image within” of borders of Serbia. During the making of map and the results of the research we compared all data and try to weighted results with official information, for instance about: demographic, standard of living, project structure and size, money that local governments manage to allocate being a part of the CBC Programme, export-import, workforce migrations between countries etc. and hopefully provide an evidence about the region/s in the territory of Serbia where it would be most feasible to built EGTC once legal basis for this instrument are created.

HOW CITIZENS OF SERBIA PERCEIVE BORDERS?

Based on our on-line questionnaires, mental distance that the biggest positive difference between perception and physical distance is regarding capital of Hungary (-135km): this mean that majority of people who answered our questionnaires saw Budapest 135km closer than it actually is. Next is capital of Croatia with smallest negative difference (+5km) and interestingly when it comes to first bigger city after national border the discrepancy is the highest among all results (+63km). This mean that Serbians perceived Zagreb in almost exact distance as in reality but the border region and the city Osijek, that was the place of war during the '90, as twice more further than it really is¹⁶. Small negative difference is noted regarding Sarajevo (+18); what is strange is that our respondents saw Pristina (+25) twenty-five kilometers more distant than it really is and information about distance of this city can be find on road signalization in Serbia and in elementary schools Kosovo geography is learned as integral part of Serbian territory. This mean that war which occur 13 years ago, present conflicts on northern Kosovo and on weekly basis closing and opening of “administrative border” with Kosovo, shifted the perception of Serbian population towards this territory in negative manner, as to say it is perceive further

than it actually is. First bigger city after national border with Montenegro is perceived 11km farther than in reality. Absolute record is notice regarding capital of Bulgaria (+84km) and also regarding Vidin (+11) which is first bigger city after national border¹⁷.

WHICH REGIONS ARE MOST ACTIVES IN CROSS BORDER COOPERATION?

Another on-line questionnaire with focus on perception of borders and cross-border regions provide us with similar conclusions. More than half (51%) of people that create our sample have more than 10 friends living in countries bordering Serbia; 53% cross national border in average once a year and 34% from 1 to 3 time a month while 12.5% do it rare or never¹⁸; furthermore 85.7% respondents do not find cultures and languages of neighboring countries that different that it would be an obstacle for cooperation. Yet asked to name one of the countries they find most distant from Serbia in socio-cultural aspects¹⁹ they named Albania (and Kosovo) together with Hungary in first place with 33.3%; in second is Romania (23%) and third place is shared by Croatia and Bulgaria with 5.1%. Finally asked if they think Serbian border is safe 54% answered positively, 25% said no and 21% did not have any opinion; asked what they think about "rigidness"²⁰ of national border 42.3% said no and 40.4% said they find some difficulties while crossing the border and 17.3% did not have any opinion.

Analyzing perception of the CBC and related projects we reached next conclusions: 44.2% people think that involvement of Serbia in CBC initiatives has contribute to the living standard, 23% do not agree with this claim and 32.7% do not have any opinion. In addition 54.7% evaluate positively influence of CBC on the perception of borders while only 1.9% said that CBC do make any influence on their perception of borders and 45.3% do not have any opinion at all. Asked to specify one project of CBC their heard about, majority named projects related to students exchange, natural environment protection, employment of youth, legal regional cooperation or just wrote different IPA CBC frameworks mainly with Hungary and Croatia. Still half of the answers on this question are skipped and some individuals specified they do not live in region that is eligible for CBC.

Finally even the analyses of related studies clearly indicate that contacts, networks and projects are concentrating in specific areas. Professor Nagy analysis of CARDS and IPA projects from 2011 come to conclusion regarding cooperative networks in Vojvodina. Nagy say that these networks are most often formed by institutions and centers in charge for local development established within the EU CARDS program. These projects significantly contributed to "multi-polar (active) and uni-polar (passive) networking"²¹. (Nagy, 2011, p. 9)

Presented below, figure 13 is providing us clear insight in the territory dispersion of IPA CBC realized on the territory of Vojvodina. In the 2009 - 2011 call for proposals under HU-SER IPA Programme 70 projects were approved with total value

of €18.2 mill. In the same time the ROM-SER IPA CBC withdraw €15.5 mill. In 41 approved projects; BIH-SER IPA CBC realized 15 projects²²; for same period 11 projects were realized in IPA CBC with Croatia in value of €2.7 mill²³. (CESS-Vojvodina 2011, pp. 31-42) Last but not the least BUL-SER IPA CBC contracted 32 projects²⁴.

Other Serbian regions or municipalities, eligible for CBC did not conduct similar research, comparable data or data that could be used for secondary data analysis though the request for this kind of data was sent to 6 RDA's (in Nis, Novi Pazar, Zajecar, Uzice and Kragujevac). This fact can be taken as proof of lesser and worst cross-border cooperation in other areas of Serbia. Maybe this is the influence of significantly lower financial funds for other IPA programmes, namely with Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina because they are not member states of EU but activist example of Croatia exclude this opportunity. Maybe it is the consequence of actual border with Montenegro which is mainly mountainous and relatively inaccessible, with the economic centers located in the larger towns, at some distance from the border. (IPA CBC, 2007, p. 5) All this stay in the field of speculation and it will need to wait another more comprehensive study.



Figure 13 Territorial arrangements of IPA CBC project applications from Vojvodina, Source: CESS-Vojvodina 2011

One of the possible explanations why it is easier to reach all necessary data for past and present CBC Programmes from Vojvodina is that this is the only autonomous province in Serbia with regional Government. Furthermore it is most culturally diverse and heterogeneous region in Serbia regarding number of national minorities. Vojvodina has also in 2011 opened the office under the Mission of Serbia in the EU for advance to regional funds and increasing of foreign investments. Vojvodina also has three RDA's, Provincial Government Offices for International Cooperation and

numerous institutes and centers that are dealing with trans-national cooperation and development issues. Not one similar study (absorption capacities, evaluation of sustainability of CBC projects) is done for any other region except Vojvodina. Exceptions are studies and strategies of development of some RDA's (like RARIS in Zajecar) but only for municipalities that are founders of RDA's not on the NUTS 2 level like in case of Vojvodina.

CONCLUSIONS

Perceptions as process of becoming aware of something are indisputable related with our senses and cognition. As utterly subjective representations of reality they tend to be formed under a great deal of factors. Therefore, perceptions of borders are usually part of bigger mental maps we have about physical space that we live in. What is near, well known and easy to accomplish for one person can be far, mysterious and impossible for other.

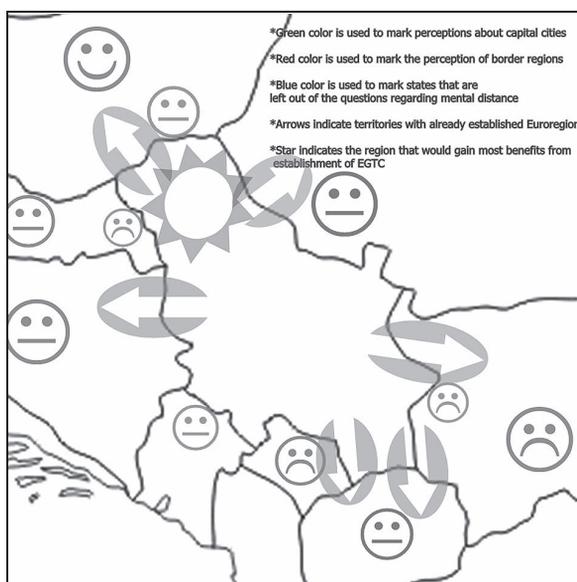


Figure 14 Conclusive map of perception of the borders in Serbia,
 Creation of author

By checking the correlation between perceptions and borders and between borders and cross-border cooperation, as additional developing instrument of LSG in Serbia, we realize that it is going to be hard to define it in a proper manner. Still, we know that these kinds of validity are hard to be found outside the controlled environment of experiment.

Having in mind all restrictions and limitations (questionnaires interface, time and money, lacking of support from a bigger academic network and researcher centers in Serbia) in conducting the thorough use of mental maps as research method, our research serves in creation of general mental map that represents the sum of all gathered data both through literature review, interviews and questionnaire. In below presented straightforward map we can locate positive and negative perceptions of Serbian national border.

Assumed correlations between positive perception and higher number of CBC projects are apparent. We do not know what came first in this relation. Did perception of borders as less significant constraining factor created good cooperation networks and contacts, and then did this collaboration generate a will for mutual aid that resulted in good and relevant project proposals? It is a matter of discussion which reminds irresistibly on the eternal riddle: what came first a hun or an egg.

In this place we can just identify that in case of Hungary results of measured mental distance are positive while towards Croatia, Romania and Montenegro they are ordinary, as to say, do not varied too much from reality. On other side negative perception in mentioned category is expressed towards Bulgaria and Kosovo. This claim finds justification in fact that even the available funds for CBC are reasonably same for Hungary and Bulgaria, previous state realized more than double more projects during the same time. Moreover, bordering territories between Kosovo, FYR Macedonia and Serbia are not eligible for IPA CBC. Nevertheless by the answers in the on-line questionnaires we saw that Kosovo and Albania are perceived as socio-culturally most separate from Serbia.

Formation of EGTC on territory of Serbia or membership of Serbian regions in EGTC created in macro-region level is just a matter of time. All interviewed professionals speak in favor of EGTC and in a way they are looking forward to this opportunity emphasized by chance that Serbia will soon get status of candidate country for EU membership or the relevant regulation will be amended regarding the areas eligible for establishing of EGTC. Therefore the establishing of EGTC seems most feasible in territories experienced in CBC programs where given national and supra-national funds are utilized to its maximum; where established contacts create a sense of mutual trust and further efforts are expected towards development of region. AP Vojvodina is the region that provides best additional support to LSG from the area; people and institutions from this region are already working for more than 10 years on mitigation of borders, thus transforming them into axis of friendship and entrepreneurship.

In the end lets highlight that it is not important what will be the name of EGTC and where it will be sated but more important questions is will it work in current constellations and with present competencies of LSG's in Serbia. EGTC is not just a European trend but possibly useful instrument for solving mutual problems of particular area in the suitable socio-economical framework.

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LIST INTERVIEWS

Target group: Experience professionals who were for a number of years involved in managing CBC programs and projects.

First group: personal interviews conducted before the research:

Mrs. Danica Lale who is Program Manager in Joint Technical Secretariat Hungary-Serbia IPA Cross-border Co-operation Programme (dlale@vati.hu)

Mr. Ivan Knezevic who at the time of interviewing was Program Manager for CBC in CESS-Vojvodina.

Second group: personal interviews conducted during the research:

Mr. Djula Ribar who is expert advisor for project activities in Center for Strategic Economic Studies – Vojvodina (dj.ribar@vojvodina-cess.org)

Mr. Jovan Komsic who is professor of European studies on the master program in the Faculty of economy, University of Novi Sad (jovankom@eunet.rs)

Mr. Aleksandar Popov who is director of the Center for regionalism and founder of the Igman Initiative (centreg@nscable.net)

Mr. Srdjan Vezmar who is director of Regional development agency Backa (srdjan.vezmar@rda-backa.rs)

DATA SOURCES

Absorption Capacity of Autonomous Province Vojvodina for using the EU funds (2011), CESS- Vojvodina; methodology used: Desk analysis of CARDS and IPA CBC Programmes and surveys about perception of AC in LSG's. (40 interviewees from 40 municipalities from Vojvodina)

Nagy I. and Kicosev S. (2011), Geographical characteristics of the distribution of the INTERREG and IPA funds, and their effects on the development of the border regions of Vojvodina/Serbia, University of Novi Sad/Serbia, Department of Geography, Tourism and Hotel Management

NOTES

1. Project Work has been realized in 2012 in charge of Joint European CoDe Master Programme, as a part of internship research objective in the Center for Regional Studies in Pecs.
2. Less than 40 per cent of EU funds available for CBC were allocated in 2010. (CESS-Vojvodina)
3. Definitions of border regions and other definitions important for gathering data are provided in the section that deals with research methodology and questions for questionnaires and interviews.
4. Computer Assisted On-line Interviews (CAOI) are special kind of Computer assisted self-interviewing (CASI) which is a method for data collection in which the respondent uses

a computer to complete the survey questionnaire without an interviewer administering it to the respondent.

5. President of Board of Regions for local and regional governments of Council of Europe
6. Serbia is member of CoE from April 3rd 2003
7. Influence of media on people perception of territory and orientation in space is conducted in several studies, such as: Montelo, 1997;
8. Before 1999 Kosovo was autonomous province of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. After 10th of June 1999, with UN Security Council Resolution 1244 Kosovo is placed under interim of UN administration (UNMIK). On 17th February 2008 Kosovo has unilaterally declared independence and till this moment 85 members of the UN recognized it as sovereign state.
9. The concept of the Iron Curtain symbolized the ideological fighting and physical boundary dividing Europe into two separate areas from the end of World War II in 1945 until the end of the Cold War in 1989.
10. In historical books and touristic brochures Serbia is referred as crossroads of east and west because it was positioned on the border between Turkish Empire and Austro-Hungarian monarchy; Former Yugoslavia was considered till end of Cold War as first free country after Iron Curtain which ideologically divided Europe.
11. In 2012. Through its Component II, IPA will support Cross Border Cooperation by proposing joint programmes at the borders with Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as financing participation of Serbia in the two ERDF trans-national programme „South-East Europe” and “Adriatic programme”.
12. Founded by Article 159 of the Lisbon Treaty
13. Emblematically by the 2011 census the poorest municipality in Serbia is Trgoviste on the border with FYR Macedonia and its followed by Municipalities on the border with Bulgaria, Kosovo, Romania, Montenegro, Romania namely Bor, Bela Palanka, Kikinda, Novi Pazar, Knjazevac, Sombor.
14. It is evident from quoted paragraphs before and in this chapter. For more look at Kitchin & Freundschun 2000, pp. 197-215
15. 100 questionnaires were sent to border settlements that are located not more than 50 km from State border; we received 63 answers for evaluation of mental distances and 54 answers on questionnaire regarding perception of CBC and BR; 4 personal structured interviews were conducted (one via Skype) with representatives of local government or regional development agencies that are in charge of managing cross-border project in their regions under the IPA CBC Programme. Interview lists see on the Annex No. 1.
16. The physical road distance from Sombor to Osijek is 68km while average answer of our sample was 131km.
17. Interesting is the data that Vidin is the only city where our respondents skipped 4 questions and in 3 answers indicate they do not have idea where Vidin is located.
18. NGO “484” from Belgrade conducted a research about traveling habits of Serbian citizens in 2009 and reach the conclusion that 85% of young people to 25 years never traveled outside the Serbia and only 11% of citizens has the passport.
19. Some clearly stated that religious and national differences and struggle with Kosovo are reasons for they answer; other named all Islamic countries putting the religion in the first place while other explained that Hungarian language is too hard and Romania is too big competitor for Serbia or Bulgaria is very similar to Serbia but we never understand each other etc.

20. The entire question reads: Do you consider that the border of Republic of Serbia is to "rigid", as to say do you think that during the transport of people and goods there are certain obstruction factors?

21. In multi-polar networks, once the project work is completed new partners join the leading partner in order to continue and improve the work initiated by the original project. In the uni-polar network projects are implemented only in one of the participating countries without any cooperation with the foreign partner, yet it has significant national networking capacity. (Nagy 2011)

22. No information about total value of withdrawal money.

23. It is important to note that total available funds for IPA CBC CRO-SER are much lower, precisely 5.4 million EURO for the first three years (2007-2009), due to fact that Croatia is not the member of EU but candidate country.

24. This data is taken from "The updated list of the subsidy contracts under the first Call for proposals as of 16.12.2011. available at: <http://www.ipacbc-bgrs.eu/eng/announcements/view/6>

URBAN SPACES

Antal **Lovas Kiss**

HOW DOG OWNERS PERCEIVE PUBLIC SPACE WHEN WALKING THEIR DOGS?

ABSTRACT

In my study I present the urban environment as a space for walking a dog from the perspective of the dog owner. I analyze the activity of walking a dog as the most characteristic manifestation of the contact between public space and the dog owner, and using the method of mental mapping I explore how dog owners perceive public space when walking their dogs.

The initial hypothesis of my research was that dog owners use public spaces differently from others when they try to construct and satisfy the (assumed) needs of another creature from their viewpoint. During walks, owners use public spaces in a way that, according to their conception, suits their dogs the most. We could also say that they aim to use space from the dog's perspective, as they can conceive of this.

Urban dog keepers vary in terms of motivation, dog-keeping practices and lifestyle, thus we cannot speak about them in general. However, through examining different individuals and groups it is possible to identify some features of the "dog lifestyle." This is important as there is a growing need to identify and understand this specific lifestyle model. In today's urbanism, the role of multifunctional spaces is increasingly significant as such spaces are being created not to the detriment of the different sub-social groups, but by taking specific needs into consideration.

PREFACE

Everybody desires something. Some would like a parking space next to their house. Others would like to see parks when they look out of their windows, whereas people with kids desire more playgrounds. There are those who want stores near their homes so they can immediately obtain what they want. Public spaces are the meeting hubs of these different, and sometimes diverse, needs and interests. One demand among many is that of the dog keepers' community for the use of public spaces. The present research focuses on urban life from the perspective of dog owners.

The central element of the study is walking, since I assume that walking a dog, as an everyday practice, is the most characteristic contact between the owner and the public space. In my investigation I studied this practice with the method of mental mapping and participant observation; the aim was to analyse how owners perceive public space through the act of walking. My hypothesis was that owners use public spaces differently from others as they use them with and for other beings: i.e. their dogs. Therefore, the routes of these everyday walks are designed from the imagined perspective of the dog. The mental maps of walks thus involve human conceptions of dogs' visual-spatial perception.

However, walks do not only involve owners and dogs. Keeping a dog in an urban environment is one lifestyle among many others, and when keepers step into a public sphere they necessarily become the object of other people's reactions. Consequently, there are two angles to this research: a desire (I) to better understand the relationship between owners and dogs, and (II) to describe the relationship between dog owners and the community.

As far as I am concerned, I hope this research will help to create more liveable public spaces that support many different lifestyles. This specific study focuses on the first angle; namely, a description and understanding of the lifestyle of "urban dog owners," their habits, needs, and the way they perceive public spaces through their activity with dogs.

METHOD

According to the "spatial turn" in twentieth-century social science, space is neither static nor objective, thus there are several different ways of understanding its nature. Many theorists claim that space is a social construction that constantly changes through human activity. People produce and reproduce spaces and their meanings. In 1960, Kevin Lynch was the first to describe human spatial perception with the notion of mental and cognitive mapping. Lynch, and later Stanley Milgram (1972), saw cognitive maps as images that one inherently develops about a space. Individuals understand and arrange information about their environment through this cognitive and mental map (Downs et al. 1977). Cognitive maps are comprised of a person's subjective judgments and emotions about the given space (Didelon et al. 2011).

The present research, which I carried out in the summer of 2017, is based on how dog owners construct their cognitive maps around their personal feelings and judgments of public spaces. To unfold these subjective judgments, I used different techniques such as the mental mapping of dog-walking routes. Keeping dogs in an urban environment is very popular nowadays, but there are substantial variation in how people walk their dogs. I assume that, due to their dogs, dog owners perceive public spaces differently. Spatial perception depends on how the perceiver uses the space. As the hypothesis assumes, how people perceive public spaces changes

when they walk their dogs, as they would like to create the most optimal route for their animals. Mental mapping is suitable for describing subjective imaginations and attitudes towards certain spaces (Uszkai 2015), thus I applied to the study of dog owners' spatial perception.

I asked 18 informants, dog owners and inhabitants of Debrecen to draw a map of their everyday dog-walking route and attach comments to it. The informants were requested to make the map as if they were recommending it to other dog owners. Later, I also undertook structured interviews with the informants: this method generated a more precise picture of the owners' personal opinions than a simple questionnaire could. Besides, mental maps are not informative enough and their outcome also depends on the applied research method (Devlin 2001 in Mester 2007; Kiss 2005). For this reason, I used both visual and text-based techniques at the same time. As Barbara Tversky emphasizes, cognitive processes are very complex and often indivisible, thus the researcher must apply a complex method to unfold them (1993). A cognitive map is not only a picture of the physical space in our mind, but a complex mental representation (Wilhelm 2005).

The mental mapping in this research focused on the dog walking routes. The drawings mainly captured directions, not spaces, expenses, borders or hubs. Hence, the structured interviews concentrated on these missing features. Questions concerned the time of the walk, its duration, and how the owner developed the direction and the purpose of the walk. I wanted to know which places were considered appropriate for walking, and which factors could generate potential conflict between the owner and other users of the public spaces, and why.

For the present research, I also applied the method of field-site exploration. Instead of drawing a map, I accompanied two of my informants on their daily dog walks and asked them to comment on what they were doing and why. I was interested to know how the owners perceive the space in which they walk, what they pay attention to, what their memories about it are, and what the characteristics of the chosen route are. Field-site exploration is a more precise method of understanding informants' personalized cognitive maps and their actual environments at the same time (Mester 2007). According to George E. Marcus's concept of multi-sited ethnography (1995), ethnographers should follow the object of their research, since this grounds the field of research (Marcus 1995, 1986).

The present investigation is exploratory research that supports a wider and more complex study of the relationship between dog owners and their urban environment. Therefore, the data I obtained are not representative (they cannot be, as there is no information about the approximately 25,000 dog owners in Debrecen in any database; Kemecsei 2015). As we are not able to collect data about walking habits, my data may not represent dog owners' attitudes more generally. For instance, three out of the twenty informants said that they put their dog's excrement into trash cans. However, this proportion does not represent the situation in the city centre. (Interestingly, these kinds of questions and answers indicate how informants try

to show that they conform to social norms, even if they do not keep to these rules in reality.) In addition, this exploratory research may show some of the individual tendencies involved in owning a dog, and thus suggest further directions for investigation.

I identified my informants from a local dog school. I assumed that people who regularly attend such lessons are liable to pay attention to their dogs' needs consciously. This group, however, does not represent the entire community of dog keepers in Debrecen. Hence, as control factors I also questioned some dog owners who were not attending a dog school. The location of the investigation was the city of Debrecen in Hungary. The research did not focus on one commonly frequented space in the town, but more on the act of walking with the dog as one specific way of using public spaces. All the mental maps that my informants made represented different parts of Debrecen.

As I have already mentioned, there are many limitations to the present research. This study does not deal with the different social backgrounds and lifestyles of the owners, or the effect of these factors on walks. My data mainly refer to middle-class dog keepers. Also, this exploratory research could not deal with a very important issue in the wider research effort; namely, the relationship between the dog owners and other people in public spaces and the wider environment. This may be the subject of further investigation.

RESULTS

Mental mapping and structured interviews

The analysis of mental maps is a very complex process which the current article does not attempt to fully explain. The present chapter concentrates only on the factors that shape the dog owners' chosen walking routes. From an anthropological standpoint, we could say that walking a dog is a stereotypical, repetitive habit, thus I assumed that this process could be a suitable basis for an ethnographic description. In contrast to this assumption, when my informants made their maps, they described their walking as an ever-changing process („We always take different routes.") This variability caused difficulties with the analysis of the mental maps. Most of the informants use the same areas for walking, but they often changed the length of walks. Sometimes the owner and the dog take a longer route, and at other times a shorter one. Most of the informants drew all their routes on the same map (Pictures 1 and 2).

Normally, when people draw mental maps they construct them according to the target of their routes. It is the opposite in the case of dog walking, because the purpose of the walk is walking itself. This is the reason why owners pay more attention to the locus of the walk and aspects such as busyness, streetlights, and public security. The mental maps illustrated these routes, but the drawings were not informative enough to reveal correlations between the different loci. The structured interviews,

however, revealed these correlations. For instance, those who took different routes of different lengths said that the length of the walk depended on the available time. Before work, owners choose a shorter route, but after work, in the evening, they have sufficient time to go on a longer walk. There is also a difference between weekdays and weekends. At weekends, owners go for longer and more intense walks when they can do more activities with their dogs. (As most of the informants are members of the local dog school, they do the same activities in the lessons.)

The informants also revealed what the most important factors are that influence the direction of the walks. For most owners, the main issues were the weather and the length of the route, but some of them decided on their route by chance or due to their feelings. („If I am tired, we take the shorter route.”) Interestingly, the location of walks seems to be very changeable over time. Most owners said that they had made a big effort to obtain their dog as a puppy and had reconstructed their living space to be comfortable for the dog, but none of them constructed the route of their walks in advance. Therefore, they had to adapt to the given urban environment gradually. All the owners claimed that they had had to change their route several times because of the environment.

The most significant parts of the maps are the directions. My hypothesis before the interviews was that the routes would have different meanings for owners when they navigate them with or without dogs. I also assumed that this difference would be measurable on the mental maps as the owners would distinguish between the desire of the dog and their own desires. However, from the maps this factor was not found to be significant. The owners visualized these differences through only a few signs (e.g. the representation of grass, trash cans, pedestrian crossings, dangerous sections, nice dogs). In contrast to my hypothesis, only a few people tried to “think like their dogs” when they planned the direction of walks. Individuals were more likely to design the routes to meet their own needs and timetables. It was more common that individuals marked places on the map which were important to them personally (banks, shops, churches, etc.) (Pictures 3 and 4).

Walking a dog as a form of self-representation

I identified an interesting practice during the data collection process. The members of the dog school go for collective walks with their dogs. On summer afternoons and evenings, the school members and their dogs walk through the city centre’s most popular parts where there are bars and restaurants. They take these walks not to fulfil the dog’s needs, as the dogs are on leashes during the whole time, but to present how disciplined their dogs are. These walks are designed to demonstrate to local people that dogs can be present in any public spaces without any problems (Gyáni, 1990). Such events are planned, but the directions of the route take shape spontaneously (Pictures 6, 7 and 8).

One of the members of this group drew a map. The fixed point of the walks is a meeting point: a pancake restaurant in which dogs are allowed. In contrast to the normal dog walking routes, the primary issue here was not the direction of the walk: the informant only specified the potential direction of the walk, not the actual route, as this always changes (Picture 5).

Joint walks with research participants in different field sites

My analysis of the given mental maps was centred round the direction of walks. As opposed to this, in the case of the exploration of field-sites I wanted to describe the data in terms of owners' control of their dogs. In public spaces, one of the most important issues is controlling dogs, as such spaces are shared areas for different people with different attitudes towards dogs. This is an issue that cannot be visualized on a map, but is the key element of participant observations. In the case of walks, it is essential to keep dogs under control for two main reasons: First, it is important for the dog's own safety near busy city streets. Second, in the process of walking public spaces become "semi-public spaces" for owners and dogs as their use is connected to specific legislation. According to one such law, dogs in public spaces in the city must wear a leash (Government regulation 41/2010. 17§ (1)). Even if owners do not comply with the legislation, this situation influences walks. Consequently, the method of participant observation was considered appropriate for describing the relationship between dogs, owners and public spaces through the notion of control.

