

valentina
gulin zrnčić

moj dom: stvaranje *mjesta* u novozagrebačkom prostoru

my home: *place making* in the area of novi zagreb

▼ Teoretizirajući prostor unutar kulturne antropologije kao "semiotički kodiranu i interpretiranu stvarnost", Setha Low defini- ra "fenomenološko i simboličko iskustvo prostora" kao jednu od istraživačkih per- spektiva u antropološkom pristupu životnom okolišu.¹ Antropološka je pretpostavka da ljudi, pojedinci, kroz svoje življeno iskustvo, *transformiraju prostor* (materijalni, izgra- đen, fizički, zadani) u *mjesto* (simboličko, identitetno). Ovakvo konceptualno razliko- vanje prostora i mjesta, pozivajući se na fenomenološki pristup, prihvaćaju mnogi suvremeni antropolozi koji se bave temom "stvaranja mjesta" (*place making*).² Pri tome je, dakle, naglasak na stvaranju značenja i izvjesne značenjske koherencije za pojedinca, i to upravo u okolnostima svakodnevnog života u kojima živi: prostor (fizički, izgrađeni), vrijeme (provedeno u prostoru) te sebstvo (osobni razvoj) fuzioni- raju se u značenjsko *mjesto*. Značenja su subjektivna i nastaju na temelju "življenog iskustva" (*lived experience*) u kojemu se mnoge stvari usvajaju, postaju neupitne i dijelom neosviještene, a osnova su percep- cije i interpretacije koju pojedinac izvodi. Urbani krajolik, izgrađeni okoliš, postaje sastavnim dijelom tog življenog iskustva. Jedno je takvo iskustvo i život u naseljima novogradnje: to su nova iskustva gradske svakodnevice u drugoj polovici 20. stoljeća.

Na temelju etnografskog istraživanja predstaviti ću jedan od procesa transforma- cije prostora (novozagrebačko naselje izgrađeno sredinom sedamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća) u značenjsko mjesto. Temelj ove transformacije urbanoga jest *upisivanje osobnog iskustva u fizički prostor i prisvajanje materijalnog okoliša u vlastitom življe- nom iskustvu*. Korpus građe na kojemu se zasniva interpretacija u ovome tekstu nas- tao je u radu s djecom osnovnoškolske dobi u naselju Travno u Novom Zagrebu.³ Dakle, proces transformacije o kojemu govorim odnosi se na činjenicu provođenja djetinjstva u specifičnom, izgrađenom i oblikova- nom urbanom prostoru. Stvaranje mjesta središnja je interpretativna tema ovoga rada, ali izabrana građa implicitno nazna- čuje propitivanje niza tema suvremene urbane svakodnevice - kvalifikacije urbanog djetinjstva, poimanja doma u gradskim uvjetima života i konstrukcije urbanih iden- titeta.

● Spatializing space in cultural anthropology as "semiotically encoded and interpreted reality," Setha Low has defined "phenome- nological and symbolic experience of space" as a research perspective in the anthropo- logical approach to living environment.¹ Anthropology presupposes that people, i.e. individuals, transform space (material, built- up, physical, or given) into places (symbolic or identity related) through their lived expe- rience. Such conceptual differentiation of space and place, which refers to the phe- nomenological approach, has been accept- ed by a number of contemporary anthropol- ogists dealing with the topic of "place mak- ing."² The accent is thus placed on the crea- tion and certain coherence of meaning for the individual, which is related precisely to the circumstances of his everyday life: space (physical or built-up), time (spent in that space), and his Self (personal development) merge into a place that is meaningful. These meanings are subjective and created on the basis of his "lived experience," in which many things are adopted, taken for granted, and partly unrealized, thus becoming the basis for the individual's perception and interpretation. Urban landscape, i.e. built- up environment, becomes the constituent part of that lived experience. A form of such experience can be found in residential block- houses: they have become the new experi- ence of everyday urban life in the second half of the twentieth century.

My aim is to use the results of my eth- nographic research in order to present one of the processes that creates the transformation of space (a residential quarter in Novi Zagreb, built in the mid 1970s) into a mean- ingful place. This urban transformation is based on the *inscription of personal experi- ence into physical space, as well as the adoption of material environment in one's own lived experience*. The corpus on which my interpretation has been based was put together by interaction with primary school children in the residential quarter of Travno (Novi Zagreb).³ The mentioned process of transformation is related to the fact that they have spent their childhood in a specific, built-up, and formed urban space. Place making is the central interpretative topic of this study, but the fieldwork material implies dealing with a number of other topics related to contemporary urban everyday life, such as the qualification of urban childhood, under- standing of home in urban circumstances, and the construction of urban identities.

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¹ SETHA M. LOW, *Spatializing Culture*, u: *Theorizing the City. The New Urban Anthropology Reader*, (ur.) S. M. Low, New Brunswick, New Jersey, London, 1999., 112-113.

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¹ SETHA M. LOW, *Spatializing Culture*, in: *Theorizing the City. The New Urban Anthropology Reader*, ed. by S. M. Low, New Brunswick, New Jersey, and London, 1999, 112-113.

1. "U Travnom ima puno parkova, livada, brda, zgrada i nebodera." (I.B., devetogodišnjak).

"In Travno, there are lots of parks, meadows, hills, buildings, and skyscrapers." (I.B., age 9).

Foto / photo: www. travno.com.





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ODRASTANJE

Odrastanje ovdje poimam kao proces koji se upravo odvija. Stoga on i jest oslikan isječcima razgovora s djecom osnovnoškolske dobi: oni koji već jesu odrasli tretiraju svoje djetinjstvo kao sjećanje, dok je onima koji odrastaju to aktualno življeno iskustvo.

Djeca u dobi oko 9-10 godina, *treći razred*, još su intenzivno vezana uz boravak u naselju, čak samo uz dio naselja, najčešće onaj koji se nalazi neposredno uz njihovu stambenu zgradu. Upotreba prostora uvelike je određena roditeljskom zabranom prelaska preko glavne ceste, kako objašnjavaju djeca. S roditeljima posjećuju druga naselja i druge dijelove grada, znaju da se naselje Travno nalazi u Novom Zagrebu, ali rijetko tko je znao nabrojati imena susjednih naselja. Neka djeca ne razlikuju Travno i Zagreb kao dvije urbane mjere, naselje i gradsku cjelinu. Percepcija naselja integrira cjelokupan urbani krajolik - u Travnom "ima mnogo parkova, livada, brda, zgrada i nebodera" - ne dijeli se priroda od izgrađenoga okoliša koji i s parkovima i s neboderima i s automobilima ulazi u sastavni dio iskustva djetinjstva u urbanom prostoru.

