

## PROSTORNI ASPEKTI POSJEĆENOSTI KAFIĆA U ZAGREBU: DOBNE I RODNE RAZLIKE

### *SPATIAL ASPECTS OF CAFÉ BAR VISITATION IN ZAGREB: AGE AND GENDER DIFFERENCES*

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#### Izvod

Propitujući fenomen kafića s gledišta njihove lokacije, ovaj se rad nastavlja na istraživanja čiji je cilj razumijevanje uzroka prostorne distribucije ugostiteljskih objekata. Istražujući dobnu i spolnu strukturu posjetitelja gradskih kafića, rad se uključuje u korpus analiza usmjerenih na razumijevanje dobne i rodne određenosti prostornih urbanih praksi. Članak se temelji na istraživanju provedenom 2017. g. kojim su obuhvaćena 224 kafića Donjega grada i Novoga Zagreba, a koriste se i neobjavljeni podaci ranije (2007. g.) provedenog istraživanja kafića. Od metoda upotrijebljeni su intervjui, kartiranje, promatranje, anketiranje. Istraživanje je pokazalo da je posjećenost zagrebačkih kafića prostorno diferencirana. Socio-prostorna dihotomija centar/periferija, prisutna u Zagrebu, odražava se kako na prostornoj distribuciji kafića tako i na dobno-spolnoj strukturi posjetitelja. Donji grad ima veću prostornu gustoću kafića od Novoga Zagreba, a kafići na centralnim lokacijama grada posjećeniji su od onih perifernih. Pritom se veći broj posjetitelja donjogradskih kafića može povezati s činjenicom da su u njima u većoj mjeri prisutne osobe mlađe dobne skupine koje slobodno vrijeme očito radije provode u centru grada nego u njegovim perifernijim dijelovima. Istraživanje je pokazalo i relativno veću zastupljenost žena među posjetiteljima centralno lociranih i skupljih kafića, a muškaraca u jeftinijim kafićima na perifernijim lokacijama. Provedeni intervjui sugeriraju zaključak da se rodna diferenciranost u odabiru lokacija kafića može povezati s drugim rodno označenim fenomenima, u prvome redu s težnjom žena za većom vidljivošću i sigurnošću, koju pak pružaju centralno locirani, dobro posjećeni, otvoreni prostori.

**Ključne riječi:** kafići, prostorna distribucija, dobne razlike, rodne razlike, centralnost, perifernost, Zagreb

#### KAFIĆI: DEFINICIJA I DOSADAŠNJA ISTRAŽIVANJA

Prema rječničkoj definiciji, *kafić* je „ugostiteljski objekt u kojem se poslužuje kava (uz ostala pića)“ (Anić, 1998: 382). Kako se radi o riječi koja je dio razgovornog jezika (Anić, 1998, Opačić, 2005) te se ne pojavljuje na gradskim natpisima i u zakonima (Sabotič, 2004), često dolazi do njenog miješanja s brojnim srodnim pojmovima (birtija, krčma, kavana, gostiona...). Od zakonski prepoznatih pojmova najbliži onome što u razgovornome

#### Abstract

In examining the phenomenon of the café bar in terms of its location, this paper continues earlier research aimed at understanding the underlying causes for the spatial distribution of catering establishments. In analysing the age and gender structure of visitors to city café bars, this paper contributes to study of understanding the roles of age and gender in determining urban spatial practices. This paper is based on a study conducted in 2017 that included 224 café bars in the Lower Town and Novi Zagreb quarters of Zagreb, and also refers to earlier research (2007) conducted on café bars in the city. Methods used included interviews, mapping, observation and surveying. The study found that visitation to Zagreb café bars showed a spatial differentiation. The social and spatial dichotomy of centre vs. periphery that is present in Zagreb was reflected both on the spatial distribution of café bars and on the age and gender structure of patrons. The Lower Town quarter had a higher spatial density of café bars than the Novi Zagreb quarter, and café bars in central locations had higher numbers of visitors than those in the periphery. The higher number of visitors to the Lower Town café bars could also be associated with the fact that visitors were primarily of younger age groups, who prefer to spend their free time in the city centre than in its peripheral areas. The study also showed the relatively higher share of women among visitors to the centrally located and more expensive café bars, while men were more numerous in the less expensive café bars in peripheral locations. The interviews conducted suggest that the gender differentiation in the selection of café bars can be associated with other gender-based phenomenon, above all the tendency of women to seek out places with greater visibility and security, that also offer a central location, strong visitation base and open spaces.

**Key words:** café bars, spatial distribution, age differences, gender differences, central location, periphery, City of Zagreb

#### KAFIĆ: DEFINITIONS AND RESEARCH TO DATE

According to the dictionary definition, the Croatian *kafić* is “a hospitality establishment serving coffee (among other beverages)” (Anić, 1998: 382). As this is a word in the conversational Croatian language (Anić, 1998, Opačić, 2005), it does not appear on the city signs or in the laws (Sabotič, 2004), and therefore it is often mixed together with numerous similar concepts (taverns, coffee shops, cafés, bars, etc.). Among the legally recognised concepts, the

jeziku uglavnom uzimamo za kafić bio bi *caffè bar*<sup>1</sup>, pri čemu kava ima simboličko značenje: kao što su češka kavárna, njemački *Kaffeeklatsch* i francuski *café* dobili ime po kavi (Oldenburg, 1999), tako je i u našem pojmu *kafić* kava prisutna simbolički – kao sinegdoha za piće općenito.

Za potrebe ovoga rada *kafić* ćemo definirati kao mjesto na kojem se poslužuju različite vrste pića i koje posjećuju različite društvene skupine, a pritom pojedinci zadovoljavaju neke od osnovnih ljudskih potreba – kao što su razgovor i boravak među ljudima.

Kafić, ako ga propitujemo s gledišta njegove društvene uloge, možemo konceptualno odrediti kao *treće mjesto*. Pristupajući u ovome radu fenomenu kafića, oslonit ćemo se na teorijsku koncepciju Raya Oldenburga (1999). Naime, upravo je on smjestio kafiće u *treća mjesta*, lokacije između mjesta rada i mjesta stanovanja, gdje velik broj ljudi provodi dio svojega slobodnoga vremena. Treće mjesto opća je oznaka različitih javnih mjesta na kojima pojedinci izvan okvira vlastitoga doma i posla – prvih dvaju mjesta – sudjeluju u regularnim, dobrovoljnim i neformalnim susretima. Koncept trećega mjesta ne otkriva samo vezu koja postoji između ljudi i kafića, već i odnos prema zajednici u kojoj je kafić lociran (Tumanan i Lansangan, 2012). Kafići su mjesta neformalne društvene interakcije, a takvima ih čini niz okolnosti: dostupnost i činjenica da im se može pristupiti u bilo koje doba dana; osjećaj „doma izvan doma“ koji pružaju; razgovor koji je u njima najčešće glavna aktivnost; mogućnost društvenoga potvrđivanja i dobivanja podrške i sl. (o tome vidi Oldenburg, 1999; Tumanan i Lansangan, 2012; Waxman, 2006).

Sukladno tome, kafići predstavljaju fenomen pogodan za istraživanja kojima je u središtu interesa društvo te stoga ne iznenađuje velik broj članaka i knjiga koji za predmet interesa imaju upravo kafiće. Među njima su historiografski (Kneale, 1999; Capp, 2007; Sabotič, 2007; Kümin, 2007), sociološki (Oldenburg, 1999; Cavan, 1966), antropološki (Antoš i dr. 2010) i geografski (Šakaja, 2004) radovi. Brojni autori svjesni su važnosti lokacije za kafiće te su koncepti mjesta i prostora relativno česti u pisanju o kafićima (vidi npr. Cavan, 1966; Kümin, 2007). Od radova koji propituju fenomen kafića s prostornog aspekta valja istaknuti inovativnu analizu Papachristosa i dr. (2011) u kojoj se prostorna distribucija kafića određuje kao važan pokazatelj procesa gentrifika-

closest that comes to the conversational concept of the *kafić* is the *café bar*<sup>1</sup>, in which coffee has a symbolic meaning: similar to the Czech kavárna, German *Kaffeeklatsch* and French *café* were named after coffee (Oldenburg, 1999), so too does the Croatian concept of *kafić* have coffee present as a symbol – as a synecdoche for beverages in general.

For the purposes of this paper, *kafić* is defined as an establishment serving a variety of beverages and visited by different social groups, and individuals seeking out some of the fundamental human needs – such as conversation and socialising. In English, this term will be referred to as a *café bar*.

The *café bar*, if considered from the perspective of its social role, can be conceptionally determined as a *third place*. In approaching this study on the *café bar* phenomenon, we will rely on the theoretical concepts of Ray Oldenburg (1999). He was the one to position the *café bar* as a *third place*, as a location between the workplace and home, where a great many people spend part of their free time. Third place is a general designation for various public places where the individuals can participate in regular, voluntary and informal meetings outside one's own home and work – the first two places. The concept of the third place reveals not only the relationship between people and the *café bar*, but also the attitude towards the community in which the *café bar* is located (Tumanan & Lansangan, 2012). *Café bars* are places of informal social interaction, and are made such due to a series of circumstances, from their accessibility and the fact that they can be visited at any time of day, the feeling of a 'home away from home', conversation as the main form of activity within, the possibility of social confirmation and obtaining support, etc. (see Oldenburg, 1999; Tumanan & Lansangan, 2012; Waxman, 2006).

Accordingly, the *café bar* is a phenomenon suitable for research, in which society is at the centre of interest. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that a great number of articles and books have their focus on the *café*. These include historical (Kneale, 1999; Capp, 2007; Sabotič, 2007; Kümin, 2007), sociological (Oldenburg, 1999; Cavan, 1966), anthropological (Antoš et al. 2010) and geographic (Šakaja, 2004) studies. Numerous authors are aware of the importance of location for *café bars*, and the concept of place and space are commonly considered in studies on *cafés* (see e.g. Cavan, 1966; Kümin, 2007). Papers examining the *café* phenomenon from a spatial aspect include the innovative analysis of Papachristosa et al. (2011), who determined the spatial distribution of coffee shops as an important indicator of the

<sup>1</sup> Prema „Pravilniku o razvrstavanju i minimalnim uvjetima ugostiteljskih objekata iz skupina „Restorani“, „Barovi“, „Catering objekti“ i „Objekti jednostavnih usluga““ [URL 2] *caffè bar* je ugostiteljski objekt u kojem se pretežito priprema i uslužuje kava i drugi napici, uslužuju pića, a mogu se pripremati i usluživati ili samo usluživati topli i hladni sendviči, slastice i voće.

<sup>1</sup> Pursuant to the Ordinance on the classification and minimum requirements for catering establishment in the groups Restaurants, Bars, Off-premises caterers and Simple service establishments [URL 2], a *café bar* is an on-premises catering establishment in which coffee and beverages are prepared and served, drinks are served, and hot and warm sandwiches, desserts and fruits may be prepared and served, or only served.

cije. U okviru domaće literature posebno treba istaknuti knjigu *Stare zagrebačke kavane i krčme* Ines Sabotič u kojoj autorica raspravlja o zagrebačkom urbanom identitetu piše i o *geografiji ugostiteljskih objekata* (Sabotič, 2007).

Promatrano tematski, u tekstovima o kafićima zastupljene su teme odnosa javne i privatne sfere, povezanosti s mjestom, nadziranja te rodni identiteta. Odnos između kafića te *javne i privatne sfere* obilježava svojevrsan paradoks. Naime, dok se danas kafići često smaraju uzurpatorima javnoga prostora, Jürgen Habermas u kavanama ranoga modernog doba vidi prostore inicijalne institucionalizacije političke javnosti (Habermas, 1969). Prema Habermasu, politička javna sfera razvila se iz literarne javnosti posredovanjem literarnog iskustva „privatnosti okrenute javnosti“, a kako su časopisi bili pisani, čitani i kupovani u kavani, sadržaj diskusija bio je nerazdvojno povezan s kavanskim okruženjem (Laurier i Philo, 2007). Ipak, treba reći da su brojni autori (Kümin, 2007; Laurier i Philo, 2007; Cowan, 2001; Howell, 1993) kritični prema Habermasovoj tezi o ulozi kavana kao kolijevki razvoja političke javne sfere, ocjenjujući Habermasov rad kao suviše homogenizirajući, ne-situiran te nedostatan empirijski utemeljen.

Istraživanja (Waxman, 2006; Tumanan i Lansangan, 2012) koja međuodnos kafića i društva razmatraju pomoću koncepta *povezanosti s mjestom (place attachment)* oslonjena su na gore već spomenuti rad Raya Oldenburga (1999) u kojem se društvena interakcija i razvoj društvene zajednice propituje u okviru *trećih mjesta* – okoliša odvojenih od strukturirane rutine kućnog i radnog okruženja.

