City-making: space, culture and identity

International Conference 2018

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City-making: space, culture and identity

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Zagreb, May 17-18, 2018

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The Conference is organised as the final conference of the project “City-making: space, culture, and identity” financed by the Croatian Science Foundation (2014-2018, no. 2350) and on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research
Project City-making: space, culture, and identity

Project leader: Jasna Čapo, Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb

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Within the project “City-making: space, culture, and identity” the city-making is regarded as a comprehensive concept aiming at untangling and understanding of multiple, multilayered and interdependent (f)actors and processes that influence contemporary urban transformations and urban life. Two perspectives that are crucial for city-making are the politics of space and the politics of difference. The first perspective evolves around the concept of public space as produced by social, cultural, political, economic and environmental interactions, tensions and negotiations creating specific material and symbolic
urban landscapes. The second perspective refers to the concept of diversity, or in gateway cities, of super-diversity of city residents: it arises not only with regard to cultural and ethnic differences but also with regard to professional, educational, employment, class, legal status, age, gender and other differences.

Both perspectives constitute knots at which global political, economic and cultural flows meet and collide with local imaginaries, histories, interests and developments, bringing about the restructuring of the city, its identity and positioning on urban scales of power nationally and transnationally. The notion of city-making refers also to various agents that influence urban restructuring and everyday life from top-down and bottom up perspectives – institutions, civil associations, initiatives and individuals – whose internal dynamic is also prone to various and changing power relations. Moreover, the multifocal optic on city-making is necessary since contemporary cities are salient hubs of global, transnational, national and local political, economic, social and cultural flows.

The multifaceted concept of city-making underlies the project “City-making: space, culture, and identity” which focuses on urban transformations in the Croatian capital, Zagreb. The project emerges from the theoretical insights of anthropology of the city, anthropology of space and place, urban migration studies, and post-socialist studies. In methodological terms it is based on ethnographic fieldwork, interviews, the phenomenological approach, discourse analysis, and mental mapping. Within the past four years the project team members have undertaken research into various topics such as: the production and construction of green and open spaces in Zagreb from the mid-20th century onward; middle-class internation-
We would like to present some of our research results regarding Zagreb urban transformations at the conference. In addition, we would like the conference to give us an opportunity to discuss theoretical and methodological potentials of the concept of city-making as we understand it with colleagues doing research in various other cities of the world. Possible topics of the conference include but need not be limited to the following questions:

- How do various actors of city-making (city managers, civil society associations, residents) imagine and create the city? How do these images and creations relate to one another?

- Which strategies do the city governors use to create a certain identity of the city and raise the city’s visibility (branding, tourism, cultural events...) with the aim of positioning it in the global arena?

- By which everyday practices do city residents symbolically inscribe themselves in the city, notably in public spaces?

- How is social, economic and cultural marginality treated by policy makers?

- How are issues of city governance (with regard to public spaces, diversity, marginality) represented in media?

- How are the taken-for-granted mainstream political, social and cultural values (nation, democracy, multiculturalism, social diversity, tolerance) experienced in everyday practices?
- Does the city function as a socially fragmented organism, a ‘social mosaic’ of parallel worlds which live side by side and do not interpenetrate or as an entwined whole? What is the potential for social cohesion as part of urban identity?
- Which—and to what extent—economic, social, political and environmental factors as well as public policies influence the quality of life in the city?
- What are venues to ensure sustainable and liveable city?
THURSDAY, MAY 17 2018

9.30 – 10.00 Opening of the Conference
Jasna Čapo (Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb)
Presentation of the Project City-making: space, culture, and identity

10.00 – 11.00 KEYNOTE: Setha M. Low (City University of New York)
Public space and civic life: Threats and opportunities

( coffee break )

11.20 – 12.00 Ger Duijzings (University of Regensburg and Graduate School for East and Southeast European Studies – LMU Munich and University of Regensburg)
Engaged urbanism: Situated and experimental methodologies for fairer cities

12.00 – 12.40 Valentina Gulin Zrnić (Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb)
Performance, protest, procession, and festivals: Single space, multiple publics

12.40 – 13.20 Nevena Škrbić Alempijević (University of Zagreb, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences)
Creating a square: Performances and public space in Zagreb

( lunch break )

14.20 – 15.00 Andrew Smith (University of Westminster, London)
Staging the city: How festivals and events affect public spaces
Alexandra Bitušíkova (Slovak Academy of Sciences)
Urban festival as a new way of city-making and marketing: The case of Banská Bystrica, Slovakia

(coffee break)

Agata Lisiak (Bard College Berlin)
The place to be? Unpacking the image of Berlin as a creative and diverse metropolis