GROWING UP

I have conceived growing up as an ongoing process. It is illustrated with the following segments of my conversations with primary school children: those who were grown up treated their childhood as a cluster of memories, while those who were still in the process of growing up understood it as an actual lived experience.

Children who were 9-10 years old and attended the third grade of primary school proved to be most intensely bound to their life within the residential quarter or even a part of it, mostly the one that was in close vicinity to the building in which they lived. The way they used this space was largely defined by their parents' prohibition to cross the big street, as children put it. Together with their parents, they visited other quarters and other parts of the city. They knew that their quarter was called Travno and that it was a part of Novi Zagreb, but hardly any child could name the neighbouring quarters. Some children could not differentiate between Travno and Zagreb as urban entities of a different scale: a residential quarter and a city. Their perception of the residential quarter encom-

Prostor oko njih ponekad opisuju poetično, gdje "oko moje kuće raste mnogo crvenih i bijelih ruža", gdje "pas Miki laje, a ptičice cvrkutaju" na putu do škole. Neki su tekstovi kritični, jer djeca gaze po travi, ljudi bacaju smeće, psi zagađuju prostor. Između idiličnog i kritičnog nalazi se jedan opći pozitivan stav prema vlastitoj životnoj okolini i svakodnevnim praksama. Zgrade su im "lijepa", a i najveća stambena zgrada, kolokvijalno zvana *Mamutica*,⁴ također je "dobra" i "lijepa", posvojena prijateljima koji žive u njoj. "Mamutica mi je baš dobra, tako, što ima puno ljudi, puno ljudi živi u njoj, tam' skoro svi moji prijatelji iz razreda žive, ima puno toga", priča devetogodišnjakinja. Visoke zgrade, bilo da u njima djeca žive ili ne, ne predstavljaju im zapreku i neugodu.

Upotreba prostora vezana je uz dvoje. Jedno su opskrba i škola, pa će tako djeca znati dućane koje koriste, a cijeniće blizinu i sigurnost kretanja: "meni je tu, ja sam tu sretna, lijepo mi je i prilagođena sam na sve, i blizu mi je škola i kad sam išla u vrtić isto mi je blizu bio, negdje to nema tako (...) meni je sve blizu, i dućan, i ne moram nigdje, ne znam, ne moram ići daleko do škole, blizu mi je jako škola ... samo se spustim dole, idem preko parkića, nemam ceste". Druga upotreba prostora naselja je igra. Pri tome ih ostali korisnici prostora, tvrde, ne smetaju, bočari ili kartaši, jer "mi nikad ne sjedimo skoro, zato uopće ne smetaju skoro, mi se igramo, čarobnjaka nekih ili detektiva", ali smeta ih da "psi se stalno negdje pokakaju ili popiške", a dobro bi im došla i koja fontana ili spomenik u parku - "onako da stoji jedan pa da ga možemo gledati i penjati se po njemu".

Djeca s kojom sam razgovarala nisu znala što bi to bila "spavaonica" i zašto bi se tako nazivao Novi Zagreb. Svi su potvrdno odgovorili na pitanje je li im Travno dom - to im je "najljepše naselje", ističu "jako volim Travno", ali mnogi nisu znali definirati taj osjećaj doma - "valjda da mi tu pristaje baš", kaže jedan dječak, "to bi značilo da mi je ovak' poznato", kaže drugi.

Djeca *petog razreda*, 11-12 godina, još su uvijek dominantno vezana uz nasele, okupljaju se "obično u vrtiću (...) ili u parkiću, ili pred školom", ali će u svojim izlascima odšetati i u druga naselja - "šećemo oko Travnog (...) pa odemo u Utrine, Zaprude". Mnogima je Travno "rodno naselje", drugi su doselili i imaju jasnu usporednu perspektivu procjene što

passed the whole urban landscape - in Travno, they said, "there are lots of parks, meadows, hills, buildings, and skyscrapers" - and they could not separate nature from the built-up environment, which structured their experience of childhood in urban space together with its parks, skyscrapers, and cars.

Sometimes, children described space around them in a poetic way: "Around my house, there are lots of red and white roses," while on the way to school "Miki the dog is barking and birds are singing." Some texts were critical: they complained that children trod on the grass, people threw litter on the ground, and dogs dirtied the street. Between the idyllic and the critical, one could notice a generally positive attitude towards their living environment and everyday habits. They considered their buildings "pretty" and even the largest block of flats, colloquially called *Mamutica* (the Mammoth)⁴ was seen as "nice" and "pretty": the children appropriated it through their friends who lived in it. "I like Mamutica a lot, really, it has lots of people, many people live in it, almost all my classmates, there are lots of things there," a nine year old girl describes. They did not experience tall buildings as something obtrusive or unpleasant, regardless of whether there were children living in them or not.

Their use of space was related to two things. One of them was shopping and school, so children knew which shops they went to and appreciated the fact that distances were short and safe: "I like it here, I am happy, I am used to everything, my school is near and when I was still going to kindergarten, it was also near, in some quarters it is not like this (...) everything is near, the grocery store as well, I don't have to go anywhere, how to say, I don't have to walk far to get to school, my school is very near... I just get down to the street, I go through the small park, I don't have to cross any roads." The other way of using space was playing. The children said that other users of space, such as those who bowled or played cards, did not disturb them while they were playing: "We almost never sit down, that's why they almost never disturb us, we play, sometimes we play wizards or detectives, things like that." However, they did feel disturbed by dogs, because "dogs always shit or pee somewhere." They also felt they could use a fountain or a monument in their park -

2. "... drago mi je što je tu, zato što da nema Mamutice vjerojatno bi bilo puno manje stanovnika, puno bi nas manje nekako bilo, čudno bi mi bilo..." (A.G., četrnaestogodišnjak).

"... I am glad it's here, if Mamutica was not there, I guess there wouldn't be so many people, we would be somehow much less, it would seem strange to me..." (A.G., age 14).

Foto / photo: www. travno.com.

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2 Vidi: *Senses of Place*, (ur.) Steven Feld i Keith H. Basso, Santa Fe-New Mexico, 1996.; *The Anthropology of Space and Place. Locating Culture*, (ur.) Setha M. Low i Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga, Oxford, 2003.; *Being There. New Perspectives on Phenomenology and the Analysis of Culture*, (ur.) Jonas Frykman i Nils Gilje, Lund, 2003.