Brojni autori (Kümin, 2007; Kneale, 1999; Sabotič, 2007; Montgomery, 1997; Oldenburg, 1999) pisali su o kafićima kao mjestima *nadziranja* koje je uglavnom za cilj imalo normalizaciju poželjnog oblika ponašanja. U tome pogledu osobito se ističe pitanje nadziranja žena. Općenito, prisutnost i ponašanje muškaraca i žena vjerojatno je najzastupljenija tema u tekstovima o kafićima (Capp, 2007; Wright, 2003; Cowan, 2001; Reitz, 2007; Hunt i Satterlee, 1987; Coakley, 2002) pa ćemo i rezultate našega istraživanja, koji se dijelom odnose na rodnu strukturu posjetitelja kafića, iščitati u kontekstu te literature.

Ovo istraživanje nastavlja dosadašnja istraživanja u dva smjera. Kao prvo, ono propituje fenomen kafića s gledišta njegove lokacije, pa se tako nastavlja na radove čiji je cilj razumijevanje uzoraka prostorne distribucije ugostiteljskih objekata. Kao drugo, istražujući dobnu i spolnu strukturu posjetitelja gradskih kafića, ovaj rad se uključuje u korpus analiza usmjerenih na razumijevanje dobne i rodne određenosti prostornih urbanih praksi.

process of gentrification. Within the Croatian literature, an important publication is the book *Stare zagrebačke kavane i krčme [Zagreb's old cafés and taverns]* by Ines Sabotič, which examines Zagreb's urban identity and addresses the *geography of hospitality establishments* (Sabotič, 2007).

In terms of topics, studies on cafés have examined the relationship between the public and private sphere, association with place, supervision and gender identity. The relationship between the café bar and the *public and private spheres* is a paradox of sorts. Namely, while today the café is considered a usurper of the public space, Jürgen Habermas viewed the coffee houses of the earlier periods as the initial institutionalisation of the political public (Habermas, 1969). He stated that the political public sphere developed from the literary public through the literary experiences of “privacy turned towards publicity”, and as journals were written, read and purchased in the coffee houses, the content of the discussion was inseparably connected with the coffee house environment (Laurier & Philo, 2007). However, other authors (Kümin, 2007; Laurier & Philo, 2007; Cowan, 2001; Howell, 1993) have been critical of Habermas' claim of the role of the coffee house as the cradle of development for the political public sphere, assessing his work as overly homogenised, unsituated and empirically lacking.

Studies (Waxman, 2006; Tumanan & Lansangan, 2012) considering the relationship between coffee shop and society using the concept of *place attachment* are based on the work of Ray Oldenburg (1999), in which social interactions and the development of the social community is examined in the framework of the *third place* – an environment separate from the structured routine of the home and work environments.

Numerous authors (Kümin, 2007; Kneale, 1999; Sabotič, 2007; Montgomery, 1997; Oldenburg, 1999) have written about cafés as places of *oversight*, where the primary goal is the normalisation of desired forms of conduct. In that sense, the oversight of women stands out in particular. Generally, the presence and behaviour of men and women is likely the most commonly addressed topic in studies on cafés (Capp, 2007; Wright, 2003; Cowan, 2001; Reitz, 2007; Hunt & Satterlee, 1987; Coakley, 2002) and therefore the results of the present study, pertaining to the gender structure of café visitors, will be examined in the context of that literature.

This study continues the research to date in two new directions. Firstly, it examines the café phenomenon from the perspective of location, thereby continuing on those works aimed at understanding the patterns of spatial distribution of hospitality establishments. Secondly, in researching the age and gender structure of visitors to city cafés, this paper is also included in the analyses aimed at understanding the age and gender determinants of urban spatial practices.



## METODOLOGIJA

Rad se primarno temelji na istraživanju provedenom 2017. godine.<sup>2</sup> Istraživanjem su bila obuhvaćena 224 kafića u Zagrebu. Za analizu su odabrana dva međusobno različita područja grada: Donji grad – kao središnji više-funkcionalni, gusto izgrađeni dio grada s obiljem sadržaja i uslužnih funkcija, i Novi Zagreb – dio grada razrijeđene morfologije i diskontinuirane gradnje, s dominirajućom funkcijom stanovanja. Na oba su područja popisani i kartirani kafići koji se nalaze u prizemnim dijelovima zgrada<sup>3</sup>. Popisani su svi kafići na područjima sljedećih odabranih mjesnih odbora:

Donji grad: August Šenoa, Cvjetni trg, Hrvatski narodni vladari, Knez Mislav, Kralj Petar Svačić, Matko Laginja, Nadbiskup Antun Bauer, Petar Krešimir IV, Zrinjevac

Novi Zagreb – istok: Sopot, Središće, Utrine, Zapruđe

Novi Zagreb – zapad: Kajzerica, Savski gaj, Siget, Trnsko<sup>4</sup> (sl. 1).

Dobiveni su podaci omogućili da se navedeni dijelovi grada usporede s obzirom na frekventnost kafića, tj. po broju kafića u odgovarajućem dijelu grada, te s obzirom na njegov broj stanovnika.

U drugom djelu istraživanja, terenskim obilaskom svih 224 kafića dva puta – u podnevnim (11-13h) i u večernjim (18-20h) satima – utvrđen je broj posjetitelja u trenutku obilaska te je procijenjena njihova dobno-spolna struktura. U svim promatranim kafićima popisane su i cijene obične kave.

Na kraju je provedeno i kvalitativno istraživanje u obliku 17 polustrukturiranih intervjua s vlasnicima i voditeljima kafića na oba područja. Intervjui su bili usmjereni na pitanja vezana uz posjetitelje kafića (osobito njihova demografska i društvena obilježja) te lokaciju kafića i utjecaj lokacije na poslovanje.

U svrhu dopune i bolje interpretacije rezultata ovdje su iskorišteni i dosad neobjavljeni podaci istraživanja provedenoga ranije – u 2007. godini<sup>5</sup>. Tijekom istraživanja pod naslovom *Socijalno – geografske pretpostavke posjećenosti kafića* anketirani su posjetitelji 62 kafića u različiti-

## METHODOLOGY

This study is primarily based on research conducted in 2017,<sup>2</sup> on 224 café bars in Zagreb. Two different parts of the city were selected for the study: Lower Town – as the central, multifunctional, densely constructed part of the city with an abundance of urban content and service functions, and Novi Zagreb – a part of the city with less dense morphology and discontinuous construction, that predominantly serves as a residential area. In both areas, all café bars found on the ground floor of buildings were listed and mapped.<sup>3</sup> All café bars in the areas of the following selected local units (represented by a local board) were included:

Lower Town: August Šenoa, Cvjetni trg, Hrvatski narodni vladari, Knez Mislav, Kralj Petar Svačić, Matko Laginja, Nadbiskup Antun Bauer, Petar Krešimir IV, Zrinjevac

Novi Zagreb – east: Sopot, Središće, Utrine, Zapruđe

Novi Zagreb – west: Kajzerica, Savski gaj, Siget, Trnsko<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 1).

The obtained data enabled these selected city areas to be compared in terms of the frequency of café bars, i.e. the number of café bars in each part of the city, and with regards to population.

In the second part of the study, visits were made to all 224 café bars twice – once around noon (from 11 am to 1 pm) and once in the evening (6 to 8 pm) hours – to determine the number of café bars patrons at the time of the researcher's visit, and to determine their age and gender structure. In all observed cafés, the price of a black coffee was also recorded.

Finally, a qualitative survey was conducted in the form of 17 semi-structured interviews with café bar owners and managers in both areas. Interviews were directed at questions concerning café bar patrons (particularly their demographic and social characteristics) and the location of the café bar and the influence of location on operations.

For the purpose of supplementing and better interpretation of the results, the unpublished results of a previous study in 2007 were also included in the analysis.<sup>5</sup> During that study, entitled *Social-geographic assumptions of café bar visitation*, patrons of 62 café bars in different parts of

<sup>2</sup> Istraživanje je provedeno za potrebe diplomskoga rada D. Skočira „Lokacija kao čimbenik društvene uloge zagrebačkih kafića“, Sveučilište u Zagrebu, 2018.

<sup>3</sup> Izostavljeni su kafići koji se nalaze na platoima, višim katovima zgrada i unutar zaokruženih cjelina, poput trgovačkog centra *Avenue Mall* ili Zagrebačkoga velesajma.

<sup>4</sup> Iznimku čine dva kafića smještena na Kvaternikovu trgu koja su popisana iako se nalaze izvan promatranog područja. Razlog tome jest činjenica da se istočnom granicom centra u širem smislu uzima upravo Kvaternikov trg koji je u donjogradskom okviru značajna lokacija.

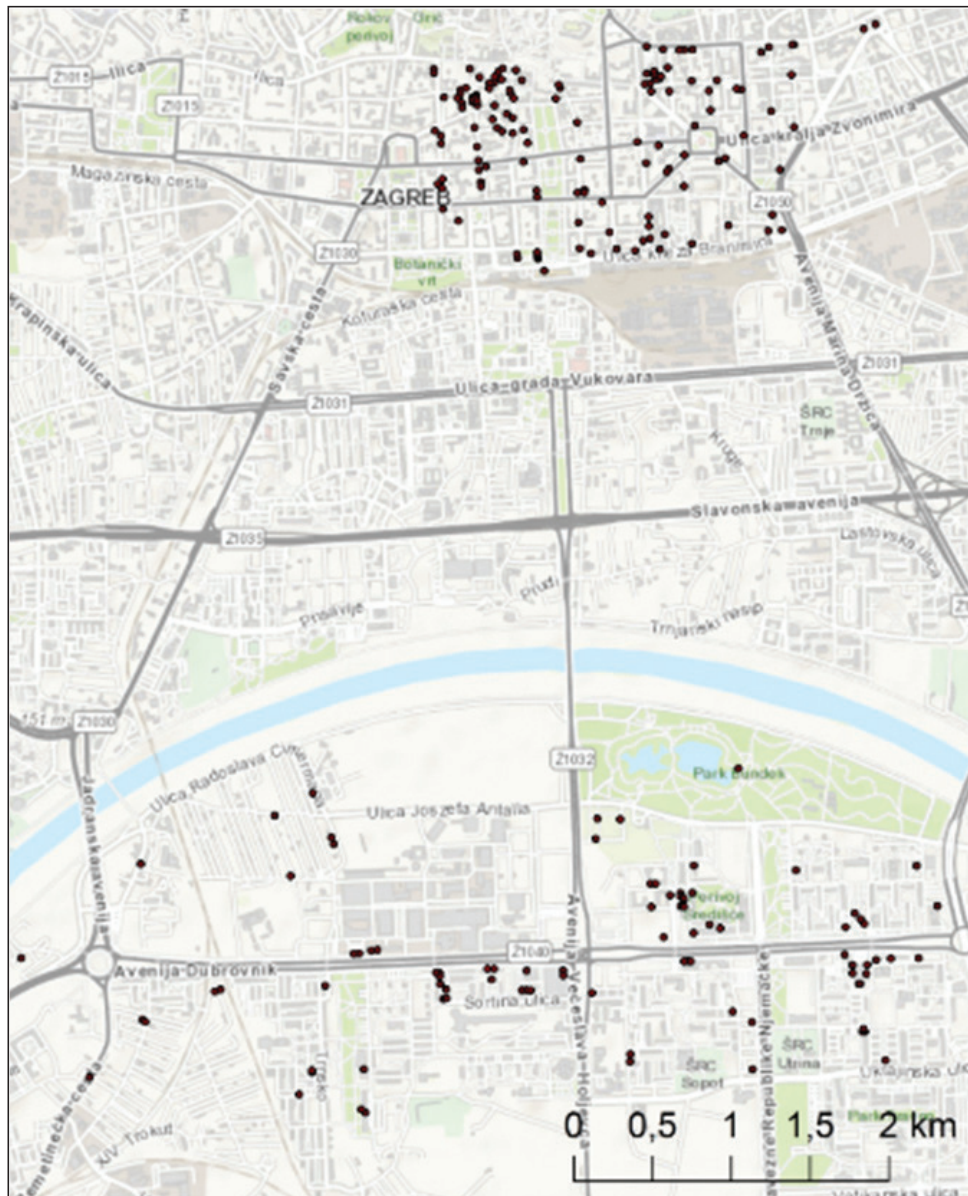
<sup>5</sup> Istraživanje je provedeno u okviru studentskoga seminara unutar kolegija Kulturna geografija (voditeljica L. Šakaja).

<sup>2</sup> The study was performed for the purposes of the graduate thesis by D. Skočir “Lokacija kao čimbenik društvene uloge zagrebačkih kafića” [Location as a factor of the social roles of Zagreb café bars], University of Zagreb, 2018

<sup>3</sup> Café bars situated on plateaus, higher floors of buildings and within closed structures such as the *Avenue Mall* or Zagreb Fairgrounds were excluded from the study.

<sup>4</sup> The exceptions were two café bars situated on Kvaternik Square which were listed though they are situated outside the study areas. The reason for this is the fact that this square is considered to be broader eastern limit of the downtown area, and is a significant location in the Lower Town.