I followed two informants on their everyday walking routines. During the walk, the owners shared their experience with the locus and, as we went along the route, had a chance to demonstrate them (Mester 2007). Field-site exploration, without doubt, was the most appropriate method for investigating the walks, including their motivations and the owners' usage of the given space. First, the keepers described what the most suitable route was for them. The best routes were those that were visible to keepers at a distance of at least ten meters. Consequently, they could see all potential difficulties such as pedestrians and vehicles. In some cases, when the owner could not avoid nearing a difficult section, they had to minimize potential conflict. They did this by restricting the dog's personal space. In the case of my informant, the strongest form of control was the spoken command "to me," which the owner had learnt at dog school. This strong form of control was needed only in a few cases—at crossroads, on busy streets, and while walking through a shopping centre. (An informant said during the walk that owners can nowadays enter malls with their dogs. When he saw I was surprised by this fact, he demonstrated it to me and said he and his dog often do this when they would like to shorten their walk home) (Picture 9).

Similarly to owners, dogs also pay attention to potential risks as they have learnt about these on their relatively repetitive walks. Therefore, they automatically initiate

the “to me” practice in uncertain situations. Even while the owner and the dog are prepared for various situations, they sometimes have to change their route if there is no other way to avoid a conflict (e.g., during my investigation, in a narrow street with too many pedestrians, and also when the owner and dog met an unfamiliar dog).

The application of control was different in the case of the two informants. One used a flexible leash with a maximum length of five meters, while the other walked his dog without a leash. In the first case, the length of the leash reflected how safe the owner felt on that particular section of the route. When he sensed a potential risk, he made the leash shorter. As for the owner who did not use a leash, the route was in a suburban district without significant traffic. In spite of the fact that this form of walking seemed to be most uncontrollable, it rather involved a more complex level of control. All the time the owner interpreted what he was doing and why he was doing certain things. The dog had attended training for five years and knew the place he was walking well, thus the owner walked confidently with the dog at a 5-10 metre distance. This distance was enough for the keeper to intervene in the case of possible risk (Pictures 10 and 11).

As I found out, there are some typical sources of risk for owners during walks. Open gates and front doors could mean potential danger, as could other dogs or vehicles, while the owners’ dogs could enter houses as well. Another problem involved the risk of dogs destroying the flower gardens in front of houses, in which case the landlord could forbid the owner from walking there in the future. Sometimes pedestrians were frightened of the dogs. Therefore, street corners around which the owners do not know if people might becoming represent another source of risk. As a result, owners have to pay attention to multiple factors during their walks. There are many risk sources for dogs in public spaces such as vehicles, other dogs, or pedestrians who do not trust dogs for any reason (Pictures 12 and 13). Another thing that owners have to keep in mind is the legislation pertaining to the locus of the walk. (My informant walked without using a leash even through legislation forbade this.) The last group of risk sources includes anything that might frighten the dog. Owners have to avoid all factors that could be harmful to their dogs.

CONCLUSION

The correspondence of the method with the results

The present exploratory research generated many different results. The results of the field-site exploration suggest that owners try to think from their dog’s perspective during their everyday walks. In contrast, the results of the mental maps were the opposite. There are several possible reasons for this difference.

On the one hand, the method of mental mapping has a focus different from that of field-site exploration. When my informants were asked to draw their routes, they made an attempt to summarize their everyday practice on one sheet. Since they

highlighted the essential parts, they universalized their walking route. On the other hand, the field-site exploration gave a subtle picture of un-generalizable, sudden situations. During this form of investigation, I had a chance to observe how owners and their dogs perceive their environment as “phenomenal reality.” In other words, during the process of mental mapping, the informant generalizes the perceived space and activity (“I do this in general”). However, the method of field-site exploration is more like an event (“this is how I am doing it now”).

Another reason for the differences is the informants' intentions. Mental maps are interpretations that the informants construct for the researcher. For this reason, they use human language for the explanations, not the signals that they use with their dogs. The maps show walks that are designated for dogs, but without the involvement of the dogs.

The third reason is that small-sized dogs on a leash become a part of the owner's body (Merleau-Ponty 1945 [2014]), hence owners can use their own cognitive maps without the influence of the dog. The informant who walked his dog without a leash during the field-site exploration had the opposite experience. Although the dog's position was directed by the former, the dog was permitted a relatively wide space to move freely. It was this form of walking that involved the most intense interplay between the owner and the dog, and a high degree of attention and control.

Results in the context of theory

To analyse the results of mental maps, I used Edward W. Soja's theory of trialectics. According to Soja's theory (1996), I divided the space of the dog walks into three components—objective space, conceived space, and lived space.

Objective space is basically empirical. In the case of the present investigation, this is the urban environment that architecturally establishes the use of the space. This is well-defined—it is the space where locals can walk, drive, play, rest, etc. Cities are also spaces where different and diverse lifestyles must coexist, and public spaces are their representative loci. Nowadays, because of consumer culture and its economic arrangements, public spaces have to satisfy different needs. Walking dogs in public spaces is a practice whereby owners and dogs become manifest to other people. A walk in this sense is one specific way to consume public space. Dogs have special needs, such as parks, special trash bins, city lights, etc. that public spaces cannot always satisfy, as one of my informants complained. However, there are not only the needs of dogs and owners, but also expectations toward them. Dogs have to be safe with respect to people, and owners have to keep parks clean after their dogs (Picture 14).

The second dimension of space is conceived space. This is formed in the mind (i.e. is an entirely mental space). In this dimension, all individual experiences about space are subject to subjective filters (Makádi 2012). Through mental mapping, I made

an attempt to obtain data about this mental representation. Every time we speak about public spaces we must also speak about power. The notion of power is even more relevant in the case of urban environments, as they are mostly juridically and politically governed, unlike mere geographical places. As Foucault says, cities are fields governed by power (Foucault 1980). When dealing with urban dog keeping and walking in public spaces, we must thus also consider the issue of power. Owners should keep their dogs under constant control outside their private property, and they must do this because of legislation. Control over dogs is an iteration of control over owners by law.

Mental spaces are designed by the current power structure (Lefebvre 1991; 1996). Power defines for human beings (or, in this case, for dogs) where they are allowed to go and where they are not. In Debrecen, the only method local authorities have of controlling dog keepers is to limit the playing fields of dogs. Because of legislation, public spaces become semi-public spaces for dogs and their owners, but dogs can only use these areas if they are wearing a leash and muzzle, although many other spaces are not open to them at all.

According to Soja, the third aspect of space is lived space. This form of space opens up the possibility to circumvent power as it is outside the scope of power. Many of my informants, but mainly those who owned a small-sized dog, had no problem with the related legislation and easily complied with it. In contrast, those who had larger dogs typically did not like these rules since they narrowed their capability of moving. Therefore, they broke or ignored these laws. Many informants felt that they could not satisfy their dog's biological needs if they walked them on a leash. As a result, these informants developed their own special strategies for circumventing the law. They go for walks early in the morning or late at night when streets are not busy. Others use parks only in winter when other people do not normally use them.

During my investigation, I found one unique method by which owners break the rules regarding leashes. This is the demonstrative dog walk that the local dog school conducts in summertime. When the members and their dogs walk across the city centre without a leash, they are seeking to demonstrate how well-educated dogs can exist in the public sphere without causing any harm to others. They thus represent self-control, instead of juridical control. Owners do these walks because they have realized that public opinion about dogs depends on how they represent the latter's obedience. These dogs serve as a counter example to the widespread image of the "uncontrollable dog." The work of these members is very important, as in certain places, especially in Hungary, no dogs—not even assistance dogs—are allowed.

The former group's public activities are demonstrative and symbolic at another level. They are a part of a trend which started in the early twenty-first century and which has gradually emancipated the community of dog keepers in public spaces. The field-site exploration gave me an opportunity to follow dog owners into places which had not been open to dogs before, such as shopping centers. As a part of this trend, places that first accepted dogs are called non-places by Marc Augé (1992).

Non-places refer to spaces that do not have enough significance to be regarded as places, such as places of trade, supermarkets, hotels, airports or motorways. Nowadays, this change in the use of public spaces is taking place, but slowly. Some places are already open, but others are not. As one of my informants explained, “I can go shopping with my kids and dog, but not go to the playground.” In this process, the most difficult thing to change is access to spaces that are already a part of social memory. Therefore, the dog walks by the training school in the city centre of Debrecen are of special importance as they involve a “conquest” of these spaces.

The present research was designed to give a glimpse into a specific form of use of public spaces. I assumed that there was one decisive difference in this regard between dog owners and non-owners: for those who walk with their dogs, the use of public spaces is limited—for example, by regulations.

There are several difficulties involved in the investigation of urban dog keepers in Debrecen. We cannot speak about these individuals more generally as they are a heterogeneous community. We cannot even perceive of them as a group, because they organize themselves rarely, and mostly locally. However, a dog-keeper lifestyle exists, and the needs of this group are becoming increasingly visible in modern urban planning.

For such modern urban planning, the creation of “multifunctional spaces” is central, as policymakers should take into account the demands of various social groups. The present explanatory research may be of use in urban planning by explaining owners’ perspectives and needs. This knowledge may help create more liveable public spaces.

Further investigations should focus on four variables: the owner, the dog, the environment, and power. These are the external and internal aspects related to dog keeping. Internal aspects, for example, include the attitude of owners towards their dogs, and the needs of dogs, which are derived from the breed’s characteristics or the dogs’ own temperament. External aspects include national and regional legislation and the design of the urban environment (residential density, parks, local society, etc.).

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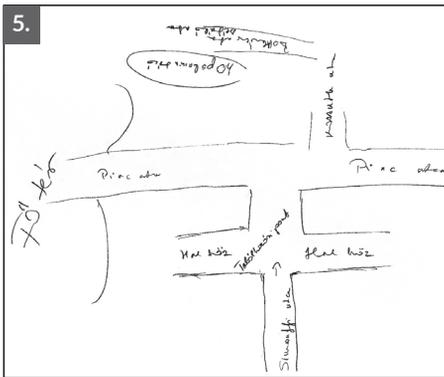
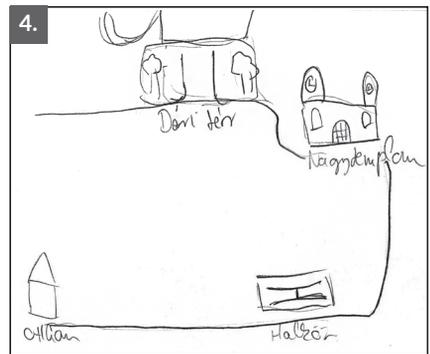
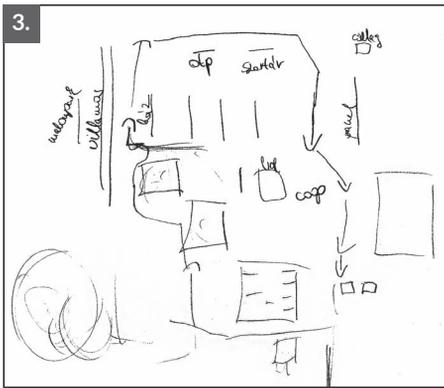
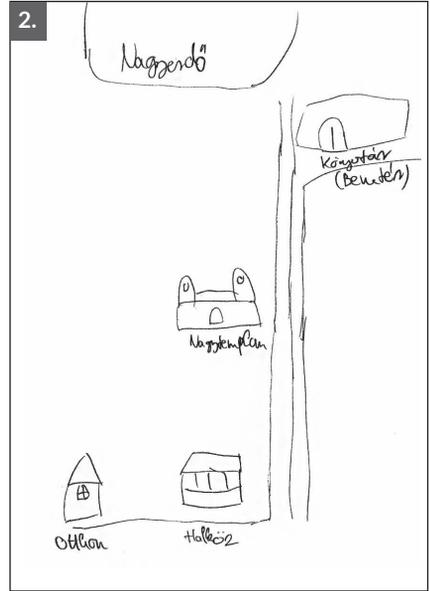
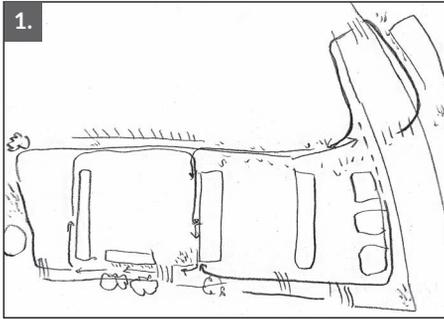
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NOTES

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PICTURES



Picture 1: Multiple walking routes in one map, including pedestrian crossings, trees, grass and blocks of flats (drawing made by a young man who walks a small dog).

Picture 2: Illustration of a one-directional walk with characteristic buildings in Debrecen (drawing made by a young man who walks a medium-sized dog).

Picture 3: Directions for a walk with shops, bank, tram and blocks of flats (drawing made by a young woman who walks a small dog).

Picture 4: Symbolic buildings in Debrecen as reference points (drawing made by a young man who walks a medium-sized dog).

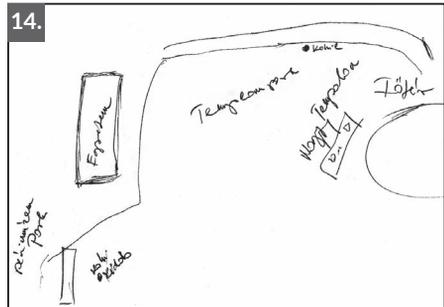
Picture 5: Group dog walking in the city centre. In the upper part of the picture (upside-down) the pancake restaurant where dogs are allowed is marked (drawing made by a middle-aged woman who walks two small dogs).

Picture 6: Procession with dogs in the main square (photo taken by a participant).

Picture 7: Group with dogs in the city centre (Photo taken by a participant)

Picture 8: Group outside the Reformed Big Church of Debrecen (Photo taken by a participant)





Picture 9: With a dog at a shopping centre (photo taken by the author).

Picture 10: Dog waiting for its owner because of pedestrians (photo taken by the author).

Picture 11: Dog stopping before a corner (photo taken by the author).

Picture 12: In traffic (photo taken by the author).

Pictures 13: In traffic (photo taken by the author).

Picture 14: Owner's drawing of the approximately 500-metre route that she has to take to find a trash can for her dog's excrement (drawing made by a middle-aged woman who walks a small dog).

Judit **Dobák**

SPACE AND SOCIAL HIERARCHY

RESULTS OF A LONGITUDINAL STUDY WITH MENTAL MAPS

ABSTRACT

The results from two stages of a research project will be compared in this study. The research was conducted at a housing estate which used to belong to a characteristic element of the Borsod industrial region, the metallurgy in Diósgyőr. 20 years ago, when the research was done, it was also a methodological experiment. The goal of the research was to map and understand the complex lifestyle of the inhabitants of the colony mostly in the context of historical anthropology. Mental mapping was one of the research methods. Today, the research applies mental mapping as a central method and intends to reveal the social changes over time based on the information gathered in the previous research. The architectural environment and permanent spatial system of the housing estate makes it a suitable research site for fine tuning mental maps and drawing more detailed ones. The present research aims to contribute to this by including the time factor.

A workers' colony of a country town in Hungary provides the location for the research. The surveyed urban space can be considered a typical one for the reason that it reflects the economic and social problems which have characteristically followed the closure of heavy industry plants all over Europe: (permanent) unemployment; the lack of rehabilitation of brownfield sites and the need for it; the "slumization" of city districts; internal tension developing in these communities and their generally negative reputation. In the same time the urban space in focus is unique in the sense that the physical environment (the dwellings, the overall spatial structure, the location of old outbuildings, the streets, city squares) of the 150-year-old Diósgyőr-vasgyár workers' colony has not changed due to the lack of rehabilitation. These features make the place suitable for conducting a longitudinal research by the means of a simple method: getting mental maps drawn.

The model colony built for the metallurgy workers of the Diósgyőr Ironworks differs from the building of other workers' dwellings in the country from many aspects. One of these aspects is that it was an empty, marshy plot where the construction of the factory started, far from Miskolc and Diósgyőr, then two separate communities. This aspect made the unique construction solutions possible; the architects were not constrained by existing spatial features when planning. The second important aspect is that the constructions were publicly financed, which on one hand played an important role in the identity of the generations who worked here and on the

other hand it meant a more stable workplace for them compared to the market dependent private sector since it was centrally directed and financed accordingly. The third aspect is its rural location which made a difference in terms of the contrast between the capital and the rural cities and its distance from Budapest (200 kilometres). These three unique factors together created a non-typical workers' colony in Diósgyőr. As a result of the constructions, which took a start in 1868, a housing estate for 9000 people were built within 30 years that followed.

As there was no previous settlement on the site, the Colony¹ was designed to be self-sustainable. For this the designers had to create a complex, fully functioning city plan which would encourage workers to be loyal to the factory, also listed as a strategic centre, to satisfy their needs and to make them settle for long-term here. The consequences of this idea can still be spotted in the colony today.

The residence and public buildings were constructed at a very high quality compared to the standards of the era. A sewer system was built, the streets were lit by electric lights and they started to equip the district with a great variety of functions from the very first years i.e. schools, shops, a steam-bath, a hospital, a slaughterhouse, a community bakery, a post office, a pharmacy, a restaurant, community spaces and a church were all built in the years to come. The houses were designed according to the different job positions. Certain types of houses were built in each street, so people who were on the same level in the company hierarchy lived in the same street. (Olajos 1998: 39-50). The visual elements of the built environment also reflected the different ranks in the factory. Only the workers were allowed to live in the colony, there were no privately-owned estates, the factory had all the houses in its possession and the residents could only live there until they were employees of the ironworks. Documents prove that the control mechanism of the factory also had a great influence on the local system of norms in the Colony. If a person infringed the rules at his workplace or in the Colony with his misbehaviour (fighting, drunkenness, stealing, going on strike) he was soon expelled from the community with his family. If they kept themselves to the rules, the factory provided them with a good living. There were worker families of many nationalities and languages. Everybody was foreigner when they first arrived there, workers from the surrounding villages only started moving in later. The first classes in the primary school had no children who spoke Hungarian. By 1910 the inhabitants of the Colony all defined themselves as Hungarian. A discharge document from 1890 tells us (Dobák 2012:233) that the workers are registered as Hungarian-Austrian and of foreign nationality. Skilled workers were mostly Hungarian but furnaces which required special knowledge were mainly operated by German speaking experts. People from the Colony would rarely pay a visit to the neighbouring settlements: Diósgyőr or Miskolc and if someone would arrive there from Miskolc, the local paper never missed the opportunity to write about the news.² This professional endogamy and the relatively closed local community of the second and third generation of workers could not be disjoint even by the great wars either. It was only the 1950s when the process

of becoming a community was halted (R.Nagy 2012:45). The stimulated population growth of the factory and the simultaneous wrecking of the labour aristocracy caused conflicts even within the families. In the meanwhile, Miskolc grew around the Colony³, hence it became less isolated and formed more and more connections with its environment. The first economic restructuring in the history of the factory brought changes in the work routines and in the company hierarchy too but the spatial structure of the Colony could not follow these for obvious reasons. The simple but firm framework, which was previously considered to be a stable one, collapsed. The second economic restructuring was another important turning point in the life of the local society. This was a critical situation too and it was made worse by the fact that the factory and the Colony parted due to the privatization of the workers' houses, so the housing estate was not related to the factory or the iron industry anymore. The workers' houses in the Colony had not been changed to that point, apart from filling the empty plots among them, the houses and the spatial structure of the Colony remained untouched.

In the first phase of the research project (1998) this process was still visible and the interviews made with the old, true-born inhabitants of the Colony helped us map the personal and collective memories too (cf. Dobák 2007). The second phase of the research project (2017) makes the evaluation of this process possible. Applying mental maps in the research of the spatial representation of social hierarchy and its changes over time is a very effective method. The Vasgyár Colony of Diósgyőr can serve as an excellent location for a research like this since, unlike other factors, the spatial structures have been preserved here in their original state, which can give us a firm reference point in the comparative study.

The comparison was also assisted by Kevin Lynch's "elements of the city image": paths, edges, nodes, districts, landmarks (Lynch 1960: 99-105). I used the five space defining data types both during info-gathering and in the comparative evaluation. The maps were drawn by the informants individually, however the evaluation was made from the aspect of the entire local community in respect, i.e. the mental map of the local community is what I address in this study. What might the level of this abstraction be? Where is the border between the mental map of the researcher and that of the local community? These are legitimate questions to ask.

FIRST RESEARCH PHASE:

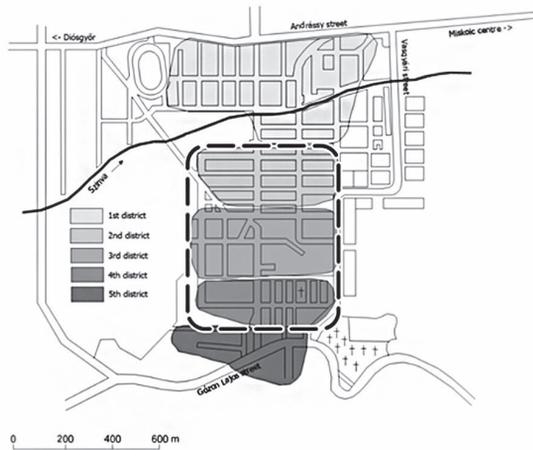
The first difficulty in the methodology was encountered when it came to have the hand-drawn maps prepared by the informants among the factory workers of Vasgyár. I started the research with a blank sheet in 1998 also in the very practical sense that I placed a blank A4 size sheet of paper and a bunch of coloured pencils, ballpoint pens and drawing pencils. The order in which the different colours or drawing tools

were used by the informants or how the maps were drawn were not in the focus of the research, hence the process of drawing was not recorded by any means. Most of the drawings were made with a blue ink pen, colours were only occasionally used. I analysed maps drawn by 25 informants. Most of the families I contacted were inactive; the majority of them were retired and only a few were unemployed at that time. Only three of the families had members with a job and this proportion reflects the rate of active inhabitants in the entire Colony.

The analysis of the Vasgyár Colony was easier in this phase of the research for several reasons: there were still many elderly people living in the Colony who had been the members of the community for most of their lives, their active working years were related to the nearby ironworks or to one of the surrounding factories, so their way of life was determined by the Colony in general. They were happy to speak in detailed accounts about the history of the Colony and proved to provide fairly exact information about it as it turned out, when later the information from the interviews was compared to that of other documents. The informants were very motivated and enthusiastic to talk and mainly due to their being retired, they had enough free time to allocate for the researchers.

There is very little found about the process and circumstances of the map drawing sessions in the literature. Most of the studies settle the question with that this method of data recording is a subjective one and drawing helps bridging cultural differences (Letenyi 2006: 164). Based on the field experience I can say that the willingness of the informants to draw the maps may depend largely upon their sociocultural background, their education and the forms of communication they practice every day. The inhabitants of the Colony, now and in the past, have mostly done manual work and has cultural roots in the iron industry or a related professional field. Apart from a few exceptions they needed a lot of encouragement and long convincing explanations before they would start drawing on the maps. The task of evaluating certain areas by grading them on a scale made things clearly easier. The informants were asked to evaluate the streets, areas, institutions they know and frequent on a 10-grade scale. They had no problem performing this task, they were more comfortable with it than with drawing the maps. After this grading task they were easier to start "filling up" the maps.

I asked my informants to tell me and show me the places which they like and use on a daily basis, but also which they usually avoid for some reason. The areas determined by the different informants mostly overlapped each other⁴. Because of this it was possible to localize 5 districts and some other passive areas⁵. My next question to them was to grade different areas of the Colony by sympathy on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means the least appealing and 10 means the most appealing grade. Ten points could be given to places where they would like to move the most or where they like going the most to visit friends or relatives or just during a walk. Grade 5 meant places which are emotionally neutral areas.



Districts on the mental map of the Vasgyár Colony of Diósgyőr (cf. Dobák 2007)

The Colony is situated among several fenced factory areas which are not open to the public. Its boundaries are permanent due to its geographical and built environment, hence it leaves little space for analysing symbolic meanings. The only exception is the Stream Szinva: “The area over the Szinva has never been part of the Colony.” On the first plans the Colony only extended up to the southern banks of the Szinva. The factory was forced to start expanding its area to the other side of the stream in 1907. These newer houses they built on the opposite bank were of much weaker quality. The area of the Colony on the opposite banks of Szinva has never become integrated as a real part of it either from an architectural or a social aspect. The Stream Szinva is characteristically considered as a positive location. It also appears as a community space sometimes: “We used to go bathing in the Szinva, it did not look like this at that time.” The water from the stream was used for the production too. As for the earliest plans it would provide sufficient water for metallurgy, so it had an industrial role and also served as a natural boundary for the Colony.

Ógyár Square, at the junction of the two edges (Vasgyári Road and Gózon Lajos Street) and another inner street (Kerpely A.) was getting outlined as a central node on the maps. This square with its significant size, besides being a traffic hub (a city bus and a tram lines and a big parking lot) has a great deal of symbolic relevance too. This is where we can find the first and ever since used entrance of the factory, there are several pubs and other commercial units here and the building of the old consumers’ cooperation, “Konzum”, which served as the single convenience store in the Colony for a long time. The experience of the crowded square at the time of shift changes⁶ is closely attached to this place and was remembered as an ever-desired bright past by all the informants. Their emotional relation to certain spaces was generally stronger in case of memories from the past.

Accessing the Colony is possible by tram, by city bus, by walk and by car. Most of the informants who use the public transport system marked the tram stop of line 2 as hot spot. Mainly paths exiting the Colony were identified as roads for car traffic. Moving around in the Colony mostly happens on foot due to the relatively short distances. Moving directions both in and out were marked on the maps in the area of the Colony to the south from the Szinva. In the same time, the informants only marked the outbound routes from the “numbered streets”.⁷ None of the maps show passages between the two areas (there is a walking bridge, which connect the areas on the right and left banks of the Szinva).

The drawings on the maps define 5 separate districts, which more or less cover the housing area in the Colony. The districts were graded and this revealed that opinions about each of them show differences. The highest average grade, 6.24 was given to the central area of the Colony where the place of the Roman Catholic church was originally marked on the blank maps. This is also where first and oldest entrance of the metallurgy factory is. The lowest grade was given to the area of the “numbered streets” on the left banks of the Szinva, as the rows of houses which were later built for the Colony. This area mostly got points between 0 and 2, due to higher grades given by the few families living there, the average of the points was 2.32.

The best regarded areas host the old Chief Officers' semidetached houses and the Roman Catholic vicarage is also located here. “This is the most distinguished area in the Colony, it is simply good to look at those houses whenever you walk by them. The whole thing looks so noble. These had bigger gardens too and some of them had a maid's room in the basement.”⁸ Retired skilled workers and ex-employees from the lower management lived in these houses at the time of the research. The mod con buildings and the gardens were well maintained, the characteristic red brick style of the houses was preserved. The apartments were bought by private owners and were made mod con at their own expense.

