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Kvartovski osjećaji mjesta: primjer kvartova gradske četvrti Trnje

Neighbourhood Senses of Place: a case study of Trnje in Zagreb

U ovom je istraživanju analiziran kvartovski osjećaj mjesta kao subjektivni doživljaj, s naglaskom na tri međusobno isprepletene komponente: imaginacijski odraz okoliša, evaluativna spoznaja okoliša i emotivna reakcija na okoliš. Metodologija istraživanja bila je usklađena s razumijevanjem triju komponenata osjećaja mjesta te je omogućila širi obuhvat i razumijevanje kompleksnosti ovoga fenomena. Analiza rezultata pokazala je razlike u kvartovskim osjećajima unutar istoga grada, pri čemu su ispitanici iz različitih kvartova isticali različite aspekte svoga okoliša. Ispitanici iz Mjesnoga odbora Cvjetno naselje najviše su isticali estetski aspekt kvarta, zelenilo, urednost i opći izgled, dok su ispitanici iz Vrbika isticali živost kvarta te dostupnost trgovina i usluga. Ispitanici iz Kanala iskazali su manji stupanj ukorijenjenosti u svom kvartu, a ispitanici iz mjesnih odbora Trnje i Kanal pokazivali su veći stupanj ravnodušnosti prema kvartu te općenito manje zadovoljstvo kvartom u usporedbi s drugima. Analiza je također pokazala kako različiti čimbenici, poput duljine života u kvartu, dobi, obrazovanja i stambenoga statusa, utječu na kvartovski osjećaj mjesta.

Ključne riječi: osjećaji mjesta, imaginacija, vrednovanje, privrženost, Trnje

In this research, neighbourhood “sense of place” was analysed as a subjective experience, with an emphasis on three interwoven components: imaginative reflection of the environment, evaluative knowledge of the environment, and emotional reaction to the environment. The research methodology was aligned with the understanding of the three components of “sense of place” and enabled a broader understanding of the complexity of this phenomenon. The analysis of the results showed differences in neighbourhood sentiments within the same city, whereby respondents from different neighbourhoods emphasized different aspects of their environment. Respondents from the local council area of Cvjetno naselje mostly emphasized the aesthetic aspects of their neighbourhood, greenery, orderliness and general appearance, while respondents from Vrbik emphasized the liveliness of their neighbourhood and the availability of shops and services. Respondents from Kanal showed a lower degree of rootedness in their neighbourhood, while respondents from the local council areas of Trnje and Kanal showed a greater degree of indifference to their neighbourhoods and, in general, less satisfaction compared to others. The analysis also showed how various factors, such as time spent living in a neighbourhood, age, education and housing status, influence sense of place.

Key words: senses of place, imagination, evaluation, attachment, Trnje

Uvod

U geografiji se termin *mjesto* dugo koristio za označavanje pojedine regije, naselja, lokacije, pozicije na površini Zemlje. Međutim, kao znanstveni koncept, koji se utvrdio u okviru humanističkoga (fenomenološkoga) pristupa u 70-im godinama 20. stoljeća, danas se povezuje s odrednicama kao što su „značaj” („karakter”) i „identitet” te se razumije kao iskustveni i društveni fenomen. Tuan (1974, 235) piše o mjestima kao o „poljima navika” u kojima se odvijaju svakodnevne rutine. Relph (1976) definira mjesto kao središte neposrednih ljudskih iskustava, aktivnosti, intencija, značenja (141). S fenomenološkoga motrišta govori se o „osobnosti mjesta” kao „kompozita prirodnoga nasljeđa i modifikacija upisanih sukcesivnim naraštajima ljudi”, o „jedinstvenom licu” koje se stvara dugotrajnom interakcijom između prirode i ljudi (Tuan, 1974, 234–235).

Unutar suvremenoga kulturnogeografskoga motrišta, s kojega ovdje polazimo, humanistička su stajališta nadograđena postavljanjem naglasaka na procedure, procese i rituale društvenoga konstruiranja mjesta, na aktere promjene mjesta i znakove njihova utjecaja na obilježja mjesta. I kulturnogeografski diskurs ističe dakle posebnost mjesta, ali u okviru općih društvenih procesa. Na mjesto se gleda kao na jedan od čimbenika reprodukcije društva. Mjesta su u stalnom procesu promjene. Ona su uobličena u svakom danom trenutku, a opet nikada nisu dovršena, zatvorena, omeđena, nego su u stalnome nastajanju, u procesu (Cresswell, 2004, 37). Mjesta se formiraju i mijenjaju svakodnevno, konstituiraju se preko praksi koje se neprestano ponavljaju. Ona osiguravaju okvir, uvjete, mogućnosti, poticaje za kreativne društvene prakse kao „nestabilnu scenu za predstavu”. „Mjesto u tome smislu postaje događanje (*event*), a ne čvrsta ontološka stvar ukorijenjena u koncepcijama autentičnoga” (Cresswell, 2004, 39).

Upravo na koncepciju promjenljivoga i otvorenoga mjesta, a ne zatvorenoga i stabilnoga, oslanja se i ovaj rad. Mjesto je unikatno, a njegova je unikatnost definirana njegovim interakcijama, sadašnjima i povijesnima. Kao što postoje zajednice unutar zajednica, tako postoje i mjesta unutar

Introduction

In geography, the term “place” has long been used to denote a particular region, settlement, location, or position on the planet’s surface. Nowadays, however, as a scientific concept which was established within the humanistic (phenomenological) approach in the 1970s, place is associated with “character” and “identity” and is understood as an experiential and social phenomenon. Tuan (1974, 235) wrote about places as “fields of habit” where daily routines take place. Relph (1976, 141) defined place as the centre of immediate human experiences, activities, intentions, meanings. From a phenomenological point of view, we talk about the “personality of a place” as a ‘composite of natural endowment (the physique of the land) and the modifications wrought by successive generations of human beings’, about a “unique face” that is created by long-term interactions between nature and people (Tuan, 1974, 234–235).

In the contemporary cultural-geographical perspective, which is our starting point here, humanistic positions have been upgraded by placing an emphasis on procedures, processes and rituals of the social construction of the place, on the actors of change in the place and the reflection of their influence on the features of the place. The cultural-geographical discourse also emphasizes the uniqueness of the place, but within the framework of general social processes. Place is seen as one of the factors in the reproduction of society. Places are in a constant state of change. They are shaped at every given moment, and yet they are never completed, finished, bounded, but are in constant creation, in the process (Cresswell, 2004, 37). Places are formed and changed daily, constituted through practices that are constantly repeated. They provide the framework, conditions, opportunities, incentives for creative social practices as an ‘unstable stage for performance’. ‘Place in this sense becomes an event rather than a secure ontological thing rooted in notions of authentic’ (Cresswell, 2004, 39).