3 Istraživanje sam provela u Osnovnoj školi Gustava Krkleca u novozagrebačkom naselju Travno tijekom školske godine 2003./04. s tri dobne skupine (treći, peti i osmi razred). Suradnja s učenicima rezultirala je sa 65 pismenih sastavka (na temu "Travno") i individualnim razgovorima sa sedamnaest učenika.

4 Kolokvijalni naziv *Mamutica* označava najveću stambenu zgradu u naselju koja ima oko 4 000 stanara.

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2 See: *Senses of Place*, (eds.) Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso, Santa Fe-New Mexico, 1996; *The Anthropology of Space and Place. Locating Culture*, (eds.) Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga, Oxford, 2003; *Being There. New Perspectives on Phenomenology and the Analysis of Culture*, (eds.) Jonas Frykman and Nils Gilje, Lund 2003.

3 I have done this research in Gustav Krklec Primary School in Travno, a residential quarter in Novi Zagreb, during the school year of 2003/04. Three age groups were included: the third, the fifth, and the eighth grades. My cooperation with the children resulted in 65 written essays (on the topic of "Travno"), as well as individual conversations with 17 pupils.

4 The colloquial term *Mamutica* denotes the largest residential building in Travno, which houses about 4,000 people.



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im je u naselju bolje ili lošije od prijašnjeg iskustva. Tako će djevojčica koja je prije već živjela u dva različita gradska ambijenta sumirati: "velika je razlika, mislim da je ovdje [u Travnom] bolje zbog toga što imamo sve na jednom mjestu (...) - i dućan, i videoteku, i pekarnicu, i svašta imamo (...) imamo sve što nam je potrebno za današnji život. Blizu nam je i škola i vrtić." Prometna sigurnost i prostranost naselja česta su mjesta pozitivnog komentiranja vlastite okoline. Djeca iskazuju i izvjesnu nesigurnost, izazvanu kvartovskim tučama o kojima se priča, presretanjima, svijesti o opasnim ljudima koji bi im mogli nauditi, referirajući na problematične situacije u naselju, na ono što su čuli ili na opću percepciju nesigurnosti u društvu. Neki se smatraju okruženi "prijateljski raspoloženim ljudima" u naselju u kojem "prevladava osjećaj ljubavi, prijateljstva i zadovoljstva", drugi će pak zamijetiti da "tu baš nema druželjubivih ljudi, da se onak' razgovaraju, nego samo prođu jedan pokraj drugog da se ne pozdrave i ništa".

Veličina zgrada ih ne smeta. Mamutica je personificirana prijateljima i oživljena igrama. U petom razredu već su mnogi usvojili podatak da se radi o najvećoj stam-

"something to stand there so we could look at it and climb on it, too."

Children whom I talked with did not know what a "dormitory" was or why anybody would call Novi Zagreb that way. All of them answered positively to the question whether they considered Travno their home - it was "the most beautiful quarter," they emphasized. "I love Travno very much," a boy said, but few could define the feeling of home. "I guess I like it right here," a boy said. "It means that I know it or something," said another.

Children attending the fifth grade of primary school, age 11-12, still felt considerably bound to their residential quarter. They "usually meet at the kindergarten (...) or in the small park, or in front of the school," but they sometimes walked to other quarters as well: "We walk around Travno (...) and then we go to Utrine or to Zaprude." Many considered Travno their "native quarter," while others had moved in from elsewhere and knew more or less clearly what they considered better or worse from their previous experience. Thus, a girl who had lived in two other quarters of Zagreb before summed up: "It is a great difference, I think here [in Travno] it is better, here we have everything in one place (...), the grocery store and the video rental and the bakery and all sorts of things (...), we have everything that we need for life today, the school is near and also the kindergarten." Safety in traffic and the spaciousness of Travno were often positively evaluated in their comments of environment. Occasionally, they also expressed some sort of feeling of threat, related to rumours about gang fights and assaults, as well as to their awareness of the fact that some dangerous people might hurt them. They also referred to some problematic situations in Travno: something they had heard of or just the general sense of threat in the society. Some of them felt surrounded by "hostile people" in the midst of a residential quarter in which "the feeling of love, friendship, and gladness prevails," while others observed that "there are hardly any friendly people here, they don't really talk, they just pass each other by and don't even say hello or something."

The children did not mind the size of the buildings and they saw Mamutica personified in friends and enlivened with their games. By the time they reached the fifth grade, many of them had been informed

benoj zgradi u Zagrebu i u ovom dijelu Europe, kako tvrde, a također mnogi upućuju na etimologiju njezina imena: "U Travnom ima velika zgrada koja se zove Mamutica, a dobila je ime po mamutima. Prije mnogo godina mogli su se vidjeti ostaci mamuta, ali toga više sada nema", priča jedna djevojčica. Kod nekih se iskazuje i nezadovoljstvo velikim zgradama, ali opet, Mamutica je prisvojena kao "jedna, jedina" koja se "hvali pobjedonosno gledajući manje zgrade oko sebe". Najveći broj dječjih tekstova iz petoga razreda opisuje naselje s njegovim sadržajem, zgradama, izgledom i događanjima. U tom opisu nema valorizacije, nego se izvodi na razini opažanja i prisvojenosti. Škola kao životni i situacijski okvir, igra kao aktivnost te prijateljstva kao odnos, glavni su kontekst govora o stambenom okružju dvanaestogodišnjaka.

Spavaonica im je nepoznat pojam, a neki su se okušali u njegovu definiranju. Jedan dječak smatra da bi to značilo "da su ljudi ljenčine", a djevojčica asocira mir: "Ja bih to shvatila da je tiho, da je, kako bi rekla, da nema svega toga što zapravo ima u našem naselju, stvarno ne znam tko je dao takav naziv, mi se svi veselimo, igramo, ja to osobno ne bi nazvala spavaonicom." Gotovo svi tekstovi završavaju rečenicom osobnog odnosa prema naselju. To je završno mjesto, sažimanje i zatvaranje teme emotivnim određenjem: "Jako volim svoje naselje.", "Najljepše naselje na svijetu.", "Ja volim svoj kvart Travno."