<sup>5</sup> The study was conducted as a part of student seminars within the course Cultural Geography (supervisor L. Šakaja).



Sl. 1. Prostorni raspored kafića obuhvaćenih istraživanjem. Sjeverni dio karte prikazuje kafiće u Donjem gradu, a južni one u Novom Zagrebu

Fig. 1. Spatial distribution of café bars included in the study. The northern part of the map shows the café bars in the Lower Town, the southern part shows the café bars in Novi Zagreb

tim dijelovima grada (Dubrava, Trešnjevka, Novi Zagreb, Trnje, Donji grad). U svakom kafiću korištenjem slučajnog sustavnog uzorka<sup>6</sup> odabrano je po 12 ispitanika<sup>7</sup>, i to po 6 u dnevnim i večernjim satima. Ukupno je ispitano 728 osoba različitih dobnih i rodnih skupina.

the city (Dubrava, Trešnjevka, Novi Zagreb, Trnje, Lower Town) were surveyed. In each café bar, a random sample<sup>6</sup> was used to select 12 respondents in each café bar<sup>7</sup>, i.e. 6 in the day hours and 6 in the evening hours. A total of 728 persons of varying age and gender were surveyed in that study.

<sup>6</sup> Anketirana je po jedna osoba za svakim drugim stolom sve dok predviđena kvota nije zadovoljena.

<sup>7</sup> Iznimku čine 3 kafića u kojima kvota nije ispunjena.

<sup>6</sup> One person at every second table was surveyed until the prescribed quota was reached.

<sup>7</sup> The exceptions were three café bars in which the quotas were not met.

## DIHOTOMIJA CENTRALNO/PERIFERNO I PROSTORNA DIFERENCIJANOST POSJEĆENOSTI ZAGREBAČKIH KAFIĆA

Grad Zagreb se dijeli na centar i periferiju kako unutar znanstvenih diskursa utemeljenih na objektivnim socio-ekonomskim pokazateljima, tako i u imaginiaciji njegovih stanovnika. Socio-prostorna dihotomija Zagreba vidljiva je iz socio-ekonomskih (zaposlenje, edukacija, prihodi) te stambenih, odnosno obiteljskih obilježja. Čaldarović (1987) konstatira podjelu na elitni sjever, „agramerski“ centar i proletariziranu periferiju; Marinović – Uzelac (1978) navodi da se jača odstupanja od prosjeka cjeline grada prema nižem standardu stanovanja i nižem stupnju obrazovanosti javlja u perifernim naseljima, uz tek male otoke u centru; Bašić (1994) ukazuje na postojanje dihotomije grada i suburbija pri čemu je centar grada homogeno područje najvišeg socio-ekonomskog statusa, a statusna se gradacija uočava udaljavanjem od centra; Prelogović (2009) naglašava postojanje socio-prostorne polarizacije, gdje su gradska jezgra i dijelovi neposrednog medvedničkog prigorja kao tradicionalne rezidencijalne zone imućnijeg stanovništva suprotstavljene velikom dijelu gradske periferije koja je obilježena niskim socio-ekonomskim statusom.

Svakodnevni diskurs objektivnu podjelu kodira razlikom između grada (središnjeg fenomena) i kvarta (lokalnoga, perifernoga fenomena). Gulin Zrnić (2009), koja se u knjizi *Kvartovska spika* bavi Novim Zagrebom, upozorava na zanimljiv dijalektički odnos – iako je po definiciji sastavni dio grada, Novi Zagreb kao kvart u prostornoj imaginiaciji njegovih stanovnika jest ne-grad: „Gradom se, u kazivanjima novozagrebačkih kazivača, a slučajni uzorak ukazuje na istu percepciju stanovnika drugih dijelova grada, smatra najuži centar, gradska jezgra – Gornji grad, Trg bana Jelačića, Cvjetni trg, Ilica – ili nešto šire – od Britanskog do Kvaternikovog trga, od Gornjeg grada do Glavnog kolodvora. Tamo se ide u grad. (...) Grad podrazumijeva i senzaciju izlazaka: „idem u grad, idem u civilizaciju“, kaže jedna kazivačica, dok je Novi Zagreb „normalni život““ (Gulin Zrnić, 2009, 117).

Iz knjige Gulin Zrnić vidimo da je u imaginativnoj geografiji stanovnika Novoga Zagreba dihotomija između centra grada i Novoga Zagreba vrlo izražena. U takvim mentalnim slikama Novi Zagreb je negativno lice grada, ne-grad (ibid., str. 66), nepoželjan dio grada, nasuprot poželjnom centru (ibid., str. 61), odvojen i dekontekstualiziran u odnosu na stari grad i društvo (ibid., str. 80). Za razliku od centra, njegove su zgrade bez lica, parkovi bez kipova i vodoskoka (ibid., str 97). To je dio bez sadržaja, odvojen od grada i monofunkcionalan, bez

## DICHOTOMY OF CENTRE/PERIPHERY AND THE SPATIAL DIFFERENTIATION OF VISITATION FOR ZAGREB CAFÉ BARS

The division of the City of Zagreb into the centre and the periphery exists both in the scientific discourse, based on objective socioeconomic indicators, and in the minds of its residents. The socio-spatial dichotomy of Zagreb is evident from the socio-economic (employment, education, revenues) and residential, i.e. family, characteristics. Čaldarović (1987) states a division into the elite northern part of town, the “Agram” centre (note: Agram is the German name for Zagreb), and the proletarian periphery; Marinović-Uzelac (1978) claimed that in the periphery settlements, there is a strong deviation from the city average towards a lower standard of living and lower level of education; Bašić (1994) outlined the existence of a dichotomy of the city and suburbia, in which the city centre is a homogenous area of the highest socio-economic status, and a status gradation is evident with increasing distance from the centre; Prelogović (2009) stressed the existence of socio-spatial polarisation, where the town core and parts of the nearby slopes of Mt. Medvednica are the traditional residential zones of the more affluent population, as opposed to the large areas of the city periphery characterised by a lower socio-economic status.

The daily discourse of the objective divisions creates the difference between the city (central phenomenon) and the neighbourhood (local, peripheral phenomenon). Gulin Zrnić (2009), who addressed Novi Zagreb in the book *Kvartovska spika (Neighbourhood tales)* warned of a particularly interesting dialectic relationships – though it is by definition an integral part of the City of Zagreb, Novi Zagreb as a neighbourhood in the spatial mind of its residents is a non-city: “In the words of the Novi Zagreb interviewees, and the random sample reveals the same perception by residents of other parts of the city, the City is the city centre, the town core – the Upper Town, Trg Bana Jelačića, Flower Square – or somewhat broader – from British Square to Kvaternik Square, from the Upper Town to the Main Station. That is where one goes when they go to town (...) The city also implies the sensation of going out: “I’m going into town, I’m going into civilisation,” said one interviewee, while the life in Novi Zagreb is the “normal life”” (Gulin Zrnić, 2009, p. 117).

From Gulin Zrnić’s book we can see that in the imaginative geography of the residents of Novi Zagreb, the dichotomy between the city centre and Novi Zagreb is very pronounced. In such mental images, Novi Zagreb is the negative side of the town, a non-city (ibid., p. 66), an undesirable part of town, as opposed to the desirable centre (ibid., p. 61), separate and decontextualized in relation to the old town and society (ibid., p. 80). Unlike the centre, its buildings are faceless, parks are without sculptures and fountains (ibid., p. 97). This is an area without content, separate



ekskluzivnosti prisutne u središnjem djelu grada (ibid., str. 111 i 115). Nasuprot užurbanosti centra, Novi Zagreb je miran, usporen, zatvoren u lokalnom javnom prostoru (ibid., str. 116, 136).

Na subjektivni doživljaj Zagreba preko dihotomije centar/periferija posredno ukazuju također i Stiperski (2015) i Čaldarović (1987). Temeljem anketnog ispitivanja iz 2015. godine Stiperski zaključuje da najviše ugone izazivaju mjesta u središnjem dijelu grada, dok mjesta koja izazivaju neugodu nisu vezana uz zagrebačko središte, već uz ostale dijelove grada. Pri tom je znakovito da upravo Tkalčićeva ulica kao područje izrazite koncentracije kafića od svih zagrebačkih ulica izaziva najviše ugone (Stiperski, 2015). Čaldarović smatra da se identifikacija stanovništva s karakterističnim elementima gradske fizionomije događa primarno na pojmovnoj razini te zaključuje da su posebno prepoznatljivi elementi fizionomije oni iz povijesnog naslijeđa koncentrirani u povijesnoj jezgri (u širem smislu), dok se o simbolima izvan ovog prostora uglavnom govori u najopćenitijim kategorijama – nediferencirano (Čaldarović, 1987). Prema tome, centar Zagreba na perceptivnoj razini ugodnije je te u većoj mjeri (pre) poznato područje od periferije.

Sudjeluju li u dihotomiji centar/periferija i kafići, kao prepoznatljiv element urbanog krajolika?

Brojni svjetski gradovi kozmopolitsku sliku („elitnosti“, „prestiza“) svojih središta temelje upravo na brojnosti i karakteru kafića. Tanja Luckins na primjeru Melbournea pokazuje kako su kozmopolitske kulturne prakse, bazirane između ostalog i na posjećivanju kafića, sastavnim dijelom podjele grada na središnji dio obilježen srednje-klasnom gentrifikacijom i kozmopolitskom atmosferom te, na drugoj strani – monotono i bezlično suburbano područje (Luckins, 2009). Slični trendovi uočeni su i u Manchesteru, gdje je provođenje vremena u „boljim kafićima“ simbol homogenizacije središnjih dijelova grada namijenjenih srednje-klasnim životnim stilovima, a čija kozmopolitska slika istovremeno proizvodi nepoželjnog *drugog* – radničku klasu, „momke koji se tuku ispred kafića“, monotone suburbije (Young i dr., 2006).

Postojanje međuodnosa između socijalnoga statusa posjetitelja te karaktera kafića u različitim dijelovima grada također je dokazala Ines Sabotič istražujući zagrebačke kavane i krčme na prijelazu iz 19. u 20. stoljeće (Sabotič, 2007). Utvrđeno je da su kavane kao simbol građanskog sloja imale centralni položaj, nalazeći se uglavnom u blizini Jelačićevog trga, dok se istovremeno niti jedna krčma (kao simbol puka, tj. širih narodnih masa) nije nalazila u strogom središtu grada.

I u našem istraživanju razlika između Donjeg grada kao centralnoga i Novoga Zagreba, kao perifernijega pod-

from the city and monofunctional, without the exclusivity present in the city centre (ibid., pp. 111, 115). As opposed to the buzz of the centre, Novi Zagreb is a quiet and slower, closed in the local public space (ibid., pp. 116, 136).

Stiperski (2015) and Čaldarović (1987) also indirectly point to the subjective perception of Zagreb as a clear dichotomy of centre vs. periphery. On the basis of a survey questionnaire in 2015, Stiperski concluded that places in the centre of the city were the most comfortable, while the least comfortable places were those not associated with the Zagreb centre, but instead with other parts of the city. It is significant that Tkalčićeva Street was perceived as an area of an exceptional concentration of café bars, and of all the Zagreb streets, gave the highest feeling of comfort (Stiperski, 2015). Čaldarović considered that the identification of the population with the characteristic elements of the city physiognomy occurs primarily at the conceptual level, and he concluded that the particularly recognisable elements of the physiognomy are those from the historical legacy concentrated in the historical core (in the broader sense), while the symbols outside this area primarily are in the most general categories – as undifferentiated (Čaldarović, 1987). As such, the centre of Zagreb is more pleasant at the perceptive level, and it is largely better known and recognised area than the periphery.

Do café bars, as recognisable elements of the urban landscape, also participate in the dichotomy of centre/periphery?

Numerous global cities with a cosmopolitan image (elite, prestigious) base their city centres on the number and character of cafés. For example, in Melbourne, Tanja Luckins (2009) showed that cosmopolitan cultural practices, based on café visitation among other things, integrally divide the city into the centre, marked by middle-class gentrification and a cosmopolitan atmosphere, and the monotonous and plain suburban area. Similar trends were observed in Manchester, where images of classy and trendy bars, café bars, coffee houses, nightlife, etc. are used in private-sector marketing to construct the image the Manchester city centre as a place of a chic “cosmopolitan” middle-class lifestyle. Reproduction of these images simultaneously creates the undesirable *other* – the working class, “guys who fight outside bars” and belong to the monotonous suburbs (Young et al., 2006).

The relationship between the social status of visitors and the character of the café bars in different parts of the city was also shown by Ines Sabotič (2007) in her study of the Zagreb cafés and taverns at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was established that cafés, as a symbol of the higher class, took a central position and were mostly in the proximity of Jelačić Square, while not a single tavern (as a symbol of the working man, and the masses) was found in the city core.