This paper is based on the concept of a changing and open place, rather than a bounded and permanent one. A place is unique, and its uniqueness is defined by its interactions, current and historical. Just as there are communities within communities, so too are there places within places. A city is a place, but

mjestâ. Grad je mjesto, ali i skup različitih mjestâ. Razvoj grada je prostorno-vremenski neujednačen (nejednak), njegovi različiti dijelovi prolaze različite trajektorije razvoja, pa se i grad tako formira kao promjenljiv mozaik mjestâ. Gradske politike i svakodnevne društvene prakse stanovnika ostavljaju tragove u urbanim sredinama, pridonoseći heterogenosti grada. Očituje li se ta heterogenost u različitim doživljajima mjestâ? Na to ćemo pitanje ovdje potražiti odgovor istražujući doživljaj mjestâ stanovnika četiriju zagrebačkih (trnjanskih) kvartova.

S pojmom mjestâ neposredno je povezan i pojam *osjećaj mjestâ*. Objašnjavajući taj termin, Tuan je pisao da se mjestima mogu pripisivati „duh” ili „osobnost”, ali samo ljudi mogu imati „osjećaj mjestâ” (Tuan, 1974, 235). Oko definiranja toga pojma postoji mnoštvo nesuglasica. Na primjer, Tuan povezuje osjećaj mjestâ s perceptivnim sustavom i osjetilima: vidom, sluhom, njuhom, okusom, dođirom (1974, 234-235), dok Relph (1997) smatra da u nastanku osjećaja mjestâ sudjeluju ne samo osjetilni nego i drugi fenomeni – imaginacija, pamćenje, usmjerenost, anticipacija. Eyles (1985, 2) razvoj „osjećaja mjestâ” izvodi ne samo iz iskustva pojedinca na određenome mjestu nego iz totaliteta pojedinčeva života. U kulturnogeografskoj perspektivi osjećaj mjestâ povezuje se prvenstveno sa značenjima. Cresswell, npr. pod konceptom *osjećaj mjestâ* podrazumijeva „značenja koja s mjestom povezuju pojedinci ili zajednice” (Cresswell, 2019, 168). A ta se značenja, među ostalim, mogu stvarati i izražavati preko imaginacije, vrednovanja i privrženosti (na čemu ćemo se i koncentrirati u ovome radu). Bez obzira na razlike svi spomenuti autori, kao i niz drugih (Lanegrans, 1986; Shamaï, 1991; Butz i Eyles, 1997; Buchanan, 2009; Shamaï i Ilatov, 2005; Erfani, 2022 i dr.), referiraju se na subjektivni aspekt – način na koji ljudi doživljavaju mjesto. Tako i mi ovdje polazimo od stajališta da se mjestâ konstruiraju preko ljudskih iskustava i značenja vezanih uz izgled krajolika, funkcionalne aktivnosti i društvene interakcije.

Ima međutim znatan broj radova u kojima se pojam „osjećaj mjestâ” koristi na drugi način – kao sinonim izraza „duh mjestâ” (engl. *spirit of place*), *genius loci*, nešto što mjestu daje posebnost, iden-

also an aggregate of different places. The development of the city is spatially and temporally uneven (unequal), its parts undergo different development trajectories, so the city is thus formed as a changing mosaic of places. City policies and daily social practices of residents leave traces in urban environments, contributing to the city’s heterogeneity. Is this heterogeneity manifested in different senses of place? Looking for an answer to that question, we investigated the senses of place of inhabitants of Zagreb’s four neighbourhoods: Cvjetno naselje, Vrbik, Trnje and Kanal in the city district of Trnje.

The term “sense of place” is directly related to the concept of place. Explaining this term, Tuan writes that places can be attributed by “spirit” or “personality”, but only people can have a “sense of place” (Tuan, 1974, 235). There are many disagreements about the definition of this term. For example, Tuan connects sense of place with the perceptual system and the senses: sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch (1974, 234-235), while Relph (1997) believes that not only sensory but also other phenomena participate in the creation of the sense of place – imagination, memory, orientation, anticipation. Eyles (1985, 2) derives the development of “sense of place” not only from the individual’s experience in a particular place, but from the totality of the individual’s life. In the cultural-geographical perspective, sense of place is connected primarily with meaning. Cresswell, for instance, uses the concept of sense of place for ‘meanings attached to place either individually or collectively’ (Cresswell, 2019, 168). And these meanings, among other things, can be created and expressed through imagination, evaluation and attachment (which is what we shall concentrate on in this paper). Regardless of the differences, all the aforementioned authors, as well as a number of others (Lanegrans, 1986; Shamaï, 1991; Butz and Eyles, 1997; Shamaï and Ilatov, 2005; Erfani, 2022, etc.) refer to the subjective aspect – the way people perceive a place. Thereby, the starting point here is that places are constructed through human experiences and meanings related to the appearance of the landscape, functional activities and social interactions.

There is, however, a considerable number of papers in which the term “sense of place” is used in a different way – as a synonym for the term “spir-

titet. U skladu s takvim razumijevanjem Seamon definira osjećaj mjesta kao „specifični karakter, atmosferu i ekspresivnu energiju posebnih okoliša ili lokaliteta” (Seamon, 2002; v. također Jackson, 1994, 158; Mannion, 2012, 221; Flanders Cushing i Miller, 219 i dr.). U tom diskursu osjećaj mjesta nije ljudska svijest o okolišu, nego je svojstvo samoga okoliša, atmosfera, posebnost – često povezana s poviješću mjesta, istaknutim obilježjima, prirodnim okolišem ili drugim specifičnim aspektima. Izraz „osjećaj mjesta” koristi se da bi se istaknula suptilna, često neopipljiva značajka mjesta koja ga čini jedinstvenim.