Osmi razred, djeca u dobi 14-15 godina, često strukturiraju tekstove tako da referiraju na klasične preokupacije adolescenata - zaljubljanje i osobne probleme te unose više osobnih stavova i procjena u odnosu na mlade generacije. Važan dio ključa vezanosti uz naselje imaju u prijateljstvima. Iako poneki već izlaze u grad, osnovni je fokus njihovih života i dalje u prijateljstvima unutar naselja - okupljanja poslije škole, provođenje slobodnog vremena vani, "kruženje" oko naselja, okupljanje na klupicama u večernjim satima ili na platu Mamutice, uz druženje, razgovor, pjesmu. Oni se više ne igraju u naselju, nego se okupljaju. Poznavanje prostora, poznavanje svakog kutka naselja, čini im naselje bliskim i stvara osjećaj povezanosti s naseljem. Sastojak nekih priča je i odnos s drugim naseljima: neki spominju kvartovske tuče, koje već kontinuirano obilježavaju dob kraja osnovne škole, u kojoj

that it was the largest residential building in Zagreb and in this part of Europe, as they said. Many pointed out the etymology of its name: "There is a large building in Travno that is called Mamutica and it got its name after the mammoths. Many years ago, some remnants of mammoths were still visible, but there is nothing left of them now," a girl said. Some children did not like large buildings, but Mamutica still featured as "the one and only," a building that "looked down victoriously at smaller buildings around it." Most of the texts written by the fifth grade pupils described Travno through its services and facilities, buildings, appearance, and happenings. Rather than evaluating, those descriptions were made on the basis of impressions and the sense of attachment. School as the framework of their life and circumstances, play as their activity, and friendships as their relationships were the main context of the discourse on urban residential environment for twelve year old children.

They had never heard of the designation "dormitory", but some made an attempt at explaining it. A boy said that it probably meant "that people here are lazy," while a girl associated peacefulness with it: "I would understand it like very quiet, something like, how to say, that there is nothing in our quarter, but it is there, I really don't know who gave it that name, we are all cheerful, we are playing, I myself would never call it a dormitory." Almost all essays ended with a sentence expressing the children's personal attitude towards their quarter. They made their final points, summarised, and concluded the topic by defining it emotionally: "I really love my quarter," "it is the most beautiful quarter in the world," or "I love my quarter Travno."

Children in the eighth grade, 14-15 years of age, often structured their essays in such a way that they referred to the usual preoccupations of adolescents, such as falling in love and other personal problems. Compared with younger children, they introduced more attitudes and evaluations. The key to their attachment to Travno was friendship. Although some of them went out to the city, their friendships within the quarter remained the primary focus of their life: meeting others after school, spending their free time outside, "strolling around" Travno, gathering on benches or in front of Mamutica in the evening, having fun, chatting, and singing. They no longer played,

3. "Zima mi je najljepše godišnje doba u Travnome." (A.L., devetogodišnjak).

"I think that winter is the most beautiful season in Travno." (A.L., age 9).

Foto / photo: www.travno.com

4. "Travno je vrlo lijepo naselje. Maleno je, ali je puno sa prijateljski raspoloženim ljudima." (T.S., dvanaestogodišnjakinja).

"Travno is a very pretty quarter; it is small, but full of friendly people." (T.S., age 12).

Foto / photo: Valentina Gulin Zrnić

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5 Referiranje na dom možda proizlazi iz nastavničke upute, jer se nalazi u gotovo svakom sastavku.

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5 References to home might be due to the teacher's suggestions, since they are present in almost all essays.

se adolescentska potreba za identificiranjem s grupom definira teritorijalno.

Mnogi navode da naselje ima dobre i loše strane, a obje čine vezanost za naselje. Ono dobro i ono specifično za naselje, smatraju, jesu livade, igrališta, parkovi, gotovo u idiličnom toposu opisa mjesta - "omeđeno drvoredima unutar kojih se nalaze prostrane livade pune djece". Upravo je zelenilo najcjenjeniji dio urbanog ambijenta u kojemu žive te u njihovim procjenama kvalitete vlastitog životnog okoliša u odnosu na "grad" jednim od razloga zbog kojega ne bi željeli živjeti negdje drugdje. Pojam spavaonice, kojim se često označava Novi Zagreb, nije im poznat, niti znaju što bi značio - tek ih je nekoliko navelo asocijaciju da je "manje burni život" nego u središtu grada. Jedini nedostatak naselja adolescentima je nepostojanje diskoteke, koja im postaje sinonimom izlaska, zabave, druženja, sukladno dobnoj životnoj fazi. "Mane" naselja uglavnom su navedene kao opće mjesto, ponegdje specificirane kao droga, alkohol i smetlište Jakuševac, ali bez obzira na to, ističu ljubav prema naselju, ili, kako je to napisao jedan osmaš - "Često na biciklu obilazim naselje i promatram ga. Nikad kritički, jer meni su i nedostaci simpatični i prirasli srcu." Neki iskazuju ljutnju na sve koji loše govore o Travnom (stariji ljudi, prijatelji koji nisu iz Travnog i drugi), koji imaju negativno mišljenje i ocjenjuju Travno "samo po izgledu". Djeca nastoje opravdati i obraniti vlastiti osjećaj povezanosti s naseljem: "Travno je dio mene, dio mog srca, mog djetinjstva." Jer, naime, osobno i mjesto često se prožimaju, prostor se interiorizira u vlastitoj osobnosti, a osobnost se upisuje u prostor: "Ja sam sad dio Travnog i Travno je dio mene".

Odnos prema životnom prostoru, prema izgrađenom prostoru, prema zgrada-ma i Mamutici, definiran je kao ono "normalno", bez negativnih konotacija. Mamutica narušava "lijepi opis" naselja jedne četrnaestogodišnjakinje, ali "ta 'zgradurina' ima i svojih prednosti", ona je "kao mali grad". Ponegdje se Mamutica javlja u kontekstu topline i sigurnosti, gdje "sve te zgrade i ostali objekti, pogotovo moja zgrada 'Mamutica', pobuđuju u meni osjećaj kao da je to sve moj dom".

Dom i djetinjstvo česte su referentne kategorije osmaškoga pisma.⁵ Neki personificiraju okoliš, naselje, kao "dragog prijatelja i supatnika koji mi je pomogao i bio podrška kroz sve brige i zadatke škole".

but they were still meeting within the quarter. The fact that they were familiar with the space, that they knew every corner of the quarter, created the feeling of intimacy and attachment. Their stories included an attitude towards other residential quarters: some mentioned street fights, which is a recurring mark of the age when adolescents are leaving primary school and when their need of identification with a group is defined in terms of territory.