The worst regarded area marked was the district of the “numbered streets”. As the informant said, “Slovaks, Polish, Romanians lived here” at the time when those houses were built. “These people had only one set of clothes, they didn't even have a proper home to live in where they came from, they were happy to have one here. The people who live here now are also immigrants, only that these came from a nearby place, the Avás.”^{9,10} The quality of the work performed by these people was the basis of how they were judged by the others. “*Well, these were the second class people, so to speak. They were put up in barrack like houses*”¹¹. The barrack like dwellings, due to their condition, meant a comfortless life in one-room apartments on the fringes of the Colony. They were the ones on the bottom of the workers' hierarchy. “*Workers, foundrymen or forgers went home, ate, drank, made children and went to bed. Their job consumed them. Those in higher positions, had the motivation, they would go home, change and the family went to the choir group [...]*”¹²

The house in the “numbered streets” were rented to workers without children or to temporary workers, “*as it was good enough for them*”¹³. The negative qualities of

“Hundredhouses”¹⁴ stuck in the collective memory of the locals. The Colony with its closed structure used to have access to the city through the “numbered streets”; people of Miskolc tend to identify the whole Colony with this slum-like image and this causes discrepancies in the identity of the community.

The other low regarded area is smaller in its area, a district practically on the edge of the Colony is district 5¹⁵. The average of the points it received from the people I asked is 3.4. even if the district is populated by gypsy families it has not become a “gypsy slum”, it has not gained ill fame and not as segregated as the previously mentioned “numbered streets”. This district was not put in the category: “I avoid it for some reason” as opposed to the other district.

There are semidetached Officers’ houses and pairs of workers’ houses here. The district got 4.12 points in average despite it was often mentioned as a “nice and clean area”. When asking about the reason for the low grading the informants shared with me that unwanted visitors from the outskirts of the Colony often come here and disturb the people living here. They come to beg, to steal from the gardens. “People live in fear here.”

Only two informants marked the Vasgyár Cemetery as a frequented place by them. As it turned out during the interviews all the families involved in the research visit the tomb of a family member in the cemetery at some frequency. It has a very standard structural arrangement. There are some exposed tombs which have a distinguished position in the structure: the group of children’s tombs and the so called “Officers’ Lane”, where the Engineers and important technical leaders of the factory rest.

“Konzum” (a convenience store today), “Szaletli”, the by now demolished building of the riding-hall, the ice factory, “Szabadságkert”, the swimming pool and the market are all preserved in the locals’ memories.

It reveals a lot that the factory itself and the gates of the different plants were only marked by the retired ex-employees of the ironworks. 16 people thought it was important to mark these but nobody among the otherwise inactive informants did so. Not even those who have a view on the gates of DIGÉP¹⁶ at the end of their street. The Colony is only valuable as a living place for these people. Those who used to work in the factory looked at it and the Colony as one organic unit as it was planned at the time when they built it.

The community was further pushed towards the edge of its collapse by the fact that public places and community programs were discontinued. There is a nursing home working in the old director’s house but apart from that, there is no other community spaces in the Colony open for the public. There are 3 schools in the Colony (one primary school and two vocational schools), which are not running anymore. Only 4 informants marked them on the maps.

One of the most essential results of the first phase was to see how the relationship between the space and society was revealed by the maps. It was obviously due to the maps drawn that we could see this result, since they made a specific understanding

of the social structure visible and because despite the players changed over the years, this image seems to persist in the community. The closest house to the main gate of the factory was the director's house. The lower one was in the company hierarchy the farther his house was from the factory gate. The hierarchy also determined the size and level of comfort of the houses. The best regarded districts were where the early leaders, engineers and foremen of the factory used to live. The population changed since and skilled workers moved in the place of the technical elite. The houses of the skilled workers were then occupied by workers of lower ranks and later by people who had no relation to the factory.

SECOND RESEARCH PHASE

16 interviews and 16 maps were recorded between August and September 2017 in this phase of my research project. One of the criteria of choice was that the informant had to be living in the Colony for at least 5 years in a row. I only managed to talk again to one of the map drawing informants from the previous phase of the research. The youngest informant was 40 years old and the oldest was 93. There were two informants in the group who had been living for less than 30 years in the Colony, the rest of them had been living here since their birth. Two of the informants have no professional skills, one informant has finished studies in higher education, four of them attended a technical school. Two of the informants in the group identified themselves as gypsies¹⁷. The 16 maps were drawn during interviews out of which 4 interviews were more in-depth conversations conducted about the whole lifestyle of the interviewees in general. In the rest of the interviews the discussion was strictly about the use of the physical space, moving between the specified elements of the space and grading, evaluating the defined districts.

I strove to set the criteria of the analysis as much alike the previous ones as possible. For the sake of comparability, I gave the same blank maps, tasks and instructions to the informants as before. However, it was necessary to make minor corrections as some of the streets in the original map do not exist anymore and some houses are now replaced by various service providers. As it happened in the first phase (Dobák 2007), the informants were asked to evaluate the streets, areas, institutions and community spaces they know and frequent on a 10-grade scale.

There was only one informant this time and during the first phase too who asked to keep the map for a few days to think more about it and spend more time with drawing it. These maps proved to be more detailed and colourful than the ones drawn instantly.

The drawing task was not easily accepted this time either, some of the difficulties at the time of the first try repeated themselves. The majority of the informants have eyesight problems as it is reflected in the drawings; even if they had their glasses on, they could not properly identify everything they saw on the white sheets. Compared to classic verbal interviews the different method appeared to cause some hindrance too.

Details about the financial situation of the informants or their consumer habits were not included in the interview concept. One can guess the interviewees' approximate financial situation by their clothes, their homes, their yards and gardens. Moreover, the tools and objects surrounding them may tell the researcher about the position of the informants in the wider local community. The everyday problems shared by the informants during the interviews (e.g. difficulties to pay for utilities) let us know that the amount of regular expenses does not allow those people to spend on luxury products, in this case, a pair of new glasses. Some of the informants objected the drawing task, among them those who were otherwise motivated by the interview and happy to talk. Therefore 4 of the 16 maps were manually drawn by the researcher by the instructions of the informants.¹⁸ Including these 4 drawings in the research is explained by the fact that these elderly informants had been living in the Colony for over 70 years (since their childhood), hence had a long-term perspective on the life of the Colony. It is a rare opportunity to be able make an interview with informants like them, since the old population have mostly moved from here or have passed away.

The complete area of the Colony today is about 1.5 km². A few small nooks or skew street parts break the orderly grid of the parallel street structure. The streets appear very similar for the outside spectator; red-brick houses stand everywhere. Looking down the streets, the image may seem monotonous. The network of the streets and the basic characteristics of the houses did not change, but unique modifications, which change the unified picture of the street, are more and more frequent. The smaller houses are less and less convenient for today's modern way of life. Certain indoor modifications of the houses make outdoor modifications necessary too. One of these is the elimination of the small, characteristic windows from the street front of the houses, or the utilisation of the attics by turning them into loft rooms, which makes the changes in the roof structure visible from the street too. But the original physical dimensions have neither changed since the beginning of the 20th century nor since the previous research phase in 2000.

The routes the map drawers usually take between their homes and some important destinations are the same every day. Only one of the informants said that he sometimes takes a walk among the houses of the colony without any specific destination. The rest of the interviewees only take certain routes for daily routine tasks. *"I don't usually walk much. I like to get on the tram here at the square [Ógyár Square]. But I don't like coming home at night, I don't feel safe. I had no incidents so far, but you can always see young rascals show off. Just the other day, I saw one of them swinging a baseball bat. I avoid that area when I can. There are some troublemaker families living around here, you'd better avoid those. There are more and more gypsies."*¹⁹

Vasgyári Road seems to have a privileged position, which was only marked by those who use a car. Vasgyári Road is the car traffic route that connects the Colony and Miskolc, this is the only road through which you can reach Andrásy Road going towards Diósgyőr. The second most often mentioned streets were Gózon Lajos

Street and Alsószinva Street. The rest of the streets were only mentioned because the informants had their houses there. Like Vasgyári Road, Gózon Lajos Street also stretches on one of the boundaries of the Colony. This is the second of the two optional routes that takes one to Diósgyőr. Alsószinva Street provides access to the area with smaller, one-floor houses. The frequent mention of the three streets is not surprising; even if the grid of the streets is simple to comprehend, because of different obstacles (tramrails, fenced factory area, cemetery, hospital, the Stream Szinva) the access to the Colony by car is only possible through a few defined routes. There are only two traffic lights set up in the Colony (one at the railway crossing and a three colour traffic lights), both can be found on exit roads. Traffic is not busy within the Colony, there are only a few traffic signs too, even in some narrower streets only a couple of the junctions have a sign showing the direction of the traffic. People who live in the inner streets always keep an eye on any unknown car that enters their street and look at those who get out the cars with expectations. Every passer-by who rarely walk here, also get the attention of the locals. Attention of similar intensity is usually payed to strangers by the population of very small villages or closed communities only. Asking them about this element of attentiveness, some of the informants told me that no strangers can be seen in the inner streets, there are some regular visitors (postman, nurses, doctors, frequent relatives), who are known to everybody. In both the first and the second research phase it got highlighted that the routs get cut at the Stream Szinva. The stream divides the area of the Colony into two. The access on foot or by car to the Colony over the Szinva is either on the edge (Vasgyári Road) or through one of the hubs in the direction of the Catholic and Evangelic churches (Füredő Street). There is a walking bridge over the stream (at the end of Kabar Street) and the tram has its own bridge, on which no other traffic is allowed. The bridges are about 100 – 200 metres away from each other, which makes the access to the other side of the stream easier. As opposed to all this, none of the maps has routes connecting the two parts marked.

The majority of the informants marked the Andrassy Road and the Stream Szinva (pre-drawn on the maps) as the edges of the Colony. There were no dominant inner boundaries drawn. Only when asking them about the different districts did any of the informants mentioned some inner boundaries which previously played a role in the grouping task. However, the informants did not define them as edges. When I asked them to draw the edges of the districts they previously graded, they drew them bigger than in the research phase in 2000. The “numbered streets” appeared as a block with a negative reputation. The problematic “numbered streets” (from First to Fourteenth Streets), which have always been regarded low are owned by MIK²⁰ and have never been sold, they are still belong to the property of the Municipality of Miskolc. Part of the houses there were demolished in 2014 which received great media attention.

Other negative areas, which are related to fear were marked around the old entrance of the factory (Ógyár Square). The “numbered streets” received 1 or 2 points from the informants there was only one person, who gave 7 points, so the average 2.25 points does not differ much from the earlier result (2.32 points).

One elderly lady expressed her happiness over the demolition of some of these houses. She marked this by crossing the area out and she told me, that she moved to the Colony in the 1970s and *“there were good people living in the numbered streets”*, they even helped her with moving in. She used to stop to talk anyone from there, children would often visit each other, *“the stream did not mean no obstacle”*. His son had a little gypsy friend from there when he went to primary school, she said and she showed me the distance between the house of the friend and their house. In her opinion, the population of the “numbered streets” has changed over time and now she would be afraid to go there alone now.

Opinions of the informants about the new, monumental stadium being built right at the corner of the “numbered streets” and hence at that of the Colony are divided. Whoever marked this area on the map voluntarily had a positive opinion about it, one of the interviewees gave as much as 9 points to the stadium. There were two essentially negative opinions recorded: *“Whenever I walk past it [the stadium], the view almost makes me cry! Why is it so necessary to build here? Who on Earth will visit this at all?”*²¹ And there was the narrative of the current political situation: *“This area has a bad reputation because of the parking lot and the stadium being built here. It has always been like that and will always be like that. In the place of the slum like numbered streets, an insane but petty and pitiful dictator is having his own memento built.”*²² The bigger part of the map drawers did not mark it on the map, neither did they comment on it despite that it was pre-drawn on the map. From the direction of the Colony the construction site of the stadium does not look so significant because the it is farther away from the residential area, but the question of the construction seems to be a real issue among the locals. As one of the informants said, *“The houses had to be demolished to make space for the parking lot for those who will come to see the games by car and buses and because they wanted to make those very low standard gypsy houses disappear”*.

The concept of fear was mentioned during the drawing of almost all maps. When asking them about certain neighbours or cases, the interviewees sounded more hesitating. The 83-year old, male informant praised his two next-door neighbours, describing a several-decade long good relationship and cooperativeness, he said: *“I’ve got hundred percent neighbours. No matter, they are gypsies, they are very nice, I wish everybody had neighbours like them [...] the other one too, he is also very nice to me. But there are some who are always fiddling at the corner there, smoking. I am afraid of those.”*

Only steers or parts of streets were identified as groups on the fringes. The inside part of the Colony appeared as one large block. While in the previous research phase this area was marked to have 3 districts, now it appeared as one coherent spot in the middle of the map. Only in three cases did an informant refer to the old parts in some way or another. Even the informant who also drew a map earlier made one of two previous inner parts now as one. He talked about the system of districts in the Colony as in the previous interview, but he drew less districts this time.

Nevertheless, the buildings or the spaces they are set in have not changed in a physical sense in those streets over the years. The drawings now showed three districts, two of which were intact areas and the third was the broken line of the districts on the outskirts of the Colony.

The cemetery was marked by six informants this time, more than in the previous research phase. The cemetery is not to be further extended, only old plots can be reused.

The ones I asked do not go out within the Colony. They only meet others in public spaces for the mere reason of meeting. As R.Nagy pointed it out in his study about a village workers' colony (R.Nagy 2002:81-82.), the same defined space which was designed by German architects for other Germans (immigrants) to live in, worked as a sociopetal space and for the indigenous Hungarian peasant population as a sociofugal space. In case of the Vasgyári Colony the micro-cultural elements which have appeared as sociopetal forces in the defined space for long, from the aspect of the local community do not work for the new community anymore. The social content which used to fill these spaces have disappeared.

The informants I asked this time, rarely or only occasionally visit the local churches. Those who practise their religion go to other religious communities or churches outside the Colony even if the local churches of three different religion are active. Most of the information shared with me in relation to the church (4 mentions) was about the midnight mass of the Roma Catholic church, which is often visited by many locals even by some who do not generally practise their religion.

Some landmarks, the Catholic church, the cemetery and the Stream Szinva were pre-marked on the blank maps. The first research phase showed that analysing these is not necessary, pre-marking landmarks was to assist the method. The choice of the three landmarks was the result of a test before creating the map. There were no other reference points marked on the map apart from these. The informants added their present or former houses as further reference points.

SUMMARY:

Using mental maps in my research helped reveal new things while identifying the certain areas and characterizing them. Due to the local structure of space the paths, edges, nodes, landmarks did not produce any surprising results, however the grading of the different areas provided some further and deeper information which could not be revealed by the interviews or by studying the history of the local built environment. The interesting thing about grouping or grading was not the difference of the average results. The most surprising thing was that the informants made a connection between the building of the Colony, the grading of the houses and the position in the company hierarchy.

Besides the local structure of space and the social layers, some other important horizontal aspects were brought to the surface by the maps. A hot spot in the Colony turning into a slum identified as the “numbered streets” area, the gender aspects of space analysis in the Colony and the relationship between fear and space are all horizontal aspects, which appear in both phases of the research.

The role of the “numbered streets” proved to be important in both phases of the research. A two-step reorganization process took place in the time between the two research phases. In the first step the houses in the beginning of the “numbered streets” (First, Second, Third and Fourth Streets) were demolished. Buildings for service providers were pulled up at a quick pace in their place. In the second step of the reorganization the residential function of the area up to the Eighth Street has been terminated so far²³. Erosion has started to speed up after this. Some of the buildings were taken apart by the locals, who took the reusable parts. There are several ruined houses can be seen there today. The problem was much more articulated and emphasized at the time of the second phase of the research, while in the first phase it was only mentioned as a side story.

The earlier discussed natural edge, the Stream Szinva also appears as a boundary in the social texture of the Colony and this is clearly reflected by the mental maps. During the fieldwork it was observable that the informants do use the bridges/passages, however they did not mark these on the maps as important routes. This was also against the fact that certain destinations can be easier accessed via the route through the “numbered streets”. People living in the right banks of the Szinva marked the area on the left banks with an intact spot in both research phases without any subdivisions. No such subdivision appeared in the grading task, the reputation of these streets was generally bad in case of both data collection phases and they appear as a separate block on almost all the maps. The map-drawers who only put numbers on the blank maps marked this area with a single digit too and gave low points to the area in both phases.

Only negative opinions were articulated about the “numbered streets” in both research phases. This general image was somewhat altered by the informants living there, however they gave the lowest points to their own streets in the Colony too. This negative reputation reflected by the given grades and the explanatory comments in the second research phase too. Although, the element of fear was only attached to the district in the second phase. Most of the informants said, they choose to avoid the area, they never enter and never pass through the few streets that still exists. Nevertheless, even a feature of this area would support this, since there is a kindergarten situated in the “numbered streets” besides the dwellings. Even so, people seem to avoid it on purpose as they admit and even emphasize the fact. Many of them brought the problem up while drawing the maps even without asking them.

The strong masculine character of metallurgy was well represented in all phases of the research. The public spaces in the Colony also reflect this. From the gender

aspect the use of space in the society, the public and private spaces in the Colony exhibit all the possible conditions of private-feminine and public-masculine roles.

The results of the research phase in 2000 showed the obvious masculine characteristic of the Colony. Media interviews, professional discourses were all about the problems, technical innovations of production and the supply sector, the masculinity of the workingman and his family. This local male dominance was unquestionably represented in the memoirs from those times. *“Only men would work in the factory. Women would only perform support or administrative tasks.”* The Colony was the home of the factoryworkers and their families. This obviously indicated that the Colony is built upon the idea of the workingman. The family, the woman was (only) a natural and requisite element to it. No matter if the respective informant was male or female the axiom of the characteristic male dominance in the Colony was rarely shaded in any interview.

The same can be observed in case of the analysis of street names. 17 out of the 39 street names have a reference to masculinity. 13 names of famous males (6 of them are related to the metallurgy in Diósgyőr) and 4 names with a masculine reference. Two streets wear a female name but none of them are related to Vasgyár (Irma Street, Jászai Mari Street). The other 20 street names are neutral (Fürdő, Sás, Sétány, Kórház [Bath, Sedge, Promenade, Hospital] etc.), 11 of them belong to the “numbered streets”. Public sculptures or similar non-functional objects are rare here. The ones we can find are all related to industrial production which can be identified as a masculine concept of space forming. The drawings do not reflect this. The informants did not comment on the street names and did not form an opinion about them in any way. The older male informants tended to bring up the more famous names like Técsey or Kerpely during storytelling not in relation of the maps.

The space seems to be divided into two in the family photos too: men are often represented in a work environment, while women appear solely in family photos of the private scenes of life, they appear in the house or in the yard. Only propaganda²⁴ photos are an exception, which started to be more frequent in the 1950s, but the photos found in the families all reflect a characteristic division of public and private spaces where the first is dominated by the male and the second respectively by the female population. The gender aspect within the Colony can only be mentioned here, the extent of this article does not allow to discuss it in detail. The spaces being divided by the above-mentioned idea match the locals' approach to work, religion, the different roles in society and their view on the world. The questions of feminist geography, e.g. “Who had a word in choosing the common living place” within the family; “How was work shared between the sexes?” (Tímár 1993:4) are not relevant in this community. It is not because of the questions, the reason for this is that the answers are too obvious. Some memoirs highlight that the traditional dominance pattern of male and female roles was unquestionably made the community more stable. Besides being a barrier, it also meant predictability and security. The community has never tolerated any deviation from the traditional system of

male and female roles. It was mentioned several times that divorced women were soon excluded from the texture of the Colony. Only in case a woman was left alone due to a tragedy did she and her children deserve the protection of the Colony, unlike in any other case. In the interviews recorded in the first research phase it was often mentioned that women used to have their own public spaces in the Colony. They were mostly related to the household duties and the past (childhood memories of the informants) e.g. community bread making, courses organized for women, learning circles, the women's bath.

These elements did not appear in the second research phase, the gender roles were reduced to the opposition of the private and public spaces. As Staeheli and Mitchell define this: the public space is constructed through the discourse about the public sphere. (Staeheli-Mitchell 2009:) Duncan highlights the strong gender aspect in the division of public and private spaces. In his view, this dividedness makes it possible that "the relationship of oppression and dependence formed by gender inequality can be legally justified" (Duncan 1996, 128.). The public sphere is ideally formed around a paid job, production, action and heroism and is related to the masculine gender category. Because public spaces are the products of society through the discourse about the public sphere, it seems obvious, that they will bear masculine characteristics. (Molnár 2012: 32) Because of the long history of this patriarchal aspect, similar to marginal farmers (once peasants) (Molnár 2004:172), this dividedness of the public and the private spheres between the sexes has only started to dissolve by the end of the 20th century (strict difference between masculine and feminine spaces).

Looking at the local structure of space, there can be no feminine space or space elements found. Because none of the aspects of life is purely masculine or purely feminine, a world where the division of sexes reach an extreme level it causes the distortion of reality and the distortion gets fixed by the built space. (Alexander 1977: 147) The interviews lead us to think that spaces dominantly used by women are concentrated around the elements of the public transport system and smaller local convenience stores outside the private sphere, nowhere else. Female interviewees between the ages of 76 and 77 marked the paths and destinations related to shopping or other routine-like tasks and the relevant (public) transport routes on the maps. the majority of the men interviewed uses a car. This determines the paths they take and means the role of the leader at the same time. None of the interviewed women drives a car alone. They are either transported by relatives (a husband and in the other case a son) in a car or use public transport to leave the Colony. One of the older women takes a bus to move between her own and her son's house within the Colony.

The spaces which used to be considered as feminine spaces have disappeared or their feminine character is not dominant anymore. At the time of the first research phase the mentioned feminine spaces were marked on the mental maps e.g. the bath (3 mentions) or the community bread making (2 mentions) but they were

considered to be part of the past, nobody talked about or drew such spaces existing in the present. By the second research phase there was no mention of these spaces at all. There had been no shops for women in the Colony. The interviewees said, that they went to Miskolc to get new dresses or photos taken. Spaces of beauty-care as a feminine thing have always been outside the Colony, so the informants had no chance to draw anything like this on the maps.

The Colony belonged to the families. Single men all lived in the outskirts, while single women only lived in one place, "Angyalvár" (The Angel Castle) as it was referred to in the colloquial language. "Angyalvár" is one of the oldest buildings in the Colony, which hosts a nursery home today. As for one of the map-drawers there were nuns living once. "Angyalvár" only appeared in the drawings during the first phase. They tended to appear on the drawings of those interviewees who talked about the history of the Colony like storytellers and sometimes went into details in relation to a story. The mystery of the building was encouraged by a few legends. One of the informants said to know why the name was stuck to the building. He said, that they used to perform the abortions of girls with unwanted pregnancy, they "made angles" here. Another informant originated the name from a couple of female teachers who once lived there. In the first research phase the building was mentioned four times, it appeared as a landmark and a reference point too. It was only mentioned spontaneously one time, in the other three cases the building was mentioned when I asked them about the values to be preserved and this is how it became part of their mental maps. In the second phase no informant marked the building, I could not find any trace of the legends either. It faded from the collective memory and was missed out of the maps too, although it is one of the most beautiful buildings in the colony with its ornamented red brick portal and carved hanging corridor, besides its significant volume. It has preserved its feminine space character. It has functioned as a police station and a music school for a short time, but it has mostly been used for functions related to the feminine side. Even if it was designed to be a public building, it had never been involved in production and its location is also somewhat peripheral.

The gender aspect also appears in how the reputation of the "numbered streets" is conceptualized. Three of the informants in the first research phase had the incentive to additionally mention that it was only single males who first moved in the houses of "Százház", today known as the "numbered streets". 76 of the 100 houses were built with one room and 24 of them with two rooms in 1909. The importance of this relies in the fact that the informants could not have personal memories about the issue, the image of single men moving into the houses of low comfort level was preserved in the collective memory of the families.

The division of space based on gender dominance has gone through an ethnic transformation. The streets of the Colony "*were taken over by gypsies*", said one of the informants, involuntarily referring to the element of dominance which appears in an areal sense too. Until the company managed the houses there were no gypsies

living in the Colony. The forced growth of the factory staff starting from the 1950s brought a great number of gypsy workers from the countryside who commuted to the factory for quite some years. The unskilled or “quick-trained” workforce was never excluded on ethnic base there was a gap between the true-born Vasgyár people and any other “intruder”. The process was simultaneous with the wrecking of the labour aristocracy or making it weightless. Gypsies working in the factory were generally accepted at that time, there were no significant problems in the factory or in public events because of their gypsy origin²⁵. Gypsy families started moving in the Colony in the 1980s which initially had no segregating or negative connotations. The locals used the opportunity brought by the privatisation of apartments to move to other parts of Miskolc in bigger and higher comfort level apartments, all with the hope of a better life²⁶. The empty houses in the Colony were then occupied by gypsy families in an increasing number. As the result of the economic recession in the area and in the whole of Miskolc the lower educated, less mobile social group, so to speak, stuck in the Colony. Their presence has been visible, there were other social problems attached to the appearance of gypsies. The local media and every city leader since the regime changed in Hungary have tended to let things evolve or even helped things evolve to a point where the gypsy population can be accused of all the problems. “*This is now Little-Lyukó*”, as one of the map drawing informants, a 43-year old man said about the part of the Colony referring to one of the biggest slums in Miskolc. “*There are only gypsies here*”, “it’s either empty or a gypsy lives in it.” as another informant talked about the street they live in. An element of fear appeared in every interview and it was mentioned in relation to gypsies every time, despite the fact that crime rate shows no difference with that of in the entire city of Miskolc²⁷. Koselka and Pain discuss the complexity of the relationship between certain places and the fear attached to them when they say that “fear of crime is the result of complex processes; these processes define our opinion about certain places by making us aware of the possibility of becoming a victim: fear of crime can define the meaning of a place and in the same way a place can affect the fear of crime”. (Koskela, Pain 2000, 278.) (quoted in: Molnár 2012: 33.)

Researches working with mental maps rarely discuss the vertical characteristics of space. There is no obvious reference to the vertical dimensions of the space in the field documentation of the present research either. Only the church, the hospital and some industrial buildings are tall in the housing estate I chose to study. However, the volume of buildings is not significant in case of the tall ones either, they do not stand out from their environment e.g. the Evangelic church can hardly be noticed in the shade of the surrounding trees. There are no multi-storey houses among the buildings in the Colony, the houses characteristically have one or two floors. Taller buildings appeared as landmarks in the interviews and on the maps drawn. The most often mentioned buildings were: the Roman Catholic church, the hospital and the DAM office building. The latter one also has only three floors but it is built on a base structure with stairs, hence it looks tall from the street level. Environmental psychology researches have shown that the lower housing density, overseeable spaces, semi-public spaces, lower houses motivate community life and induce new

social relationships. The architectural structure is considered as the physical expression of the social texture/network (Dúll 2010:91). Relevant parts of the interviews also support this idea. The method of mental maps needs additional support to be able to cover vertical dividedness as well.