Očito je da su te dvije interpretacije termina *osjećaj mjesta* uzajamno usko povezane: istražujući razlike u doživljaju različitih mjesta, ujedno istražujemo različitost tih mjesta, njihov *genius loci*. Međutim, spajanje tih dviju interpretacija u isti pojam čini ga vrlo zamršenim, nejasnim i neprikladnim za ulogu istraživačkoga instrumenta. Stoga ćemo se u ovome radu tim konceptom koristiti isključivo u njegovoj prvoj interpretaciji – kao doživljaj mjesta, subjektivan odraz vanjske stvarnosti. Na osnovi analize odgovora dobivenih od naših ispitanika propitivat ćemo pojedine aspekte doživljaja mjesta, nastalog (kao i svaki doživljaj) „interakcijom unutarnjih stanja (čuvstva, raspoloženja) i svjesnih odnosa prema vanjskom svijetu (kognicije)” (Kutleša, 2012, 247). Osjećaj mjesta koji ljudi razvijaju i proživljavaju može se odnositi na njihov okoliš na nacionalnoj, regionalnoj ili gradskoj razini, sve do osobne razine okoliša kvarta ili kuće (Foote i Azaryahu, 2009). Ovdje ćemo se koncentrirati na kvartovske razlike u doživljaju mjesta. Kwart označava dio područja nekoga grada. Radi se o kolokvijalnom izrazu za gradsko područje obilježeno nekom specifičnošću. Za razliku od gradske četvrti ili mjesnoga odbora, kvart nema jasno definirane administrativne granice. On je mentalna konstrukcija. Osjećaj kvarta kao mjesta pretpostavlja misaonu obradu podataka o njemu, omogućuje nam da razlikujemo kvartove. Stoga ćemo analizirajući kako različite kvartove doživljavaju njihovi stanovnici, dobiti uvid ne samo u rodne, dobne, obrazovne i druge razlike u osjećaju mjesta nego i u interpretativne (mentalne) slike kvartova čije stanovnike ispituje-

it of place” (*genius loci*), i.e. something that gives a place its uniqueness and identity. In line with this understanding, Seamon defines sense of place as the ‘specific character, atmosphere, and expressive energy of a particular environment or locale’ (Seamon, 2002; see also Jackson, 1994, 158; Flanders Cushing and Miller, 219). In this discourse, the sense of place is not human awareness of the environment, but a property of the environment itself, an atmosphere, a uniqueness – often associated with the history of the place, prominent features, natural environment or other specific aspects. The term “sense of place” is used to highlight the subtle, often intangible characteristic of a place that makes it unique.

It is obvious that these two interpretations of the term “sense of place” are closely related; by exploring the differences in the senses of different places, we are also exploring the diversity of these places, i.e. their *genius loci*. However, combining these two interpretations into the same term makes it overcomplicated, unclear and unsuitable for use as a research instrument. Therefore, in this paper, the concept is explored exclusively in its first interpretation – as a subjective reflection of external reality. Based on the analysis of the answers received from our respondents, we question certain aspects of the experience of a place: created (like any experience) ‘by the interaction of internal states (feelings, moods), and conscious relations with the outside world (cognition)’ (Kutleša, 2012, 247). The sense of place that people develop and experience can relate to their environment at the national, regional, city, to the personal level of the neighbourhood or household environment (Foote and Azaryahu, 2009). Here, the focus is on differences in the experience of “place” by neighbourhood. A neighbourhood is an area of a town or city, distinguished from other areas by specific features. Unlike a city district or a local council area, neighbourhood does not have defined administrative boundaries. It is a mental construct. A sense of a neighbourhood as a place presupposes people processing information about it, which allows us to distinguish between neighbourhoods. Therefore, by analysing how different neighbourhoods are perceived by their residents, we shall gain insight not only into gender, age, educational and other differences in the sense of place, but also into the interpre-

mo. Varira li doživljaj kvarta u naoko uniformnim, bezmjernim, ujedno strukturiranim i kaotičnim urbanim područjima? Možemo li iz različitih doživljaja kvartova izvesti zaključke o različitosti samih tih kvartova? To su pitanja na koja ćemo pokušati ovdje odgovoriti. Pritom ćemo doživljaj kvarta kao mjesta analizirati preko triju dimenzija – imaginacije, vrednovanja i privrženosti.

Metodologija i uzorak

Metodologije korištene u radovima koji propituju osjećaj mjesta veoma su različite – od humanističke perspektive istraživanja egzistencijalnoga iskustva proživljenoga svijeta do kvantitativnih analiza. U istraživanju na kojem se temelji ovaj rad korištene su prvenstveno kvantitativne analize osnovane na statističkoj obradi podataka dobivenih anketnim istraživanjem. No odgovori na otvorena pitanja ankete dali su nam dodatnu mogućnost interpretacije rezultata.

Propituju se tri, za naš pogled važne, dimenzije osjećaja mjesta: imaginacija, vrednovanje i privrženost kvartu. Za istraživanje svake od njih korišteni su zasebni istraživački instrumenti koje ćemo opisati u odgovarajućim poglavljima. Ovako složena struktura istraživanja i rada proizašla je iz nakane da korištenjem (kombiniranjem) različitih pojmova i različitih metodoloških vektora dobijemo što bolji uvid u ljudski doživljaj kvarta/kvartova. Naime, život se ne dijeli na uvjetno određene pojmove niti se prostorni doživljaj može svesti na izolirane aspekte i dimenzije. Dimenzije koje istražujemo nužno se isprepleću. Na primjer, iako u poglavlju o imaginaciji kvarta pokušavamo doznati što je ljudima važnije za život u kvartu, tj. što ga čini prepoznatljivim u njihovoj imaginaciji, ne možemo izbjeći ulazak u područje vrednovanja, kojim se bavimo u sljedećem poglavlju i koje mjerimo drugačijim istraživačkim instrumentima. Upravo je u kombiniranju koncepta i metoda bit znanstvene metodologije koju primjenjujemo. Naime, nije nam bilo bitno da povežemo ili razdvojimo pojmove, nego da preko različitih istraživačkih instrumenata i koncepta koji se u mnogome isprepleću i preklapaju dobijemo uvid u raznolikost osjećaja kvarta, da istaknemo višeslojnost toga pojma te pokažemo kako se različiti

tive (mental) images of the residents whose neighbourhoods we are examining. Does sense of place vary in seemingly uniform, placeless, structured and chaotic urban areas? Can we draw conclusions about the diversity of these places from different senses of places? These are the questions we are trying to answer here. In doing so, we shall analyse sense of place in three dimensions: imagination, evaluation, and attachment.

Methodology and sample

The methodologies used in papers that deal with sense of place vary greatly – from the humanistic perspective of research regarding the existential experience of the lived world to quantitative analyses. Our investigation primarily uses quantitative analyses based on statistical processing of data obtained via survey research. However, answers to the open questions of the survey gave us an additional opportunity to interpret the results.