Many said that their quarter had both good and bad sides, all of them making up their attachment. Asked about what was good and specific about their quarter, they named meadows, playgrounds, and parks, which they described with the help of an almost idyllic topos: Travno was "enclosed by rows of trees, between which there are large meadows full of children." It was precisely the green of the urban setting in which they lived that they appreciated most of all. They emphasized it as an advantage of their own living environment with respect to the "city" and named it as one of the reasons why they would not like to live anywhere else. They were not familiar with the notion of "dormitory", as Novi Zagreb is often called, and they had no idea what it might mean - only a few associated it with the fact that "life was less crazy" in Travno than it was downtown. According to the adolescents, the only disadvantage of their quarter was the lack of a discotheque, which was a synonym for going out, having fun, and meeting people, in accordance with their age. They enumerated the "bad sides" of the quarter with the help of topoi, but sometimes also specified them in terms of drugs and alcohol abuse, as well as the garbage depot of Jakuševac. Nevertheless, they emphasized their love for Travno. A boy from the eighth grade wrote: "I often go around the quarter on my bike and I look at it, but never with a critical eye, because I like its disadvantages as well and I feel them close to my heart." Some adolescents expressed anger towards those who spoke badly of Travno (older people, friends who were not from Travno, and others) or had a negative opinion of it and judged it only "after its appearance." Adolescents tried to justify their quarter, as well as their own feeling of attachment to it: "Travno is a part of me, a part of my heart, my childhood." The personal aspect was often merged with the place, while space was interiorized in one's



4

Travno se naziva domom, utočištem, ističe se osjećaj sigurnosti u kojem Mamutica, u svim preokupacijama odrastanja jednog adolescenta, "u svim mojim problemima pouzdano i sigurno je stajala na mjestu podsjećajući me da će sve biti u redu. Da će ona nastaviti stajati, a ja i dalje živjeti." Mamutica jednostavno, takva ogromna, postaje dio njihove mentalne slike prostora. Ne mogu zamisliti prostor bez nje, kako tvrde, a ona sama nije im strana niti nehumana. Travno je "moj dom", "moje utočište", "moj svijet", "moje naselje", "savršeno mjesto", "naselje moga djetinjstva", "u njemu odrastam i postajem odrasli čovjek".

U novozagrebačkom ambijentu "Travno ipak malo odskače iz te bezličnosti, ili ja tako mislim samo jer je moj dom. Baš kao i čovjek, Travno za mene ima osobine koja druga naselja nemaju, svoje mane, ali i neku privlačnost koju ne mogu opisati riječima, koja je samo meni jasna", piše petnaestogodišnjak. Velik dio tekstova počinje povezivanjem Travnoga s djetinjstvom, sjećanjima, odrastanjem, dobrim i lošim trenucima i raspoloženjima, prilikama i neprilikama, uspomenu, od samog prohodavanja i igranja do zaljublivanja. "To je naselje", piše jedan momak, "koje svakod-

personality and personality was inscribed in space: "I am a part of Travno now and Travno is a part of me."

Adolescents defined their attitude towards their living space, the built environment, the buildings, and Mamutica as "normal", without any negative connotations. Mamutica was a point of disturbance in a "nice description" of Travno by a fourteen year old girl, but she said that "even that 'bulky building' has its advantages": it was "like a small city." Sometimes, Mamutica appeared in the context of warmth and safety, in which "all these blocks of flats and other buildings, especially my block 'Mamutica', give me the feeling like it was all my home."

Home and childhood were frequent reference categories in the essays of the eighth grade children.⁵ Some of them personified the environment and the quarter as "a dear friend and fellow sufferer, who helped me and supported me through all my troubles and school duties." They called Travno their home and refuge, emphasizing the feeling of safety, in which Mamutica accompanied them through all their worries related to the process of growing up: "In all my troubles, it sturdily and safely stood in



5

neveno gradim novim uspomenama, koje je priraslo mome srcu i koje ja istinski volim."

STVARANJE MJESTA

Sumirajući kazivanja svih triju dobnih skupina i karakteristike vezanja uz prostor i stvaranja mjesta u ovoj životnoj dobi, mogu istaknuti nekoliko ključnih čimbenika. Jedan jest nedovoljna zrelost za vlastitu pokretljivost i korištenje cjelokupnog gradskog prostora. Time osnovnoškolci bivaju primarno vezani uz fizički okoliš u kojemu žive, uz naselje. Drugo, obitelj i prijatelji, a obje grupe pojedinaca nalaze se u naselju, sljedeća je važna spona koja definira mjesto, a važna je referentna kategorija samoga dječjeg iskaza. Treće, poznavanje okoliša, njegovo prisvajanje u smislu dužeg boravka, boravak u prostoru, poznavanja njegovih "kutaka", korištenje niša, sastavni je dio pretvaranja prostora u mjesto. Konačno, poznavati mnoge i sam biti poznat u naselju osnova je osjećaja povezanosti koja se stvara tijekom vremena, osjećaja sigurnosti, doživljaja karaktera naselja, definiranja doma. Upravo tako je osjećaj pripadnosti opisao jedan četrnaestogodišnjak:

its place, reminding me that it would all turn out well. That it would go on standing there and I would go on living." Huge as it is, Mamutica simply became a part of their mental image of space and they could not imagine space without it, as they said; they found it neither strange nor inhuman. They called Travno "my home," "my refuge," "my world," "my quarter," "a perfect place," "the quarter of my childhood," and "the place in which I am growing up and becoming an adult."

A fifteen year old boy wrote that, within the environment of Novi Zagreb, "Travno does stick out of all that shapelessness a bit, or perhaps I see it that way because it is my home. Just like a human being, Travno for me has features that other quarters don't have; it has its bad sides, but also some kind of attraction that I can not express in words, for only I can understand it." A considerable number of essays began by relating Travno to one's childhood, memories, growing-up, good and bad moments and moods, successes and failures, from the moment the children began to walk and play until they fell in love. A boy wrote that it was a quarter "which I build up every day with new memories, which is close to my heart and which I truly love."