The “numbered streets” district received extra emphasis at numerous points of the mental map recording and in every aspect of the analysis. It appears segregated in the structure of the physical space, but there are stories related to it, it has a certain reputation, it is identified as a slum, it is mentioned in relation to gender aspects and in ethnic questions. The general reputation of the “numbered streets” has not changed since the district was built. News in the media a hundred years ago was almost literally about the same problems, you can read and hear about today. Low quality housing can only keep a social group who accept lower living standards, preserving the problems of the past by this²⁸.

The general atmosphere of the interviews recorded in the first and the second phase is very different. In the time of the first research phase there was an air of hope and expectations in how the informants spoke and it was clearly due to the lingering possibility of a restarting industry. In the second phase this air of hope was switched to an air of resignation and disappearance.

The maps drawn and the comments added reveal the steps the area is taking towards becoming a slum. In the first research phase, only negative points given to it and its general bad reputation characterized the area and a passive attitude with some expectations. There were still some positive memories recalled about it and some pleasing remarks. Although, expressions like “distinguished” and “noble” only appeared in nostalgic memoirs at that time, but they were apparent. In the second research phase the points went down and the element of fear was characteristically represented. This time, the overall run-down condition was strongly articulated with the opinion added, that the situation in the area cannot be mended. The positive memories recalled earlier were only present in fragments and there were less positive remarks. A new element was the general approval of and the relief over the disappearance of one part of the Colony. The level of deprivation can be also measured by the fact that the informants were not interested in the future of the demolished area. They did not support the idea of the demolition to create something new, only the elimination of the bad was important for them.

From the aspect of methodology this also means, that besides the existing values, the social hierarchy, positive/negative general opinions, edges, contact zones it is also worth asking questions about the future vision of the changes in the area and the possible disappearance of it. Because if this vision or the approval of it appears, it means that the researched area is on a deeper level of deprivation. If this can be completed with a longitudinal analysis for comparison, we can measure the intensity of the slumization process by mental mapping.

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NOTES

1 The housing estate had various names: “Gyári telep”, “Telep”, “Gyarmat”, the name “kolónia” was only used after 1945. The first building plans used the expression “Gyarmat” (Colony). The map of the Colony: *A Diósgyőri magy. kir. vas- és acélgár története 1910*.

2 *Borsod Miskolczi Értesítő*. Local and other news 25th January 1882: “Since the new ironworks in Diósgyőr has electric streetlights installed, it has become frequented by visitors

from outside. We had a chance to pay a visit there in the company of the Mayor and the chief engineer of our city last week and we can say, we were truly amazed...”

3. When the „Big-Miskolc” concept was realized in 1950, Diósgyőr became the part of the administrative unit.

4. I copied the maps drawn along the basic streets given as guidelines on transparencies and putting them over one another I located the most frequently marked areas. I identified these districts by simple numbers.

5. The informants graded residential areas as it was suggested by the questions raised. Passive area: entrances of factories, shops, buildings of different institutions, the hospital (!) Asking about these areas later, it turned out that there are quite frequented places among them, but they mostly only pass through these areas by means of public transport or private vehicles or they only visit the institutions, shops located there, hence they are important for the function of the buildings in respect rather than because of the location of the area.

6. At times of shift change several thousands of people gathered here.

7. Numbered streets: First, Second, Third, [...] Fourteenth Street (These set of streets are only referred to as „numbered streets” because they never had proper names but numbers.)

8. 62-year old skilled worker – excerpt from the interview

9. Avas: A housing estate built in Miskolc, in the 1970s with nearly 40,000 inhabitants. Families moved from the mod con blocks of flats to the negatively regarded areas of the Colony, they were satisfied with the lower standard accommodation for some money in return. This moral and physical unambitiousness is reflected in how the area is judged.

10. 72-year old retired turner – excerpt from the interview

11. 72-year old retired turner – excerpt from the interview

12. 72-year old retired turner – excerpt from the interview

13. 72-year old retired turner – excerpt from the interview

14. “Százház” – “Hundredhouses”: the alias was used in colloquial language because there were exactly 100 houses were built in the “numbered streets”

15. The part of the Puskin and Kabar Streets closer to the Ládi - Colony, the Bolyai and Örös Streets

16. Diósgyőr Machine Factory

17. The question was not asked from them directly, the informants referred to themselves as gypsies during the interview. I did not ask the informants about their ethnic background or their religion.

18. I tried to keep the drawing real by asking control questions and continuous directions.

19. Interview excerpt, 40-year old woman, 2017.

20. MIK: Miskolci Ingatlan Kezelő Vállalat, now called Miskolc Holding Önkormányzati Vagyonkezelő Zrt (Miskolc Holding Municipality Asset Management Corporation), but it is still referred to as MIK in everyday use: e.g. rents owned by the Municipality of Miskolc are called “MIK -flats”.

21. Interview excerpt, 83-year old man, who drew a map in the first phase too

22. 58-year old male teacher - interview excerpt

23. The Municipality of Miskolc demolished some houses in these streets in September 2014.

24. A gyár közleményeiben, helyi sajtóban megjelenő képek.
25. Based on the interview with Drótos László, former CEO of LKM (Lenin Metallurgy Works)
26. Based on an interview recorded in the first phase with a 73-year old woman, who grew up in the Colony.
27. The local family counsel has no info about any violence against people for years now. A few years ago, someone broke into a closed grocery store, but no other atrocities have happened since as far as she knows, and she meets many families in the Colony every day.
28. cf.: Dobák 2012 and Dobák 2007.
29. Another version of the study was published: The Dobák, Judit (2018): The Mental Map of a Rural (workers') Housing Estate in Hungary. An Urban Anthropology Research. *Belvedere Meridionale* vol. 30. no. 4. 141–159. pp. DOI 10.14232/belv.2018.4.9

Gyöngyi **Pásztor**

MĂNĂȘTUR IMAGE(S), MĂNĂȘTUR AWARENESS(ES)¹

THE MENTAL MAP OF A COMMUNIST DISTRICT OF THE CITY OF CLUJ,
ROMANIA

ABSTRACT

Using qualitative research methods, the author explores the ways the inhabitants of the largest district of Cluj – Mănăștur – relate to their own dwelling place, investigating the mental schemes along which they structure their living space.

INTRODUCTION

Urban space is never merely a physical space where individuals live and move around, but also a culturally constructed social space. People attribute different meanings to the same physical space, in other words they particularise it, and attach emotions, meanings to it. The same space, or physical environment can therefore generate an extremely varied mental and emotional palette, and system of relations. Living in (social) space redraws the physical features, boundaries, and the “real” image of the given place. Roads used every day “become shorter” and often “improve in appearance”, while the less used ones may seem “more remote” and “strange”. Every individual possesses a cognitive map, on which the spaces of his/her everyday activities are engraved; images that depending on their elaborateness can contain very detailed (familiar) and more obscure (grey, unfamiliar) places. All these provide a meaning to our environment and help us in everyday orientation.

The mental mapping of the environment is not only an individual, but also a social, cultural formation. Its symbolic significance sets the frame and defines individual behaving patterns as well. The inhabitants of a settlement, town or town district develop widely spread, common knowledge about the surrounding world. The common nature of this knowledge is often unequivocal as its certain elements give the background for everyday lives in the form of the meanings of places, or in people’s identities, make them able to find each other. This knowledge is part of local culture, it causes “the world around us to make sense”.

The “common” knowledge about space is made of symbols, by which people attribute meanings to the phenomena of everyday life. In fact this means that people do not only live in a town made of streets, buildings and parks. Lives of everyday people go on in a town formed of routes, addresses, safe, friendly, unfamiliar, dangerous etc.

places – or in other words, the world of everyday life is happening in a space full of meanings. This receipt knowledge is an important part of everyday life, this is what helps us find our way in the town.

The present paper describes the relationship, the opinions of the inhabitants of Mănăştur, one of the largest districts of the city of Cluj², to and about their dwelling place, as well as the ways of the mental mapping of different spatial structures. I chose the method of mental mapping during this inquiry, because I thought that the meanings people attribute to space can be more easily elucidated by that method. Its importance resides in the fact that the way people see the world and their environment defines their everyday behaviour and movement in space.

The empirical foundation of the research is constituted by the mental maps of 119 Mănăştur residents³ and the interviews⁴ done with them. Interviewing was conducted along two parallel approaches: they partly served for the interpretation and the explanation of mental map elements, and on the other hand they were meant to reveal the interviewees' relationship to their dwelling environment and city district, the patterns of their space usage, and the subjective evaluations connected to all these.

MĂNĂȘTUR – VILLAGE, SUBURB, CITY?

During the systematisation⁵ of Cluj, most of the suburbs⁶ located at the outskirts (edges) of the old town had been demolished, and vast numbers of blocks of flats were built to replace them.⁷ Residential districts were mostly built in parallel, not subsequently, therefore present-day districts were built in the same period, within a few years.⁸ Thus, as a result of socialist town development, Cluj became a city of blocks of flats, and most of its inhabitants became residents of blocks of flats⁹. As a result of the reconstructions, usually only a few houses or street fragments remained untouched¹⁰, and just one district (the Bulgaria district) “had a narrow squeak” in surviving the radical changes. Owners and tenants of the demolished houses – just like everywhere else in the country – were moved into the new blocks of flats.

Two important periods of socialist urbanisation can be distinguished in Cluj¹¹, with great influence primarily on the nature of town building. The first lasted from the beginning of the sixties until approximately 1972–1973, and the second from the mid 1970s until the change of the political system. The specific characteristic of the first period was some degree of observation of the principles of “modern” city planning from an urbanistic point of view (Troc, 2003:7), which also included the planning of playgrounds, green areas, parks, promenades and quick access to main roads and lines of communication. The urbanism of the second period neglected almost entirely any principle of rational planning, and solely relied on quantity, intensive land exploitation and improvisations. Mănăştur (as a residential district) was mostly erected in this second period, therefore the distance between two blocks of flats

is frequently less than fifteen meters. This kind of “ad hoc” building methodology resembles more to the construction of labyrinths than civic design (Troc, 2003:8). These labyrinths were often covered by wall-like structures (panels), to ensure a representative surface and at the same time to hide the disorder of the background.

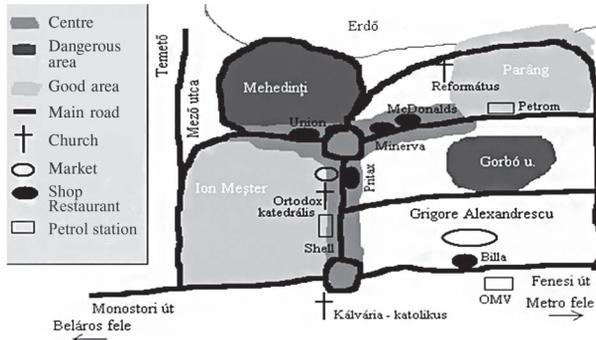
Mănăștur can thus be considered typical, as most of the towns of Romania were “enlarged” with similar suburbs during the almost half of a century of communism, to ensure lodging for the incoming industrial working class. It is a typical example of the urbanistic vision characteristic for the socialist system: irrespective of social, employment category, its primary aim was to ensure uniform lodging conditions, the planning and construction of standardised apartments. The urbanistic vision of Romanian socialism forced the different social categories into this urban form considered modern, where it tried to get rid of all existing differences. These panel districts constituted the most obvious solution for the “accomplishment of new social order” (Kligman, 1998). This also meant that urban space had to be subordinated to politics (Belkis – Coman – Sârbu – Troc, 2003:135), having in the first place to comply with the principles of transparency and controllability, and of unceasing supervision.

In spite of all that, Mănăștur is particular, just like the evolution, the physical and symbolic architecture of every city or suburb is particular. The suburb was born as a consequence of the “hatred of villages” characteristic for the communist ideology, becoming a part of the city as the village once known as Mănăștur was built into it. One source of its particularity resided in its ethnic nature, something the district inherited from the village (Troc, 2003:9). (As we will see later on, this state of affairs bears significant consequences also for the present).

The constructions of the blocks of flats, just like in the case of every Cluj suburb, did not begin from the direction of the city, but rather from the direction of the plough-lands located at the edge of the city (Pillich, 1985:56) and it approached the former city limits, the centre of the city¹². The building of the blocks of flats was started at the end of the sixties, and then, in a slackened speed it continued in parallel with the other districts until the end of the eighties, while the street of the old village closest to the city (Câmpului Street) remained undemolished. Thus the building of the district lasted almost three decades, therefore it is not at all uniform architecturally, its different parts bear the features of the architecture of the time when they were erected, creating several distinguishable blocks, which are more or less uniform (Planwerk, 2003). This manifests itself primarily in the character of the blocks of flats, as no principles of city planning can be observed¹³. We will get back later on to these differences, as they became structural elements of the mental maps. In the past almost three decades Mănăștur has grown to become the largest suburb of the city; nearly one third of its population living here.

THE PERCEPTION OF THE RESIDENTS OF MĂNĂȘTUR ABOUT THEIR DISTRICT

The relationship of the residents of Mănăștur to their dwelling place and the mental structures by which they are mapping space is particular, yet at the same time typical in many respects, just like the district itself. In connection with the drawings and the narrations of the subjects, the “average «representative geographical» mental structure” of the analysed district – more precisely its schematic diagram – looks like this:



Cemetery, Câmpului Street, Forest, Mehediniți Street, Parâng Street, Reformed Church, Union Shopping Mall, McDonalds, Petrom Petrol Station, Ion Meșter Street, Orthodox Cathedral, Pritax Taxi Station, Minerva Grocery Store, Gârbău Street, Shell Petrol Station, Grigore Alexandrescu Street, Billa Food Store, Mănăștur Road (Calea Mănăștur), Calvaria Roman Catholic Church OMV Petrol Station, Florești Road (Calea Florești), Downtown, Metro Cash & Carry Wholesale Department Store

The above image is the quasi-statistical processing of the drawings produced by the subjects: it contains the elements that appeared on more than half of the drawings of the interviewees. The map contains the following elements:

1. The mental units that form the district: Ion Meșter, Mehediniți, Parâng, Grigore Alexandrescu, Gârbău streets and the Centre.
2. The classifications of the different zones, i.e. which are the ones considered good (safe) or bad (dangerous).
3. The most frequently used routes. These are usually the main roads in the Centre, and the public transportation routes.
4. The most frequently mentioned reference points. Regarding their nature these are mostly commercial units (shops, market, restaurants, petrol stations) and churches.

Except for the mentioned elements, the representation has got a few particularities. It may be striking from the beginning that on the majority of representations (except for twelve) the directions of North and South are reversed. This is the consequence

of the fact that the district is depicted with relation to the Mănăștur Road – Florești Road axis (Calea Mănăștur – Calea Florești), which is at the same time the mental border of the district, leading to two important locations: the City (Downtown) and the Metro Cash & Carry wholesale department store. In addition, the district is located on a hillside, therefore mental “upward” is to the South.

Another common feature of these mental maps is that their outer boundaries differ from the administrative borders of the district; in other words the district has got parts that seem to be different in their nature from what the public perception considers being the Mănăștur, therefore these are not constituent part of the district’s mental map. These are mainly the parts closest to the centre¹⁴, as well as the parts on the other side of Calea Mănăștur – Calea Florești (Mănăștur Road – Florești Road). An interesting exception is the Billa food store, which is in fact on the other side of the road, yet because it is seen as part of the district (a highly frequented store), it was transferred on the opposite side of the road.

An important particularity of mental maps is a certain degree of segmentation and fragmentation. By these notions I wish to grasp the state of affairs, that due to the largeness and the confusing structure of the district the maps drawn by the subjects usually do not cover the entirety of the area, but rather only concentrate to a small part of it, including the places where they live, connecting that place to the different points of reference mainly located in the centre. Apart from their own dwelling environment and its vicinity, the inhabitants exclusively “use” the central part of the district, and only a few routes are leading elsewhere, if at all. This is an indication of the fact that the suburb is way too large for everyone to be entirely comprehended. Even the inhabitants themselves opine that Mănăștur is an independent unit, a small town by itself, rather than just a suburb of Cluj.

“A district full of people, crowds, noise, a lot of vehicles... you know, none of the other districts can really reach up to its standards. I would bet that a small town started to develop here..., it works as a second Cluj”

man, 32-year old, Romanian, taxi driver

“if we only look at what the people of Cluj think of Mănăștur, it is strange, because in fact Mănăștur is a small town now, many call it the United States of Mănăștur (Statele Unite ale Mănășturului in Romanian). In fact it had been a small village, but turned out to be quite big by now. The fact is that this part of the city was built in fifteen years, and it can partly be seen on its inhabitants, that they had been brought here, but by now it is beginning to take shape. Its peculiarity is that it is quite huge, compared to other districts. There are all sorts of people here, for sure. Its peculiarity, like I said, is that it is a small town in itself, I think it could really exist separately, as a separate small town, with so many things in it.”

35-year old man, teacher, Romanian

As I have previously mentioned, the mental differentiation of space occurs along architectural units. Denominations originate from the name of the most important street of the given area, in fact they project the name of the street on its vicinity. The place called Centre is the meeting point of the different lines of communication, this is where the largest number of commercial units, banks and branches of insurance companies, restaurants etc. are located in the district. Yet there are parts of the district that are not connected to either unit: for instance the area delimited by Parâng Street, Mehedinți Street respectively the Centre. At the same time, Gârbăului Street (and its surroundings) is in fact part of Grigore Alexandrescu, although it is mentally separated from it.

Attributes like *good* and *bad* are associated to the different zones of the district, which primarily refer to the status of the inhabitants living there. These differences are sustained by infrastructural factors like the quality of the streets, green areas, parks, street-lighting, although the quality of the flats or of the real estates is more or less the same. Thus bad parts are the ones inhabited by poorer people or by the Roma (e.g. Ion Meșter), and garbage and the lack of public safety are frequently mentioned as indicators. The good parts are the ones where the people “*like us*” are living, where “*there are no problems generally*”, close to the strategic places, with more green areas, perhaps close to the woods.

“I am saying that this is a good zone, where you can live in peace, there are no problems with the neighbours, no lags behind in paying public expenses. There are no Gypsies, either, as it is said sometimes that Mănăștur is a Gypsy district. Mănăștur is the most densely populated district of the city, still I do not consider it so suffocating. True that there are those ten storey blocks of flats here, packed all in a heap, but that’s it.”

man, 29-year old, worker, Romanian

Analysing the attitude towards the district one can distinguish three separate types: rejection, acceptance and total identification or pride. The notion of rejection hides in fact a double relationship, where the central element is the distinction made between the place called home (the apartment/flat) and the district, and the divergent attitude to these two. Rejection is pertaining to the district and the attached references, which is completed with the acceptance of or inurement to the flat and its direct environment as a place of dwelling. In this case the district only appears as a place of residence, all the other activities – work, leisure time – connect the rejecters to the city.

“I don’t like that there are no playgrounds... There are no places for the children to go to play. I mean there are only a few such places... I don’t like anything here in Mănăștur. I let my children grow up near the garages... I don’t like the people living here at all... They are weird.”

39-year old man, worker, Hungarian

This attitude is characteristic mostly for the Hungarians, and those with middle or higher education, originating from Cluj. I will discuss later the characteristics which define the relationship of the inhabitants to the district. If they could, they would move away from the district to another place that would present better opportunities both in terms of lodging and dwelling district, in other words, they are ready to move to any other place any time, except for the Mărăști Square.

Under *inurement* I mean an attitude characterised by a certain type of accommodation to a place that does not provide an aesthetical experience. In other words it could be said that *"I do not like it, but I got used to it"*. This is mostly characteristic for the inhabitants that moved here as adults, right after the district had been built, having lived in a house before – either in Cluj, or in a village.

"...anyhow, we got used to it. I don't even hear the trams going by anymore; I am sometimes asked how can I sleep in a place like this, but I am old now and wake up early anyway. Perhaps I could say that I like it here, because there are many people living here who are the same age as me and my wife. We call on the neighbours, we are not so alone here. You are only afraid of remaining alone, when you are old."

64-year old man, retired, Romanian

"I got used to it. I am still annoyed by the crowdedness of Mănăștur, but there is nothing to do about that. I like the place where I live, because it is at the edge of the town, near the woods, where there is fresh air, and not too much noise coming from the street. When I look out through the window, I can see the changing seasons. Unfortunately the district is packed with kids spending their childhoods in stair halls, or in front of them, they go nowhere, they grow up like that. Zorilor, Gheorgheni or Donath districts are "the districts of the upper class", while Mănăștur is pronouncedly a workers' district."

23-year old woman, student, Romanian

The most important feature of total acceptance is that being a resident of Mănăștur is enough reason in itself to be proud. In this case a total identification with the place can be observed, the attribute "Mănășturean" is an important component of the identity, which prevails over Cluj.

"I am mostly proud that I live in Mănăștur, which is a far more peaceful and cleaner district than the others. Mărăști Square for instance is highly polluted, with an industrial zone nearby, and densely populated. I could even say that this is like a small town. Those having lived in Mănăștur for long know that this is a good place. The population is good too, I could not say that they are only young people, or old, it is more mixed, just like in a real city. The old residents of Mănăștur feel a particular fondness of the district, we grew up here, saw how it evolved, a special place where I was born and where I wish to live. Many of us say that Mănăștur is not Cluj, because we are proud of it, a particular place that makes us proud."

31-year old man, tailor, Romanian

This kind of attitude is mostly typical for those Romanian youngsters that had been born here and socialised here, for whom the district is the theatre of their childhoods. They see the place as their homeland. The same kind of attitude is characteristic for a particular and not numerous group, the former inhabitants of the old village of Mănăştur (for more on this topic see Belkis – Coman – Sârbu – Troc, 2003). One of the main features of this attitude is that being a Mănăştorean is always defined as opposed to something else, most frequently to being a resident of Cluj as a city, or another district of it.

Mănăştur in this case has got a central significance, the almost exclusive scene of everyday life. The working place or perhaps the school might be connected to other parts of the town, albeit even these are often located within the district. Leisure time on the other hand is almost exclusively spent here: in the parks, sports grounds, places of amusement, the woods or the vicinities of the blocks of flats. These people would certainly remain in the district, even if they moved to another flat.

"I like it, I like it very much. I would never move to another district for anything in the world. I stay close to my workplace, close to the tram station, in an area with a lot of shops, the market is nearby, and the district itself is very nice. The woods are close... I am saying that this is a fine district. While Funar was the mayor (she laughs) oh, my God it was the district of the mayor, because he stayed here, but well, now he is not the mayor any more"

27-year old woman, nurse, Romanian

This acceptance is the result of the natural process during which the individuals domesticate their living environment, they perceive it as unique; attaching different feelings and interpretations to it. This is the space to which the different moments of private life are connected, filling the space with meaning. The difference only resides in the range to which the territory of the district they perceive as their own is extended, filled with meaning and where the limit from where it becomes unknown, neutral or hostile is.

"Should I be frank on why I liked it? Well, because of my husband. It was love at first sight... poor man... I was so much in love at that time. I liked everything he liked, I enjoyed listening to the music he was listening to, I liked the place where he lived... in other words everything, really everything. That's how it was at that time. So that is why I also loved Mănăştur, although I heard terrible things about it, really terrible things. Then I moved here because I wanted to relax a little bit, because my life had been hard with my parents. Then I started a family, and started to work. My husband helped me a lot. This is where we got a flat, my husband used to stay in Mănăştur before the blocks of flats were completed. I had visited here earlier and I liked it. My husband wanted to stay here, he loved Mănăştur, and I grew fond of it, too"

59-year old woman, retired, Romanian

Thus, the most important variables that structure the relations of the inhabitants of Mănăștur to their suburb are the following: *the period when they had moved here, age and national (ethnic) background*. What concerns the time of moving to the district, the appearance of the real estate market after the changes in 1989 is of a key importance. Whereas before 1989 the inhabitants had been assigned flats, therefore the opportunities to choose had been much more restricted, after the change of the political system the choice of the living place became the result of individual decisions that included subjective elements, too, alongside economic factors. Thus, in the case of those moving to Mănăștur before 1989, we can talk about different degrees of rejection or acceptance. On the other hand, in the case of those choosing to move in the district after the change of the political system, we meet a rationalised version of the acceptance, which underlines the favourable circumstances of the suburb.

"I like it here because the air is fresh... there is a lot of green places, the forest is near,... in contrast with Mărăști Square, for example"

41-year old woman, unemployed, Romanian

"Here in Mănăștur there is a huge demand for the flats, and good money is paid for them. If I wanted to, I could sell my studio in one day, because that high the demand is. This part is relatively quiet, and the air is clean because of the many trees... there are plenty of parks, the forest. In my opinion Mănăștur is distinguished from the other districts of Cluj, it is unique, unlike the rest of them. We have got everything here, if someone needs something, he does not have to travel downtown. Therefore it is different from the other districts! And this is good!"

38-year old woman, nurse, Romanian

At the same time, the images of Mănăștur also show ethnic differences. Mănăștur as a whole is defined as a Romanian area, often even perceived as a source of Romanian national consciousness in Cluj. This feature can be traced back to the period before socialism, when there had been a Romanian village here, right next to the Hungarian city of Cluj. This characteristic was exploited by the former mayor of the city, who supported this district emphasising its ethnic nature (Lazăr, 2003). The main street of the suburb was renamed after Ion Antonescu, and a statue of Antonescu was planned to be erected in the centre of the district (see Troc, 2003). His main electorate was also in fact comprised in the district.

The Hungarians living in this place endowed with a Romanian ethnic character try to elaborate strategies that would make it "inhabitable". These strategies can be perceived in the following processes: on the one hand we can observe the alternative Hungarian ethnicisation of the district, aiming at finding the points that could take on a Hungarian ethnic character, besides the rejection of Romanian character. Such a place is the Calvaria Church, which by that becomes a central element of the district.

"I grew up in a village, not far from here, in Baciú, maybe you know where it is,... among Hungarians. (She keeps silence) Then I was transferred here on a few square meters, among a lot of filthy Romanians, and I had to live here. They did not even know how to use a bathroom. We used to have a bathroom at home. They came from everywhere; they were collected from all godforsaken places everywhere... No, I did not like that. Then Funar hadn't done anything but inciting hatred among the Hungarians and the Romanians. But now I am fifty-seven years old, what am I left to do? All alone? I cannot move home any more, my parents have died. That's it... At home the elderly, the people of my age ... sit beside the fences on benches, call upon each other, there are things to do all day ... But here? I could probably sit out here, too, but it's just not the same. There are but ten meters between the blocks of flats, what could be done?"

This beautiful church here, this is the Calvaria Church. I like that very much, it is beautifully built, they gave it back, they did not even have their own church. Now they are building two. Just like they do everywhere else in the country. A real conquest. (she laughs) Isn't that right?"