Our focus is on three dimensions of sense of place: imagination, evaluation and attachment. Separate research instruments were used to investigate each of them, as shall be described in the remainder of the paper. This complex research structure arose from the intention to obtain the best possible understanding of people's experiences of neighbourhood/neighbourhoods by using (combining) different methodological vectors. Since spatial experience cannot be reduced to isolated aspects, the dimensions we explore are necessarily intertwined. For example, when investigating the imagination of a neighbourhood, i.e. trying to find out what makes a neighbourhood recognizable in people's imagination, we cannot avoid entering the area of neighbourhood valuation, which we investigate using other research instruments. The essence of the scientific methodology we applied lies precisely in the combination of concepts and methods. Our goal was not to link or separate concepts, but rather to gain an insight into the diversity of neighbourhood senses of place using various research instruments. In doing so we used concepts that intertwine and overlap in many ways. The complex methodology applied in our study corresponds to the multi-layered nature of the sense of place and allows us to

aspekti i dimenzije odnosa prema kvartu spajaju u različite kvartovske osjećaje mjesta. Trebamo naglasiti da teorijska pojmovna rasprava nije cilj ovoga rada. Članak ne stavlja naglasak na teorijsku koherentnost, nego na bogatstvo rezultata koje možemo dobiti kada gledamo iz perspektive raznih pojmova i primjenjujemo razne metodološke vektore.

U kvantitativnoj obradi podataka korištene su modificirane varijante lokacijskih koeficijenata te statističke analize izvođene u SPSS-u v.26 (IBM Corp, 2019). Budući da podatci nisu zadovoljili pretpostavke potrebne za parametrijske statističke analize, upotrijebili smo neparametrijske analize (Kruskal-Wallis H test te Mann-Whitney U test). Zadovoljstvo različitim aspektima kvarta provjereno je analizom glavnih komponentata, uz rotaciju *varimax*.

Istraživanje je provedeno u dijelovima gradske četvrti Trnje, tj. na području šest (od ukupno 13) mjesnih odbora (sl. 1). Za istraživanje smo odabrali područja mjesnih odbora s različitim trajektorijama urbanoga razvoja. Tako su istraživanjem bili obuhvaćeni mjesni odbori (MO) Cvjetnica, Miramare, Vrbik, Cvjetno naselje, Kanal i Trnje. U MO Cvjetnica, Miramare i Vrbik istraživanje je provedeno od travnja do lipnja 2016., a u MO Cvjetno naselje, Kanal i Trnje od travnja do lipnja 2017. Broj ispitanika određen je sukladno broju stanovnika u mjesnim odborima. Iz svakoga područja mjesnih odbora odabran je podjednak broj višestambenih zgrada i privatnih kuća iz kojih je naposljetku dobiven uzorak stratificiran po spolu i dobi, proporcionalan broju stanovnika.

Nakon provedbe ankete na uzorku od 384 ispitanika dobili smo 375 valjanih anketnih upitnika. U Prilogu 1 prikazana je struktura uzorka. Svi su ispitanici imali najmanje 18 godina i najmanje su 5 godina živjeli u odgovarajućem kvartu. Na takvom uzorku od 375 ispitanika provedene su sve analize, osim kvartovskih usporedba koje su provedene na manjem uzorku od 245 ispitanika (v. Prilog 1). Naime, da bismo izdvojili kvartove kao funkcionalno i morfološki kompaktne cjeline, u kvartovske smo usporedbe uključili: 1) MO Vrbik u njegovim službenim granicama, omeđen Ulicom grada Vukovara, Poljičkom ulicom, Slavonskom avenijom i ulicom Ivana Lučića, 2) dio MO-a Cvjetno naselje omeđen Odranskom i Marohnićevom ulicom, Slavonskom avenijom

show how different aspects and dimensions of perceptions are combined into different senses of place. It should be noted that theoretical conceptual discussion is not the purpose of this article. The emphasis is not on theoretical coherence, rather on the wealth of results that we can get when we approach the topic from the perspectives of various concepts and apply various methodological vectors.

In quantitative data processing, modified variants of location coefficients and statistical analyses performed in SPSS v.26 (IBM Corp, 2019) were used. Since the data did not meet the assumptions required for parametric statistical analyses, we used non-parametric analyses (Kruskal-Wallis H test and Mann-Whitney U test). Satisfaction with different aspects of the neighbourhood was verified by principal component analysis, with varimax rotation.

The research was carried out in parts of the city district of Trnje, i.e. in the area of six (out of a total of 13) local councils (Fig. 1). For the research, local council areas of Trnje with different trajectories of urban development were selected. The research covered the local councils of Cvjetnica, Miramare, Vrbik (survey conducted from April to June 2016), Cvjetno naselje, Kanal and Trnje (survey conducted from April to June 2017). The number of respondents was determined according to the number of residents in the local councils. An equal number of multi-apartment buildings and private houses was selected from each local council area, with a sample stratified by gender and age, proportional to the number of inhabitants.