PLACE MAKING

As I summed up the statements of the three age groups, as well as the characteristics of getting bound to space and of place making at those ages, I was able to make out several crucial factors. One is the insufficient age for mobility and for using the entire space of the city. Primary school children are largely bound to the physical environment in which they live, to their residential quarter. The second important tie, which is an essential category of reference in children's statements, are family and friends, both of which groups are situated within the residential quarter. The third factor is that of being familiar with the environment, its appropriation as the result of a long-term stay, of spending time in that space, knowing its "secret corners" and using its niches. That is a constituent part of transforming space into a place. Finally, knowing many people and being known by them is the basis of the feeling of attachment that is formed with time: the feeling of safety, the

“Jednostavno poznam ovaj kvart jako dobro, to je jedna stvar, a druga stvar je to što poznam jako puno ljudi.” Naselje kao fizička, društvena i doživljajna kategorija, postaje simboličkim mjestom - domom.

Prostor u kojemu žive ispunjen je dječjim osobnim životnim iskustvima; taj prostor postaje *moj* - moj dom, moje utočište, moje rodno naselje. To više nije samo iskustvo prostora, nego prostor postaje iskustvom. Teško je govoriti o idealnom mjestu za život, osim ako ne mislimo da je ono primordijalno, instinktivno evolucijom upisano u nas. Djeca žive iskustvo urbanog djetinjstva, djetinjstva u urbanom prostoru - u njemu opažaju prirodu, godišnja doba (“za mene je Travno dom u kojem je zima najljepša”), svoj životni prostor pretaču u metafore (“Travno je kao pupoljak koji cvjeta”), opažaju dobne razlike stanovnika u naselju, raznovrsnost izgrađenog prostora, svakodnevne prakse, a gustoća naseljenosti i arhitektonska vizura grada upisuju se u njihovo iskustvo i postaju iskustveni kapital s kojim kroče dalje u život. U ranijoj dobi prostor čini *integralni krajolik* u kojemu se zgrade, livada, automobili i drveće, parkirališta i psi, atomska skloništa kao brda, visina zgrada, igrališta, jesen, doživljavaju sveukupno, a ne u opoziciji grada i prirode, prirodnog i izgrađenog. Naselje u svojoj sveukupnosti okvir je njihovih životnih iskustava u koja se upisuju prijateljstva, odrastanje, igranje, školovanje, susretanja. U petom razredu, za razliku od trećeg, neke su stvari naučene; u osmom, za razliku od petog, neke su stvari osviještene.

Stanovnici od 14-15 godina već imaju fond iskustava koji osvještavaju kao uspomene i sjećanja. Svjesni su da upravo to čini njihovu vezu s naseljem značenjskom vezom, da ga čini mjestom koje će nositi “u svome srcu i uvijek ga spominjati sa smiješkom na licu”. Kada se to onda stvara kritički odnos prema životnom okolišu koji govori o nehumanosti Mamutiće i o novozagrebačkoj spavaonici? Takva viđenja prostora još nisu sadržana u percepciji i iskustvu osnovnoškolaca, što ukazuje da se usvajaju kasnije, kao naučena, a ne doživljajna oznaka životnog okoliša. Kraj osnovne škole, za mnoge, značit će i udaljavanje od novozagrebačkog naselja djetinjstva. Nova životna faza popraćena je većom mobilnošću i većom upotrebom drugih gradskih prostora. Pri tome se stvaranje mjesta prebacuje u drugi tonalitet: jednom aktualno življeno iskustvo postaje s vre-

perception of the quarter's character, and the definition of home. A fourteen year old boy expressed this feeling of belonging in the following way: "I simply know this quarter very well, that is one thing. The other is that I know very many people here." The residential quarter as a physical and social category, as well as a category of experience, becomes a symbolic place - home.

Space in which children live is filled with their personal life experiences. Thus, space in general turns into *my* space - my home, my refuge, my native quarter. It is no longer the mere experience of space; rather, the space becomes experience. It is difficult to speak of an ideal place to live in, except if we think of that primordial place, which has been instinctively inscribed in our being. Children live the experience of an urban childhood, a childhood in urban space - they perceive nature and its seasons in it ("For me, Travno is home and winter is most beautiful here"), they transpose their living space into metaphors ("Travno is like a budding flower"), they notice age differences in its inhabitants, the diversity of built-up space, the everyday life practices. The density of population and the architectural panorama of the city are inscribed in their experience and thus become a cache of experience which they take with them on their paths of life. At an earlier age, space equals the *integral landscape*, in which buildings, meadows, cars, trees, parking lots, and dogs, atomic bunkers seen as hills, the height of the buildings, playgrounds, and autumn are experienced together rather than in terms of opposition between city and nature, between the natural and the built-up. The residential quarter in its totality is the framework of their lived experiences, in which friendships, growing up, playing, going to school, and getting to know people are inscribed. Unlike the third grade children, those in the fifth grade have acquired certain things by learning, while those in the eighth have interiorized them.

The 14-15 years old residents of Travno have a ready bulk of experiences, which they interiorize as memories and remembrances. They are aware that it is precisely that experience that makes their relationship with the quarter a meaningful one, that it makes Travno a place that they will bear "in their heart and always mention it with a smile." So when do they develop a critical stance towards their living environ-

5. “Kad bi me netko zamolio da mu objasnim kakvo je Travno, mislim da ne bih uspio, jer Travno se mora vidjeti i osjetiti.” (F.T., petnaestogodišnjak).

“If someone asked me to explain what Travno was like, I think I wouldn't manage, Travno you must see and feel.” (F.T., age 15).

Foto / photo: Valentina Gulin Zrnčić



6

menom sjećanje. Upisivanje sjećanja u prostor jedan je drugi proces transformiranja prostora u mjesto, a podrazumijeva vremenski odmak kako bi pojedinačno iskustvo uopće i moglo postati sjećanjem. U tom odmaku više ne govorimo o “življenom iskustvu”, nego o “proteklom iskustvu” (*elapsed experience*),⁶ koje je akumulirano, selektirano, procijenjeno prema pojedinačnim logikama osobnog izbora, mogućnosti, potreba, zadovoljstva, vrednovano čitavim nizom procjena, od racionalnih do nostalgičnih. Sjećanja, osobna i kolektivna, koja smještamo u prostor i vrijeme gradske svakodnevice, čine korpus urbanih sjećanja - ona su također jednim okvirom transformacije urbanoga te sudjeluju u procesima stvaranja mjesta. No, to su neki drugi procesi koji premašuju temu ovoga rada koji se bavi odrastanjem u osnovnoškolskom razdoblju, jer dob u kojoj ono polako završava već je ona u kojoj počinje neki drugi proces transformacije, kako je to iskazala jednom općom tvrdnjom moja sugovornica, četrnaestogodišnjakinja: “Ali ako ste negdje odrasli, imate predivne uspomene, ma koliko to mjesto bilo ružno, ipak ćete ga gledati drugačijim očima!”