57-year old woman, retired, Hungarian

Another element of the strategy is that the dwelling place, and generally the district (Mănăştur) are getting differentiated, too. They consider themselves the residents of Cluj in the first place, while Mănăştur is only seen as the district where their dwelling place is located, clearly distinguished from the other parts of the suburb that they reject. The ethnic nature of the rejection is filled with elements like slovenliness, dirt, disorder, lack of manners, Gypsies, lack of culture etc.

"But maybe another difference is the majority of those living here ... I mean the majority of the inhabitants do affect the image of the district. There are the many people moved in from Romanian villages, who had not been used to many things before, they destroyed a lot. Their manners, well, sometimes one could not call them very civilised. But there are such people everywhere, perhaps a little bit more of them her; uncle Funar loves them very much (he laughs) because he also lives here among them. While Funar was the mayor he even tried to some things for this district, his men were living here, one could say. (he laughs) We'll see if that will be continued, or what direction politics will take."

31-year old man, engineer, undertaker, Hungarian

Often, living in Mănăştur appears as a constraint that is explained by unfavourable financial or family situation.

"we did not stay in Mănăştur but up in Gheorgheni district. But then we had to sell our home there, because of some distress... and we had to move. It was a difficult time! We are glad that it is over. I only felt sorry for my little daughter... she was so

small at the time. So this is how we ended up here in Mănăștur, and we accept it now. But it is not like Gheorgheni...

But you know, I got used to Mănăștur. True, that there are still some problems sometimes, and the neighbours are noisy every now and then. I am a resident of Cluj in the first place, and only after that I am a Mănășturean. I don't think it is a good idea to separate it from the rest of the city! I do not like that! Also up in Gheorgheni people are very much against those from Mănăștur. They say that they are ugly and dirty and vagabonds, and this and that... I won't detail everything they are saying, because everyone knows that, it is common knowledge. The problem is with the people. Those from Mănăștur must somehow defend themselves against all those negative opinions. It's true that there are tramps here, too... but you could not say that all the people of Mănăștur are disorderly and Gypsy. This thing really makes me upset. Because there are decent folks here, too! That should not be forgotten!"

46-year old woman, worker, Hungarian

CONCLUSION

Examining the relationship of the inhabitants of Mănăștur to their district it can be seen that just like the district itself is not homogeneous, either architecturally or socially, the knowledge about the district cannot be considered homogeneous, either. In short, I could conclude that there is not just one Mănăștur, but several Mănăștur districts, each with their own particular suburb image and consciousness. The most important variables that structure the relationships of the inhabitants of Mănăștur to their suburb are their age, the period when they had moved to the district, their social status and national background. According to these variables three separate types of attitudes can be distinguished: rejection, acceptance and total identification.

Rejection is mostly characteristic for the Hungarians, and those with medium or high level of education. In this case the district only appears as a dwelling place, all the other activities – work, leisure time – connect these people to the city; rejection refers to the district and its attached meanings. This attitude is complemented on the other hand by the acceptance or the inurement of the dwelling place and its immediate environment. Inurement is primarily characteristic for the residents that moved here as adults immediately after the building of the district, having stayed in a house before – either in Cluj, or in a village. We see a certain type of accommodation to a place that does not provide an aesthetical experience, and which in other words could be described by the sentence “*I do not like it, but I got used to it*”.

Total acceptance is mostly typical for the Romanian youngsters that had been born here and socialised here, as well as for the former inhabitants of the old village of Mănăștur. In their case a total mental identification with the place can be observed, the attribute “Mănășturean” is an important component of the identity, which prevails over Cluj at any rate. In fact, being a Mănășturean is by itself a reason of pride.

At the same time, an important particularity of the mental maps is a certain degree of *segmentation* and *fragmentation*, which make the district incomprehensible up to a point. This is perhaps an indication of the fact that the suburb is way too large for everyone to be entirely comprehended. Even the inhabitants themselves opine that Mănăştur is more like a separate small town, rather than just a suburb of Cluj. Its fragmentation is at the same time also the result of its architectural character, which is often labyrinth-like: circular streets are frequent, and the distances between the blocks of flats are in many places merely a few meters. The different parts of the district do not resemble to each other in their structure, and apart from the central area, there are no points of reference to help in orientation.

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NOTES

1. This is the revised version of a paper published in 2004 entitled *Mănăștur Image(s), Mănăștur Awareness(es) The Mental Map of a District of the City of Cluj-Napoca*, which was grounded on a research carried out in the same year. Based on further investigations done in the field I consider that the conclusions of the analysis are still valid today. Many things have changed in the past years in Mănăștur: its infrastructure, green areas have become more orderly, many of its buildings have been renovated, multi-storey car parks have been built and new shops have opened. Still, the spatial orientation of its inhabitants, and their relationship to space remained unchanged.

2. From a sociological point of view the notion of suburb would probably be justified, although this suburb also forms an outstanding district from an administrative and city-planning perspective. At the same time Mănăștur is spreading on a larger territory than other average city districts and by no means can it be considered uniform or homogeneous. I use both terms in the study alternatively, with the same meaning, trying to point out that none of the notions truly covers the “positive reality” characteristic for Mănăștur.

3. We applied the method of the blank sheet, asking the subjects to draw a map of Mănăștur on a blank sheet of paper. In order to make the maps comparable to each other, we introduced a certain degree of standardisation by the questions of the person conducting the interview; in other words we told them as an instruction what we wanted to see drawn on the paper (see Letenyei, 2004:167)

4. I hereby wish to express my thanks to the first and second year students of Sociology and Anthropology who took part in the research during their summer internships and who, with their enthusiasm and interest, greatly contributed to the better and more accurate understanding of the issue.

5. This is the notion by which the socialist (communist) system described the efforts to modernise the social-economic structure of the country, within the framework of which an overall country plan had been elaborated, comprising all the localities of the country. This systematisation plan included on the one hand the modernisation or the demolition of the villages, and on the other hand the reconstruction of the cities and the restructuring of their existing ecological systems (i.e. the demolishing of certain town outskirts and the construction of districts with blocks of flats). For more information see the paper signed by Aluaș in this issue.

6. Such were the Donath Street, the Hóstáts, the Gheorgheni Street and its vicinity, the Calvaria, Sâncalja etc.

7. Such suburbs are the Iris, the Mărăști Square, Între Lacuri, Gheorgheni, Zorilor, Mănăștur and the Donath (Grigorescu) districts.

8. The constructions of the Donath and Gheorgheni districts started roughly at the same time in the early 1960s, and the building of the Gheorgheni district continued until the end of the 1980s. The building of the Mănăștur district had started in December 1970, and it was still uncompleted in December 1989. Meanwhile the Zorilor district is built up, and between 1980 and 1985 the Kül-Magyar and Kül-Közép Street Hóstáts are demolished, and suburbs

are erected on their locations (Mărăști Square), which are also found unfinished by the change of the political system (Gaál, 2001:425-429).

9. In 1999 19 percent of the residents of Cluj stayed in private houses, and 81 percent in blocks, in flats with an average surface area of 34.9 square meters, with an average dwelling surface of 12 square meters per person (PUG, 1999).

10. Untouchedness should be understood literally here, because if a given house, street or neighbourhood managed to escape the “demolition squad”, it fell into complete oblivion, with no further infrastructural or other type of investments. Total gas pipe coverage was achieved by the town only by the 1990s, but even today there are parts in the city with no water conduits and sewage, and some of the streets are still just cobbled.

11. These two periods can be well delimited in the case of Cluj, yet the change of trend can be observed with a difference of just a few years not only in Cluj, but also on the level of the whole country.

12. The primary logic of this construction process developing inwards from the outskirts was that it did not make necessary to demolish existing buildings in any part of the city in the beginning, to avoid making masses of people homeless (Pásztor, 2003).

13. After the construction of the blocks city planning was usually “undertaken” by the inhabitants moving in. This often meant that they created garages and vegetable gardens in the immediate vicinity of their homes. Although these constructions are not very popular today, their merit was that they occupied the mud pits among the blocks of flats, which once had made Mănăștur unmistakable.

14. Plopilor Street and Grădini Mănăștur (Mănăștur Gardens)

15. The Mărăști Square appears the most frequently as a comparison with Mănăștur. Interviews done with young people often include that these contrasts are not only mental ones, and the supremacy of one of the two districts is the stake of “gang fights” between the two.

16. According to the data of a 1999 questionnaire survey done by the Sociology Department of the Babeș-Bolyai University, 28 percent of the people wishing to move would choose to move within the district. This proportion is slightly higher in the case of Mănăștur residents, it exceed 30 percent. The number of the elements in the sample is N-984, representative for the adult population of Cluj with regard to age, education, lodging place and type of lodging, with an error margin of +/- 3%.

17. The church of the Benedictine abbey of Cluj-Mănăștur, found at the edge of Mănăștur. The first Benedictine abbey here was established during the time of King Saint Ladislaus I of Hungary, being destroyed during the Mongol invasion and re-established by Béla IV of Hungary. During the peasant revolt led by Antal Nagy de Buda in 1437, the noblemen reached an agreement here with rebels. In the 1920s the church was given for 25 years to the Romanian Eastern-rite Catholic Church; then it got under the authority of the Romanian Orthodox Church, and was received back by the Roman Catholic Church in 1990.

Kamil **Nieścioruk**

LEARNING THE SPACE

THE CHANGE OF SPATIAL COGNITION OF A CITY CENTRE BY HIGH-SCHOOL STUDENTS IN THE LIGHT OF MENTAL MAPS AND SKETCHES

ABSTRACT

Gaining knowledge is a lifelong process. Humans tend to learn new things entire life, especially in recent, technologically-demanding times. This process is contradicted by lowered learning potential with aging and is often economic-dependant too, so the digital divide is a serious, growing problem. The fact of learning and gaining new thing can be easily transposed to cognition, including space cognition as people learn space. Beside formal education with maps, atlases and GIS, one learns by experience and interaction with that space. Education can be seen as a duty and to some it may be unpleasant. Gaining knowledge about the environment by simply using it, exploring, and living in it is trouble-free – it is not to be tested like the formal knowledge is expected to be. One can benefit only by gain extra skills in space-perception and orienteering. These skills are pretty useful while a bit diminishing recently due to global positioning and location based digital services which offer a ready-to-use solutions and answers without experiencing spatial-problem solving processes.

This paper tries to explore the process of learning a new place and finding evidences of it and ways to present it. The case study deals with high-school students coming to schools in the city of Lublin from outside it (not living there). It is expected their knowledge changes (increases) during the whole education process – from the first to the third class. The method used to test students' knowledge is drawing mental sketches, analysing and translating them into GIS environment to visualise and explore.

Mental mapping is a method with over half of the century research tradition, but with some controversies. The first is the terminology as “mental map”, “sketch map” and “cognitive map” are sometimes used as synonyms while sometimes the differences are pointed out. In the second case “cognitive” is a term related to cognition and psychology, “mental” to storing information in user's memory and “sketch” being a graphical representation of this information (Nieścioruk, 2016; Götz and Holmén, 2018). The other possible problem with sketch maps relates to its literal sketch nature as for surveyed users (respondents) who are on different level of drawing and spatial awareness skills it is hard to compare the results. Maps may be influenced by the initial form of a base material. From blank sheet of paper

(so-called basic sketches) to background-data filled sheets (cued mapping) (Kitchin, 1996), from paper and pencil to touch-screen or mouse – all this can be a potential source of problems.

Regardless the precise definition of the term, mental mapping has a long tradition in the field of psychology and geography – or broader – space-related science as pioneering work of Lynch (1960) deals with city environment and architecture. It was followed by more Earth science works of Gould (1966) and Gould and White (1974) and – later – by broad fields of implementation. Different aspect of sketches and different aspect of cognition were and still are analysed. The most obvious is to use mental sketch as an insight into human perception of a place, no matter how the place itself is defined. It can be a small, local, often build-up area of a city with different aspects of life and living in the place and its valuation in mind (Rengert and Pelfrey, 1997; Gendźwiłł, 2006; Dobák, 2007; Boschmann and Cubbon, 2014; Skryhan, 2016), but also an image of global or regional spatial ideas (Saarinen, 1987; Padło, 2015; Bláha and Nováček, 2016; Holmén, 2018).

Beside knowledge of the space, other aspect of cognition can be tested with sketches. Despite some technical problems with drawing abilities and paper limitations, spatial distortion are often tested, showing how space is perceived against proper metric relations. Revival of this approach can be seen as a result of technical advance in the field of geoinformation tools (Waterman and Gordon, 1984; Lloyd and Heivly, 1987; Huynh and Doherty, 2007).

GIS opened new possibilities in analysing mental sketches, gathering data and visualizing the results, but also created some new problems with data loss and digitization of data as well as digital acquisition and problems with on-screen drawing (Huynh and Doherty, 2007; Bell and Long, 2009; Bláha and Nováček, 2016).

Mental sketches, from the point of view of cartographers, are profound source of information not only about the space, but also about cartographic literacy, skills and design. Hence it can serve as a tool to test the knowledge of cartography students or test maps as commercial products as seen by their users (Nieścioruk, 2016; Bláha and Hudeček, 2010).

Students are important group of participants of mental mapping experiments as these tests are often organized in an academic environment. School pupils are similar case and their education process includes space-related classes of geography (Żyszkowska, 1996; Huynh and Doherty, 2007; Ōcal, 2011; Bláha and Pastuchová Nováková, 2013; Nieścioruk, 2013; Padło, 2015; Bláha and Nováček, 2016; Costa and Bonetti, 2018; Holmén, 2018). Special groups selected on purpose are often tested as well, with attributes of residence place, profession, interest, ethnicity or social behaviour patterns being highlighted (Lloyd and Heivly, 1987; Feinberg et al., 2003; Kulczyńska and Matykowski, 2011; Boschmann and Cubbon, 2014; Mitchell, 2014).

CASE STUDY

This paper, dealing with a classic use of mental sketches, is a part of a broader project on cognition, learning the space and cartographic skills among young people. The described part of the research concentrates on the use of mental sketches in the field of analysing spatial features perceived by test group members and to check if their qualitative and quantitative characteristics change with the process of increasing space knowledge with age and experience. The methodical problem of cartographic visualisation of data is discussed as well.

The survey took place in Lublin (Poland) in the beginning of school year 2017-2018 and its participants were high-school students. The survey group comprised of students of two schools (third level of compulsory education¹) and three classes each. One school was the State Schools of Construction and Geodesy (a profession technical school, later referred to as TG) and the second school was the 16th High School at A. and J. Vetter Economic Schools (later referred to as HS). In both cases 3 classes were tested, what – in case of TG – was not a full spectrum as this school comprises of 4 classes. It was done to guarantee comparable results however. The survey tested spatial and mapping skills hence it should be mentioned HS students had more general geography lessons, while TG students had more map-related topics taught during their professional subjects.

During the research over 100 students were surveyed, but a dozen of sketches were useless due to misunderstanding the task or unreadable materials. Ninety-one sketches were used to analyse the definition of city centre (Nieścioruk, 2019), as it was the main goal of the survey (see below). Of this group 58 sketches (19 of the first, 21 of the second and 18 of the third class students) were taken into consideration to analyse the phenomena of gaining spatial knowledge and testing the perception of the city space through the teenagers' eyes. The first goal was the reason to select only sketches done by students living outside Lublin and coming there to school mainly. This provides a group that has smaller chance to learn a city space in everyday life as they live outside this city. Students living outside Lublin formed a significant group in each class. For HS it was 15 (out of 32) and for TG it was 43 out of 52 of all surveyed. Three years analysed was expected to provide results showing the change of perception of city features in terms of quality and quantity of objects. The research hypothesis was the knowledge of a space should increase as students have more chances to experience the city. Time should also broaden the spectrum of object types, but it all may vary significantly depending on the person. The limitation of this approach is that to receive a comparable results, the same people should be questioned year after year and not three different years consisting of different people at the same time.

The cartographic methodology question asked during this research was how to present cumulative information from many sketches onto one map. What features should be shown, what attributes to present and what visualisation methods should be used.

The task given to students was to draw the city centre of Lublin. As sketches were to be used in different analyses (the presented one is part of three conducted) no instructions on cartographic visualisation, city centre limits nor depicted objects were given. It was to be done on a blank sheet of paper – a “basic sketch map” approach (Kitchin, 1996). There are controversies over using this method in the GIS environment connected to losing and distorting data (Brennan-Horley and Gibson, 2009), but the author thinks it is a better solution for a given task than a cued map with street lines and basic background data that could impose the answers.

RESULTS

The sketches were analysed: depicted features were counted and tables were prepared in a spreadsheet file. The cartographic background was created to visualize gathered data. OpenStreetMap data were used to show street lines and manual point input option was used to create points of interest locations. Using table join function, spreadsheet data with counted occurrences of given features were connected with these features on a map, so quantitative and qualitative visualization was possible.

The Fig. 1 shows streets of the central part of Lublin with information on number of their occurrences on the survey participants' sketches. Two main zones may be distinguished. The first is Krakowskie Przedmieście street (plus its pedestrian part) – 3 Maja street line² and the second is an area of a long-distance bus station (NE of the map). Both are no surprise. Krakowskie Przemieście street, being one of the main streets in the centre, with its pedestrian zone packed with shops and restaurant, forms a functional centre of the city. The main landmark in the area is the Litewski square, bordered by Krakowskie Przedmieście street (south) and 3 Maja street (west). Both streets were marked on over twenty sketches. The square is a popular place of meeting and passing time. The presence of bus station zone on sketches seems to be obvious as the analysed group consists of students living outside Lublin. It can be assumed bus is a typical mean of commuting for many of them, hence bus station is a place their visit frequently, what results in gaining knowledge of its vicinity. With the analysis done with type of school in mind, results differ slightly (Fig. 2, Fig. 3). In case of both HS and TG bus station zone streets are represented in high numbers. For HS representation of streets around the old town and south of it are higher than for TG. The high school is located at Bernardyńska street, so the students often walk around this area, no matter if they go to the bus station or just wanders around. For geodesy school the virtual, statistic centre of mass of data moves toward west as the school is located at Raclawickie alleys near Długosza alleys. The most often depicted streets form a line leading toward the Litewski square: Raclawickie alleys, Krakowskie Przedmieście street, with side-streets of Lipowa, 3 Maja and a few others included on sketches.

In terms of cartographic methodology, these three maps, generated on a base of data in attribute tables of objects (streets) are easy to create and not vulnerable to

possible serious errors. The colour scale selection for streets is the most important part, especially in case of black and white map.

Knowing the quantitative information on streets per school years and types, it is worth looking at change tendencies by comparing the results for each year. It may be expected that third year students know more about the space than the first year ones, as they spent two more years learning and experiencing it. It must be stressed however the results here are not – in fact – fully comparable as they are not from the same test group, as it was mentioned. It gives no 100% reliable answer as each person is an individual, with different space cognition, different attitude to the environment and different interest in what surrounds him/her. It is however worth looking at the results in search of the general answer and to test the approach in methodology terms.

The difference between a number of the second and the first year participants depicting each street is shown on Fig 4. The biggest positive change is observed for the Litewski square area: pedestrian zone, 3 Maja street and Kołłątajka street. The negative change is more significant and visible in case of omitting the bus station area. However, it should be remembered that the survey had been based on a very general question (to depict the city centre). The change thus may be seen not as a result of paying less attention to this place, but as a difference in understanding what is the centre of Lublin.

The Fig. 5 shows the change between the third and the second year. To a surprise, a lot of negative changes can be observed. However, the area marked as the city centre contains mainly positive change and no-change streets. It can be interpreted as the situation in which third year students concentrated on showing the very centre of the city, with its details (see below), and not trying to depict as much as possible just to prove they know it.

These two maps (Fig. 4 and Fig. 5) are very similar to three previous maps. The most important problem is the colour scale, which should be bipolar. It is easy to create on a colour map (blue for negative values, red for positive for example), but more problematic on a black and white picture. Using greyscale causes a perception problems, as no zero point is easily visible. That is why different symbols were used in addition to colour value. The solution is not perfect, but is easy to read.

Beside quantitative view on street occurrences, it is worth looking at points of interest – features that were depicted by surveyed young people. It gives an interesting insight into how they perceive space and what kinds of objects draw their attention. The general distribution of points can be seen on Fig. 6. Their concentrate mainly inside the area marked by a dark line limiting (according to over 25% of surveyed) the city centre (Nieścioruk, 2019). That is why the further, more detailed analysis below takes only this area into consideration.

Looking at the type of points (Fig. 7) a lot of restaurants and bars can be spotted. It should not be a surprise, as going out is an important element of young people life.

No matter if they live in a city or have to go to the bus to return home outside the city, there is (and should always be) the time to socialize and meeting with friends. This category includes mainly popular fast-foods, but also drink bars or even a sushi bar. Landmarks form a significant category too, but these points gather mainly around the Litewski square (four of them). The square itself is a significant spot on the city map, being a popular meeting place, car-free zone connected with a pedestrian part of Krakowskie Przedmieście street (leading to the Old Town and the castle) and – after its renovation – one of modern trademarks of Lublin, often described as the city centre (Pochwatka et al., 2017; Nieścioruk 2019). It consist of smaller, significant spots, for example a monument of Józef Piłsudski or a multimedia fountain. Some shops (convenience stores, clothes) and offices were marked too as well as object of special purposed playing a role of architecture landmarks (for example church or hotels in historical buildings). Outside the area shown on map on Fig. 7 some interesting cases were spotted too (for example a hospital located on the outskirts of the city centre and two pharmacies near it). When investigated more closely they would probably tell an interesting, personals stories and that is what mental sketches are sometime used for – they are less formal and more convenient way of telling about person's interests, problems or points of view.

The Fig. 8 shows the analysis of points of interests by year. There is – as explained above – a clear quantitative dominance of points around the Litewski square. The square itself and the fountain were often depicted by participants of each class. The southern façade of the square contains two prominent buildings, also often marked. One is the main post office, which form a long section of the façade and the other is an important spot for young people: McDonald's fast food. A corner building of the Grand Hotel is also present on many sketches. The last spot around the square which was marked in high number is... a bus stop. Outside the square area the Krakowska Gate (eastern edge of the map), being the enter to the Old Town, drew some attention of all three years of participants. The other points were present in little numbers, being depicted on up to three sketches, but mostly on single sketches only. What is the most important in case of these points is the facts the most of them are marked by the darkest bar on the map, meaning they were depicted by the third year students with some single lighter bars (the second year) and very little light grey bars (the first year). This means the third year pupils put the biggest number of objects on maps, proving the assumption they should know a lot about the city. It may be expected they know more about the space than first year students, as it was mentioned, as they simply had more time to encounter and learn it. It is more evident with points of interest than in case of streets as most of sketches concentrated on an area where streets are not present in big numbers – the city centre (as defined on sketches) consists of the square and the linear pedestrian zone going farther into main street of the Old Town.

This map showed where GIS software lacks as it needed a manual legend creation to explain bars properly. The main problem was the fact that generated legend consisted of only one, unscaled bar, giving no possibilities to assess the change of the value.

CONCLUSION

The results presented above proved the usefulness of GIS and cartography in mental sketches analyses. Both qualitative and quantitative attributes can be easily shown on maps. The first step has to be a construction of a correct, comprehensive database with information from the survey. The most vulnerable stage of introductory work is a vectorisation of sketches and transfer of the data into cartometric background material. It is always prone to errors, but other methods have their limitations too: it is hard to create sketches directly in the digital environment as participants often prefer analogue drawing techniques which are (for most of them) more natural. Having the data gathered in the base, it is easy to prepare visualisations in GIS. Number or share of participants marking certain area or object can be shown with diagrams or using visual variable of colour or saturation. The type of marked object can be shown with symbols of different kind, with point symbols being the most often used and the most universal in case of landmarks. GIS tools have their limitations too, but it is beyond the problem of mental maps. The most significant, in terms of visual communication, is often incorrect legend generated automatically, which needs a manual additional work in graphic manipulation software. The other problem can be a rich variety of options leading to improper maps created by an unexperienced user.

The result of analysis of sketches shows mainly two zones being most often depicted by the participants. Both are no surprise. The Litewski square area and the pedestrian part of Krakowskie Przedmieście street is often considered a functional (or one of) centre of Lublin. The long distance buses station area could also be expected as the zone of interest of participants, as they are young people living outside Lublin, so they probably commute often.

In case of points of interest the results also matched the potential expectations, as locations that interested young people most were eating out and meeting places. Beside this, some significant buildings and spots – landmarks were detected.

What was analysed also was the change of perception. In case of streets the assumption made at the beginning has not been proved, as there were no general increased in a percentage of students depicting streets. It worked for some areas only, while in other a decrease was observed in time, with worse results for the third year students, potentially knowing the town better. The reason may be connected with the fact that streets do not form landmarks in general. They serve as lines of communication, as barriers and as location of spots, but not as separate, important objects themselves. This often is a role of points of interest and (in that case) the increasing tendencies can be seen – year after year in most cases students depicted more objects or/and with higher percentage of depiction for each object too.

The problem of changing perception of the city environment should definitely be studied deeper. However, it is already seen the mental sketches can without a doubt be used to analyse not only the perception, but – with properly constructed survey – a change of it too.

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FIGURES

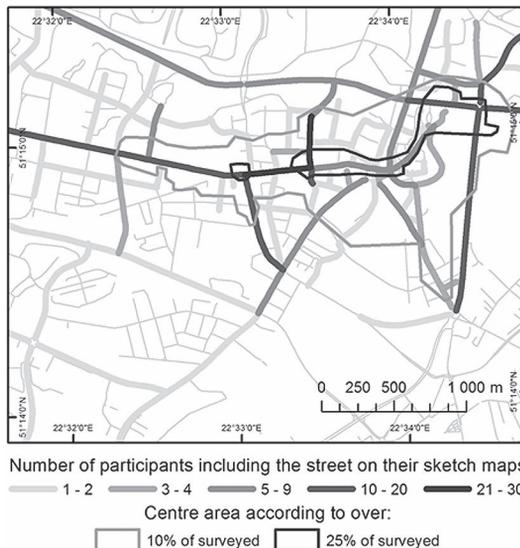


Fig. 1. Streets of the central part of Lublin with information on number of their occurrences on sketches (all maps use OpenStreetMap streets geometry data).

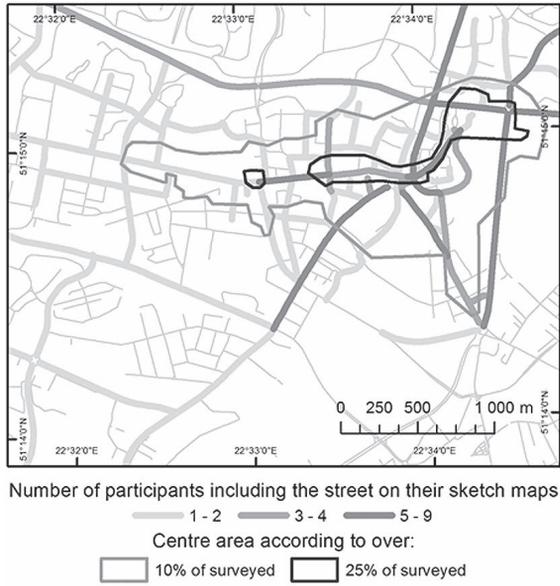


Fig. 2. Streets of the central part of Lublin with information on number of their occurrences on high school students' sketches.