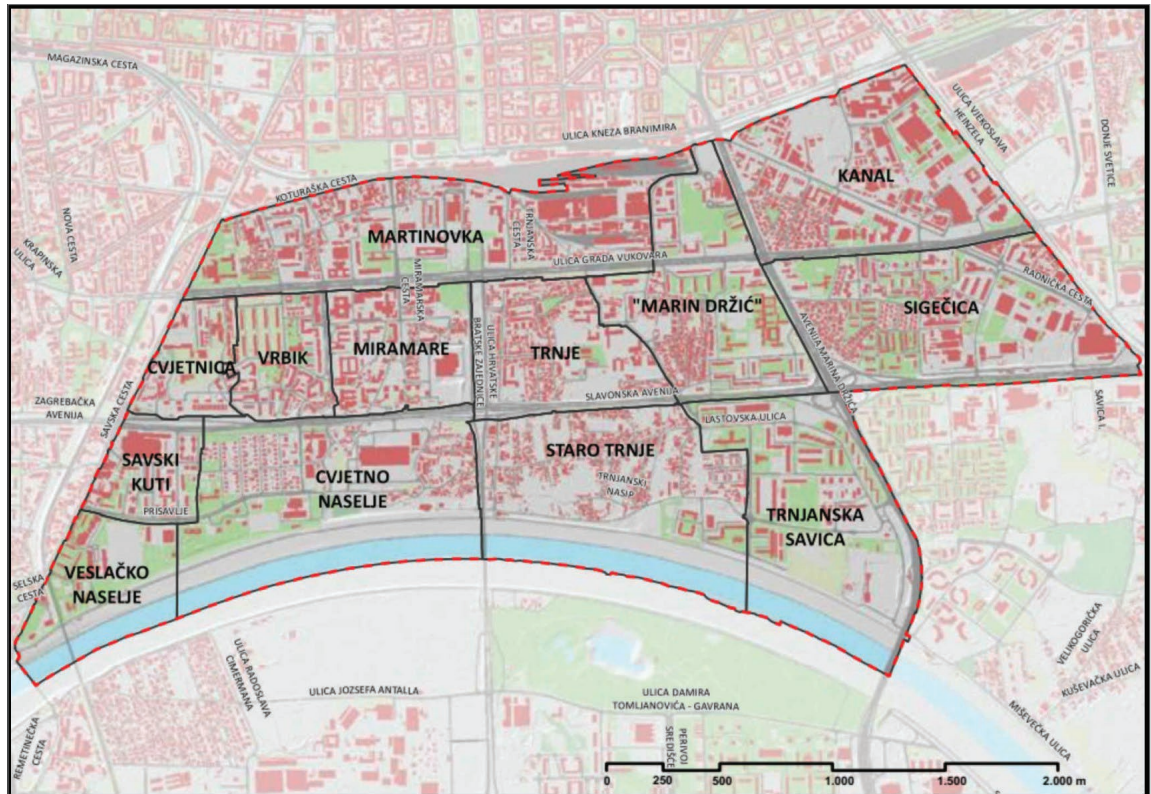
After conducting a survey on a sample of 384 respondents, we received 375 valid questionnaires. Appendix 1 shows the structure of the sample. All respondents were at least 18 years old and had lived in their respective neighbourhood for at least 5 years. All analyses were conducted on a sample of 375 respondents, except for neighbourhood comparisons, which were conducted on a smaller sample of 245 respondents (see Appendix 1). Namely, in order to distinguish neighbourhoods as functionally and morphologically compact units, the following were included in the neighbourhood comparisons: 1) Vrbik, within its official boundaries – bounded by Vukovarska Street, Poljička Street, Slavonska Avenue and Ivana Lučića Street, 2) part of Cvjetno naselje – bounded by Odranska and

i rijekom Savom, 3) dio MO-a Trnje sjeverno i zapadno od Trga Franje Šepera, omeđen Ulicom grada Vukovara, Ulicom Hrvatske bratske zajednice, Slavonskom avenijom i ulicom Kruge i 4) dio MO-a Kanal u trokutu Radnička, Vukovarska, Držićeva. Ukratko, iz odabranih četiriju područja mjesnih odbora (Vrbik, Cvjetno naselje, Trnje i Kanal) isključene su rubna stara industrijska zona Kanala te deprivirane zone namijenjene rekonstrukciji/rušenju u Cvjetnom naselju (Ledine, Struge i Prudi) i Trnju (Runjička i Krivajska ulica). Potreba za takvim izdvajanjem pokazala se tijekom istraživanja. Naime, iz karata koje su ispunili ispitanici vidljivo je da su u mentalnim slikama kvarta te zone jasno odvojene (odsutne, zaboravljene). Jedan je ispitanik osjećaj te odvojenosti izrazio na sljedeći način: zaokružio je istočni dio MO-a Cvjetno naselje i upisao u anketu „Ovaj dio kao da ne postoji”.

Da bi se izbjegla zabuna pri praćenju rezultata naše analize, još jednom valja naglasiti da su se analize provodile na smanjenom uzorku samo kad smo željeli usporediti osjećaj mjesta stanovnika različitih kvartova, to jest kad se radilo o kvartovskim (međukvartovskim) usporedbama. Na primjer, pri propitivanju koji je aspekt života u kvartu ispitanicima općenito važniji: funkcionalni, estetski ili društveni, rabili smo puni uzorak od 375 ispitanika. Kad smo pak željeli istražiti koji se aspekt života u pojedinom kvartu ispitanicima iz toga kvarta čini važnijim, uzimali smo manji uzorak, tj. uključivali smo u analize samo stanovnike koji žive u kompaktnim, morfološki i funkcionalno ujednačenim urbanim cjelinama (245 ispitanika). Isto tako, kad smo željeli doznati kojim su aspektima svojih kvartova ispitanici općenito zadovoljniji, uzimali smo puni uzorak (375), dok smo pri međusobnoj usporedbi kvartova prema stupnju zadovoljstva pojedinim aspektima baš toga kvarta, u analize uključili samo stanovnike kompaktnih kvartovskih cjelina (245). Iako je taj postupak učinio analize složenijima (a možda smo i primjenom toga postupka učinili članak težim za čitateljevo praćenje), on se na kraju pokazao plodnim. Sužavanjem prostora administrativnih mjesnih odbora na morfološki i funkcionalno kompaktne urbane jedinice u međukvartovskim usporedbama dobili smo puno relevantniju sliku o doživljaju kvarta nego kad bismo

Marohničeva Streets, Slavonska Avenue and the Sava River, 3) part of Trnje north and west of Franjo Šeper Square – bounded by Vukovarska Street, Hrvatske bratske zajednice Street, Slavonska Avenue and Kruge Street, and 4) part of Kanal – in the triangle created by Radnička, Vukovarska, Držićeva streets. In short, from the selected four neighbourhoods (Vrbik, Cvjetno naselje, Trnje and Kanal), the peripheral old industrial zone of Kanal and the deprived zones intended for reconstruction/demolition in Cvjetno naselje (Ledine, Struge and Prudi) and Trnje (Runjička and Krivajska streets) are excluded. The need for such selection was shown during the research. Namely, from the maps filled out by the respondents, it is evident that in residents' mental images of the neighbourhoods, these zones are clearly separated (absent, forgotten). One of the respondents expressed this feeling of separation in the following way: he circled the eastern part of Cvjetno naselje and wrote in the questionnaire 'This part seems not to exist'.