ment and begin to speak of the inhumanity of Mamutica and the dormitory of Novi Zagreb? Such views of space are not yet present in the perception and the experience of primary school children, which points to the fact that they are adopted later, as an acquired feature of living environment rather than one of experience. For many children, the end of primary school will mark the beginning of their alienation from Travno as the quarter of their childhood. The new phase of life will be characterized by greater mobility and a more extensive use of other urban spaces. Place making is thereby transferred into another mode: experience that was once lived becomes memory with time. Inscription of memories into space is yet another process of transformation of space into a place, which presupposes an interim period that will enable the single experience to become memory at all. Within this period, one can no longer speak of a “lived experience,” but of an “elapsed experience,”⁶ which has been accumulated, selected, and measured according to the logic of personal choice, possibilities, needs, and satisfaction, as well as evaluated with the help of a series of assessments, ranging from rational to

Mjesto je procesni, simbolički i multivokalan koncept. Mjesto nastaje, ono je proces interakcije pojedinca i okoliša, lokaliteta u kojemu živi. U poimanju stvaranja mjesta ključna je uloga pojedinaca, njegova aktivnog sudionništva, prisvajanja i preradivanja izgrađenog okoliša: on ne živi samo u prostoru, nego s prostorom, omekšava njegovu morfološku zadatost, ispunjava ga raznolikošću, puni svojim senzibilitetom, interiorizira fizički prostor u vlastitom življenom iskustvu. Da bi prostor (izgrađeno stambeno naselje) postao značenjskim mjestom ("moj dom"), potrebno je vrijeme kroz koje pojedinci "pišu", "upisuju" svoje prisustvo u okolinu: daju značenje prostoru i formiraju značenjske odnose s lokalitetom na kojemu žive. Videnje prostora artikulira se usadivanjem vlastitog iskustva i time se kroz svakodnevne i diskurzivne prakse prostor transformira u mjesto, pri čemu sada ta značenjska kategorija može postati konstitutirajuća u izgradnji osobnog - stava, odnosa, identiteta. Time mjesto postaje i *simboličkim* konstruktom. Biti "u mjestu" znači fizički smjestiti određeno iskustvo, transformirati iskustvo prostora u "kulturno značenjski i dijeljeni simbol", pri čemu upravo mjesto postaje simbolom, označiteljem određenih iskustava, praksi, društvenih odnosa i kulturnih atributa.⁷ U građi koju sam analizirala mnogima će naselje, u kompleksnom odnosu fizičkog ambijenta, društvenosti, interakcija i naracija, postati simbolom doma, sigurnosti, odrastanja, djetinjstva. Konačno, mjesto je *multivokalno*: jedan teritorijalni okvir, krajolik, lokalitet, naselje, "oblikuje i izražava polisemička značenja mjesta za različite korisnike"⁸: životne faze, interesi pojedinca, rodna i dobna pripadnost, a također i socijalni ili obrazovni status, ranija životna iskustva i okolnosti, sudjeluju u oblikovanju *različitih* iskustava *istoga* prostora. Mjesto je, dakle, mnogoznačan koncept, a dječje življeno iskustvo jedno je od iskustava prostora koje ga čini značenjskim mjestom.

Zagreb se, tijekom druge polovice 20. stoljeća, širi velikim potezima urbanističkih cjelina, stambenih zajednica, kao gotovih proizvoda. Nekoliko desetljeća nakon njihove izgradnje, a iz aspekta povijesti umjetnosti, moguće je utvrditi da se u socijalizmu nisu stvarali "simbolički naglasci koje bi ljudi s ponosom isticali": navodi se nedostatak trgova, kulturnih i javnih, kao i reprezentativnih sadržaja koji bi specifično

nostalgic. Memories, both personal and collective, which one situates into space and time of everyday urban life, constitute the corpus of urban memories - they are one of the frameworks in which the transformation of the urban takes place and they participate in the processes of place making. But such processes surpass the limits of this study, which focuses on growing up during the primary school period. The age at which this growing up gradually ends is at the same time the age at which another process of transformation begins, as a fourteen year old girl with whom I spoke expressed in a rather general statement: "But if you grew up somewhere, you have wonderful memories of that place... no matter how ugly that place might be, you will still look at it with different eyes!".

Place is a concept related to processes, symbolism, and multivocality. A place comes into existence gradually; it is a *process* of interaction between an individual and his environment, the locality in which he lives. What is crucial in the notion of place making is the role of the individual, his active participation, appropriation, and transformation of the built-up environment: he not only lives *in* the space, but also *with* the space, he mitigates its morphological determination, fills it with variety and with his own sensibility, and interiorizes physical space in his own lived experience. In order that certain space (e.g. a built-up residential quarter) should become a meaningful place ("my home"), it needs time, during which individuals "write in" or "inscribe" their presence into the surroundings: they give meaning to space and form meaningful relationships with the locality in which they live. The vision of space is articulated through the implantation of personal experience; in this way, through everyday and discursive practices, space is transformed into a place, in which process the category of meaning may become constitutive in the creation of something personal - an attitude, a relationship, or an identity. The place thus becomes a *symbolic construct* as well. To be "in a place" means situating certain experience physically and transforming an experience of space into a "culturally meaningful and shared symbol," whereby it is precisely the place that becomes a symbol, a determinant of certain experiences, practices, social relations, and cultural attributes.⁷ In the analysed material, one could observe that the residential

6. *Novozagrebački krajolik je ravnica: izbočine skloništa u dječjoj imaginaciji postaju brda: "Tu ima puno skrovišta u brdima. Ja se po tim brdima po zimi sanjkam."* (D.F. jedanaestogodišnjak).

The landscape of Novi Zagreb is plain, but the protruding bunkers have become hills in children's imagination: "There are lots of hiding places in the hills. I sledge on those hills in wintertime." (D.F., age 11).

Foto / photo: Valentina Gulin Zrnčić

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⁶ Vidi: Frykman i Gilje, 2003. (bilj. 2)

⁷ SETHA M. LOW, Symbolic Ties that Bind, u: *Place Attachment*, (ur.) I. Altman i S. M. Low, New York-London, 1992.