Tigran Haas (KTH Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm; Centre for the Future of Places)
Creative city (place) making and plural urbanism: Post-gender geographies, public spaces and cultural urbanism

FRIDAY, MAY 18 2018

Laura Šakaja (University of Zagreb, Faculty of Science)
The conceptualisation of urban space by blind and visually impaired white cane users

Tihomir Jukić (University of Zagreb, Faculty of Architecture) and Jana Vukić (University of Zagreb, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences)
Small scale urbanism and social sustainability: Interdisciplinary research of public space in Zagreb

(coffee break)
11.40 – 12.20  Katja Hrobat Virloget and Neža Čebron Lipovec (University of Primorska, Koper/Capodistria)
Oblivions and meaning-making in a contested town: Koper/Capodistria in the eyes of different generations of local residents and migrants

12.20 – 13.00  Anna Horolets (University of Warsaw)
Migrants in the city: Re-creational capacities of public spaces

( lunch break )

14.00 – 14.40  Boris Nieswand (University of Tübingen)
Diversity, morality and threat in Murcia and Frankfurt

14.40 – 15.20  Sanja Đurin (Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb)
Queer activism and the transformation of the city: How LGBTIQ community is fighting for its space in the city of Zagreb

( coffee break )

15.40 – 16.20  Jasna Ćapo (Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb) and Petra Kelemen (University of Zagreb, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences)
Finding a niche: Migrant economy in a city not promoting international migration

16.20 – 17.00  Tihana Rubić (University of Zagreb, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences)
City-making by urban gardening

Closing of the Conference
Urban festivities such as festivals, fairs and other cultural events have been increasingly an important tool of city making and marketing. In the era of urban competitiveness, many towns and cities try to raise their images and profiles by revitalising older cultural traditions with the aim to strengthen local identity, but also to attract visitors and tourists. This trend is usually part of official urban policies and strategies, covered often under the umbrella of new ‘creative city’ strategies. The paper focuses on the Radvaň Fair, an urban festival in the Slovak city of Banská Bystrica, which has been organised annually since 1655 – first in a nearby village of Radvaň, later in various parts of the city until it has recently moved to the city centre as the main cultural attraction of the year. The Radvaň Fair was inscribed on the National Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Slovakia in 2011 and it aspires to be inscribed on the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage List. The paper explores transformations of the fair from a regional economic event to a cultural and social event of a national/ international value, the relationship between the fair and urban space, and the role of the fair in identity building. The paper is funded by a VEGA project No 2/0062/17: Holidays and rituals – their social contexts and functions (Slovakia, 21st century).
Finding a niche: Migrant economy in a city not promoting international migration

Zagreb and Croatia do not figure on the map of international mobilities; Croatia has traditionally been an emigration country, which it remains to this day and Zagreb, though the capital city, practically does not attract foreign nationals at all nor does it include them in its development strategies. Foreign nationals’ settlement is mostly linked to partnership with a Croatian citizen, who might have himself/herself been an international migrant before deciding to settle in Zagreb. The presentation analyses foreign nationals’ economic activities in the context of local and national opportunity structures and institutional constraints on (migrant) entrepreneurship. It appears that the city does not live up to the ‘scales’ of these young/middle-aged, skilled and entrepreneurial immigrants’ from all over the world.
Ger Duijzings
University of Regensburg; Graduate School for East and Southeast European Studies – LMU Munich and University of Regensburg

Engaged urbanism: Situated and experimental methodologies for fairer cities

In 2009 Ger Duijzings developed Cities Methodologies (CM), an annual event taking place at the UCL Urban Laboratory in London, showcasing innovative and experimental research in contemporary cities. This project resulted in the book *Engaged Urbanism* (2016), co-edited with Ben Campkin. In his presentation the author will present the key ideas and questions asked in CM: What new methods are developed to explore the changing realities of contemporary cities and urban life, and how are established methods being updated and transformed? As cities transform, how do researchers gather information about new urban phenomena? How do they gather data, and what protocols do they apply? What challenges arise in what are often intuitive, in situ and ‘trial-and-error’ processes? With whom do they collaborate and whose problems do they address?
Sanja Durin
Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb

Queer activism and the transformation of the city: How LGBTIQ community is fighting for its space in the city of Zagreb