In the present study, there is a strong and visible difference between the Lower Town as the central area, and Novi

ručja vrlo je vidljiva. Već i letimičan pogled na prikaz prostorne distribucije kafića (sl. 1) upućuje na veću gustoću kafića u centru grada nego na periferiji. Iako promatrani novozagrebački prostor ima četiri i pol puta veću površinu od donjogradskoga područja, te unatoč više nego dvostruko brojnijem stanovništvu, broj kafića ondje je znatno manji. Prostorna gustoća kafića u Donjem gradu gotovo je sedam puta veća nego u Novom Zagrebu. Istodobno, Donji grad na jedan kafić ima skoro tri i pol puta manje rezidencijalnog stanovništva od Novog Zagreba (Tab. 1).

Zanimljivo da, unatoč tome, vlasnici kafića smatraju kako je *kvartovskih* (tj. lokalnih, odnosno perifernih) kafića previše, a onih u centru grada „nikad dosta“, što obrazlažu turističkim razvojem Zagreba usmjerenim primarno na njegovo središte:

*Ovih kvartovskih je previše... Da ih je manje mislim da bi bolje radili* (V.M. 60).

*Svaki kafić trebao bi nuditi nešto posebno, ne možemo svi biti kvartovski kafići. Zagreb je turističko mjesto* (M.I. 45).

*Kad nama dođe netko tko nije iz Zagreba, on neće ići po kvartovima, nego po centru, zato mislim da u centru ne može biti previše kafića* (H.Š. 25).

Analiza naziva hrvatskih ugostiteljskih objekata (Šakaja, 2004) također pokazuje brojne binarne opozicije, pri čemu je glavne izdvojene značenjske snopove moguće svrstati u dva suprotna pola. S jedne strane

Zagreb as the periphery. Even a brief glance at the spatial distribution of café bars (Fig. 1) indicates a higher density of cafés in the city centre than in the periphery. Though the observed area of Novi Zagreb is 4.5 times larger than the area of the Lower Town, and despite having twice the population, there are fewer café bars there. The spatial density of café bars in the Lower Town was found to be almost seven times higher than in Novi Zagreb. Meanwhile, the Lower Town has almost 3.5 times fewer residents per café bar than Novi Zagreb (Tab. 1).

It is interesting that despite these figures, the café bar owners believe that there are too many neighbourhood (e.g. local, peripheral) café bars, and “never enough” café bars in the centre, which they explain is due to the tourism development of Zagreb that is directed primarily at its centre:

*There are too many neighbourhood café bars... If there were fewer, they would do better* (V.M. 60);

*Every café bar should offer something specific, we can't all be neighbourhood café bars. Zagreb is a tourist city* (M.I. 45);

*When someone comes to visit Zagreb, they won't visit the neighbourhoods, they'll go to the centre, and that's why I think there can't be too many café bars in the centre* (H.Š. 25).

An analysis of the catering establishment names (Šakaja, 2004) also shows numerous binary oppositions. On the one hand, there are names that evoke nearness, security,

Tab. 1. Broj kafića i njihovih posjetitelja te površina i broj stanovnika u odabranim mjesnim odborima gradskih četvrti Donji grad, Novi Zagreb – istok i Novi Zagreb – zapad (2017. g.)

Table 1. Number of cafés and their patrons, and the area and population of selected municipal boards in the neighbourhoods of the Lower Town, Novi Zagreb – east and Novi Zagreb – west (data for 2017).

Gradska četvrt	Broj kafića	Površina odabranih mjesnih odbora (km <sup>2</sup> )	Br. st. odabranih mjesnih odbora (2011.)	Kafića na km <sup>2</sup>	Br. st. na 1 kafić	Broj posjetitelja kafića	Posjetitelji u 11-13 h prema posjetiteljima u 18-20 h
Neighbourhood	Number of café bars	Area of selected municipal area (km <sup>2</sup> )	Population of selected municipal areas (2011 census)	Café bars per km <sup>2</sup>	Population per café bar	Number of café bar patrons	Patrons from 11 am to 1 pm compared to patrons from 6 to 8 pm
DG	134	1,63	20958	82,21	156,4	3685	1,2
NZ-i i NZ-z	90	7,49	47092	12,02	523,24	2178	1,0
Ukupno/Total	224	9,12	68050	24,56	303,79	5863	

DG – Donji grad, NZ-i – Novi Zagreb istok, NZ – z – Novi Zagreb zapad; LT – Lower Town, NZ – Novi Zagreb, includes both east and west sections

Izvor: [URL 1], nadopunili autori

Source: [URL 1], authors



nalaze se nazivi koji evociraju prisnost, sigurnost, mir i spokoj, a njima su suprotstavljeni oni nazivi koji ugoštiteljski objekt označavaju mjestom bogatstva, sjaja, elitnosti, prestiža, moći. Ta razlika, kako vidimo iz intervjua obavljenih u okviru našega istraživanja, može biti transponirana u prostor, pri čemu se u Zagrebu kvartovski (lokalni, periferni) kafići vrijednosno povezuju s prisnošću, intimnošću, ugodnošću, domaćom atmosferom:

*Mi se ovdje svi znamo kao familija. Njega znam 15 godina. Tamo ti [u centru] neće doći stalni gosti* (A.J. 30, vlasnik kafića u Utrinama).

*Ono što povezuje kvartovske kafiće jest osjećaj ugone. Ti si na poznatom terenu jer znaš vlasnika, znaš ljude koji dolaze. Osjećaj povezanosti i ugone, kao da si doma, je bitno i tipično za sve kvartovske kafiće* (S.Š. 25).

*U kvartu je puno intimniji pristup. Domaća je atmosfera. U centru gdje su pretežno prolazni gosti nema potrebe za time* (A.B. 30).

## LOKACIJA KAFIĆA I DOBNA STRUKTURA POSJETITELJA

Broj kafića, kako pokazuju istraživanja (Luckins, 2009, Papachristos i dr., 2011), upućuje na dinamičnost nekog područja, a kako se različite dobne skupine ne odnose jednako prema *akciji* i dinamičnome životnom stilu, može se pretpostaviti da se dobna struktura gostiju u zagrebačkom centru i na periferiji razlikuje.

Naše je istraživanje pokazalo da su kafići Donjega grada posjećeniji u svim dobnim skupinama od kafića Novoga Zagreba. Pritom se veći broj posjetitelja donjogradskih kafića može povezati s činjenicom da su u njima u većoj mjeri prisutne osobe mlađe dobne skupine (20-40 godina) koje slobodno vrijeme očito radije provode u centru grada nego u njegovim perifernijim dijelovima (sl. 2).

Graham Rowles, koji se bavi geografskim iskustvima starijih osoba, primjećuje da je smanjenje *akcije* i sve veća važnost rutine jedno od temeljnih obilježja „bivanja u svijetu“ starijih ljudi (Rowles, 1980 prema Cresswell, 2013). Dok je mlađim dobnim skupinama bitno da budu u središtu zbivanja i okruženi drugim aktivnostima, stariji se ljudi uglavnom odlučuju za njima bliske i pristupačne kafiće. O tome nam svjedoče i ovi odlomci iz provedenih intervjua:

*Mladi se neće potruditi doći negdje radi same kave. Bitna im je blizina drugih stvari u Zagrebu te se zato mladi više okupljaju oko centra, a starijima je više bitno da se osjećaju ugodno i da im je kava dobra...* (S.Š. 25).

peace and tranquillity. On the contrary are those names signifying catering establishments as places of wealth, opulence, eliteness, prestige and power. That difference, as seen in the interviews performed within this study, can be transposed into space. As interviews reveal the Zagreb neighbourhood café bars (local, peripheral) are associated with closeness, intimacy, pleasantness and a home-style atmosphere:

*We've all known each other here like family. I've known him for 15 years. Over there [in the centre] you don't get regular guests* (A.J. 30, owner of a café bar in Utrine).

*It's the feeling of comfort that makes a neighbourhood café bar. You're in familiar territory because you know the owner, you know everyone that comes here. The feeling of closeness and comfort, like you're at home, is important and typical for all neighbourhood cafes* (S.Š. 25).

*There is a much more intimate approach in the neighbourhood. There's a homey atmosphere. In the centre, where the guests are mostly just passing through, there is no need for that* (A.B. 30).

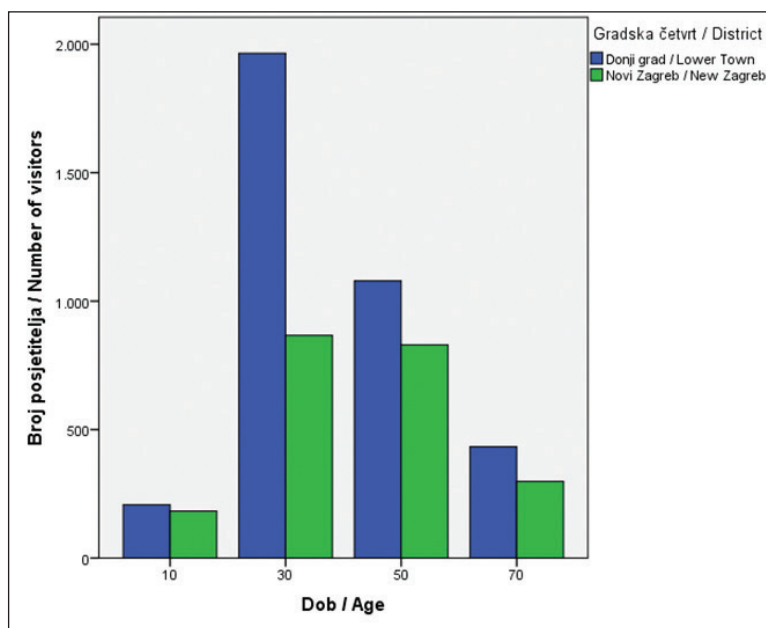
## CAFÉ BAR LOCATION AND AGE STRUCTURE OF PATRONS

As stated in previous studies (Luckins, 2009, Papachristos et al., 2011) the number of cafés indicates how dynamic a certain area is, and since different age groups do not have the same active and dynamic life style, it can be assumed that the age structure of guests will differ between the Zagreb centre and its periphery.

Our study showed that the café bars of the Lower Town were more visited by all age categories than the café bars in Novi Zagreb. A larger number of patrons to the Lower Town café bars can be associated with the fact that they are largely visited by persons in younger age groups (20 – 40 years), who obviously rather spend their free time in the city centre than in the periphery (Fig. 2).

Graham Rowles, who addressed the geographic experiences of elderly people, observed that the reduction of *action* and the increasing importance of routine is one of the fundamental properties of “being in the world” of older people (Rowles, 1980 according to Cresswell, 2013). While for young people it is highly important that they are where the action is and are surrounded by other activities, older people mostly choose to visit café bars that are close to them. This was also seen in the some of the interviews:

*Young people will not make an effort to go somewhere just for the coffee. For them, the proximity to other things in Zagreb is important, and that is why more young people gather in the centre, while for older people, it is more important that they feel comfortable and that the coffee is good...* (S.Š. 25).



Sl. 2. Posjetitelji kafića prema dobi i gradskoj četvrti u kojoj se kafić nalazi

Fig. 2. Café bar visitors by age and neighbourhood where the café bar is situated

*Mladi teže biti u centru, žiži svega, i više se zadržavaju tamo. Ovdje starije osobe više teže kafićima koji su im bliže kući* (M.Č. 45, vlasnik kafića u Sigetu).

Kako bismo potvrdili tezu o dobnim preferencijama u izboru centralnih vs. lokalnih kafića, navest ćemo i neke od rezultata gore spomenutoga neobjavljenoga istraživanja *Socijalno-geografske pretpostavke posjećenosti kafića* iz 2007. godine. Naime, to istraživanje je pokazalo da je dobná razlika u izboru kafića statistički značajna<sup>8</sup>. Zanimljivo je da udio onih koji su tijekom istraživanja anketirani u kafiću čija je prednost, po njima, „da je na središnjem mjestu“ kontinuirano opada s dobi. Suprotno tome, kontinuirano raste s dobi udio onih koji su tijekom istraživanja bili u kafiću čija je prednost, po njima, „da je na mirnome mjestu“ (Tab. 2). Kako možemo zaključiti, s dobi praksa odlaska u kafiće čija se lokacija smatra centralnom znatno se smanjuje, te se sve više – starenjem – prakticira odlazak na manje dinamična, mirnija mjesta.

Isto je istraživanje pokazalo i statistički značajne razlike dobnih skupina u praksi posjećivanja kafića s obzirom na njihovu lokaciju<sup>9</sup>. Naime, mlade osobe, kako vidimo

*The young people want to be in the centre, in the midst of it all, and they spend more time there. Here the older people are more inclined to visit the cafes that are near to home* (M.Č. 45, owner of a café bar in Novi Zagreb - Siget).

In order to confirm the thesis of age preferences in the selection of central vs. local cafés, we can list some of the results of the unpublished study *Social geography assumptions of café bar visitation* from 2007. This study shows that the age difference in the selection of café bars was statistically significant.<sup>8</sup> It is interesting that the share of those persons surveyed answered that the advantage of location of a café bar to them is that it is “centrally located” declines linearly with age. On the contrary, the ratio of those stating that they prefer a café bar “in a quiet place” increased linearly with age (Tab. 2). It can therefore be concluded that with age, the practice of visiting café bars considered to be centrally located significantly dwindles, and with increasing age, the tendency is to go out to less dynamic and quieter places.