In order to avoid confusion when following the results of our research, it should be emphasized once again: the analyses were carried out on a reduced sample only when we wanted to compare sense of place between residents of different neighbourhoods. For example, when asking which aspect of living in the neighbourhood is generally more important to respondents, functional, aesthetic or social, we used a full sample of 375 respondents. On the other hand, when we wanted to investigate which aspect of living in a particular neighbourhood seemed more important to respondents from that neighbourhood, we took a smaller sample, i.e. only residents who live in compact, morphologically and functionally uniform urban units (245 respondents). Likewise, when we wanted to find out which aspects of their neighbourhoods the respondents were generally more satisfied with, we took the full sample (375), while when comparing neighbourhoods according to the degree of satisfaction with certain aspects of that particular neighbourhood, only residents of compact neighbourhood units were included in the analysis (245). Although such an approach made the analyses more complex (and perhaps by applying this procedure we made the article more difficult for the reader to follow), it proved to be fruitful in the end. By using morphologically and functionally compact urban units in the comparisons between neighbourhoods, we got a



Sl.1. Gradska četvrt Trnje – podjela na područja mjesnih odbora
Fig. 1 City district of Trnje – division into local council areas

Izvor: Grad Zagreb (2019)
Source: City of Zagreb (2019)

se u tim analizama držali administrativnih granica mjesnih odbora i time zamaglili imaginativnu sliku kvarta.

Prostor istraživanja

Trnje zauzima južni dio središnjega gradskog prostora, a od stare gradske jezgre odvojeno je željezničkom prugom. Smješteno je na aluvijalnoj ravni Save te je u prošlosti, sve do gradnje nasipa uz Savu, često bilo izloženo poplavama. Zbog niske vrijednosti zemljišta u razdoblju intenzivne industrijalizacije Zagreba, između dvaju svjetskih ratova, na tom je području nastala siromašna radnička periferija, nepravilne ulične mreže, pretežno niskih zgrada i oskudne komunalne infrastrukture. Od sredine 20. stoljeća Trnje doživljava radikalnu transformaciju i tada nastaju današnja urbana naselja, kao i brojne zgrade javne i poslovne namjene, čime to područje

much more relevant picture of the neighbourhood experience than if we had stuck to the administrative boundaries of the local council areas and thus blurred the imaginative picture of a neighbourhood.

The study area

Trnje occupies the southern part of the central city area, and it is separated from the old city centre by the main east-west railway line. It is located on the alluvial plain of the Sava and in the past, prior to the construction of the embankment along the Sava, often experienced floods. Due to the low value of the land during the period of intensive industrialization of Zagreb, between the two world wars, a poor working-class suburb, with an irregular street network, predominantly low-rise buildings and scarce communal infrastructure was created in that area. Starting in the middle of the 20th century Trnje experienced a radical transformation, and today's urban hous-

poprima obilježja sekundarnoga gradskog središta. No u nekim dijelovima Trnja još uvijek postoje zapušteni i neiskorišteni industrijski objekti te ostatci supstandardnih stambenih struktura.

Ovdje ćemo se kratko osvrnuti na prostorni razvoj samo onih mjesnih odbora Trnja unutar kojih je provedeno ovo istraživanje.

Područja mjesnih odbora Cvjetnica, Vrbik i Miramare čine jedinstven blok između velikih gradskih prometnica: Ulice grada Vukovara na sjeveru, Slavonske avenije na jugu, Savske ceste na zapadu i Ulice Hrvatske bratske zajednice na istoku. No u unutrašnjoj strukturi toga bloka vidljiva je distinkcija između zapadnoga dijela (Cvjetnica, Vrbik), u kojemu prevladava stambena funkcija, i istočnoga (Miramare), u kojemu je velika koncentracija javnih ustanova (Filozofski fakultet, Fakultet strojarstva i brodogradnje, Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica, Pučko otvoreno učilište Zagreb).

Okosnica poslijeratne urbanizacije Trnja bila je Ulica grada Vukovara, zamišljena kao nova magistralna gradska os, te upravo na sjevernom dijelu Cvjetnice i Vrbika niču prvi moderni stambeni kompleksi, koje su projektirali najznačajniji hrvatski arhitekti toga vremena (neke od tih zgrada zaštićene su kao kulturna dobra, kao i niz drugih građevina duž te ulice). Zbog blizine užega gradskog središta, kvalitetnoga urbanističko-arhitektonskog oblikovanja i obilja zelenila to se područje i danas smatra vrlo poželjnim za stanovanje iako same zgrade i stanovi zbog starosti zahtijevaju ulaganja u obnovu. U narednim desetljećima urbana transformacija napreduje prema južnom obodu ovoga područja, pretežito na Vrbiku, tako da se gotovo cijelo područje popunjava modernim stambenim zgradama. Najnovija masovna izgradnja završena je 90-ih godina u južnom dijelu Vrbika, s očitim odmakom od dotadašnjega urbanističkog koncepta. Iako suvremeni stanovi pružaju visoku razinu komfora, preizgrađenost na malim parcelama te ulična mreža koja slijedi nekadašnje uske i krivudave sesoske putove rezultirale su prometnim zagušenjem, manjkom parkirališnih mjesta i zelenih površina.

Niz obrazovnih ustanova duž Ulice Ivana Lučića, koja predstavlja granicu između Vrbika i Miramarea, dio je tzv. sveučilišne aleje – simboličnoga

ing estates were created, as well as numerous buildings for public and business purposes, which gave the area the characteristics of a secondary city centre. However, in some parts of Trnje, there are still neglected and unused industrial buildings and the remains of substandard residential structures.

Here we will briefly focus on the spatial development of the local council areas of Trnje where this research was carried out.

The local council areas of Cvjetnica, Vrbik and Miramare form a single block between major city roads: Vukovarska Street in the north, Slavonska Avenue in the south, Savska Road in the west and Hrvatske bratske zajednice Street in the east. But in the internal structure of that block, a distinction is visible between the western part (Cvjetnica, Vrbik), where the residential function predominates, and the eastern part (Miramare), where there is a large concentration of public institutions (Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Faculty of Mechanical Engineering and Shipbuilding, National and University Library, Public Open University of Zagreb).

The backbone of the post-war urbanization of Trnje was Vukovarska Street, conceived as a new major city axis, and it is precisely in the northern part of Cvjetnica and Vrbik that the first modern residential complexes, designed by the most prominent Croatian architects of the time, emerged (some of these buildings are protected as cultural assets, as well as a number of other buildings along that street). Due to its proximity to the city centre, high-quality urban and architectural design and abundance of greenery, the area is still considered very desirable for housing, even though the buildings and apartments themselves require investment in renovation due to their age. In the following decades, the urban transformation progressed towards the southern edge of this area, mostly in Vrbik, so that almost the entire area became filled with modern residential buildings. The most recent mass construction was completed in the 1990s in the southern part of Vrbik, with an obvious departure from the previous urban concept. Although modern apartments provide a high level of comfort, overbuilding on small plots and the street network that follows the former narrow and winding country roads have resulted in traffic congestion and a lack of parking capacity and green areas.