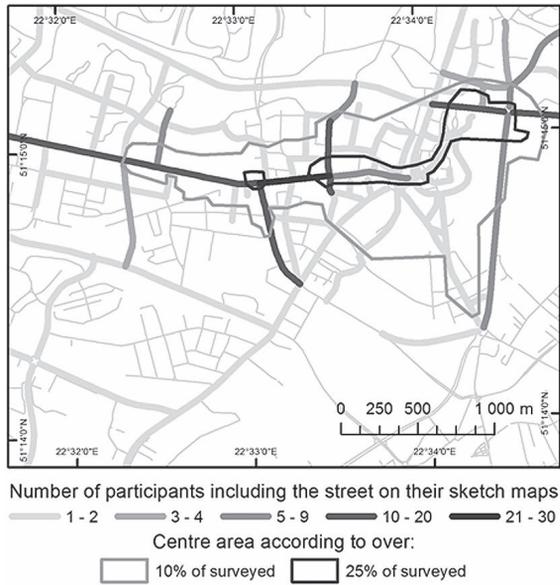


Fig. 3. Streets of the central part of Lublin with information on number of their occurrences on geodesy school students' sketches.

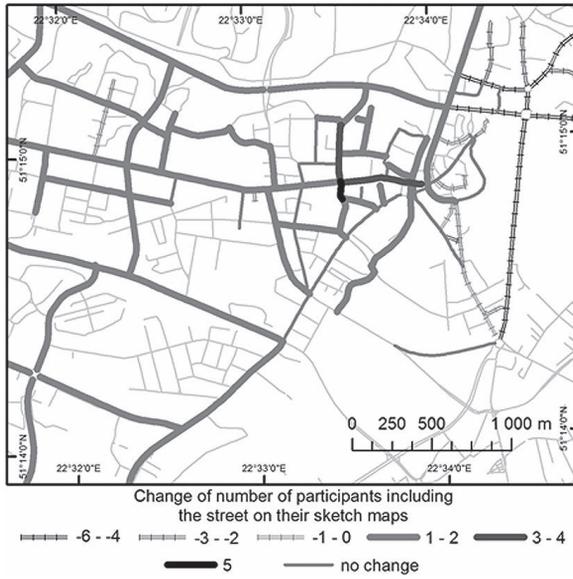


Fig. 4. The difference of streets occurrences between the second and the first year students' sketches.

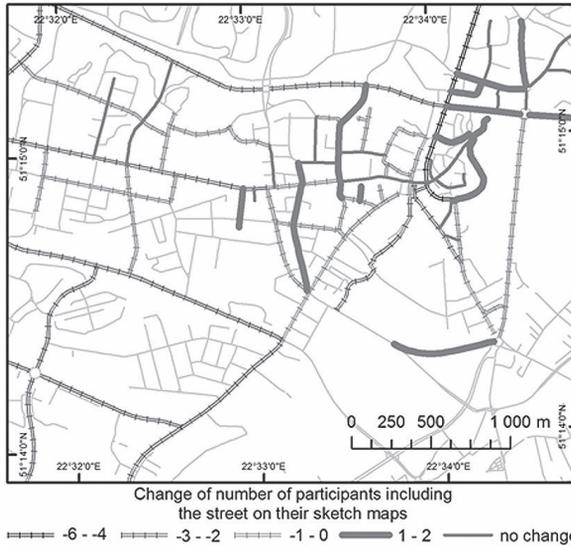


Fig. 5. The difference of streets occurrences between the third and the second year students' sketches.

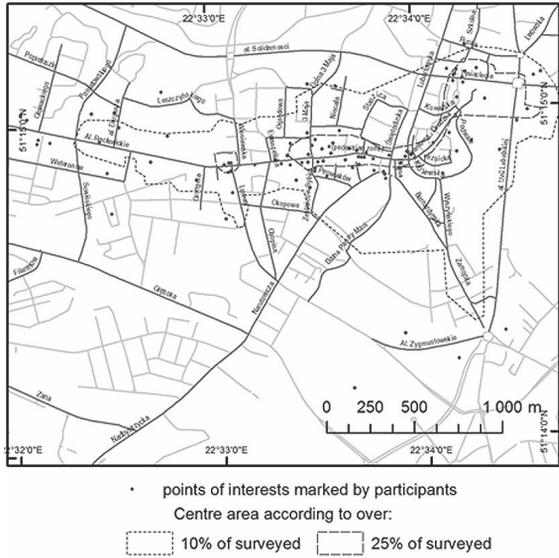


Fig. 6. Distribution of points of interest marked on sketches.

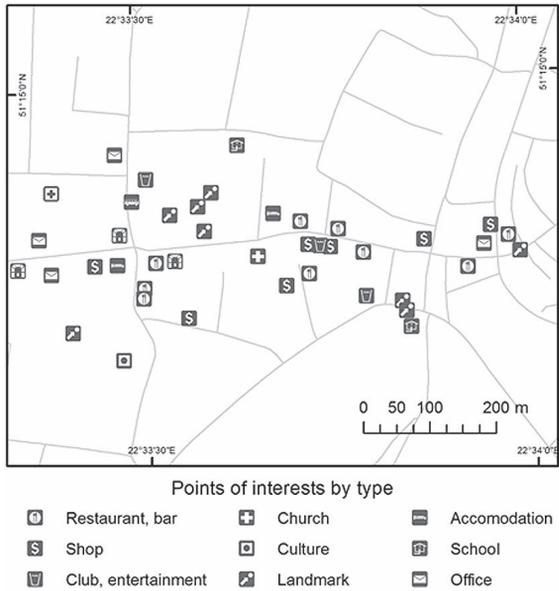


Fig. 7. Type of points of interest in a city centre.

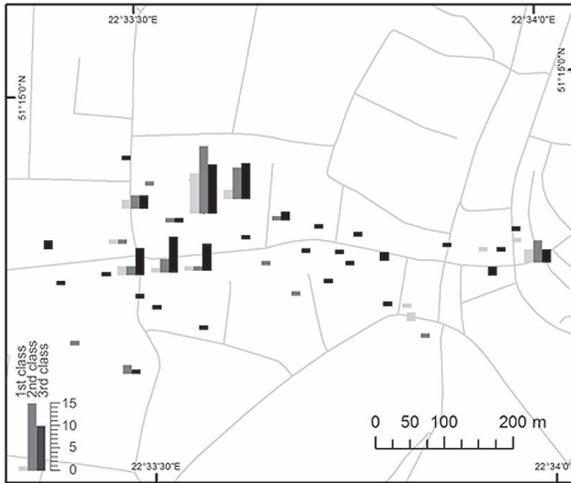


Fig. 8. Change in points of interest number per year.

NOTES

1. The education system in Poland has undergone the transformation process recently. During the survey there were three levels: 6-classes primary school, 3-classes gymnasium and the third level of different types (3-classes high-school (liceum), 3-classes vocation school (szkoła zawodowa) or 4-classes technical school (technikum)). The system introduced now is two-levels.
2. To provide a clean illustrations, streets are labeled on Fig. 6.

URBAN SPACES IN A NEW PERSPECTIVE

Zsolt **Szijártó**

URBAN ETHNIC COMMUNITY RESEARCH

CULTURAL MAPPING

ABSTRACT

The focus of the study is one of the frequently emerging topics of social science research: the investigation of metropolitan ethnic communities. The socio-political-medial-cultural changes of recent decades (globalization, mediatization, digitization) have completely transformed the phenomenon of metropolitan migration; new questions and problems have been raised for social scientists, politicians and various social groups, which encouraged them to apply new approaches. The study showcases the new perspectives and methodological possibilities of research into metropolitan ethnic communities; one of which is digitization and the other is cultural mapping. The novelty of posing this question is methodological. It describes how knowledge generated by ethnic communities can be gathered with their help, then organized and reused in urban planning processes. It involves at the same time urban researchers, social scientists studying ethnic groups and urban planners. The empirical background of this study is anthropological fieldwork performed in the Hungarian diaspora in Berlin.

INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Since the 1920s, metropolitan ethnic communities have constantly been in the focus of social science (sociology and cultural anthropology) with varying intensity, and huge amounts of data and knowledge have accumulated in their research. At the same time, the social, political, medial and cultural changes of the last decades (keywords: globalization, medialization, digitalization) have completely transformed the phenomenon of metropolitan migration, and new questions and problems have been raised for social scientists, politicians and social groups, which encouraged new approaches on their part (Bojadžijev – Römhild 2014).

New types of metropolitan migration processes have emerged, which – as the new literature finds (Glick et al. 1992; Glick et al. 2006; Çağlar 2002; Vertovec 2007)¹ –

cannot be described in terms of traditional binary opposites (emigrant country – host country, immigrant – emigrant, etc.) and traditional conceptualization, and also cannot be interpreted as a merely linear movement that leads from one nation state to another. Instead, everyday practices of different migration communities can be captured as a complex network building with its own dynamic that takes place in a transnational-global space, both online and offline (Diminescu 2008). And in this process, the various metropolitan localities play a prominent role².

Recent research is attempting to reflect on these developments. For example, they go beyond the concept of a self-contained ethnic group, which has been a long-established premise of community research, and outline at least two important contexts around these groups. One is the urban medium in which they arrive, move, live, work, rest, i.e. which serves as a framework for their daily lives, and which is constantly transforming as a result of current trends in urban development (changes in the real estate market, current urban economy, demographic migration processes) (suburban 2014). The other, increasingly important context that is essentially determining the everyday life of ethnic groups is the ever-changing repertoire of communication technologies that allows ethnic groups living in big cities to interact with each other, with locals and with “those back at home” in various ways (Hepp – Düvel 2010).

The relationships existing between the components of this three-element system – city/migration/medium – are studied in themselves by independent and rather diverse research trends³. Thus, the relationship between migration and the media has long been studied by sociologists and media researchers, and the focus of their research is the specific media consumption (sometimes media production) of ethnic groups, the role of media in social integration or segregation, the media visibility/invisibility of the ethnic group, and the list goes on (Hepp – Düvel 2010). The relationship between the city and the media systems also emerges in several contexts: literary and film historians, media researchers investigate the historically changing ways of how cities are represented in different media, and analyze the cities’ successful and sometimes less successful attempts to create their own visual image and brand (Szijártó 2010).

Posing the question

The current paper deals with the third element of this context system: it discusses the relationship between city and migration (and in a wider context, the relationship between space and mobility, and place and community). (Editorial 2014) considers this complicated, difficult to comprehend relationship only from the specific aspect of heritage creation and museumization. Research in this field, mainly related to ethnology and museum studies, poses the fundamental question of how migration becomes part of the city’s history (or its stories), and how migration can shape the self-representation and identity of the city. What different, time-varying strategies can be observed in urban policy and on the part of urban cultural institutions, such

as museums and educational institutions, when processing the ethnical history of the city? How do the members of the ethnic groups in question relate to these views and actual practices? What recent changes and transformations have occurred in the strategies for processing and exhibiting the city's ethnic past? What external and internal factors, cultural, political and media technological determinations formed and influenced the activities of the institutional system?

How ethnic groups relate to the history of the city is also an important and current topic, because in the last decade the growing debate⁴ around migration has also characterized the field of museums and exhibitions (Bojadžijev – Römhild 2014). While in the past the existence, number and the impact of different ethnic groups on urban development were not really decisive in the self-representation of German cities, in the last decade there have been several exhibitions that have shown the evolution of urban development through stories of migration⁵. Berlin has a special place in this respect as Kreuzberg, an area mainly inhabited by Turks in the past is an important part of the city's tourist attractions, and this already makes the presence of ethnic groups in the city unavoidable. In addition, the city tends to describe itself as a "creative metropolis" (Krätke 2001), and different ethnic communities serve as an essential background, or some sort of folkloric stage to this lifestyle.

There are two positions on how to represent different ethnic groups in the city's history (sub/urban 2014). The more traditional approach focuses on the concept and process of "integration" (Hepp – Düvel, 2010). According to this narrative, migration is a process defined in time, with apparently clear starting and end points, in which the state is the most important actor, as its needs and regulations define and identify the rooms for maneuver of each ethnic group. Contrary to this, there are different approaches focusing on diversity. On the one hand, these carry out a critical review of the concept of integration, and offer different concepts instead (such as "cultural diversity," "social mixing," "migration as a resource"), and on the other hand, they include different, thus far neglected dimensions of the urban existence of ethnic groups in their research. Emphasis is placed on self-organized (non-governmental) ethnic, migration projects, transnational networks, and various discursive contexts. This research seeks to make ethnic groups more aware of their own urban history, and encourages them to use it as a resource in various debates of urban policy and development.

The approach of this study is closer to the views sensitive to the diversity, self-organizing processes of ethnic groups and to views more sensitive to discursive contexts, but also uses multiple elements of integration-based approaches. Thus, for example, it takes into account the legal and administrative frameworks created by the different nation-state instances, governmental organizations (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, embassy, Ministry of Culture) that have fundamentally influenced the playing fields of the ethnic group (and its self-organization). It also considers the historicization of the concept of "integration" important, as the imperative hidden in this concept and the relationship with the majority society meant different things for the different generations.

The relevance of the question

This issue is also worthy of emphasis because of the recent technological and cultural changes that have affected projects aimed at the collection and preservation of past memories of certain ethnic groups. Of these, I would like to briefly mention two; however, their detailed presentation is unfortunately not possible within the scope of this paper. Naturally these changes are not limited to the research of urban ethnic groups, but are of wider scope, and are also valid in relation to other communities and social groups; however, they also play a crucial role in this area.

One is digitalization, which has completely redefined the criteria for the creation, construction and use of memory repositories and archives, and established new technologies and methods of gathering and displaying (urban) cultural heritage. (This is discussed in more detail below.)

The other change is more of a cultural nature. In recent years, due to a number of factors, such as the growing influence of city marketing and city branding, there has been an increased sensitivity to alternative systems of knowledge and symbols created by various groups in urban society. By incorporating these into the self-representation, the “identity” of the city, they are capable of contributing to its uniqueness and unmistakable character. At the same time – and this relates more to the transformation of the preferences of cultural and science policy – the default attitude of the cognitive process itself has changed. There has been increased criticism for the system of relationships that has defined scientific understanding for centuries, which is built on the hierarchical situation between the researcher and the researched, on power asymmetries, and on pre-established subordination and superiority. A growing number of alternative concepts have emerged that experiment with the rethinking of the cognitive process and have attempted to break down this hierarchical structure.

The current paper examines how these changed principles and new cultural and technological criteria of scientific understanding can be implemented when collecting, archiving, and utilizing the heritage of a particular ethnic group. It suggests a peculiar medium for the research, archiving, and presentation activity: the creation of a map-based digital platform that can serve multiple functions. On the one hand, it is capable of presenting – both historically and in its synchronicities – the most important areas of everyday life of a particular (ethnic) group, as well as its most basic spatial reference points of its recent history. On the other hand, it offers an opportunity for the collection, processing and “archiving” of previously created cultural-artistic products, as well as the knowledge and understanding collectively generated by these groups. It is an important expectation of the digital platform to work as a collaborative interface where members of the groups can display themselves, interact with others, comment on and add to the material collected in the archive. It is a platform that is both an archive and a community space, the object and the result of research.

THE AREA EXAMINED

The focus of the research is the various groups of Hungarians living in Berlin, who are mainly organized on a generational basis. Between October 15, 2016 and December 15, 2016, I spent two months in Berlin. My research was related to a traditional area of Hungarian studies, the contemporary social science (cultural anthropological) study of Hungarian communities living abroad (in this case the different Hungarian groups in Berlin). At the same time, it tried to approach this classical topic by raising new questions both thematically (mainly using the most important theoretical basics of digital anthropology) and methodologically. Thus, special attention was given to technologies and methodological tools supporting new methods of scientific cognition: among others, community-led cultural mapping initiatives.⁶

According to more than 30 interviews gathered in field research, every 10-12 years, in the context of socio-political changes⁷, the orientations of different groups in everyday life transform, and their relation to urban space, society, their media environment and their media use changes as well. This is also the case for individual Hungarian groups in Berlin, who have intensively created different cultural-artistic products in recent times, developed various forms of knowledge and skills, and formulated action strategies with regards to the representatives and the institutional system of urban politics. The sites created by these groups in the urban space (salons, shops, exhibitions, cafés, restaurants, concert venues, etc.) have served different functions: they have facilitated cultural practices, created opportunities to build relationships and create cultural ideas about their own situation.

At the same time, one of the major characteristics of these groups – and the knowledge and skill forms they create – is invisibility, a dissolution in the majority urban space. Indeed, an important task of the research is to collect and visualize this cultural heritage, this alternative knowledge system, which is at the same time part of Berlin's city history and of Hungarian cultural and social history. This archiving work is all the more important, because the forms of knowledge and skills generated by the ethnic groups are volatile in the absence of proper institutionalization, and they soon fade and disappear without a trace. In the meantime, they convey important knowledge of certain groups of Hungarian society and what it means to participate in the society, culture and everyday life of a Western European city, and to contribute to the (meaning) production processes involved here.

This project combines several seemingly remote cultural-social areas, such as archiving the past and planning the future, private memory and public events, abstract urban-spatial structures, and personal-sensual meanings. Accordingly, a number of disciplinary areas are involved in the research, interpretation and presentation process: cultural mapping, community archeology, visual archive creation and crowdsourced planning all offer important concepts and good practices.

THE METHOD: ON CULTURAL MAPPING

“**Cultural mapping**” is a young and emerging interdisciplinary area with vastly different types of activities⁸. In addition to statistics, it is part of the traditional toolkit of urban administration and management, and is also an important tool for “indigenous groups” who are acting against central management and are demanding rights related to a given area⁹. It can be associated with various artistic activities, and is also of great importance for academic knowledge production, but it can be considered a particular social practice associated with a group as well. The resulting maps provide an abstract reading of the geographical space for the viewer, while behind the data represented on the maps one can find the material and symbolic processes and the chains of action of the “lived social space”. It can strive for a space-reading from a hierarchical perspective (or, as the geographer, Denis Cosgrove put it, “to create the diverse needs of truth and authority” (Cosgrove 2008)), but can be seen as a practical tool that can help participation-based planning and development, and which can appeal to various groups of the public. According to a very pragmatic definition, cultural mapping is a „process of collecting, recording, analyzing and synthesizing information in order to describe the cultural resources, networks, links and patterns of usage of a given community or group” (Stewart 2007).

In recent years, not independently of the “participatory revolution” in politics and governance, the dialogic potential of this activity – i.e. its communicational dimension – is at the forefront of interest. Cultural mapping is capable of mobilizing very diverse social groups and is able to create communicational bridges between the various actors of the urban society (local government, local communities, NGOs). In many cases the practice of mapping itself is now more important than the result, the map created. The newer literature considers these practices as an **ethnographic tool** that allows the understanding of the individual perception of a particular area or a local community, and one that can provide insight “into the ways in which personal narratives and trajectories and the inflections of class, habitus, age, and gender, are constitutive of specific and often contradictory geographies of place, culture, and identity” (Roberts – Cohen, 2015).

Urban ethnic groups have been in the field of interest of the collection, statistics and mapping activities of urban authorities in two ways. On the one hand, since the nineties, due to the introduction of asset-based community development and planning systems, more and more attention was given to the understanding of the processes in the cultural sphere, in addition to infrastructure and social areas. Due to the professionalization of planning, strategic development and urban planning started to involve growing areas of culture, and thus the demand for local cultural goods to be included on this map emerged; for example those related to an association, civil initiative, or ethnic group. The visibility problem of the various groups was not only a chapter in the struggle for recognition and acceptance, but there were also practical goals behind it. It was important for these groups that their ideas would be counted on at a later stage when the concrete steps of planning were started.

The other process is related to the current trends in urban development: the formation of the “creative city” concept (Florida 2005), among others. In the nineties, a growing number of city administrations recognized that, due to global competition, it is increasingly important to enhance the visibility of the city, to highlight different individual locations and identity markers, mainly to attract tourists, investors and well-trained work force (Taylor et al. 1996). In support of the principles set out in the concept of a “creative city”, in many cases researchers (and several agencies) used a variety of maps, aiming in each case to emphasize and communicate the uniqueness and individuality of the place. In this framing and identification process, in addition to recording the material features and infrastructural equipment of the place, local cultures of the city (subcultures, special occupational groups, ethnic communities, etc.) played an important role. The non-material, non-tangible assets created during the daily life of these groups make a significant contribution to creating the unique characteristics of the city, so the markers of creative cities tend to refer to their practices (Session 2010).

Digitalization and smart city approaches

The process of cultural mapping has been fundamentally transformed by the spread of digital techniques. Network technologies have changed the framework for the organization and management of urban life, and the conditions for planning and controlling processes in different urban spaces (public spaces, roads, buildings) (Replika 2015; Fejérdi – Z. Karvalics 2015). Network technologies almost automatically transport data (relating to transport, energy consumption, population size and composition, etc.) that allow the inventory of activities happening in the city, as well as the storage and potential sharing of information. More and more this type information can be classified as so-called “**open data**” which “anyone can freely use, re-use and redistribute, subject only at most, to the requirement of referencing the source or applying licensing conditions similar to that of the original when distributing data.” (Open-Data-Handbook 2012, 5). These open data are stored in open archives, usually created by city authorities.

The sudden publicity around the information relating to the city’s operation is not a coincidence (Salamin 2015). It expresses the hope of local governments that the open data generated by network technologies will be directly usable in the operation of the city. “, 6of information cities hope to create insight, innovation, opportunity and real jobs that will increase prosperity and quality of life” (Harrison – Donnelly 2011, 6). For example, through these technologies, a greater part of the urban population will be addressed and involved in the decision-shaping process, or through public information bundles that make dynamic processes that create urban life frameworks more understandable. The sharp increase in the number of Open Government Data Initiatives demonstrates that local governments assign a strategic role to open data when defining future trends in urban development. The emergence of the “smart city” concept and its spread in the various forums of public discourse suggest that the wider public opinion is also interested in the connection between network technologies and urban management and planning.¹⁰

Traditionally two tendencies are usually distinguished in connection with the interpretation of the term “smart city”. The so-called **functional approaches** mostly deal with data quasi-automatically generated on urban networks (traffic, electricity, water and energy consumption). (Harrison – Donnelly 2011) These information bundles are mainly considered important because they can effectively be used to model the movement of people, objects and information in urban space. The functional approaches, mostly represented by real estate developers, design engineers and architects, are characterized by a systemic perception of the city, and the data on the urban infrastructure can only be used in this systematic way (after careful monitoring and analysis) to make the operation of the city smarter and more effective. In summary, it can be stated that behind this approach is an “optimized, top-down interpretation of the production and distribution of each performance” (Flade 2015, 85)¹¹, which provides a holistic reading of the processes taking place in the urban space and the methods (and means) of how urban life is organized, focusing on the problem of city operation (Replika 2015; Dérs 2016).

In addition, there is another trend within the concept of the “smart city”, which likewise works with open data, and its purpose is not significantly different from the functionalist approaches. At the same time, researches included in this group focus primarily on individual niches existing beyond the world of “big data”, such as car sharing, urban gardening, and other similar participatory practices (Insole – Piccini 2013). Their purpose is no other than to uncover the intangible assets – the cultural, intellectual capital – in the background of these practices (Neirotti et al. 2014). These approaches are more **microscopic** in nature and focus on the actors as they “magnify” the holistic city image outlined by the functionalist approaches, because this is the only way to answer the questions of “why” regarding the processes in urban space.

In this case, researchers also strive for a deeper understanding of urban processes, the widening of urban publicity and the decision-making processes, and aim to create conditions for greater public participation (Insole – Piccini 2013). At the same time, a different kind of city concept is in the background of their activity. According to this, the complex system of the city cannot be described merely by its functions: urban life is more than just a sum of its parts, and includes countless everyday practices, individual and collective decisions (Neirotti et al. 2014) The nature of the “data” found here is different from the raw, unprocessed rows of numbers and characters generated quasi-automatically on the networks. The literature calls these factors that play a key role in the creation of a city’s cultural heritage “**intangible urban data**” (Nilsson – Wiman 2015).

Community digital archives

Among the approaches studying microprocesses and using the open data of the city, the research of community cultural heritage and **community archives**, plays an important role. It is well-known that the archive plays a crucial role in reinforcing the time categories serving as a basic organizing principle of society: the past, the

present, and the future. A number of analyses have proven the hypothesis (Derrida – Ernst 2008) that the archive is not just a neutral container that preserves the events of the past, but also has a power position; it defines the conditions for access to the past by selecting the events. Archiving is important not only for the recording of the past, but also because this process can lead to the expansion of the knowledge of the city, and new, so far invisible systems of knowledge can enter the city's cultural heritage, which in turn can be used in future planning processes. Therefore, the democratization of access (through participation and collaboration processes) and a wider base of heritage creation are increasingly required in archive building in recent times. Some researchers are expecting digital technologies to create the democratic condition system for the establishment of archives (Roberts – Cohen 2015), so that the various, formerly marginalized groups can be involved in previously closed, hierarchically structured processes of cultural heritage creation and archiving.

This framework can incorporate research into urban cultural heritage that focuses on the various archiving practices of ethnic groups (diaspores) and the data they create. These communities are not really visible in the majority urban spaces, and are generationally fragmented, with significant differences in the value system and lifestyle between each grouping. At the same time, one of their important characteristics is that all groups create – in the real space of the city, the digital space of the internet, or both – places that play a fundamental role in creating and displaying their identity: these places serve as starting points for cultural practices that help organize everyday life, create opportunities for the establishment of the social net, and even provide a platform to formulate and visualize ideas about themselves and their own ethnicity.

These sites (venues of cultural events, religious scenes, shops, concert halls, cafés, forums, Facebook groups and the list could go on) – according to the previously mentioned study by Norwegian ethnographers Elisabet M. Nilsson and Veronica Wiman (Nilsson – Wiman 2015) – can be considered as **performative memorial spaces** where the cultural background, special experience and knowledge set of the members of these groups can be seen. This is the knowledge – the performative memory of the group as important elements of the cultural heritage of the city – that are collected, stored and shared together with members of these groups during the archiving process¹².

THE BERLIN SITE

Connecting the data generated on city networks and city planning is also a current problem in Berlin. In the fall of 2016, the city made the data on the operation of the infrastructure available to the wider public. Although the expert responsible for the City Hall Project primarily emphasized the importance of cultural data (geo-data of cultural institutions, cultural budget and aid rates, data on visitor research), the principle he expressed applies to other areas of the city's operation (e.g. population movement): „We want to make the data accessible and reusable. Citizens have paid the cost of creating them and they should be allowed access.” (Pressemitteilung 2016)

In order to incorporate this wide range of data and initiatives of data collection and utilization into a single framework, the Senate Department for Urban Planning, the districts and the Berlin-Brandenburg Statistical Office jointly established a map called Lifeworld Spaces (Lebensweltlich orientierten Räume - LOR). Its main purpose was to map lifeworld homogeneity, i.e. the planning of traffic does not dominate and create the space hierarchy, but rather the basic structure is defined along the lines of uniform architectural structures, milieus, population numbers and natural boundaries. The decision dated August 1 2006 by the Berlin Senate stated that these new spatial principles should be taken into account for all types of demographic and social planning, forecasting and observation, and similarly, the statistical office's data recordings have to be included in this map as well.