The same research showed a statistically significant difference in age groups in the practice of visiting café bars with regard to their location.<sup>9</sup> Namely, younger persons, as seen in the

<sup>8</sup> Pearsonovim  $\chi^2$  testom istražili smo postoje li razlike između dobnih skupina u kriterijima vrednovanja lokacije kafića. Za ovu analizu, odgovori na pitanje „Koja je za vas prednost lokacije ovoga kafića?“ kodirani su na sljedeći način: 1 – na mirnom je mjestu, 2 – na središnjem je mjestu, 3 – drugo, 4 – lokacija nema posebnih prednosti). Test je pokazao značajne dobne razlike:  $\chi^2 = 63.93$ ,  $df = 15$ ,  $p < .001$ .

<sup>9</sup> Pearsonovim  $\chi^2$  testom istražili smo postoje li razlike između dobnih skupina u odabiru lokacija kafića s obzirom na mjesto na kojem rade,

<sup>8</sup> Pearson's  $\chi^2$  test was used to test whether there is a difference between age groups in the criteria of evaluating café bar location. For this analysis, the answer to the question “What do you feel is the advantage of this café bar's location?” was coded as follows: 1 – in a quiet place, 2 – centrally located, 3 – other, 4 – no special advantage in the location). The test showed a significant age difference:  $\chi^2 = 63.93$ ,  $df = 15$ ,  $p < 0.001$ .

<sup>9</sup> Pearson's  $\chi^2$  test was used to test whether there is a difference between age groups in the selection of café bars with respect to the place of work,

Tab. 2. Mišljenje ispitanika o prednostima kafića u kojem su bili prisutni za vrijeme anketiranja: udio odgovora po dobnim skupinama (%), podaci istraživanja iz 2007. g.

Table 2. Survey responses on the advantages of café bars where they were present during the survey: share of responses by age group (%), research data from 2007

Dob / Age	Koja je za Vas prednost lokacije ovog kafića / What do you feel is the advantage of this café bar's location?				
	na središnjem je mjestu / It is centrally located	na mirnom je mjestu / It is in a quiet place	drugo (navedite) / Other (explain)	lokacija nema posebnih prednosti / No special advantage in the location	Ukupno / Total
15-25	34,1	20,1	22,1	23,7	100,0
26-35	23,4	34,8	14,2	27,7	100,0
36-45	21,7	37,2	14,7	26,4	100,0
46-55	12,7	43,1	16,7	27,5	100,0
56-65	5,7	47,1	15,7	31,4	100,0
66+	3,8	53,8	7,7	34,6	100,0

Tab. 3. Lokacija kafića u kojem se provodila anketa u odnosu na lokaciju mjesta rada, mjesta školovanja i mjesta stanovanja ispitanika: udio odgovora po dobnim skupinama (%), podaci istraživanja iz 2007.

Table 3. Location of café bars in which the survey was carried out, in relation to the place of work, place of schooling and place of residence: share of responses by age groups (%), research data from 2007

Dob / Age	Koja je tvrdnja za Vas točna?					Drugo / Other	Ukupno / Total
	radim u blizini, dolazim u kvart poslovno / I work nearby, I come to this area on business	školujem se u blizini (škola, fakultet, drugo) / I go to school (or I go to university) nearby	živim u blizini / I live nearby	ne živim, ne radim i ne školujem se u blizini, ali dolazim u ovaj kvart u slobodno vrijeme / I don't live, work or go to school nearby, but I come to this area in my free time			
15-25	10,3	35,7	29,8	14,3	9,9	100,0	
26-35	37,5	4,9	31,9	13,2	12,5	100,0	
36-45	52,3	0	29,7	10,9	7,0	100,0	
46-55	37,9	0	44,7	9,7	7,8	100,0	
56-65	19,7	0	66,2	8,5	5,6	100,0	
66+	3,8	0	80,8	7,7	7,7	100,0	

(Tab. 3), najčešće odlaze u kafić u blizini mjesta školovanja, dok osobe u dobnim skupinama 26 – 45 godina najčešće odlaze u kafiće u blizini mjesta rada ili mjesta kamo dolaze poslovno. Za razliku od njih, osobe u najstarijim dobnim skupinama – od 45, a osobito oni stariji od 56 godi-

table (Tab. 3), most often visit cafés near their place of schooling, while those in the age group of 26–45 years most often visit the café bars near their place of work, or places where they visit on business. Unlike them, persons in the oldest age categories – over 45, and particularly those over 56 years – most often visit

školuju se i stanuju. Za ovu analizu, odgovori na pitanje „Koja je tvrdnja za Vas točna?“ kodirani su na sljedeći način: 1 – školujem se u blizini / radim u blizini / dolazim u ovaj kvart poslovno, 2 – živim u blizini, 3. – dolazim u ovaj kvart u slobodno vrijeme, 4- ostalo. Test je pokazao značajne dobne razlike:  $\chi^2 = 66.24$ ,  $df=15$ ,  $p < .001$ .

schooling or residence. For this analysis, the answers to the question: “Which of the following apply to you?” were coded in the following way: 1 – I go to school nearby/I work nearby/I come to this area on business, 2 – I live nearby, 3. I come to this area in my free time, 4 – other. The test found a significant age difference:  $\chi^2 = 66.24$ ,  $df=15$ ,  $p < 0.001$ .



na – najčešće posjećuju kafiće u blizini mjesta stanovanja. Ukratko, za mlađe dobne skupine važna je blizina kafića od škole ili fakulteta, za srednje dobne kategorije blizina radnome mjestu, dok je starijim posjetiteljima posebno bitna blizina mjestu stanovanja.

### RODNE RAZLIKE U PRAKSI POSJEĆIVANJA KAFIĆA

Rodni identiteti gostiju važno su obilježje kafića. O njima ovisi koja će se pića nalaziti na stolu, koje teme razgovora će cirkulirati, kakvi će biti dekoracija i ugođaj itd. S obzirom na praksu posjećivanja kafića između žena i muškaraca postoje stanovite razlike<sup>10</sup>, a lokacijske preferencije tek su jedan aspekt razlikovanja.

Kava je, kao piće koje definira ovu vrstu ugostiteljskog objekta, dugo vremena bila smatrana muškim pićem. Kafići su bili javna mjesta suprotstavljena privatnoj sferi doma te je većina autora suglasna oko toga da su kroz povijest kafići bili uglavnom „muška mjesta“ (Hunt i Satterlee, 1987; Oldenburg, 1999; Kümin, 2007; Wright, 2003; Capp, 2007; Kneale, 1999). Za žene je u prošlosti ulazak u javnu sferu muškog kafića bio moguć pod jasno određenim uvjetima. Pratnja muške osobe ili okruženost grupom prijatelja za ženu su bili nužni ako je htjela ući u prosječni kafić. No, kao što su postojali tipični muški kafići, bilo je i isključivo ženskih kafića. Clare Wright piše o ženskim *lounge*-ovima, mjestima na kojima je vladala ugodna i topla atmosfera ispunjena osjećajem zajedništva, što su oznake uglavnom pridavane muškim kafićima (Wright, 2003). Feministička kritika, koja brine o ženskoj emancipaciji, može takvim mjestima uputiti različite prigovore. Primjerice, može se prigovoriti da su za kulturu kafića, koja je bila dominantno muška, ženski kafići iznimka koja potvrđuje pravilo, ne remeteći tako mušku hegemoniju i prihvaćajući podređenost; također, ženama bi se dalo prigovoriti i da su preozbiljno shvatile tvrdnju da je ugodan kafić „dom udaljen od doma“ – tako što su kućanske poslove i teme razgovora iz privatne sfere prenijele u javni prostor kafića, čime njihov „bijeg“ nije bio funkcionalan, već primarno prostor (Wright, 2003). Ipak, Wright koja primjećuje važnost rodnih podjela za socijalnu geografiju kafića nastoji ukazati na nešto drugo. Preokret u rodnim odnosima koji se nominalno čini pozitivnim

<sup>10</sup> Primjerice, istraživanje iz 2007. godine pokazalo je da su muškarci u većoj mjeri od žena *regularni* posjetitelji kafića, dok će žene u neki kafić češće od muškaraca sjesti „po prvi put“. Također, anketom je utvrđeno da većina gostiju u pojedini kafić dolazi povremeno (313, 43%) ili često (345, 47,4%), a tek manji broj (69, 9,5%) njih po prvi put sjeda u neki lokal.

cafés near their place of residence. In short, for the younger age groups, the proximity of the café bar to their school or university is important, for the middle age groups, proximity to work is important, while for older patrons, it is particularly important that the café bars are near home.

### GENDER DIFFERENCES IN CAFÉ BAR VISITATION

The gender identity of guests is an important characteristic of the café bar. This will determine which drinks are found on the table, which topics of conversation will circulate, which decorations will be visible, and what the atmosphere will be like, etc. Since there are particular differences in the practice of café bar visitation between men and women,<sup>10</sup> and the locational preferences are just one aspect of this differentiation.

Coffee, the beverage that defines this type of catering establishment, was long considered a male drink. The cafés were public places countering the private home sphere, and most authors agree that over history, the cafés were primarily “male places” (Hunt & Satterlee, 1987; Oldenburg, 1999; Kümin, 2007; Wright, 2003; Capp, 2007; Kneale, 1999). For women in the past, entry into the public sphere of the male café was possible only under specific circumstances. A woman had to be accompanied by a man, or surrounded by a group of friends if she wanted to enter the ordinary public house. However, just as there were typical male pubs, there were also exclusively female cafés. Clare Wright wrote about the ladies’ lounges, places with a cosy atmosphere, where women nurtured a positive group identity and sense of community, just as their male counterparts used public bars (Wright, 2003). Feminist critics, concerned with women’s emancipation, may find many reasons to criticize such places. For example, it could be said that in the male-dominated culture of the pub, the ladies’ lounges did not disturb the male hegemony, nor they did dispute female subjugation. It could also be said that women too literally took the claim that a cosy ladies’ lounge was “a home away from home”- such that they transferred household chores and private conversations into the space of the ladies’ lounges, whereby their “getaway” was spatial, not functional (Wright, 2003, 13). However, observing the importance of gender divisions for the social geography of the pub, Wright strives to point out something else. The shift in gender relations that nominally appeared positive (specifically, the increasing share of women in establish-

<sup>10</sup> For example, the 2007 study showed that men were, to a larger extent than women, regular café patrons, while women more often than men said they were in that café bar “for the first time”. Also, the survey confirmed that most guests come only occasionally to the café bar (313; 43%) or often (345; 47.4%), and only a smaller number (69; 9.5%) were in that establishment for the first time.

(konkretno, povećanje udjela žena u kafićima i njihov ulazak u dotada muške kafiće čime postaju ravnopravne/ije) ima i svoje kontra-efekte. Da bi ušle u javni prostor kafića kao ravnopravne, žene su se morale prilagoditi posebnim uvjetima. One tako moraju paziti na vlastitu prezentaciju i izgled te ne mogu kao nekada u svome isključivo ženskom kafiću biti opuštene i neuredne, što često ima za posljedicu da se povlače u vlastitu kuću (Wright, 2003).

Također, važno je tko i na koji način piše o rodnim podjelama u kafićima. Wright (Wright, 2003) primjećuje da većina istraživanja koja se bave ženskom konzumacijom alkohola primjenjuje „model bolesti“, odnosno medicinsko-sociološki pristup čiji je cilj identifikacija i liječenje problema. Bernard Capp (Capp, 2007) fenomen pijanstva označava kao primarno muški, no naglašava da su se negativne konotacije odnosile i na žene. Ipak, manje senzacionalnom ženskom pijanju pridano je znatno manje pažnje. Da bi se pisalo o ženama u pubovima nije bilo dovoljno da budu prisutne – morale su u nečemu pretjerati ili prekršiti određeni moralni zakon (Kümin, 2007).

Na osnovi našega istraživanja moguće je ustvrditi da između broja muških i ženskih posjetitelja zagrebačkih kafića postoje tek manje razlike. Na uzorku od 5863 prebrojenih posjetitelja novozaagrebačkih i donjogradskih kafića, udio muškaraca bio je 56,5% (3310), dok je udio žena bio 43,5% (2553), što je dobra osnova za tezu o smanjenju rodnih razlika u posjećivanju (zagrebačkih) kafića.

Ipak, naše istraživanje je pokazalo određene rodne razlike u praksi posjećivanja kafića. Usporedimo li, primjerice, rodnu strukturu posjetitelja donjogradskih i novozaagrebačkih kafića, dolazimo do zaključka da centar grada karakterizira jednaka zastupljenost muških i ženskih posjetitelja, ali zato lokalne kafiće u Novome Zagrebu žene posjećuju u značajno manjoj mjeri od muškaraca (sl. 3). Ovakvi rezultati sukladni su nekim već provedenim istraživanjima koja potvrđuju privlačnost centralnih lokacija u gradu za žensko provođenje slobodnoga vremena (npr. Coakley, 2002).