According to the architect Bernand Tschumi, architecture and the organization of space are playing a significant role in the creation and limitation of personal and political freedom of citizens. Tschumi names this power of architecture ‘violence of architecture’. Space and events taking place in a particular space are influencing one another. Gill Valentine describes public spaces as the product of social forces. As much as the place has an active role in the creation and reproduction of social identities, so social identities, meanings and relations create material and symbolic spaces, notices Valentine. Furthermore, Valentine distinguishes three levels of space: the material, regulatory and performative level. In this presentation, I will try to demonstrate how these three levels of space correspond with the queer community in the city of Zagreb. First, I will describe how queer groups organize in the material spaces of the city and how the city structure is supporting their organization in material spaces. Then, I will present how queer groups use regulatory space, i.e. public policies to accomplish rights and freedoms straight citizens already have and take for granted. And finally, I will describe how queer activism is mobilizing the performative level of the space in order to transform the city of Zagreb from straight heterosexual space to the space which accepts cultural differences and citizens who live different sexual identities from the normative one.
Valentina Gulin Zrnić
Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb

Performance, protest, procession, and festivals: Single space, multiple publics

The presentation focuses on the public park in the center of Zagreb – Zrinjevac. It is the first planned park in the period of accelerated urbanization and modernization of Zagreb in the second half of the 19th century. The park represents ideals of the new urban class, the bourgeoisie, in terms of their architectural and art preferences, political orientation towards national ideology, as well as a new social and cultural lifestyle. All of these elements are materially and symbolically inscribed into this particular space which came under state protection as an urbanistic, cultural and natural monument in the 1960s. The paper deals with the life of/in the park in recent years. It shows contested meanings of this public space through artistic, protest, religious and festival resemantization. Each event temporary reconstructs the materiality of space, invites different publics and addresses various issues that deal with dominant political, social and cultural values (nation, difference, tolerance, democracy etc.). Four Zrinjevac scenes set out the stage for discussing the changing character of public spaces in Zagreb, actors involved in city-making, and the contemporary nature of urban citizenship.
Tigran Haas  
KTH Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm; Centre for the Future of Places

*Creative city (place) making and plural urbanism: Post-gender geographies, public spaces and cultural urbanism*

This paper brings two ideas together in relation to the contemporary discussions on the form and content our cities should take, and especially on the public spaces as the pivotal spatial and social nodes. One is Brent Ryan's idea of plural urbanisms where by incorporating the city’s plural elements — ‘those many elements imagined for more than a single design or by a single designer, which is more powerful and wide-ranging, more influential and beneficial, even as it becomes more democratic, participatory, open-ended, and infinite’. This is coupled by Todd Meyer's Cultural Urbanism approach, one that promotes and celebrates the everyday, the temporal, the occasional but also the timeless. It is an approach that explores into the spatial and social fabric of the city and the kineticism of relationships on the ground — ‘local culture and social interfaces’ — that defines the use and management of the built environment. So if we see the city as not just the spatial products, but also as the product of social processes, the kinetic and static elements coming together, then the rising paradigm of cultural urbanism becomes even more pivotal in the struggle for just and all-inclusive gendered spaces of the city. The paper also presents 10 themes/thoughts related to cultural and plural urbanisms with the focus on public space.
In the proposed presentation, I would like to discuss the ways of using urban public spaces for leisure by migrants. Leisure is often associated with free will and self-realization. However, critical research (e.g. Rojek 2010) claimed it is unequally available to various social groups, possesses disciplining features, may be used to foster the interests of dominant groups and to maintain social divisions and hierarchies of prestige. I will focus on the role of city public places as sites of migrants’ leisure. I will rely on the materials gathered during fieldwork among Polish migrants in the UK (2010-11) and the US (2014) in order to present how a park, a shopping mall, a car boat sale and a cultural event are interpreted by migrants and used to imagine their futures and identities. The aim is to describe and compare the empowering and disciplining capacities of these public and semi-public (commercial) spaces and check how they variously function in migrants’ imaginaries and narratives of their lives in new socio-cultural milieu. I am also interested in the sense of place that forms as an outcome of migrants’ recreation in public places, as well as if and how the new sense of place participates in re-creating migrants’ identities.
Oblivions and meaning-making in a contested town: Koper/Capodistria in the eyes of different generations of local residents and migrants

Due to their almost total ‘exchange’ of population the Istrian towns can be taken as a case study ‘par excellence’ for researching issues of memory, heritage, layers of meaning, place attachment, identity, sense of place etc. of contemporary dwellers. When Yugoslavia gained the nationally mixed territory of Istria after WWII, 90% of the mainly Italian-speaking population emigrated, mostly from urban environments, leaving behind ‘ghost towns’ that were settled by newcomers from inland Slovenia and other Yugoslav republics. More than a half century later, in a new (Slovenian) national framework the local and ‘new’ inhabitants still live with their contested pasts, conflicting memories, some of them traumatic, some silenced and others ignored.