⁸ MARGARET RODMAN, Empowering Place. Multilocality and Multivocality, u: *American Anthropologist*, 94/3, 1992.

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⁶ See: Frykman and Gilje, 2003 (n. 2).

⁷ SETHA M. LOW, Symbolic Ties that Bind, in: *Place Attachment*, (eds.) I. Altman and S.M. Low, New York and London, 1992.

⁸ MARGARET RODMAN, Empowering Place. Multilocality and Multivocality, in: *American Anthropologist*, 94/3, 1992.



7

oblikovali novozagrebačka naselja, koji bi "simbolički gradili grad".⁹ I u sociološkoj kritici modernog urbanizma raspravlja se o simboličkom sadržaju koji se treba planirano ugraditi u nova naselja da ona ne bi bila "bezimena" i "besadržajna", da se pobijedi "bezličnost i anonimnost, socijalno i moralno ništavilo" koje se pripisuje djelovanju modernih naselja.¹⁰ I dok bismo ove rasprave drugih znanosti o odnosu čovjeka i grada mogli nazvati diskursom simboličke identifikacije "odozgo", misleći na postojanje unaprijed planiranih i stvorenih *oblika* u urbanom krajoliku koje pojedinac *usvaja*, kulturnoantropološka interpretacija transformacije urbanoga jest ona "odozdo", koja problematizira *odnos* koji pojedinac *stvara* sa svojim životnim okolišem. Ta se interpretacija temelji na *korpusu urbanih iskustava*, koji proizlazi iz kvalitativnog i individualiziranog metodološkog antropološkog pristupa, a kontekstualizira se unutar razumijevanja nastajanja i ispreplitanja značajnih struktura i stvaranja subjektivnih značenja. Iz tog rakursa naselje postaje značenjskim, simboličkim *mjestom*, a ključna je antropološka pretpostavka ona o čovjeku koji aktivno transformira grad u svojoj svakodnevnici. Parafrazirajući paradig-

quarter became for many children - and in the complex relationship between physical ambience, sociability, interactions, and narrations - a symbol of home, safety, growing up, and childhood. Finally, the place is *multivocal*: a certain territorial framework, landscape, locality, or quarter "forms and expresses polysemic meanings for different users":⁸ the phases of life of an individual, his interests, gender and age, as well as his social and educational status, his earlier lived experiences and circumstances - all these factors participate in shaping the *various* experiences of the *same* space. Therefore, the place is a concept with many meanings, while the lived experience of children is one of the experiences of space that makes it a meaningful place.

During the second half of the twentieth century, Zagreb was spreading in large sways of urban entities and residential communities as ready-mades. Several decades after their construction, one can observe - from the art-historical standpoint - that socialism did not create "symbolic accents that people would proudly emphasize": one speaks of a lack of squares or other public spaces, cultural and representative, which would shape the residential quarters of Novi Zagreb in a specific way and "symbolically build the city."⁹ Sociological critics of modern urbanism debate about the symbolic content that should be intentionally built into the new residential quarters in order to make them less "nameless" and "contentless", in order to surpass the "formlessness and anonymity, the social and moral nothingness" that such modern quarters have been accused of.¹⁰ Although we might recognize these debates on the relationship between man and the city, which take place within other disciplines, as a discourse of symbolic identification "from above," meaning the pre-programmed and pre-created *forms* of urban landscape which an individual *appropriates*, the cultural-anthropological interpretation of the transformation of the urban actually comes "from below" and discusses the *relationship* that an individual *creates* with his living environment. This interpretation is based on the *corpus of urban experiences*, which comes out of the qualitative and individualized methodological and anthropological approach and is contextualized in the comprehension of the way in which structures of meaning come into existence and become intertwined in

matski pomak u konceptualizaciji kulture krajem osamdesetih godina u europskoj antropologiji, koji definira kulturu kao *proces*, a odnos pojedinca i kulture kao aktivan, prisvajateljski, dinamičan i kreativan, pri čemu pojedinci postaju "graditelji kulture" (*culture builders*),¹¹ grad definiram kao proces, a odnos pojedinca i grada imenujem sukladnim pojmom - stanovnici grada su *graditelji grada*, između ostaloga i u značenjskoj transformaciji izgrađenog prostora u simboličko mjesto. ▼

ZAHVALA:

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order to create subjective meanings. Seen from that angle, the residential quarter becomes a meaningful and symbolic *place*, whereby the crucial anthropological premise is that of man actively transforming the city in his everyday life. Paraphrasing the paradigmatic shift that occurred in the conceptualization of culture in the European anthropology of the late 80s, which defined culture as a process and characterized the relationship between an individual and culture as active, appropriating, dynamic, and creative, whereby individuals became "culture builders,"¹¹ I would define the city as another process and attach an analogous term to the relationship between an individual and the city - the inhabitants of a city are *city builders*, since they, among other things, transform the meaning of built-up space into a symbolic place. ●

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prijevod / translation: Marina Miladinov

7. "Travno je moj dom... zato jer me nekako veže k sebi, kao da sam dio Travnog" (I.S. četrnaestogodišnjak).

"Travno is my home... because it somehow binds me to itself, just like I was a part of Travno." (I.S., age 14).

Foto / photo: Valentina Gulin Zrnić

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⁹ IVO MAROEVIĆ, Zagreb njim samim, Zagreb, 1999., str. 150-151.

¹⁰ RUDI SUPEK, Grad po mjeri čovjeka, Zagreb, 1987., str. 232-233.

¹¹ Vidi: JONAS FRYKMAN i ORVAR LÖFGREN, Culture Builders. A historical anthropology of a middle-class life, New Brunswick - London, 1987.

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⁹ IVO MAROEVIĆ, Zagreb njim samim [Zagreb in itself], Zagreb, 1999, 150-151.

¹⁰ RUDI SUPEK, Grad po mjeri čovjeka [A city made by human measures], Zagreb, 1987, 232-233.

¹¹ See: JONAS FRYKMAN and ORVAR LÖFGREN, Culture Builders. A historical anthropology of a middle-class life, New Brunswick and London, 1987.

→ Valentina Gulin Zrnić, dr. sc. - etnologinja, bavi se temama iz područja urbane antropologije, suradnica Instituta za etnologiju i folkloristiku u Zagrebu (www.ief.hr).

Valentina Gulin Zrnić, Ph.D. - ethnologist dealing with topics from the field of urban anthropology. Affiliated to the Institute for Ethnology and Folklore Research in Zagreb (www.ief.hr).