Sličan oblik obrnute rodne hijerarhije gdje su žene relativno zastupljenije na centralnoj, a muškarci na perifernoj lokaciji moguće je uočiti i na nižoj prostornoj razini<sup>11</sup>. Za primjer je uzet Donji grad (sl. 4) te je vidljivo da kafići na središnjim lokacijama poput Trga Ante Starčevića, Kvater-

ments and their entry into the previously predominantly male bars, pubs and café bars, thereby making them (more) equal) also had counter-effects. In order to enter the public space of this kind of establishment as an equal, women were required to accept special rules. They were required to be cautious in their own presentation and appearance, and could not act relaxed or unkempt as they could in their exclusively female ladies' lounges, which often as a result lead to women retracting back into their homes (Wright, 2003).

Also, it is important to know who writes about the gender division in pubs and in what way. Wright (Wright, 2003) observed that most research dealing with the women's consumption of alcohol apply the "disease model", a medical and sociological approach aimed at identifying and treating a problem. Bernard Capp (Capp, 2007) marked the phenomenon of drunkenness as primarily male, though stressed that the negative connotations also applied to women. However, less sensational women's drinking has been given much less attention. In order to write about women in pubs, it was not enough that they simply be present – they had to display excess behaviour or violate a certain moral rule (Kümin, 2007).

On the basis of our research, it can be stated that there are only minor differences between the numbers of males and female patrons in Zagreb café bars. On the sample of 5863 persons counted in the café bars in the Lower Town and Novi Zagreb, the share of males was 56.5% (3310), while the share of women was 43.5% (2553).

However, this study also showed that there are still certain gender differences in the visitation of café bars. For example, a comparison of the gender structure of visitors of the Lower Town and Novi Zagreb café bars shows that the city centre is characterised by a uniform representation of men and women, while the local café bars in Novi Zagreb have a higher male than female contingent of visitors (Fig. 3). These results support the claims of other studies that women are more attracted to central locations in the city, where they prefer to spend their time (e.g. Coakley, 2002).

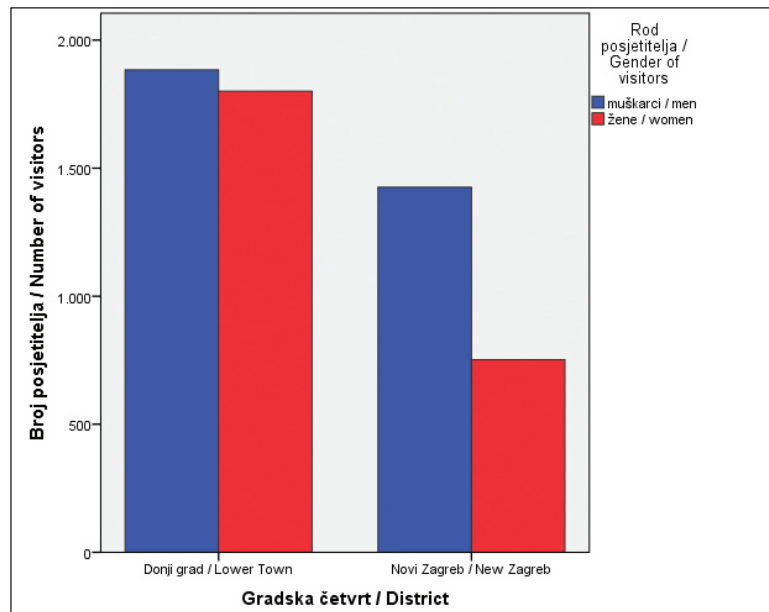
A similar form of reverse gender hierarchy, where women are relatively well represented in central area, and males in peripheral locations, can also be seen at a lower spatial scale.<sup>11</sup> Using the example of the Lower Town (Fig. 4), it is evident that cafes in central locations, such as Ante Starčević Square,

<sup>11</sup> Općenito govoreći, za zagrebačke su se kafiće mikrolokacijska obilježja pokazala u najmanju ruku jednako važnima kao obilježja širih prostornih skala. Znakovit je u tom pogledu slučaj kafića koji se adresom nalazi na Trgu bana Josipa Jelačića, a čija vlasnica smatra da se kafić nalazi postrani:

*Ipak sam povučena postrani. Ipak je ovo dvorište. Koliko ima prednosti, toliko ima i mana. Meni zna doći dečko od trideset godina i reći: Isuse bože, nisam znao za ovaj prolaz; iako smo praktički na trgu. Ipak je ovo malo uvučeno, svi se iznenade (N.N. 55).*

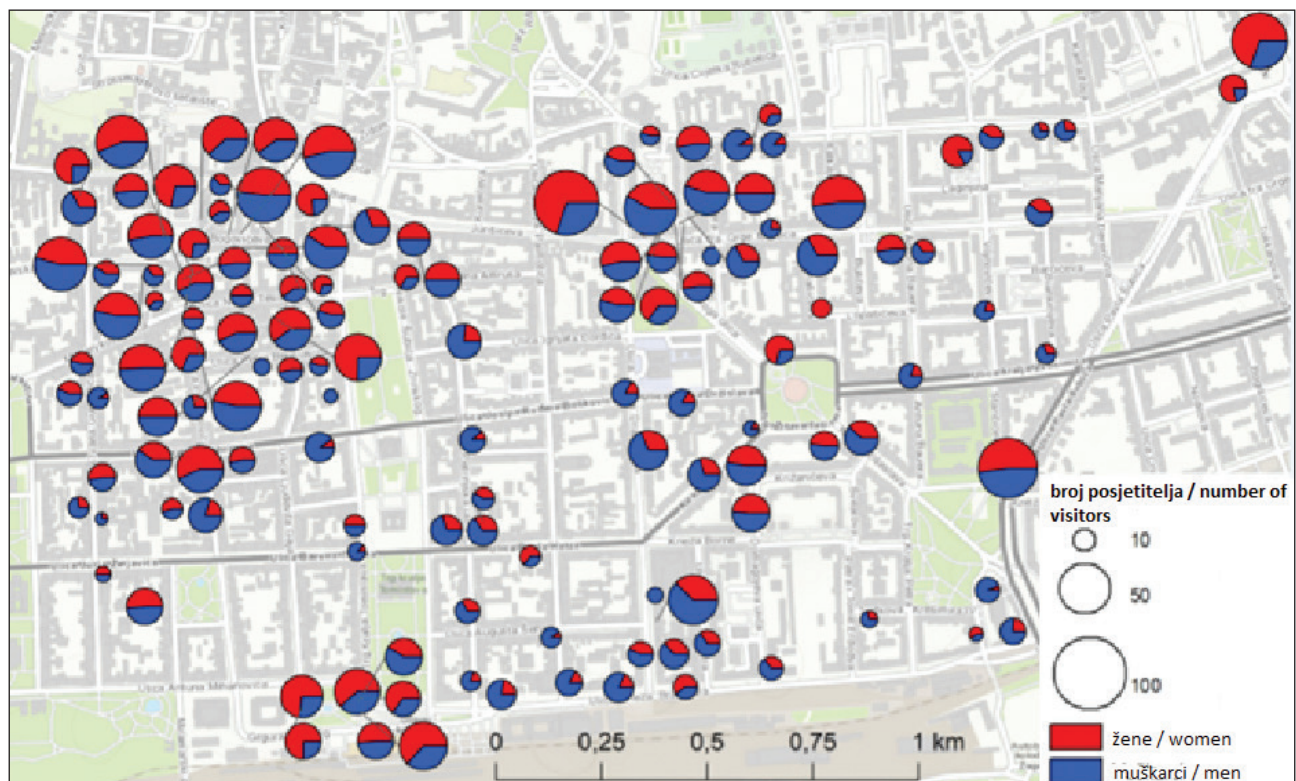
<sup>11</sup> Generally speaking, for the Zagreb cafe bars, micro-location proved to be equally important as location at the broader scale. The case of a cafe bar that stands on Ban Jelačić Square is significant, as the owner believes that the cafe bar is situated off to the side:

*We are pulled off to the side. This is a courtyard. There are just as many advantages as disadvantages. Even though we are virtually on the main square, I have had young guys of about 30 years old come to me and say, 'My goodness, I had no idea that this passageway even existed'. We are pulled back, and everyone is surprised (N.N. 55).*



Sl. 3. Posjetitelji kafića prema rodu i gradskoj četvrti u kojoj se kafić nalazi

Fig. 3. Café bar visitors by gender and neighbourhood where the café bar is situated



Sl. 4. Donjogradski kafići prema rodu gostiju i ukupnom broju posjetitelja

Fig. 4. Lower Town café bars by gender and total number of guests



nikova i Iblerova trga te užega centra grada (špice) imaju veće udjele ženskih gostiju i veći ukupni broj posjetitelja od kafića koji se nalaze u sporednim ulicama i stambenim blokovima koji u pravilu imaju manje posjetitelja i više muških gostiju. Pri tome postoji statistički značajna pozitivna korelacija između broja posjetitelja kafića i udjela žena u njima ( $r=0,349$ ,  $p<0,01$ ).

Centralno locirani kafići to su ujedno i kafići sa skupljom kavom (sl. 5, 6 i 7), pa drugi zanimljivi nalaz istraživanja jest činjenica da žene u prosjeku posjećuju skuplje kafiće, dok muškarci češće sjedaju u one jeftinije (sl. 8).

Kako interpretirati takve rodne razlike u praksi posjećivanja kafića? Intervjui s vlasnicima i voditeljima kafića omogućuju nam dva objašnjenja.

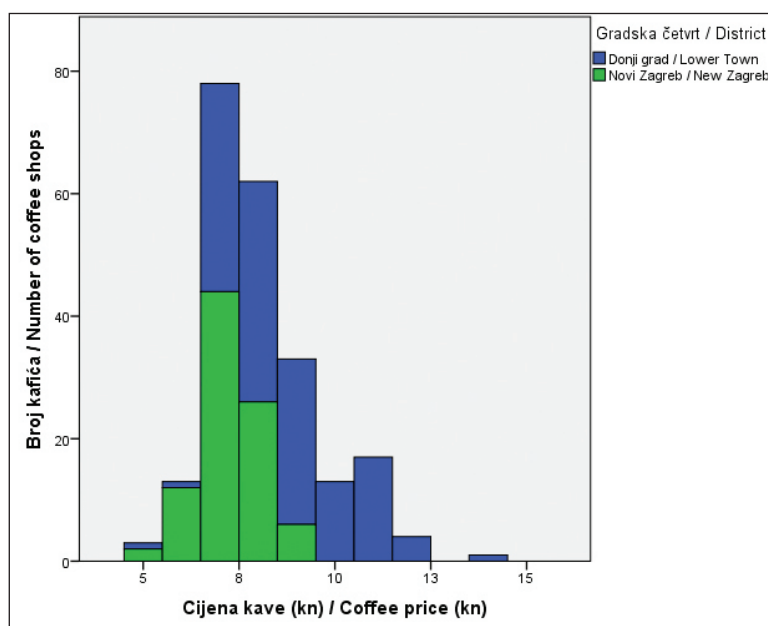
Dio intervjuiranih ističe potrebu žena za vlastitom prezentacijom. Antropolog Bojan Mucko, koji na špicu (uže gradsko središte) gleda kao na kompleksan fenomen tranzicijske kulture povezan s ritualnim ispijanjem kave, primjećuje usmjerenost prolaznika na vlastitu reprezentaciju i elitni životni stil opisujući fenomen „privremenom subotnjom gentrifikacijom gradskog središta“ (Antoš i dr., 2010). U skladu s time možemo zaključiti da bi jedan od razloga ženskog preferiranja centralno lociranih i skupljih kafića u tom smislu bio određen željom „da se vidi i da se bude viđen“, odnosno željom za participacijom u elitnome okruženju. N.N., vlasnica kafića uvučenog u dvorište komentira:

Kvaternik Square and Iblerov Square, and the downtown core have a higher ratio of female guests, and a higher number of total visitors than café bars found on secondary streets and in residential areas which, as a rule, have fewer visitors and a higher ratio of male guests. There is a statistically significant and positive correlation between the number of café bar patrons and the share of women within ( $r=0.349$ ,  $p<0.01$ ).

Centrally situated café bars are also those with the most expensive coffee (Figs. 5, 6 and 7), and another interesting find of this study is that women on average visit more expensive café bars, while men more often sit in the less expensive ones (Fig. 8).