The paper explores the diverse perceptions of urban transformations as they were experienced by the current local inhabitants of Koper/Capodistria. These can be grouped according to different ethnic/national appurtenances as well as by generational identity. When during the so called ‘Istrian exodus’ most of the Italian-speaking inhabitants of the north Istrian urban area left, the remained Italians became a national minority. Thus, they found themselves as foreigners in their own homes due to the change of social environment and broken social ties. Their nostalgic memories and identity are embedded in the remains of the pre-war physical environment of the urban space. Conversely, the new Slovenian and ‘Yugoslav’ majority linked its arising common identity with the postwar
modernist architecture and especially its functions. Yet, while the first generation of post-war immigrants still had a strong sense of home related to their places of origin, the second and especially third generation experiences a lack of trans-generational memories linked to the new home environment. At the same time these youngest generations exhibit a very strong attachment to the very specific, transnationally defined, local identity of the ‘Coast’ (Obala).

Each of these groups created their own ‘senses of place’ during their own life-trajectories, which either intersect as points of encounter, or work as time parallel worlds. What all of them have in common today is the violent erasure of their ‘places of memories’ transformed to ‘places of oblivion’. For Istrian Italians this happened with the neglecting and destruction of pre-war (Venetian) heritage in the process of appropriation of space by the new colonizers. On the other hand, the postwar newcomers are currently facing an equal process since their ‘places of memory’ are being pulled down by the bulldozers of contemporary neoliberal speculative real-estate politics.
Small-scale urbanism and social sustainability: Interdisciplinary research of public space in Zagreb

Public space is important for people's satisfaction with their city and neighbourhood and overall quality of life as well as it is important for city's inclusiveness, but in neoliberal economy and because of numerous global changes, public space of the contemporary city is vulnerable and endangered. In our paper we address processes changes that transform contemporary cities and public space, focusing on the ones that are most relevant for Croatia. Using the example of interdisciplinary student's research of public space in city of Zagreb, in particular the research of Trešnjevka area, we show the dynamics of the place and research potential of small-scale projects and interventions regarding issues of social sustainability. Also it will be shown how important is the theme of public space for future experts (in this case architects, urbanists and sociologists) and dialogue between professions in an interdisciplinary approach to research and urban planning as well as urban regeneration and revitalization. The criteria of quality of public space were established and public space of Trešnjevka area was analysed focusing on traditional and contemporary, physical and infrastructural potentials of the public and then re-evaluated and re-interpreted in a new context. Interdisciplinarity and paying equal consideration to small-scale and big-scale transformations of urban space along with understanding of citizens' needs taken together form very important condition for sustainable local community and future sustainable cities.
The place to be? Unpacking the image of Berlin as a creative and diverse metropolis

Berlin has been repeatedly called the creative capital of Europe, or even the creative capital of the world. It is also hailed as ‘diverse’: a multicultural paradise where everyone is ‘different’ and the creative industry booms. In this talk, drawing on theories from urban studies and cultural studies, I will unpack the notions of creativity and diversity and look into the workings and repercussions of branding Berlin as creative and diverse.
Public space offers an empirical means for thinking about diversity in the creation of a more just city (Low, Taplin and Scheld 2005, Fainstein 2000; Merrifield 2012). It is here that race, class, gender, age, sexual preference, ethnicity and ability differences are experienced and negotiated in a forum for political action, communication, and democratic practice (Young 2001, Low 2000). Difficulties encountered in defining what constitutes an equitable distribution of public space necessitate a broader framework of justice that includes distributive, procedural and interactional processes, and encompasses cultural recognition and an emerging ethic of caring for others. This expanded conception of social justice when applied to the governance, policing, planning and design of public space assures greater opportunity for democratic practices. Further it enhances the social diversity of users by reducing exclusionary barriers and encouraging positive experiences when different kinds of people encounter one another (Fincher and Iveson 2008, Low and Smith 2006, Mitchell 2003, Merrifield 2012, Soja 2010). This presentation proposes that distributive, procedural and interactional dimensions of social justice as well as recognition of difference and an ethic of caring and repair can provide a foundation for evaluating the success of public spaces and better social justice assessments of public infrastructure. The example of public spaces in New York City, Philadelphia, Tehran, Iran and San José, Costa Rica illustrate this perspective.
Based on a comparative ethnographic research project (the research team includes Moritz Fischer and Damian Martinez) the proposed talk explores the linkages between morality, threat and diversity within two unequal and diverse neighbourhoods in Murcia (Spain) and Frankfurt (Germany). In our research we found that local threat discourses did not primarily draw on class or ethnicity but crucially relied on moral imaginaries such as ‘good life’, community, public order, security and prosperity. When these moral hypergoods (Taylor) were represented or perceived as endangered, it stimulated dynamics of threat and blaming. Categories of threat and blame were articulated to broader sociological dimensions of difference but were not determined by them. Inhabitants in the examined neighbourhoods were well aware that somebody who belongs to a social category of low social status could still qualify as a ‘good person’ and the other way around. In this sense, the ascriptions of moral value within discourses of threat and blame turned out to be semi-independent from other dimensions of person-related difference. Moral judgements could either reinforce or contest social boundaries based on class, ethnicity, age, gender or residency. On the one hand, persons could be harder judged, hierarchised and excluded with reference to their moral qualities than they could be in other categorical terms. On the other hand, morally appreciated behaviour could also offer a way of challenging social hierarchies based on other dimensions of difference. Contrasting two case studies of threat discourses, it can be shown that the impact of morality on social hierarchies depends on how it articulates within broader configurations of person-related differences.
City-making by urban gardening