A series of educational institutions along Ivan Lučić Street, which represents the border between Vrbik and

prostornog koncepta koji ovo područje funkcionalno povezuje sa zapadnim krakom Lenucijeve potkove u užem gradskom središtu. Tu povezanost s centrom i centralnim funkcijama naglašavaju i nove poslovne zgrade (zgrada INGRE i Eurotower), niz veleposlanstava i konzulata te gusta mreža ugostiteljskih objekata. Iako formalno na zapadnom obodu područja MO-a Miramare, u morfološkom smislu sveučilišna aleja percipira se kao sastavni dio Vrbika.

Sjeverna stranu područja MO Miramare, uz Ulicu grada Vukovara, definirana je zgradama upravne i poslovne namjene, dok istočnom stranom dominira zgrada Nacionalne i sveučilišne knjižnice. No, dok je fizička i funkcionalna transformacija rubnih dijelova Miramarea završila prije više desetljeća, preobrazba unutrašnjega dijela toga područja, koji je zadržao pretežno stambenu funkciju, znatno je sporija. Osim nekolicine modernih stambenih zgrada uz planski izgrađene ulice, glavninu površine zauzima naslijedena nepravilna ulična mreža, s obiteljskim kućama koje se raznim improvizacijama prilagođavaju potrebama svojih vlasnika, zadržavajući tako morfologiju siromašne gradske periferije, za čiju je pravu preobrazbu predviđeno donošenje urbanističkoga plana uređenja. Zbog koncentracije objekata javne namjene i pretežno individualnoga karaktera stambene izgradnje gustoća stanovništva na području MO Miramare višestruko je manja nego na susjednom Vrbiku.

Južno od Cvjetnice, Vrbika i Miramarea, od kojih je odvojeno širokom Slavonskom avenijom, nalazi se područje Mjesnoga odbora Cvjetno naselje. Veliko površinom, vrlo je heterogene morfološke i funkcionalne strukture. Zapadni dio područja planski je građeno stambeno naselje, središnjim dijelom dominira kompleks Hrvatske radiotelevizije, dok se na istočnom kraju nalaze ostatci nekadašnje sirotinjske periferije.

Cvjetno naselje u užem smislu jedno je od rijetkih zagrebačkih naselja visokokvalitetnih obiteljskih kuća, urbanistički osmišljeno, s pravokutnom uličnom mrežom i obiljem zelenih površina. Većina kuća izgrađena je neposredno prije Drugoga svjetskoga rata, a ostale su građene do kraja 60-ih godina, usporedno s proširenjem naselja prema istoku izgradnjom više manjih stambenih zgrada. Da bi

Miramare, is part of the so-called university alley – a symbolic spatial concept that functionally connects this area with the western part of the “Lenuci horseshoe” (a U-shaped system of parks and squares) in the city centre. This connection with the centre and central functions is emphasized by modern office buildings (INGRA building and Eurotower), a number of embassies and consulates, and a dense network of hospitality facilities. Although formally on the western edge of the area of Miramare, in a morphological sense the entirety of university alley is perceived as an integral part of Vrbik.

The northern side of Miramare, along Vukovarska Street, is defined by administrative and business buildings, while the eastern side is dominated by the National and University Library. However, while the physical and functional transformation of the peripheral parts of Miramare ended several decades ago, the transformation of the inner part of said area, which has retained a predominantly residential function, has been much slower. Apart from a few modern residential buildings along the planned streets, the majority of the area is occupied by the inherited irregular street network, with family houses that have been adapted to the needs of their owners via various improvisations, thus preserving the morphology of the poor city periphery; the adoption of an urban development plan is foreseen to properly transform these areas. Due to the concentration of public purpose buildings and the predominantly individual character of residential construction, population density in the Miramare is much lower than in neighbouring Vrbik.

Cvjetno naselje is located south of Cvjetnica, Vrbik and Miramare, from which it is separated by Slavonska Avenue (one of Zagreb’s main arterial streets). Large in area, it has a very heterogeneous morphological and functional structure. The western part of the area is a planned residential area (Cvjetno naselje in the narrower sense), the central part is dominated by the Croatian Radio and Television complex (*Hrvatska Radio Televizija* or HRT), while the eastern end contains the remains of the former poor suburb.

Cvjetno naselje, in the narrower sense, is one of the few Zagreb neighbourhoods with high-quality family houses, that is urbanistically well thought out, with a rectangular street network and plenty of green areas. Most of the houses were built immediately before the Second World War, and the rest were built until the end of the 1960s, in parallel with the expansion of the neighbourhood

se spriječilo uništavanje izvornoga izgleda naselja nelegalnim dogradnjama, koje je uzelo maha 90-ih godina, 2004. Cvjetno naselje kao povijesna graditeljska cjelina dobiva status zaštićenoga kulturnog dobra. Izvorno namijenjeno stanovanju srednjega i višega građanskog sloja, to je naselje do danas zadržalo elitni karakter. Uz njegov južni rub, prema Savi, 60-ih je godina izgrađena upravna zgrada „Kockica”, koja je također zaštićena kao kulturno dobro, a nekoliko godina kasnije završena je i gradnja četiriju stambenih nebodera.

U istočnom djelu MO Cvjetno naselje sve do 70-ih godina bilo je područje obilježeno nepravilnim rasporedom ulica i neplanskom izgradnjom karakterističnom za predratno Trnje. Radi izgradnje kompleksa HRT-a velik je dio toga područja porušen, a njegovi su ostatci još sačuvani između HRT-a i Avenije Većeslava Holjevca te, u manjoj mjeri, zapadno od HRT-a (gdje se od 70-ih godina nalazi zgrada Sveučilišnoga računskog centra, a od prije desetak godina i veliki poslovni kompleks). Njihovu bi urbanu preobrazbu trebali ubrzati urbanistički planovi uređenja čije se donošenje tek očekuje. Isto vrijedi i za pretežno neizgrađeni dio južno od HRT-a, kao dio šire zone između planiranoga produžetka ulice Prisavlje i rijeke Save.