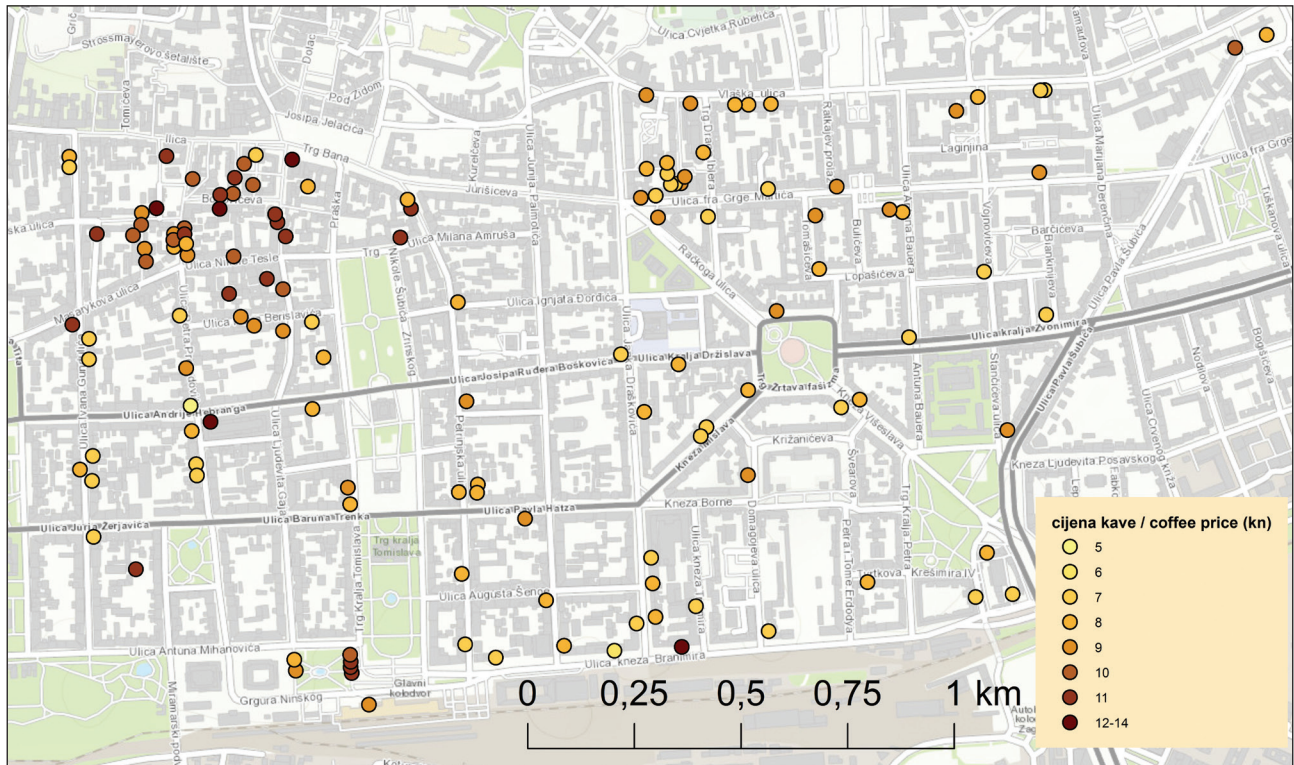
How can these gender differences in the visitation of café bars be interpreted? Interviews with owners and managers gave two explanations.

Some of those interviewees stated the need of women for their own presentation. Anthropologist Bojan Mucko, who views the Zagreb špica (dynamic meeting place in the core of the downtown area) as a complex phenomenon of a transitional culture associated with the ritual of drinking coffee, observed the focus of passers-by on their own representation and an elite lifestyle. He describes this phenomenon as a “temporary Saturday gentrification of the town core” (Antoš et al., 2010). Accordingly, we could assume that one of the reasons for the preference of women for centrally located and more expensive café bars in that sense is determined by the desire “to see and be seen”, i.e. to participate in an elite environment. N.N., the owner of the pulled back courtyard café bar, commented:

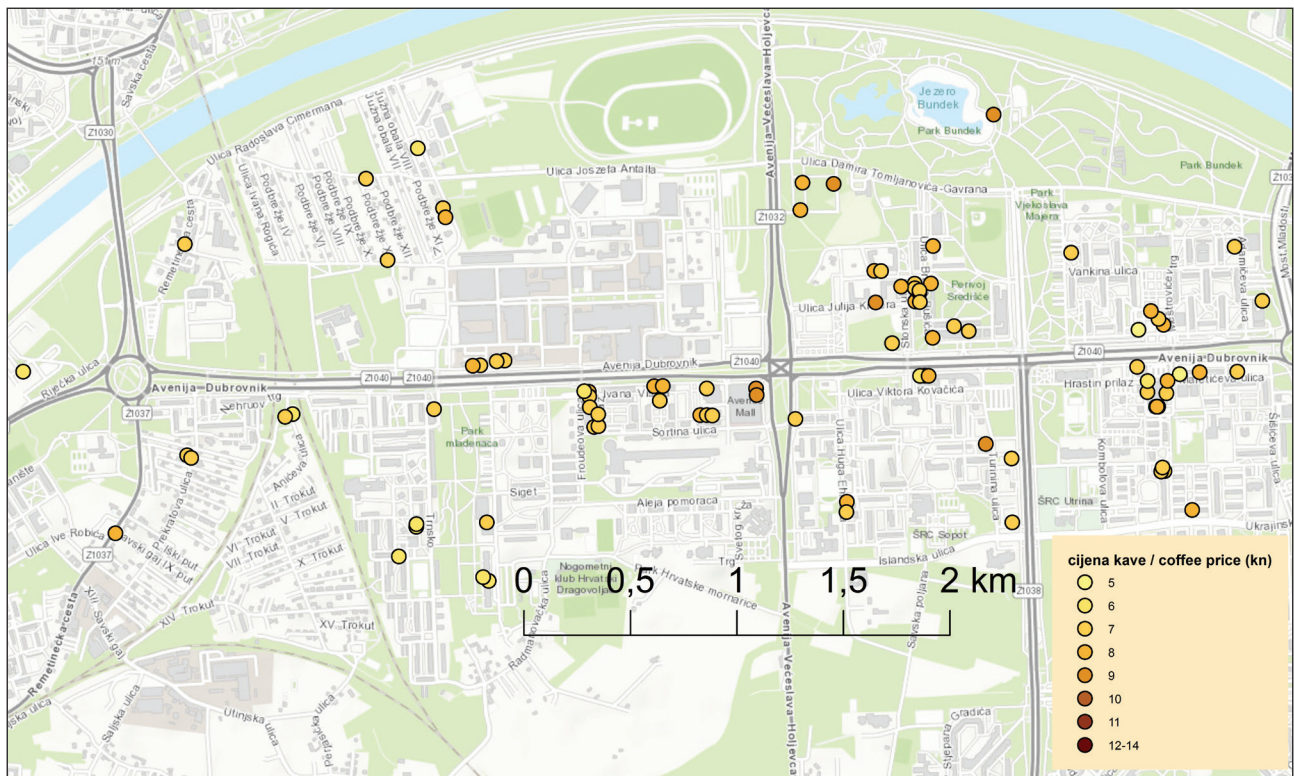


Sl. 5. Cijene kave u Novom Zagrebu i Donjem gradu 2017. godine

Fig. 5. Price of coffee in Novi Zagreb and Lower Town in 2017

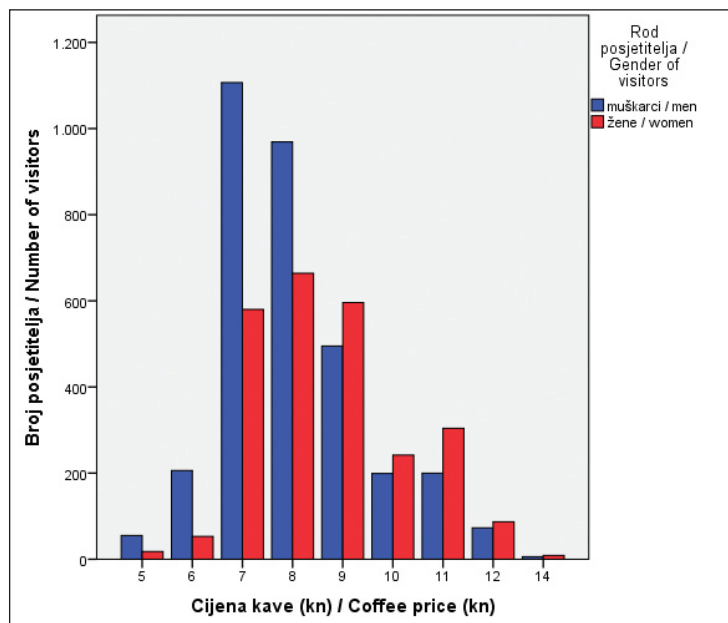


Sl. 6. Cijene kave u donjogradskim kafićima 2017. godine  
 Fig. 6. Price of coffee in the Lower Town café bars in 2017



Sl. 7. Cijene kave u novozagrebačkim kafićima 2017.godine  
 Fig. 7. Price of coffee in the Novi Zagreb café bars in 2017





Sl. 8. Kafići prema rodu posjetitelja i cijeni kave

Fig. 8. Café bars by gender of patrons and price of coffee

*Kad žene dođu, one ne bi sjele tu, one bi išle na Trg. One bi se malo poslikale* (N.N. 55).

S. Š. pak objašnjava koncentraciju žena u kafićima Cvjetnoga trga:

*Na Cvjetnom prevladavaju više žene, a muški ne biraju previše. Njima je bitno da im je najbliže, da im je usput, da je jednostavno, da nema nekih komplikacija. Žene su više izbirljive* (S.Š. 20).

Rodne razlike u praksi posjećivanja kafića možemo objasniti i na drugi, možda i plauzibilniji način. Naime, iz intervjua proističe da žene u većoj mjeri od muškaraca vode računa o estetici i sigurnosti. Činjenica da žene preferiraju kafiće koji se nalaze na centralnim lokacijama te u prosjeku posjećuju kafiće daje nam mogućnost za tvrdnju da im je sigurnost povezana s većim brojem ljudi u kafiću posebno važna. Vlasnici kafića upitani su „što posjetitelj *gleda* na kafiću pri odluci u koji kafić će sjesti“, a ponavljajuće isticanje uređenja terase kao privlačnoga faktora sugerira važnost vizualnog aspekta:

*Gledaju terasu kakva je. Ako je ljepša terasa, tu će sjesti* (V.M. 60).

*Ako je kafić sređen i ima urednu terasu, onda će se ići u njega. Prvi dojam je ključan* (M.Č. 45).

*Ljeti terase. Gledaju i osvjetljenje i kako je uređen, no u principu terasa je na prvom mjestu* (Z.J. 40).

*Terasa, kako izgleda objekt, kako izgleda terasa i unutarnji prostor...* (I.K. 35).

*When women come here, they prefer not to sit here, they want to sit on the Square. They want to be seen* (N.N. 55).

S.Š. had a different explanation for the concentration of women in the café bars on Flower Square (Cvjetni trg):

*Women are more numerous on Flower Square, while men are less choosy. For men, it is important that it is as close as possible, that it is not out of the way, that it is simple, that there are no complications. Women are choosier* (S.Š. 20).

The gender differences in the visitation of café bars can also be explained in another way, which is perhaps more plausible. Namely, from the interviews, it was found that women are more inclined to take account of aesthetics and security. The fact that women prefer café bars in central locations, and usually busier café bars, indicates that the possibility of a higher sense of security when there are more people in the café may be particularly important. Café bar owners were asked the following question: “What do visitor *look at* in café bars before deciding which one to go to?”, and the numerous answers regarding the appearance of the outdoor terrace as an attractive factor suggest the importance of the visual aspect:

*They look at what the terrace looks like. If the terrace is attractive, they will sit there* (V.M. 60).

*If the café bar is attractive with a nice looking terrace, then they will go there. The first impression is key* (M.Č. 45).

*In summer, the terrace. They also look at the lighting and interior decoration, but generally, the terrace is most important* (Z.J. 40).

*The terrace, and the appearance of the structure, what the terrace and interior look like...* (I.K. 35).



O povezanosti sigurnosti kafića s njegovom vidljivošću i osvijetljenošću već se mnogo pisalo. Tako, primjerice, Kneale (1999) piše da za britanske pabove viktorijanskog doba vidljivost bila važan zahtjev, pri čemu se ulaz i izlaz iz objekata nadgledao s ciljem prevencije moralne zaraze prostora u neposrednom okruženju paba). Slično je bilo i u Zagrebu na prijelazu iz devetnaestog u dvadeseto stoljeće. Kako piše Sabotič (2007, 44) vlasti su s ciljem održavanja javnog reda nastojale osigurati preglednost ugostiteljskih objekata te je stoga osvijetljenost postala važnim obilježjem. Povećanjem vidljivosti – ulica je postala „prava promatračnica“.

Sigurnost mjesta osigurava i njegova dobra posjećenost, otvorenost mnoštvu očiju, a prema tome mogućnost socijalne kontrole. Efikasnost takvoga „prirodnog nadzora“ posebno je istaknuta na primjeru terasa kafića (Montgomery, 1997; Oldenburg, 1999) koje izlaze na ulice i osiguravaju velik broj ljudi koji nadgledaju javne prostore te pridonose redu i sigurnosti.