The presentation consists of three ethnographic cases of urban gardening in Croatian’s capital, Zagreb and its three socioeconomic, cultural and political facets: community, governance, and sustainability. The author examines past and recent gardeners’ practices, evaluations, and discourses within a given urban space in relation to local (city) and broader (national, supranational) political discourses and agendas on urban gardening, urban planning, green activism and sustainability. Relying on the theoretical and practitioners’ approaches to urban gardening as a particular and complex process – globally addressed and mattered, but locally shaped – a detailed qualitative analysis within a given, city-contextualized framework is employed. The author argues that such an approach can extensively and structurally contribute (Prové et. al. 2016) to better understanding of potentials and difficulties of urban gardening and its globally pronounced, encouraged and claimed benefits.
Staging the city: How festivals and events affect public spaces

There is a long tradition of staging festivals and events in public spaces: indeed, many squares and streets were conceived with this function in mind. However, the rise of entrepreneurial cities and the growth of the experience economy mean that urban public spaces are now more intensively programmed for a wider range of events. This paper highlights the implications of this trend for the publicness of urban spaces. The first part of the paper examines why public spaces are increasingly used for events. Alongside place marketing benefits, many cities have developed event programmes to change the identity, dynamics or users of public spaces or to generate income to offset the costs of maintaining the public realm. Drawing on a conception of public spaces as socio-material assemblages, a framework is then introduced through which we can understand the ways that festivals and events affects the urban spaces in which they are staged. Events can simultaneously animate and revitalise spaces – and diversify uses / users – a process referred to here as ‘eventalisation’. However, they can also contribute to processes of commodification, privatisation and securitisation – ‘eventification’. Ultimately, the paper highlights the ways that temporary events can result in more permanent changes to the identity, representation, design and use of public space. To illustrate the discussion, the paper draws on various research projects undertaken in London, UK – where the use of parks, streets and squares for commercial events is increasingly contested.
Laura Šakaja  
Department of Geography, Faculty of Science,  
University of Zagreb  

The conceptualisation of urban space by blind and visually impaired white cane users

Using the methodology of in-depth interviews, the paper explores how the blind and visually impaired white cane users conceptualise urban space. The research showed that the city is conceived, even without visual mechanisms, through landmarks, paths, edges, nodes and districts, i.e. types of elements in the city image defined by Kevin Lynch. However, spatial representations of the blind are produced on the basis of spatial experience that is proximal and not distal, as was the case with Lynch. The paper discusses the elements of non-visual image of the city constructed through direct touch and by using the white cane. Drawing on Lefebvre’s stance on the interconnectedness of the body, practice and representational spaces, the paper argues that the white cane is not just an aid that facilitates mobility of the blind and helps navigate the space. As a part of the practico-sensory totality of the body it also influences the ways in which the city is experienced and conceived.
Nevena Škrbić Alempijević
Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb

Creating a square: Performances and public space in Zagreb

This paper discusses the role of public events and cultural practices in the making of public space. Through mechanisms of inclusion (and exclusion) attached to them, such performances give us an insight to the following issues: what makes a space public; who defines it, for whom, in which manners and for what purposes; how different agents conceive and experience public space and bring it to life. The focus is on a newly produced, centrally positioned, square in the Croatian capital of Zagreb, which has recently been named the European Square. The author observes strategies in which the attribute of ‘European’ is inscribed in the space. She analyses various performances that are staged on the square as ways to construct, affirm or question the character of the square and its diverse meanings.