As a result, an interactive, so-called OpenStreepMap¹³ was created based on urban open data. The source of the map is the various statistical data collected by the Berlin-Brandenburg Statistical Office, such as the demographic surveys of 2007-2015. These statistics are published in the OpenDataBerlin project (<https://daten.berlin.de/>). The base map created with the LOR principles in mind divides Berlin into 447 residential areas ("neighborhoods") that can be sorted into different clusters (groups with distinctive marks). The following variables are taken into account during the grouping: gender, age, migration background, quality of housing, and duration of residence. In this way, it is possible to examine the ethnic composition of the various districts and neighborhoods of the city through an interactive data-visualization process. Hovering the mouse cursor over individual residential areas displays the most important principles of cluster classification, the ethnic composition of the given area, the number of houses etc.

Several significant improvements and applications have been created in connection with this map, two of which are worth highlighting here. The application called Interactive Berlin: Clustering Neighborhoods is trying to answer a very simple question that is often asked in everyday life: what could be the reason for finding some districts attractive, while and others alarming, why one district is similar to another or why is it different from it (<http://www.100-percent.net/projects/berlin#about>). Using statistical data, the application determines clusters and district-types using 5 variables. The application Interactive Berlin: Where Do You Live? is also based on a very simple question based on everyday life: "Tell me who you are, and I'll tell you where you live!" The application helps predict where a conversation partner or interviewee is likely to live in one of Berlin's 447 neighborhoods, based on only a minimum of personal information collected during a conversation. The prediction utilizes data available on public surfaces, by perusing anonymized tables (http://www.100-percent.net/projects/berlin_residence#about).

This cultural mapping technology can be used in the research of urban ethnic groups (Insole - Piccini 2013). Thus, it can provide an adequate framework for presenting the history, relations, and heritage of Hungarian groups living in Berlin¹⁴. Since data sets related to the immigration to Berlin and to the location of Hungarian ethnic groups in the city are available going back to the nineties, the spatial location

as well as the changes to the location of groups identified by the statistical office as “Hungarian”, can be well visualized along a timeline, and the history and present of the “Hungarian migration” can be drawn on the map of greater Berlin. In addition, it can be demonstrated and contextualized how the spatial movement of these groups fits into the larger, typical mobility processes. To what extent can the urban-spatial mobility of groups identified as “Hungarian” be considered unique or possessing general characteristics?

Different layers can be added to the base map, which the user can freely turn on and off. Layers in fact are area layouts that focus on and display different contents or chronological sections. On the one hand, they aim to “zoom in on” the urban-spatial processes presented by the base map, to showcase and interpret their various aspects. On the other hand, these layers can be used to identify what specific features can be discovered in the presence of groups identified as “Hungarian” in Berlin, how they create different locations, develop social networks, and formulate specific city readings. Layers offer their users the opportunity to interact and encourage them to participate and collaborate: the selection of new places can be initiated on the given user interfaces, relevant information can be linked to them, and opinions, critiques and additions can be attached to the uploaded data¹⁵.

SUMMARY

The focus of the paper was a pilot project plan that attempts to redefine one of the classical areas of social sciences – the research of metropolitan ethnic communities – in the new situation resulting from the socio-political-medial-cultural changes of recent decades. It discusses two major problems in detail: how to respond to the new situation arising from digitalization and the participatory revolution.

The study, strongly using the most important principles and methodology of cultural mapping, presents the criteria for implementing a pilot project along the following principles.

i) The project looks at the common points of everyday life of ethnic group(s) and city history, paying particular attention to the dimension of media usage.

(ii) The project is present in both the offline and online world, and at the same time it also draws attention to the interactions between them. The research activity takes place simultaneously in two related areas: both the social spaces used by the groups and the online interfaces created by them represent a fundamental reference point. The thematization of the relationship between real-world, urban-spatial social structures and the digital content of online surfaces plays an important role both in the research activity and the presentation of the results.

(iii) The project is based on collaborative principles. The collection, organization and interpretation of data is the competence of not only the research personnel, but also a possibility offered to the members of the investigated groups. That is to say, the

project builds on participation to create collaborations with different (offline and online) groups, their members and representatives at all stages of the research.

(iv) The past and the future are both present in the direction vector of the research (application). While exploring, archiving and publicizing the cultural heritage of the past play an important role in the project, the knowledge and skills thus created are important for potentially shaping the future. How the knowledge generated by ethnic group(s) can be incorporated into the current processes of urban planning, how they can shape the urban plans of the future, and form urbanistic thinking are some of the most important issues here.

(v) The research does not create closed data (stored in archives), but builds a public interface relying on open data accessible to everyone. While finding, gathering, prototyping, and arranging (oral, visual, and material) resources may evoke a classic method of the archiving process, the project aims to create a digital platform by using open data. It is an important goal that any open archive created on this platform can be freely used, supplemented and shared by anyone.

(vi) The end result of the project is not a closed unit, but a model-like, expandable knowledge structure that may be supplemented. Our knowledge of this particular section of metropolitan mobility can be further developed for the given group; that is to say, the digital platform can be linked with newer layers that show interactions between the ethnic group and the urban space from other aspects. On the other hand, model building can extend to neighboring areas, showing how the same process is being conducted for other ethnic groups.

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NOTES

1. Within the context of this article, it is not possible to present a detailed description of the literature on metropolitan migration; only the aspects relevant for the subsequent line of thought are highlighted.

2. To distinguish the types of urban migration, Ludger Pries uses 4 ideal types. The „classic model“ can be described using the concepts of emigration and immigration, and records a movement in which migration communities leave their place of origin and settle permanently in the new country of their choice. A different pattern is followed by „periodic or circular migration“, where participants do not plan to settle permanently, but move between countries for economic reasons. ‚Diaspora migration‘ focuses on the organization and functioning of communities in host societies, while the concept of ‚transnational migration‘ focuses on the multidirectional movement of participants. Of course, these categories do not exist in their pure form, and the boundaries between them are liquid, but at the same time they help distinguish the types of migration. In the communities I studied, a mixture of these types of migration could be seen, in many cases following generational patterns (Pries 2010). (Pries 2010).

3. As is apparent from the theoretical framework, several disciplines pay special attention to the problems of metropolitan migration. The economic approach emphasizes the decisive influence of income differences between the home and the target country (Faist 2016). Another trend, focusing on the experiences of migrants, tries to reconstruct the dynamics of migration paths (De Haas 2010). One variation of this is the relational capital, which highlights the fundamental role of networks in the migration process. Research on transnational spaces created by migration has become a separate research trend (Glick Schiller and Salazar 2013). The approach of this study is at the intersection of digital anthropology and communication and media science, and examines how new communication tools and platforms change the set of conditions for migration, and how the same infrastructure can be used in the research of the phenomenon (Host - Miller 2012, Miller et al. 2016)

4. In particular, the 50th anniversary of the agreement on guest workers signed by the Turkish and German States in 1961 encouraged a number of cultural and urban institutions in Germany to create a new visibility policy.

5. For example, at the exhibition organized for 775th anniversary of Berlin in 2012, the title of the exhibition was already revealing: *Stadt der Vielfalt* (City of Diversity). The large open-air exhibition on Schlossplatz was based on walkable city map, where texts placed at different locations displayed migration stories that were typical of urban development as a whole.

6. The current text is primarily aimed at presenting the methodology and the principles, while the presentation of the results will be the subject of another study.

7. Some of the major policy frameworks that have shaped urban mobility: 1989/1990 - Central and Eastern European political system change, 2004 - Hungary's entry into the European Union, 2011 - opening of the German labor market.

8. Traditionally, the scientific significance of cartography was to record the characteristics of the geographical space as accurately and realistically as possible during the mapping process. Later, as a result of changes within geography, more and more criticism was made against the unrevised principles of maps and map making (Manoff, 2014). The concept that maps are texts,

discourses, and special media in which social practices, cultural ideas and hierarchies are formulated has become increasingly important (Kitchin et al 2009). This study also considers cultural mapping as a form of social action that simultaneously informs about the important features of space, records the legacy of the past, and enables future planning (Stewart 2007).

9. Two distinct definitions support the cross-sectoral role of cultural mapping, which also offers indigenous groups opportunities for identification and asserting their interest: "Cultural mapping, with its incorporation of both qualitative and quantitative mapping of cultures (...) was seen as a catalyst and vehicle for bringing together the academic, community, industry, and government sectors, as well as a fruitful context for the convergence of skills, knowledge, and interests." (Duxbury et al. 2015, 1-45, 7) and "cultural mapping was viewed as an activity pursued by communities and their constituent interest groups to identify and record an area's indigenous cultural practices and resources, as well as other intangibles such as their sense of place and social value." Ibid.

10. At the same time, the area is not free of controversy. It is not possible to address this here, but a few points of interest to mention: how does the city, connecting many areas of everyday life, means at the same time the extent of the "city of control" with its invisible techniques of supervision; how new inequalities stemming from differing access to the digital world build on traditional social inequalities?

11. Critics of the approach also emphasize this: since the aim of the trend is to create a new kind of management potential for sustainable urban development, it concentrates too much on the level of city management and does not really address the issues of involvement of the population (Flade 2015).

12. Social science literature dealing with collaboration and social participation is quite diverse. An important branch of this is collaborative anthropology, characterized by the name of Luke Eric Lassiter, which thematizes the participation of the studied community at the different levels of the knowledge production and knowledge use processes (Lassiter 2005a, 2005b). The present study considers the collaborative process as a way of thinking and practice, in which theory and empirical research appear as tools for solving everyday situations and for overcoming problems. Through collaboration, the research results created by the researcher and the studied community can be used to solve the problems of everyday life and to design future frameworks. (There are a number of issues and problems to be considered in the collaborative process; for the epistemological, ethical and practical problems see: Binder 2013.)

13. Established in 2004, the OpenStreetMap project was designed to create a free world map that can be used to collect various data (streets, houses, rivers, forests, and anything else that can be depicted on the map).

14. The fundamental aim of this study is to propose the need to create such a cultural mapping process, clarify its most important principles and theoretical and methodological contexts. The concrete implementation depends on the grant and infrastructure opportunities.

15. Regarding the Bristol project, the necessary basic processes to build a similar map were described as: „In order to achieve the kind of analysis needed in the planning process, it requires a longer-term project that combines ethnography with the technical expertise and resources to digitize and archive home movies and to provide communities and individuals with both online and personal access to these archives." (Insoles – Piccini 2013, 41)

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Éva Izsák

URBAN „SPACE-TWISTS”

NEW CHALLENGES OF URBAN GEOGRAPHY

ABSTRACT

In our days, the foremost scene of human life is the city. The history of the last two centuries is also the history of modern cities. At the age of Napoleon, 20% of the population lived in cities, today this ratio is above 50%. Every second human on Earth lives in a city. Possibly, the most significant transformation of the 21st Century is related to the growth of cities.

„A city is a world that man builds for himself” – wrote Wolf Schneider in 1973, in his book¹, which is about a historical journey with imaginary wanderings in the cities of past ages. The question presents itself: what does modern man build in its cities? Where do they feel good? What do they use their present spaces for? And what do they do with the artificial environment of the previous system/systems, with these modern urban “scars”?

The structural characteristics of the development, transformation of the cities can be observed in the micro-level transformations of settlements. The change of urban environment is attached to the transformation of both natural and social environment. Peter Hall described the 21st Century habitus of cities as the structure of computers. In his opinion, the physical structure of the cities is the hardware, while the social contexture is the software (HALL P. 2000). These two shape and construct the characteristics of urban space. This expressive metaphor – among others – also marks the relationship between urban society and urban space. In my study I examine the relationship of space and society in the cities, emphasizing the urban space transformations of our days, and at the same time the main characteristics of the social use of urban space. The analysis follows the methodological explanation of the city.

CONCEPTUAL, METHODOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION

What is the city?

At the beginning of my study, I would like to clear two conceptual and methodological issues. One of these is the fundamental and regularly occurring question – what do we call a city? What is a city? The difficulty of the content and meaning of this often and diversely defined concept is confirmed by the fact that several branches of science tried to create their own definitions of a city. All of these examined human

settlements from different perspectives, creating their own system of concepts and ways of statistic analysis, in order to investigate the cities. The fact, that every discipline dealing with cities performed their own absolutist examinations can be considered as a deficiency of the often unilateral-looking dissections. Holistic, systematic approach thinking was underdeveloped.

According to the set of ideas of this study, a city cannot be defined from only one point of view. A city is an essential unit of this world which has locality, and attributes related to it². These characteristics inseparably interlock, belonging to the settlement. These are its essential, determinative elements. These are characterized by quantitative and qualitative data. Although their research, analysis is the responsibility of certain disciplines, one simple discipline is not enough for them altogether. Thus the city is such an entity, whose examination can only be carried out in a holistic, transdisciplinary manner. If we accept this, we can understand, that it is hard to compare two independent entities, and the development, change, transformation of two cities³. Thus, according to this, a city is such a basic element, which cannot be split into further basic elements of similar nature.

The city as an entity can be classified into classes or layers. The relations of the various layers⁴ compose the hierarchy, creating a network, in which the individual entities (cities) are located, thus forming the unity (a network of cities). This network of cities provides the security of both the system of relations and the neighbourhood, on global, continental, regional and national levels. By and large, this **study investigates the city as an entity, namely, the emphasis is on the existence of something (in our case, of the city), and not on finding out the subject of existence, namely, what the city is.**

The other, methodological basic idea of the study is not putting the focus of analysis on the space-organizing functions of the city or their systematics. It rather focuses on the transformations, changes within the existing city, accepting that a part of a city mostly consists of the value-bargain⁵ of its inhabitants, the surrounding population, or the mobile communities, thus consisting of social integration. At the same time we must not forget that the communal or public scenes of cities or city-parts are dynamically-changing elements of society. H. Lefebvre defined in 1972⁶ that space is a historically created reality, and as such, the use, meaning and determinative symbolism of spaces has importance in every age and every social, political system. Thus, through this we can introduce the everyday life, the transformation processes of the given city, or we can analyse the past as a reality still existing in spaces or premises⁷.

THE "TWISTS" OF CITY RESEARCH AT THE TURN OF THE MILLENNIUM

In the second part of 20th Century, such significant social-economic changes took place, which not only had an effect on the "spiritual spaces" of the globalized world, but also on the values, geographical approach, socio-physical, socio-cultural relationships

of urban inhabitants. In the work entitled *Postmodern Geographies*⁸ published by E. Soja in 1989, it clearly shows, what kind of significant changes passed off in society and in its spatial directives from the middle of the 1960's. The "spatiality" of society has changed. The limits of the previous, static immobility, the frameworks of living space became "globalized". All of this had an effect not only on the economic and political processes of society, but also on their conception of spaces, and on the research concerning them. An obvious "scene" of this became incorporated in the city⁹, containing a constantly growing number of population¹⁰ globally.

The thorough and modernistic qualitative examination of the processes running in the city has started and spread around in the scientific sphere after the publication of two works, which essentially reshaped city geography too. The work entitled *Thirdspace*¹¹ draw attention to the importance of experienced space, which tries to interpret and examine subjective spaces composed of an individual or individuals, groups. The understanding of the processes and the social background draw the attention of researchers to such new issues, as for example the readings of urban spaces, the importance of composing, creating a space¹², or the forms and practices of the occupation of spaces¹³. Upon the publication of Soja's work, these processes, already analysed in historic science, cultural anthropology, sociology, received their new meaning in city geography too.

E. Soja's work, entitled *Postmetropolis*¹⁴ was published in 2000, in which he already wrote about the city-geographic processes, space transformations, and the socio-physical phenomenon characterizing the cities of the globalized world. Thus, according to Soja, the characteristics suitable and necessary for further investigation are as follows:

- Fleycity – strong functional and spatial fragmentation, typical to a post-industrial city
- Cosmopolis – a cultural and economic primacy of globalisation
- Exopolis – the traditional city becomes "permuted", the downtown and the surrounding areas are functionally transformed too.
- Metropolarities – growing number of social inequalities, polarisation, conflicts and their habitus in the texture of the city
- „carcarea archipelagoes" – continuous observation, guarding and control of the city areas
- Hybridisation (simcity) – coexistence of reality and geographical imagination

The urban space-transformations, postmodern society and the process of globalisation has not only changed the urbanisation processes in North America and Western Europe. From the beginning of the 90's, spectacular transformations have taken place in the cities of post-socialist countries, thus in Budapest too.

CITY – CITY GEOGRAPHY – POSTMODERN SOCIETY

Upon accepting the city as an entity, the question presents itself: what responsibilities does a geographer have in this entity? In my introduction I have already pointed out the located nature of the city and the importance of the attributes related to location. The located nature of the city marks the geographical location where the city is formed and developed. The transformation and use of natural space is the first step. It is followed by the correlations between geographical capabilities as attributes, and society as occupying force, with the resultant being the city itself. The geographical appearance of the city is defined by the filling and usage of spaces¹⁵.

Post-modern society, globalized economy and the changes in the relation of space and time has transformed the geographical appearance of the cities too. Space-organizing forces have changed, the interpretation of place, geographical location have also been transformed. Urban spaces have history, relativity, identity¹⁶. These compose – among others – the geographical image of the city. Post-modern era pursues physical modifications. It transforms the inner sphere of cities, the number of places without identity, the so called “no-spaces”¹⁷ is increasing, the typical zones, areas of post-modern cities are formed. The inner structure of the city changes, the city is shaped by new elements. Previous regularity has been changed to irregularity. The new, previously non-existing forms of space occupation could even be extraneous for certain urban social groups. In the city of today, fragmented – previously more uniform – structure and concentrated, function-compressing space occupation are present at the same time. Thus – for example in Budapest too – the previously uniform city structure has fallen into pieces. The changed social, political, economic relations have fragmented the functional city areas. It is hard to make a distinction between purely living or working districts. Beyond this, mega shopping centres have appeared with enormous area, where several urban functions appear in a concentrated form. Space – function – social relations have basically changed in the cities.

The cities, being individual entities, respond to these changes in their own unique way. The transformation of the geographical image of North-American, Western-European, Post-Socialistic cities are all different, just as the change of the space-organizing force of these cities. Beyond the obvious differences, there are serious environment-psychical, city-sociological, architectural disparities too. For the collective effect of all these, the identity of the spaces and places of the city changes too. Besides this, the natural image¹⁸ of the city can also change and be transformed. As landscape is an inside element of the city, and although city-sized nature is of smaller scale, still a part and important element of urban research is the investigation of the changes and transformations of natural geography. It is especially true in cities like Budapest, where natural environment and its inner-city attributes played such an important role, and they still do as of today. Thus, this study aims to point out the space-transformations, space-changes which determine the city-geographical space twists of Budapest.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE “NEW” URBAN WORLD

Post-modern society, globalized economy, the changes in the relation of space and time has changed the world of cities, the meaning and significance of their inner spaces, as well as the inhabitants' use of space. “New” urban world has basically gone through a two-fold transformation. The hierarchy of the cities has changed, just as the factors of the city-competition, which is the successfulness of the city.

Settlements, including the cities arrange into a hierarchic structure, and thus they compose the totality of the stock of settlements, the settlement network. Previous regional examinations analysed the hierarchy of settlements on regional, national, international, or maybe on continental level, as the functional sub- and super-ordinance relations (concerning both economic and political functions) could only be determined on these regional levels. International comparison, global-scale collating of the cities was incomprehensible¹⁹. Due to the effect of globalization, city-hierarchy has changed, municipal sub- and super-ordinance relations has been “rearranged”. As a result of global transformations, such “supercities”, globalized municipalities could emerge on the top of the hierarchy, which became determinative on specific areas of life. Saskia Sassen defined global cities in 1991²⁰, as decisive and innovative centres determining the new patterns of city-competition²¹.

Competition of cities is constant. Amongst the constantly changing world-economic relationships newer and newer factors are necessary to keep up the persistent success of a city. As global cities are also seriously affected by the setbacks following economic growth, new “success-factors” were needed in order to partake in city-competition. Following the few-decades-old history of knowledge-based economy, in the 1990's, and then at the millennium, a new expression – the idea of creative economy – has appeared. Creativity started to appear as the basic value of selection. Following the explanations of natural sciences²², it received more and more attention outside of business life too. The perception of systematic approach has become more and more prevalent, in which cultural medium, and the significance of social sphere became a factor of creativity besides individual performance. Namely, the prevailing trends, traditions and the creations comprehended by society as well as the social medium accepting or even denying these (for example Csíkszentmihályi)²³. Thus, the process of creativity is a result of the interactions of the individual, the cultural medium and the social field. So, creativity is a social phenomenon, having no objective criteria.

This way, creativity, appearing as a success-factor of cities creates an economy, where knowledge is perceived as a useful activity creating new formulas, namely, creative industries are born, composing a creative economy. At those municipalities, cities, where the coefficients of creative economy are present concentrated, the creative class operating the whole process is more and more firm and successful in the social field which creates and supports these factors. Thus, creative class is an essential success-factor for the “emergence” of cities (Florida 2002²⁴, Florida, 2005²⁵)

URBAN “SPACE-TWISTS”

The constant increase of the number of urban population, social, economic transformations are obviously present in the sphere where all of these happen. Namely, the transformation of urban space signifies that the “imprints” of dynamic urban life are present in every municipality, in every city.

NOTES

1. Wolf Schneider (1973): *Cities from Ur to Utopia*. Gondolat, Budapest
2. It especially emphasises the *raison d'être* of city-geographics even amongst those examining the city as an individual discipline
3. A. András Gergely (2006, 2010): *City in the Picture*.
4. pl. Camagni, p.: *Nested hierarchie*
5. A.András Gergely i.m. p.4.
6. Henri Lefebvre (1972): *Creation of space*
7. M. de Certeau (1980): *About the Practices of Everyday Life*
8. Edward Soja (1989): *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Spaces in Critical Social Theory*. London, Verso Press
9. Scott, A.J. and E.W.Soja eds. (1996): *The City: Los Angeles and Urban Theory at the End of the Twentieth Century*. Berkeley, University of California Press,
10. according to UN estimations, (2007) the number of urban inhabitants on Earth increases with 170000 weekly. In 2008 – first time in history – there are more people living in cities than in villages on Earth
11. Edward W. Soja (1996): *Thirdspace. Journey's to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Plces*. Blackwell Publishers.
12. Henri Lefebvre (1971): *The Production of Space*
13. Michel de Certeau (1980): *The Practice of Everyday Life*
14. Edward W. Soja (2000): *Postmetropolis. Critical Studies of Cities and Regions*. Blackwell Publishers.
15. György Enyedi (2012): *Urban World Akadémiai kiadó, Budapest*. p.26.
16. Marc Augé (2012): *Nicht-Orte*. Verelag C.H. Beck. +. Auflage. p.83.
17. Marc Augé im: pp.:79-80.
18. György Enyedi im.: pp. 37-38
19. The concept of cosmopolis was first formulated by Sir Patrick Geddes in his work entitled „*Cities in Evolution*”
20. Sassen, Saskia (1991) : *The global city*. new York, London, Tokyo. Princeton University Press. Princeton and Oxford. pp.:23-36
21. at the beginning of the 90's, S.Sassen set apart three global cities: London, New York and Tokyo
22. mostly approached from biology, medical science and psychology
23. Mihály Csikszentmihályi (1997) *Flow*. Budapest.
24. Richard Florida (2002) *The Rise of the Creatív Class.. Basic books*. New York. pp.:35-64
25. Richard Florida (2005): *Cities and the creatív class.. Routledge, New York-London*. pp.:27-48.

Viktória **Pap**

THE SPIRIT OF PLACE AT A FESTIVAL

MENTAL MAPPING ON SZIGET FESTIVAL

ABSTRACT

This paper deals with the atmosphere of Sziget Festival. My research goal was to interpret and to depict the Festival as a socio-cultural environment, an experienced material and spiritual space, as a special place, that exists only for a week. Based on the results, the mental places of Sziget Festival i.e. places existing on festival goers' mind, the most important values of the venue, the functions of the sites, the forces creating places, the most characteristic atmosphere elements of the place, and the channels of perception of the spirit of place can be described. The applied objective of the research was also to assist in festival development from the formation of festival image and marketing communication to practical considerations. Thus, the research points out the usability of both the social sciences and the applied research (marketing and market research) of genius loci and some well-suited methods.

'Participants should – first and foremost – be offered experiences, this builds the brand best. The appealing venue and the excellent atmosphere are just as important as the music.'

(A Sziget ellenfelei [The rivals of Sziget] In: Forbes, June 2016, p. 48.)

INTRODUCTION

My research¹ deals with the atmosphere of Sziget Festival. The present study describes the mental places of the Festival i.e. of Sziget goers, and presents its most characteristic atmosphere elements, the perception channels of the spirit of place, the invisible functions of the sites, and the forces creating places. The results, based on information from participant observation, provide an opportunity for a deeper understanding of the concept of the spirit of place, as well as, due to the method of mental mapping, depicting the results on a map.

The research started in 2014 when I participated as a researcher for the first time full time, day and night in the Festival for a week. That year was the foundation of the exploratory research described in this paper. At that time, I conducted an introspective participant observation, in which I described my assimilation and my changing attitudes at the Festival.

My most fundamental observation was that Sziget was in fact a unique world and where there was such an atmosphere, characterized by a variety of features and

circumstances, which was difficult to describe but easy to live through intensely. Indeed, within Sziget, almost every corner and place has a unique character. In the summer of 2015 I attempted to explore this deeply elusive phenomenon, that is to say, to explore and deepen the understanding the spirit of the place, which I continued in 2016.

My research from 2015 has been given an applied research goal in a way that it provided support for the festival development from the formation of marketing communication (experience) to practical considerations (efficiency). Thus, the results can show the direction of application of the concept and methods that can be used in the studies in marketing communications and market research as well.