Činjenicu da žene izbjegavaju perifernije i jeftinije kafiće moguće je, prema tome, protumačiti kao svojevrsnu defenzivnu strategiju. Takvi se kafići percipiraju kao manje sigurni, a tek su posredno – jeftiniji. Kvarтовski, odnosno periferniji kafići u zagrebačkom se kontekstu nerijetko označavaju „birtijama<sup>12</sup> koje posjećuju pijanci“.

*Ima kvartovskih lokala, razne birtije, u kojima se uglavnom zadržavaju muški. Muška druženja, zapijanja i slično. Svaki kvart ima takav lokal (Ž.S. 35).*

*U lokalnim kvartovima više su na pivi nego na kavi (F.Š. 30).*

Takvi se lokali i u intervjuima povezuju sa (ženskim) strahom:

*Žene odbijaju i pijanci, onda će otići u drugi kafić, gdje je više mir, gdje ne viču, ne piju. Kad ljudi popiju, onda zafkavaju i provociraju žene, a to one naravno ne vole (V.M. 60).*

<sup>12</sup> Upravo se tako, na primjer, one pojavljuju u Bovičevim „Metastazama“. Krešimir Nemeć o tome piše: „Birtija je i u Metastazama predočena kao važan prostor društvene razmjene i stalne cirkulacije, mjesto oblikovanja vlastite stvarnosti i prakticiranja uobičajenih rituala, u ovom slučaju izrazito rodno obilježenih („dokazivanje muškosti“): ispijanje golemih količina piva, igranje pikada, razgovori o nogometu i kvocijentima na sportskoj kladionici, tučnjave, izivljavanje na slabijima od sebe, seksistički ispadi prema konobarici. Izvan tih društveno beskorisnih ili štetnih aktivnosti nije ostalo gotovo ništa: svakodnevnica obilježena besposličarenjem i prijestupima za kvartovske je žestoke momke i „heroje ulice“ poželjan životni stil. Pozicionirani na socijalnu marginu i urbanu periferiju, oni rijetko odlaze u centar. Ali i kada odu u centar grada „gledat male“, jasno se očituje diferencijacija između mi i oni. Oni u centru su drugi svijet: „hrpa počesljanih kretena s aktovkama“ (Nemeć, 2010: 234).

Many authors have discussed the association of café safety with its visibility and light levels. For example, Kneale (1999) stated that for British pubs of the Victorian age, visibility was an important requirement, in which the entrance and exits of the establishment were supervised for the purpose of preventing the moral infestation of the space in the direct surroundings of the pub. It was similar in Zagreb at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. According to Sabotič (2007, 44), the authorities aimed to maintain public order by ensuring that catering establishments were supervised, and therefore light levels became an important property. With increasing visibility – the street became a true “observation post”.

The security of a place is ensured by high frequency of guests, the openness of many eyes, and accordingly, the possibility of social control. The efficacy of such “natural supervision” is particularly emphasized, for example, on the café terrace (Montgomery, 1997; Oldenburg, 1999) which takes the café out onto the street and ensures a large number of people overseeing the public space and contributing to order and safety.

The fact that women avoid peripheral and cheaper café bars could, accordingly, be interpreted as a defensive strategy. Such cafés are perceived as less safe, and are only secondarily – cheaper. The neighbourhood, or peripheral, café in the Zagreb context is often considered a “*birtija*,”<sup>12</sup> (something akin to a country pub) that is frequented by drunks.”

*There are neighbourhood establishments, various pubs, which are mostly filled with men. Male socialising, drinking and the like. Every neighbourhood has an establishment like that (Ž.S. 35).*

*In the neighbourhood establishments, they drink more beer than coffee (F.Š. 30).*

In the interviews, such establishments were associated with (female) fear:

*Women are turned off by the drunks, and then they will go to a different café bar, where there is more peace, where nobody is shouting or getting drunk. When people drink, then they make fun and provoke the women, and of course, the women don't like that (V.M. 60).*

<sup>12</sup> These establishments, for example, appear in Bovičev's *Metastaze* (*Metastases*). Krešimir Nemeć says: “In *Metastaze*, the *birtija* is portrayed as an important area for social exchange and ongoing circulation, a place for shaping one's own reality and practicing the usual rituals, and in this case, are particularly gender biased (“proving one's manhood”): drinking massive quantities of beer, playing darts, discussing football and sports betting coefficients, brawls, picking on the weaker, sexist shouts at the waitress. Outside of these socially pointless or harmful activities, there is virtually nothing: a daily life marked by doing nothing and misdemeanours is a desirable lifestyle among the neighbourhood tough guys and “street heroes”. Positioned on the social margins and urban periphery, they rarely enter the city centre. But when they do enter the city centre to “check out the young chicks”, there is a clear differentiation between “us” and “them”. Those in the centre are another world: a “bunch of combed over guys with briefcases” (Nemeć, 2010: 234).

*Ako nudiš alkoholne proizvode moraš biti svjestan da će možda doći do pijanstva. Ukoliko do toga dođe, a osoba negativno ili agresivno reagira na pijanstvo, ti se kao žena ili konobarica, odnosno osoba koja je gost u kafiću, moraš nekako nositi s tom situacijom. Ti si u trenutku direktan sudionik toga što se događa. Ljudima je dosta bitno da se osjećaju sigurno i ugodno (S.Š. 25).*

*Djevojke neće doći tamo gdje sjede pijanci (M.I. 45).*

Općenito govoreći, povezivanje nasilja s određenim okolišem utječe na prostorne prakse žena, a prihvaćanjem defenzivnih strategija žene „dobrovoljno“ limitiraju vlastito kretanje. Pri tome se pokazalo da su u gradskom okruženju dva tipa prostora vezana uz žensku nesigurnost: veliki, otvoreni, prazni prostori bez ljudi (i bez socijalne kontrole povezane s prisutnošću mnoštva ljudi) te zatvoreni prostori s ograničenim mogućnostima izlaza gdje napad može ostati neprimijećen (Šakaja, 2015). I u jednom i u drugome slučaju to su prostori ograničene „prirodne kontrole“. Usporedbom korištenja café-a s otvorenim terasama te pabova naslućuje se da je u kontekstu kafića opreka između (ženske) sigurnosti i nesigurnosti uvelike uvjetovana arhitektonsko-okolišnom otvorenošću, prostranošću i vidljivošću s jedne te zatvorenošću, skućenošću i prikrivenošću s druge strane. Žene se osjećaju ugodnije u otvorenim i elegantnim nego u zatvorenim, „grubim“ kafićima (Montgomery, 1997).

## ZAKLJUČCI

Područje Donjega grada karakterizira veća prostorna gustoća kafića, kao i manji broj rezidencijalnog stanovništva po kafiću u odnosu na Novi Zagreb. Radi se o pokazateljima koji potvrđuju centar grada kao dinamičan koncept u odnosu na statičnu periferiju, a što svoj odraz između ostaloga ima i u strukturi posjetitelja kafića te njihovim prostornim preferencijama. Uzmemo li za primjer obilježje dobi, primjećuju se stanovite razlike između mlađih i starijih gostiju. Mlađim gostima važna će biti blizina kafića u odnosu na školu ili fakultet, dok će oni stariji bitnom istaknuti blizinu mjestu stanovanja; mlađi će posjetitelji preferirati kafiće na središnjim lokacijama, okružene raznolikim i brojnim sadržajima, dok će za starije pogodan kafić biti na mirnome mjestu. Upravo zato, kada kafiće gradskoga centra opisujemo kao poželjne, dobro posjećene i dinamične, bitno je imati na umu da se radi o obilježjima koja su dobrim dijelom povezana s njihovim relativno mlađim gostima; takvi su kafići u opreci sa statičnijim lokalnim kvartovskim kafićima koje u većoj mjeri posjećuju stariji gosti.

U prošlosti su kafići primarno bili shvaćeni kao javna, muška mjesta, suprotstavljena privatnoj ženskoj sferi doma. Brojčana zastupljenost žena danas je znatno povoljnija

*If you offer alcohol, you need to be aware that this might result in drunkenness. If it does, and you negatively or aggressively react to drunkenness, as a woman or a waitress, or a person who is a guest in the café bar, you somehow have to deal with the situation. At that moment, you are a direct participant of what is happening. It is really important for people to feel safe and pleasant (S.Š. 25).*

*Girls won't enter where drunks are sitting (M.I. 45).*

Generally speaking, the association of violence with a certain environment influences the spatial practices of women, and by accepting a defensive strategy, women “voluntarily” limit their own movements. It was seen that in the city environment there are two types of establishments that are associated with female insecurity: large, open, empty spaces without people (and without the social control associated with the presence of a multitude of people) and closed spaces with limited possibilities to escape, where an assault could go unnoticed (Šakaja, 2015). In each of these cases, these are areas of limited “natural control”. A comparison of the use of cafés with open terraces and pubs indicates that in the context of the catering establishments, the contrast between (female) security and insecurity is largely defined by the architectural and environmental openness, spaciousness and visibility on the one hand, and weak visibility and lack of space on the other. Women feel more comfortable on their own or meeting other women in open and elegant café bars as opposed to closed, “rough” pubs (Montgomery, 1997).

## CONCLUSIONS

The Lower Town area is characterised by a greater spatial density of café bars, and a lower residential population per café bar than Novi Zagreb. These are indicators that confirm the city centre as a dynamic concept in relation to the static periphery, which is reflected in the structure of visitors to the café and their spatial preferences. Considering age as a factor, there are obvious differences between younger and older patrons. For younger guests, it is important that the café bar is near to their school or university, while older guests prefer café bars nearer to home; younger visitors will prefer café bars in central locations, surrounded by diverse and abundant things to do, while older people prefer café bars in a quieter place. For that reason, when the café bars of the city centre are described as desirable, very frequented and dynamic, it is important to keep in mind that these are properties that are largely associated with their relatively younger guests; such cafés are contrary to the static local neighbourhood café bars, which are mostly visited by the older guest.

In the past, the café bars were primarily considered a public, male place, as opposed to the private female sphere of the home. Today, the numerical representation of women

nija, iako je na primjeru zagrebačkih kafića moguće ustvrditi da muških posjetitelja i dalje ima više (56,5% muškaraca, 43,5% žena).

Ovo je istraživanje pokazalo značajne rodne razlike u praksi posjećivanja kafića. Promotrimo li rodnu strukturu posjetitelja zagrebačkih kafića kroz prizmu prostorne suprotstavljenosti centra i periferije, moguće je uočiti svojevrsnu obrnutu hijerarhizaciju. Žene koje su brojčano slabije zastupljene u kafićima relativno su zastupljenije na centralnim lokacijama, dok muški gosti u većoj mjeri preferiraju periferno locirane kafiće. Radi se o odnosu prisutnom na široj gradskoj razini, ali i na nižim prostornim skalama, na razini ulica i stambenih blokova.

Analiza rodni razlika u praksi posjećivanja kafića pokazala je dva zanimljiva fenomena: 1. žene posjećuju kafiće u kojima se prosječno nalazi veći broj gostiju, a muškarci posjećuju pretežno kafiće s manjim ukupnim brojem posjetitelja; 2. žene u prosjeku posjećuju skuplje kafiće od muškaraca.

Provedeni intervjui s vlasnicima i voditeljima kafića omogućuju formuliranje dviju hipoteza. Kao prvo, žensko preferiranje centralno lociranih i skupljih kafića određeno je željom „da se vidi i da se bude viđen“, odnosno željom za participacijom u elitnome okruženju. Kao drugo, žene u većoj mjeri od muškaraca vode računa o estetici i sigurnosti kafića te stoga biraju urednije, skuplje, centralnije locirane, kafiće s boljom vidljivošću i mogućnošću socijalne kontrole. Potvrđivanje tih hipoteza, dakako, zahtijeva daljnja istraživanja.

is substantially higher, though for example, it can be observed that there are still more men than women (56.5% men; 43.5% women) in Zagreb café bars.

This study showed significant gender differences in the visitation of café bars. If we consider the gender structure of patrons of Zagreb café bars through the prism of the spatial opposition of the centre and periphery, a sort of reverse hierarchisation can be observed. Women, who are less represented in café bars in number, are relatively more dominant in the central locations, while male guests largely prefer the peripherally located café bars. This is a relationship present at the broader city level, and also at lower spatial scales, at the street and block level.

An analysis of gender differences in the visitation of café bars showed two interesting phenomena: 1. Women tend to visit café bars that have, on average, a higher number of guests, while men prefer café bars with a smaller number of visitors, and 2. Women on average visit more expensive café bars than men.

On the bases of interviews conducted with café bar owners and managers we can formulate two hypotheses. The first is that women prefer centrally located and more expensive café bars, determined by the desire “to see and be seen”, i.e. a desire to participate in an elite environment. The second is that women are more prone to be concerned with the aesthetics and safety of the café bar, and therefore choose better designed, more expensive, centrally located café bars with higher visibility and possibilities for social control. Confirming these two hypotheses requires further study.



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