ABOUT SZIGET FESTIVAL

Sziget Festival, held in every August for a week, is one of the biggest music festivals and cultural events in Europe, and has won the title of Europe's Best Major Festival twice. The event, which is organized in Budapest on an island [Hajógyári-sziget or Óbudai-sziget] in the Danube, is the biggest festival and tourist attraction of Hungary; it has been organized each year since 1993 and it has become more and more successful and international, and now it is one of Hungary's image elements that attract the most foreign tourists. The Festival has a budget of € 25 million and in 2017 it had more than 450 thousand visitors.²

Sziget Festival has fifty programme locations, including five major music stages. It can be argued that the Festival is very varied regarding both the music and programme offers. In addition to mainstream performers, music shows include world music, blues, jazz performances but it also offers electronic music performances which attract a special subculture. Besides music, one can also find children's programmes, stalls of various social organizations and associations but literature, dance, fine arts, and sport can be found as well. Over the last decade, the event has become increasingly commercialized, so today many sponsors and brands are present in the Festival. In the visually colourful Festival the organizers have created a unique decorative concept of the 'Art of Freedom', which means the placement of colourful, extravagant eye candies and a programme location called Artzone. The 'Island of Freedom' concept has been present in marketing communication since 2013, and it was exchanged by the organizers to the 'Love Revolution' theme in 2018.

According to the 2017 check-in data (i.e. the demographic data on entry of Sziget Festival), 56 percent of visitors were foreigners. The most populous groups were the Dutch, the French and the Germans but the website of the Festival is currently available in 12 languages. 67 percent of visitors were in the 18 to 30 age group, which means that the main target group is predominantly people in their twenties.

The questionnaire survey of 1207 people carried out by Ipsos in 2017 for Sziget Cultural Management Ltd. reveals that 74 percent of festival participants were college or

university students or graduates. Their proportion has increased significantly over the recent years. Visitors were in a better subjective financial position in terms of their purchasing power. 56 percent of the respondents could comfortably make a good living and save according to their self-classification.³

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND TO 'GENIUS LOCI'

Literature dealing with the spirit of place cannot be considered as coherent conceptual unit. On the one hand, it can be said that it covers a very wide range of scientific areas (from humanistic geography (see e.g. Pocock: 1981). through literary theory, architecture and environmental psychology to sociology or even settlement marketing); on the other hand, although the origin of the concept dates back to a long time ago, its social science usability has not yet matured. (Jankó: 2002) The spirit of place is an abstract phenomenon, which is difficult to grasp, difficult to define and conceptualize. Due to all these, a social researcher who would like to deal with it might face a serious, yet beautiful challenge.

The distinction between space and place was based on ancient philosophers' thoughts. For example Aristotle's category theory, Descartes's and Newton's absolutist concept, Leibniz's relative theory of space, or Kant's a priori space concept. In the 19th and 20th centuries, social scientists also began to work on the issue. Their ideas form, as a whole, the social constructivist trend of spatiality. The post-modern so-called trialectic trend of spatial theoretical concepts (see, e.g. Berki: 2015) distinguishes three aspects of spatiality. The first of these is the space as we perceive (perceived space), that is, the measurable space on maps. The second is space, as we think (conceived space), that is, the mental, cognitive space (see, e.g., Lynch: 1960, Hall: 1966). And the third is space as we experience or use it (lived space), that is, the reality experienced by the subject at that particular moment (smells, colours, lights, sounds, state of mind etc.). This is the individual experience itself, a subjective experience, a set of individual impressions. In my interpretation it is the reception and experience of the spirit of place. In Beck's view (1967), this trialectics is divided into the objective space, namely the actual mathematically descriptive space; the ego space, which is the space of the person's psychological operations, and the immanent space, the inner, subjective space of the world of representations. The spatial concept associated with Lefebvre (1974) and Soja (1989) emphasizes the subjective perception of the spaces. They distinguish the space we experience along with the perceived space and the conceived space.

Today experience society, digitized space usage and smart city movement capture space sensation in two important aspects. These are efficiency and experiences. There is growing demand for research on how people psychologically perceive the environment. Daniele Quercia, a Spanish computer scientist, for example, presents the so-called Happy Maps application in his TED presentation⁴, which not only focuses on the desired route concentrating on the efficiency, but also takes into

account how users like to feel themselves on the move. The application builds on geo-tagged images and uses related metadata to create alternative mapping where sites are – in a way – weighted based on human emotions.

In an environmental psychological interpretation, spatial identity serves to clearly identify place. Physical environments with an identity are able to summon a specific picture in the observer generated by the sum of the effects of sensory organs and that it forms through the subjective perception of the individual. Location experience, space sensation is a multi-channel process. Sensing the atmosphere of a place affects the individual through various sensory channels. Space sensation is both a physical and an emotional process between the individual and the environment. Yi Fu Tuan (1974) defines sense of space as a personal, psychological and emotional attachment to a given environment. This bondage is the love of place or topophilia.

Theorists dealing with spatial concept emphasize the multi-sensory nature of spatial experiences. According to Tuan (1977), the experience of location is realized through the synaesthetic interaction of all senses. In his concept of sensory vision, touching, hearing and smelling are taken into consideration. However, Kinayoglu (2009) points to the question of the primary role of vision. Some locations may be more characterized by sounds or odour than for example colours. In environmental psychology, the overwhelming dominance of visual perception over other forms of perception is caused by the hierarchization of distances between recipient and the subject of perception. Vision is thought to be the most spatial, and therefore, the most influential channel of perception. Hearing, touching, smelling and tasting are more intimate channels and less spatial, due to smaller distances from the perceiver compared to vision. (Rodaway: 1994)

It can be said that different activities require different types of locations. The nature of the site determines a general, comprehensive atmosphere that is to some extent dependent on time. Changes, for example, with seasons, weather or daylight. These factors influence the light conditions most. (Norberg-Schulz: 2004)

Place is therefore a distinctive space. Space is formed into a number of individual experiences and thus becomes a place. In addition to the physical properties, the related experiences and emotions are also constituent elements of places. (Dúll: 2002)

My definition – in line with the research field, based on the literature review – is the following: The spirit of place (*genius loci*) is the atmosphere, mood and emanation of a geographically / spatially identifiable area (with a name, purpose or function) that can only be perceived through experiences locally. The most important element of the definition is, on the one hand, identifiability and uniqueness, that is, that the atmosphere is typical of only that place in that composition. On the other hand, the spirit of place is an effect on the person that the subject only senses locally. That is, the spirit of place is a mental perception of subjective experiences and emotions closely related to space. Questions can thus be approached by the mental representations of the subjects.

EXPERIENCE RESEARCH

One of the most focused marketing strategies today is the implicit, all-pervading delivering or rather staging of experiences, which is a clear competitive advantage in the markets.⁵ Although the experience in the case of festivals in the entertainment industry is explicit, its involvement in market research is also crucial. Tourism as experience industry creates conditions for gathering experiences but the experience is created in the subject. (Kovács: 2014) The circumstances in which the experience is acquired (e.g. place, time) and the subject itself therefore constitute determinant factors together.

For more than two decades, international literature has been focusing, even more intensively since the publication of 'Experience Society' by Schulze (1992), on the socio-economic background of experience. The experience economy as a new era is coined by Pine and Gilmore (1998). In their description, experience is an economic category with an epoch-making power, which comes after the service economy.

The marketing of digital age places great emphasis on experience-centred, customer-focused developments. This is also proven by the fact that there are countless terms for experiences in the professional language: product experience, service experience, brand experience, user experience, consumer experience, customer experience, experience design etc.

The concept of user experience was defined primarily in the context of digital device usage and Internet usage. According to Solis's (2015) equation (besides the basic theory that customer experience=\$), the experience (henceforth: X) consists of customer experience, user experience and brand experience ($X=CX+UX+BX$).

The X includes all contacts between the client and the company. During experience research professionals investigate what kind of feelings people have during the interaction with the brand, the products and services. It means that experience research actually deals with mapping feelings and thoughts.

Since X is about people, feelings and thoughts, its definition and research strongly builds on psychology and anthropology. Methods that are primarily involved in experience research include fieldwork, observation, mystery shopping, user interviews, exit interviews, a variety of product tests, or metrics such as the so-called Net Promoter Score (NPS) that is an index number of user satisfaction that shows in a standard way to what extent the product and service would be offered to others customers by those who know the product or service.

Although during the experience design process mapping is used as a tool, such as describing and planning processes (mind mapping), describing the so-called customer journey, but mental mapping as a method is less used in market research for space-related customer experiences. In my paper, I try to present mental mapping as a well-suited method for marketing oriented research of space-related experiences.

RESEARCH GOALS AND QUESTIONS

The dilemma appearing in the literature dealing with the spirit of place is the connection between space and its parts. That is, if we can talk about the spirit of place in case of a given place, can we do the same for parts of a place? (Jankó: 2002) Considering this important theoretical question, I have formulated my main research objective: to interpret and represent the place, namely the socio-cultural environment, the lived/experienced material and spiritual space, which includes five research questions:

1. What are the characteristic spots?
2. What are the evolved/alternate places in addition to existing/established venues?
3. What are the forces creating place and forming space?
4. What are the determining elements of the atmosphere?
5. What are the channels of perception of the spirit of place?

APPLIED METHODS

I used three methods to explore and describe the spirit of place. Mental mapping (oriented recall mental mapping), questionnaire survey and participant observation (content analysis of fieldwork logs) were used. My main research method, mental mapping is an interdisciplinary area at the boundaries of geography, psychology, linguistics and social sciences. (For details, see: Letenyei: 2006) The other applied methods were supposed to complement this method.

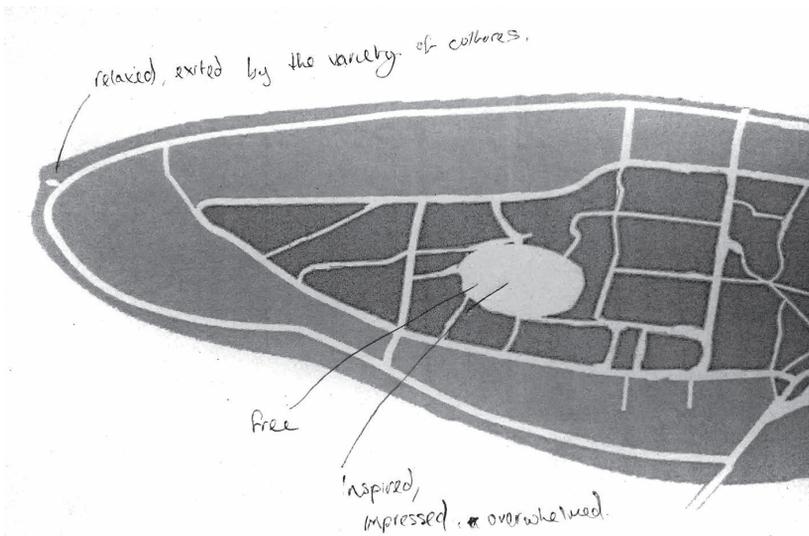


Figure 1. One mental map about the experiences of a festival goer

In my interpretation, the spirit of place is perceived as a mental perception of subjective experiences and feelings closely related to the place, through verbally expressible experience. Therefore, I consider mental mapping as the most appropriate method. In order to reveal the elements of the spirit of place experienced by individuals and to visualize the places of the Festival, we asked the interviewees to point out their own space on a blank map showing the whole Sziget but only its main routes, which means they had to assign a cognitive or emotional buzzword for their important places (see Figure 1). So we actually have drawn experience maps with them.

A total number of 225 (N2015=95, N2016=130) respondents sketched their experience map after having been chosen via random walk sampling, and after processing the maps the mental places of Sziget could be outlined. Regarding the gender distribution of the sample, 59 percent of respondents are women, 41 percent are male, and 49 percent are Hungarian and 51 percent are foreigners.

The used example of mental mapping, namely experience mapping is designed especially for the research of the spirit of place at Sziget Festival, which was used for the first time. So in 2015, when we used the method for the first time on field, it was important and useful to draw the experience so that we could use it more effectively next year.

Despite the slight difficulties, the Festival proved to be an excellent terrain for drawing the experience maps. Those who were asked considered the task playing, learning, and self-expression, so they were easily made to respond to them.

However, the interviewers had a difficult task, because although it was not allowed to suggest but it was essential to find out from the question that we were not expecting programmes or performers' names, and we were not asking about their satisfaction. In order to facilitate this, field researchers might use helping, periphrastic and leading questions. So, for example: What is the place of Sziget that you are most tied to? (This could be either a tree or a place outside the Sziget.) Where did the most remarkable and memorable events happen to you (whether good or bad)?

The most common problem was, in spite of the clarifying questions, that often not the experiences or the emotions but the programmes, concerts, performances, or satisfaction were described by the respondents. The reason for this is that the task required a greater degree of creativity and emotional expression, and there were respondents who did not have the appropriate skills for it. Undecodable responses also meant a challenge; these were clearly due to the characteristics of the terrain, mainly the lack of concentration. For example, maps with only drawings, unreadable handwriting, or just placemarks.

We recorded the gender and nationality of the respondent on the back of the map and asked questions about certain supplementary information among which we asked how many times the respondents had been at Sziget and how many days they

had spent there that year. The spiritual and emotional intensity of the perception of place is dependent on the individuals, their cognition, knowledge, state of mind, mood, but also highly on the amount of time spent, that is, assimilation. (Jankó: 2002) Therefore we started the questionnaire in both years only from the third day. In the middle of the festival week there were spectacularly fewer experiences on the cards than at the end of the week. Before starting the fieldwork, the area of Sziget was divided among the interviewers and we also paid attention to ask the respondents at various times of the day. Therefore, researchers had to record the exact time and location of the questionnaire on the back of each map. On the last day, I also asked each of the participating researchers to draw their own experience map, which I also included in the analysis.

Responding on a map contains a lot of information for the researcher not only in its content but visually as well. Mapping, spatial vision and representation are obviously subjective. This is supported by the fact that there were respondents who, compared to most of the respondents, drew their experiences on a blank map at a perspective angled at 90 or 180 degrees.

Via the questionnaire survey, I was basically looking for answers to two questions: 'Describing the atmosphere with one word, what would it be? How would you describe the aura?' 'What is the first word that comes to your mind about the citizens of Sziget Festival?' The definitive atmosphere of Sziget Festival, which can be described in one word (or the one-word expression of the spirit of place), and the emanation of the Sziget society, that is, what kind of determining atmosphere the non-material nature of the spirit of place has, and how it contributes to the atmosphere. As Sziget is a special place – a festival society that exists only for a week in every year –, the important elements of the spirit of place are social elements, which are also personal and subjective mental elements: feelings, associations, and emanations.

These questions were asked as part of a longer questionnaire survey based on random walk sampling. In addition to the two questions, the questionnaire also contained questions about the most important values of the Festival, which also provided useful information on the spirit of place. The database containing the answers to the questionnaire questions also includes the day the questionnaire was filled in and the number of times the respondent had been on Sziget. These are background information that can be used to filter out respondents who are presumably less receptive to the spirit of place. There are a total number of 533 respondents in the questionnaire sample. 44 percent are male, 56 percent are female. 48 percent of the respondents are Hungarian, while 52 percent are foreigners. According to age composition, the respondents' average age is 23 years (16-49 year olds).

The third method used was the analysis of fieldwork logs. The texts created by the researchers involved in participant observation, that is, the field logs also had elements of the spirit of place without the focus of the authors (i.e. researchers on the field). Content analysis can help the researcher to obtain relevant information that

is observable but is more difficult to grasp. This method is the least intrusive of the three. In the fieldwork sample, there are 30 individuals, Hungarians and cross-border Hungarians, 43 percent male and 57 percent female.

In the course of the analysis, I collected the words and phrases regarding the atmosphere elements, and then created research categories from them using and supplemented the information of the previously analysed and categorized questionnaires and mapped information. Although most of the journals were written on a daily basis, the analysis was broken down by individuals. The encoding, analytical unit is the reception channel, which was carried out with the so-called open coding technique (see e.g. Strauss – Corbin: 1998). Without the mentioning frequencies, every adequate, at least one recurring term has been included in the category system. As a result of the analysis, I outlined a concept map that presents the elements of the spirit of place and the channels of reception in Sziget Festival by organizing the experiences, feelings and attitudes into the structure.

RESEARCH OUTCOMES

Places and mental spaces

After processing the maps, three sites outside the Sziget area became identifiable (see Figure 2). These can be considered as the foregrounds of Sziget. It can be seen that the Festival as a place goes out of the geographic boundaries in the mental space. These outlying places are the Auchan hypermarket, the road section with cordons, the check-in path that we call 'baffle in', and the K-Bridge, which is considered to be the main gateway to the Festival. Out of these, Auchan is the most significant. On the one hand, it is due to the frequency of mentioning and experiences, and partly because it is the most separate place, which mentally forms a part of the Sziget area and its atmosphere is part of the Festival. Its most important buzzwords are cheap, booze (alcohol) and food. Based on the maps, it can be said that the K-Bridge and the queue there are almost everybody's remarkable first experience. Here the most striking expressions were excitement and joy.

After further analysis of the maps, several alternative so-called mental places have become identifiable. 17 places can be drawn based on the experience of a concrete venue (e.g. A38, Volt, Luminarium, Snowattack, Magic Mirror, Cirque du Sziget) and 10 places that have formed spontaneously, for example at the border of several locations a common mental place can be drawn, which were present on mental maps in both years. Among the latter, as a shared area of experience and function, we can highlight, for example, the information distribution area, the info spot intersection beyond the K-Bridge or what we call the Colosseum Square, which is bordered by the triangle of the Colosseum electronic music venue, the swing installation and the Aréna party tent. The former one because of the tobacco shop, Festipay, its meeting point functions and the big dust or mud mentioned, the latter because of the non-stop parties and party faces.

The most important sites, i.e. the sites mentioned by most, and the most experience associated with them, are the Main Stage and the Beach-Chill area. It can be seen that Sziget has two important basic functions and thus has a basic atmosphere: partying and vacation.

The mapping of the experience can clearly identify the most characteristic places and the places that might be called 'islands on Sziget' (which means Island in Hungarian, that is, 'islands on Island'). The latter are typical of being somewhat out of the general atmosphere of the Island, yet they add something to it overall. Thus, for example, the Boathouse, which has become a special place primarily because of its Hungarian identity, the only cash payment option, and the only English toilet accessible to anyone. VIP, for example, is such a place, too, whose atmosphere elements can be found in the descriptions of the field logs:

'...a celeb can come to Sziget to be somewhere else and and won't be dirty. It is good to be here, too, but in a different way.'

In case of the most characteristic places however, special markers and experiences are remarkable that cannot be observed elsewhere, which make the place well-descriptive but do not hang out from the atmosphere of the entire Sziget Festival. These are, for example, the Magic Mirror, the Beach, the Colosseum Square or Cirque du Sziget.

A total of 10 routes from the tangled road network appeared on the experience maps. These markings may refer to small places on roadside, or on-road experience. By placing mental spaces, places defined by the experiences and the most exciting paths on a map the experience and received map of Sziget Festival becomes visible.

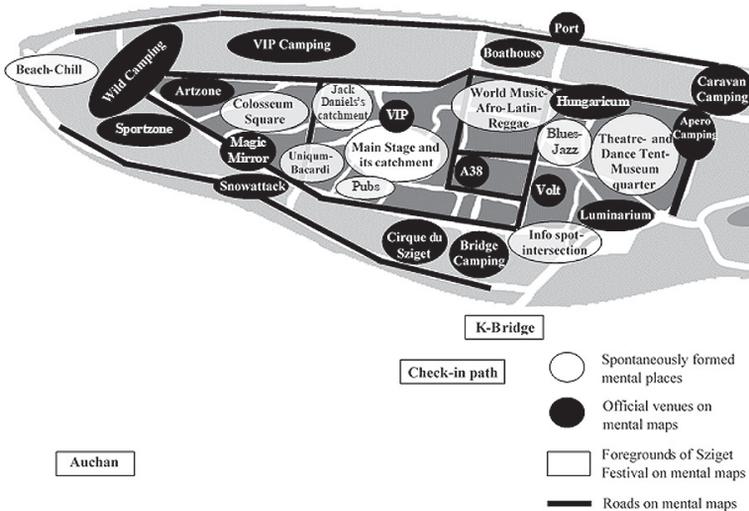


Figure 2. Visitors' mental places on Sziget Festival (N=225)

Based on the results of the maps, it can be said that space-forming forces on Sziget are basically: 1. sleeping, 2. music, 3. eating, 4. alcohol, 5. coolness/shadows, refreshment and relaxation, 6. meeting others, 7. dust and mud. Personal, subjective experiences are space-forming forces affecting the mental place. Thus, these are all the invisible functions of places that can be recognized directly from the bottom, from field exploration perspectives, so exploratory research of this kind can have important applied research results and can contribute to practical, efficiency considerations as well.

The elements of the Sziget Festival atmosphere

When writing their experiences on a blank map, some people wrote about their experiences and impressions on the page about the whole Sziget. These are clearly the atmosphere elements that can be linked to the spirit of place:

'happiness, remaining, peaceful place in the world, freedom of expression'

'Sziget is something like no other <3'

According to the questionnaire survey, respondents said that the most characteristic elements of the atmosphere were freedom, friendliness, craziness and relaxation/chill (see Figure 3). As far as there is fatigue and exhaustion during the week, there is so much relaxation and chill. At one time it is a nonstop party, but also resting and vacation too. It is also apparent that weather-related atmosphere elements (e.g. dust, heat) are also important in the experience of place.



Figure 3. Word cloud of the Sziget atmosphere, mood with one word (N=480)

ambience, vibe, atmosphere, mood, feeling	48	'interesting fake realities' 'it is a special world here'
fun, have good time, party	47	'high quality entertainment'
the place, location	31	'walking area', 'that you can camp inside', 'easy to camp anywhere', 'tegument', 'Budapest' 'escape bubble' 'being away from everything'
art, theatre, circus, culture	24	'not just music and drinking, there are other programs'
relax, chill, no stress, don't worries, careless	12	'loose and turns off'
decoration	8	'creative decoration'
food, beverage	5	'good food'
weather, timing	3	'a week long' 'the timing, the middle of August is perfect to festivals'

Figure 5. In your opinion what are the most important values of Sziget Festival? (N=533)

Out of a total of 533 respondents, 48 respondents gave a value indicator to the unique atmosphere of Sziget Festival. Considering the frequency of mentioning the value groups, it can be said that in addition to the programme offering, the population values have the greatest significance and value-adding effects.

The channels of perception

Information on the atmospheric elements of Sziget Festival obtained through the three methods can be grouped into the categories of perception. The elements structured this way can be divided into two main categories (see Figure 6). These are the sensory experience (material and physical elements) and the intersubjective experience (social elements), that is, the characteristics associated with local being. The latter can be divided into two distinct subcategories. On the one hand, the elements referring to ideologies, values and, on the other, lifestyle and behaviour. Concerning sensory experience, four of the five sensory perceptions are clearly identifiable with respect to Sziget Festival, while the fifth one, touch occurs within a group called weather. In this group, it is not possible to group all of these experiences into a single perception. For example, rain or dust can refer to the experience reception through sight, touch or even smell at the same time.

In addition to the two main groups of receptions, the sensory and the socio-cultural reception channels, there is also a group that collects more abstract experiences that cannot be classified into any of the categories. Here are mostly adjectives for the place as a whole, which may indicate tangible and intangible experiences and sensations.

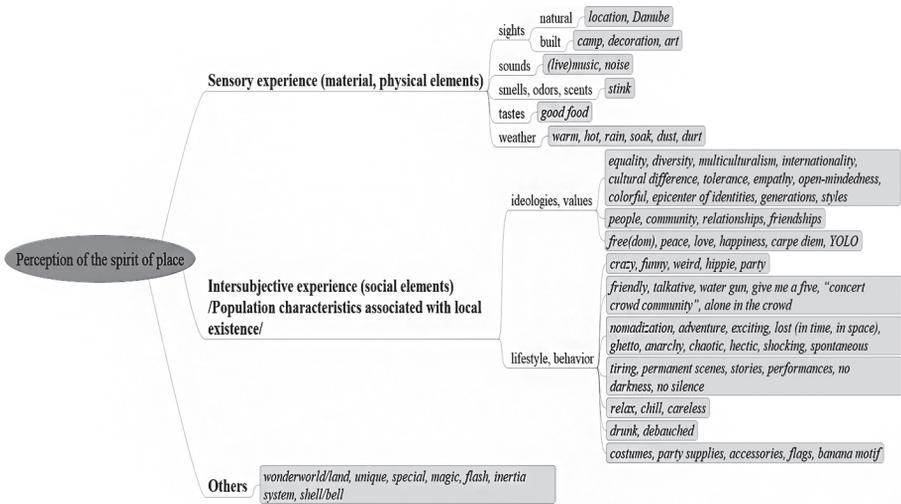


Figure 6. Concept map – The constituents of the spirit of place according to the channels of perception on Sziget Festival

* The figure is based on the information obtained via the three methods

CONCLUSION

A festival which is geographically distinct is far beyond the spatial and physical boundaries. The atmosphere of the event and the experiences associated with it outlines the place more clearly than the objective, physically existing and measurable boundaries. In case of Sziget Festival, the event venue is a special, isolated area surrounded by water. However, even outside the area of Sziget, places closely related to the atmosphere of the Festival can be identified. Beyond this, one can observe not only the experiences that are connected to official sites but also those that are spontaneously created. The forces creating places at the Festival prevail along natural and cultural conditions. Although there are some emerging sites that are indirectly, unconsciously the result of organization as well but they are still defined by those who use the space, the recipients, and the functions that are created, which by their very nature can only be seen from the bottom and very close.

The most important natural factors in the atmosphere are weather conditions (shadow, dust, mud) and the location itself (Danube island). In the field of cultural characteristics, not only activities which meet basic needs (such as sleeping, eating or refreshing) are essential but music and meeting are also of primary importance to create places.

The festival as a place of experiencing is a combination of several places and venue-defined atmospheres. There are places that stick out but still emblematically form a part of the Sziget atmosphere. By omitting them from the organization, the nature

of the Festival would radically change. However, identifying the characteristic places or the emerging mental places that are not programme places are also important in this respect.

Freedom, art and decoration as marketing themes clearly appear among the elements of the atmosphere. In case of a venue for a festival, place marketing and place branding supported by studies might have great importance. The location itself and its atmosphere provide experience for visitors (i.e. visitor experience, VE). So therefore, the atmosphere of the place is essential for marketing communication and festival development. That is why experience research is worth involving into marketing and market research, providing new information for various business (commercial, tourism etc.) developments.

The atmosphere of Sziget is described as unique by many people. Although we do not have comparative analysis yet but research proves that a festival as a periodically created place is able to create its own atmosphere, the spirit of place.⁶

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NOTES

1. Our research team, in cooperation with Corvinus University of Budapest and Babes Bolyai University, supported by the Sziget Cultural Management Ltd. has been at the Festival for the fifth time in 2018 (primarily as a cultural anthropological expedition).
2. <https://en.szigetfestival.com/sponsors> (02. 04. 2018)
3. See more: <https://en.szigetfestival.com/sponsors>
4. https://www.ted.com/talks/daniele_quercia_happy_maps (02. 04. 2018)
5. Based on the author's experiences and expertise in field of market research and customer insight management.
6. Another version of the article was published: Viktória Pap: Researching the spirit of place. Mental mapping on Sziget festival. In. *Corvinus Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* Vol 10, No 1 (2019) DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.14267/CJSSP.2019.1.6>

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