U samom središtu gradske četvrti Trnje nalazi se područje istoimenoga mjesnog odbora (MO Trnje). S triju je strana velikim gradskim prometnicama jasno razgraničeno od susjednih područja: Ulicom grada Vukovara prema sjeveru, Ulicom Hrvatske bratske zajednice prema zapadu i Slavonskom avenijom prema jugu. Samo na istočnoj strani krivudava ulica Kruge dijeli morfološki i funkcionalno jedinstven blok na područja mjesnih odbora Trnje i Marin Držić. Osim „Palače pravde” uz Ulicu grada Vukovara, kao nastavka niza reprezentativnih zgrada, u morfološkoj strukturi ističe se moderno koncipiran kompleks Doma zdravlja, dok glavnina ovoga pretežno stambenog područja još uvijek nosi obilježja gradske periferije. Nakon zastoja 60-ih i 70-ih godina, kada se planska stambena izgradnja zbog brže i jeftinije gradnje usmjerava na slobodne površine u rubnim dijelovima grada, dotrajali i neadekvatni stambeni fond postupno se zamjenjuje novim zgradama. Među uspoređivanim područjima mjesnih odbora, prema podacima popisa 2011.

towards the east by the construction of several smaller residential buildings. In order to prevent the destruction of the original appearance of the neighbourhood by illegal construction, which took off in the 1990s, in 2004, Cvjetno naselje, as a historical architectural unit, was granted the status of a protected cultural asset. Originally intended for housing of the middle and upper class, this neighbourhood has retained its elite character to this day. Along its southern edge, towards the Sava, in the 1960s, the “Kockica” administrative building was built (later also protected as a cultural asset), and a few years later the construction of four residential high-rises was completed.

In the eastern part of Cvjetno naselje, up until the 1970s, there was an area characterized by an irregular street layout and unplanned construction typical of pre-war Trnje. Due to the construction of the Croatian Radio and Television complex (hereinafter HRT), a large part of that area was demolished, and its remains are still preserved between HRT and Većeslav Holjevac Avenue and, to a lesser extent, west of HRT (where the University Computing Centre was built in the 1970s, and a large business complex was built in the 2000s). Their urban transformation should be accelerated by urban development plans, the adoption of which is still expected at the time of writing. The same applies to the mostly undeveloped area south of HRT, as part of the wider zone between the planned extension of Prisavlje Street and the Sava River.

In the very centre of the city district of Trnje (CD Trnje), there is the area under the local council of the same name (LC Trnje). It is clearly demarcated from the neighbouring areas on three sides by major city roads: Vukovarska Street to the north, Hrvatske bratske zajednice Street to the west and Slavonska Avenue to the south. Only on the eastern side, the winding Kruge Street divides the morphologically and functionally unique block into the areas of Trnje and Marin Držić local councils. In addition to the “Palace of Justice” along Vukovarska Street, as a continuation of a series of representative buildings, the modern complex of the Health Centre stands out in its morphological structure, while the bulk of this predominantly residential area still bears the characteristics of the city’s periphery. After the stagnation of the 1960s and 1970s, when planned housing construction was directed to free areas in the outskirts of the city due to faster and cheaper construction, the dilapidated and inadequate housing stock has been gradually replaced by new buildings. Among the compared local council areas,

godine (detaljniji podatci popisa stanovništva 2021. nisu još dostupni), Trnje se izdvaja najmanjom prosječnom površinom nastanjenih stanova i najnižim udjelom visokoobrazovanoga stanovništva.

Kanal je područje smješteno na krajnjem sjeveroistoku gradske četvrti Trnje. Radnička cesta, izgrađena na trasi zatrpanoga odvodnog kanala (otuda ime naselja), dijagonalno ga presijeca i dijeli na dvije trokutaste površine. Upravo su zatrpavanjem kanala stvoreni preduvjeti za širenje periferijske urbanizacije na tom području između dvaju svjetskih ratova. Tako je veći sjeveroistočni trokut popunjen uglavnom industrijskim pogonima (gradska plinara, tvornica tekstila, papira, ulja, asfalta, živodernica itd.), dok u jugozapadnom trokutu prevladava planska stambena izgradnja u dvjema različitim arhitektonskim cjelinama: gradske kuće „kasarnskog” tipa sjeverno od Botičeva trga i naselje niskih kuća s malim socijalnim stanovima između Supilove, Držićeve i Ulice grada Vukovara. Izvorni izgled toga naselja u međuvremenu je znatno promijenjen raznim neprimjerenim intervencijama i predimenzioniranom zamjenskom gradnjom na malim parcelama, no još je radikalnija transformacija nekadašnjih industrijskih površina, na čijem mjestu niču poslovne zgrade, hoteli i trgovine. Dok su ti projekti vođeni interesom privatnoga kapitala, u prostoru bivše klanonice prepoznat je razvojni potencijal od iznimnoga značenja za Grad Zagreb te je njegova transformacija dobila status strateškoga gradskog projekta (realizacija je još u fazi pripremnih aktivnosti).

I u ostalim dijelovima gradske četvrti Trnje transformacija prostorne strukture odvijala se različitim tempom i intenzitetom. Neki su dijelovi planski rekonstruirani, pa tu uz povoljniju prostornu morfologiju nalazimo i stanovništvo višega socioekonomskog statusa, za razliku od dijelova koji još nisu došli na red, a urbanistički su planovi ograničili njihovu spontanu sanaciju. Opširnija informacija o razvoju i preobrazbi prostorne strukture Trnja može se pronaći u studijama autora različitih struka – geografa, povjesničara, arhitekata-urbanista, povjesničara umjetnosti, sociologa (Žuljić, 1965, Kolar-Dimitrijević, 1981, Maroević, 1999, Radović Mahečić, 1993, Ivanković, 2006, Perković, 1990. i dr.).

according to the 2011 census data (more detailed data of the 2021 population census were not available at the time of writing), Trnje stands out with the smallest average area of inhabited apartments and the lowest share of the population with a university degree.

Kanal is an area located in the northeast corner of the city district of Trnje. Radnička Street, built on the route of a buried drainage canal (hence the name of the neighbourhood), cuts it diagonally and divides it into two triangular areas. It was the filling of the canal that created the preconditions for the expansion of peripheral urbanization in the area between the two world wars. Thus, the larger, north-eastern triangle was filled mainly with industrial facilities (city gas plant, textile, paper, oil, asphalt factory, slaughterhouse, etc.), while in the south-western triangle planned residential construction predominated, mainly in the form of two different architectural units: “barracks” type town houses in the north from Botičev Square and a low-rise housing project with small apartments between Supilova, Držićeva and Vukovarska streets. In the meantime, the original appearance of the project has been significantly changed by various inappropriate interventions and oversized construction on small plots, but the transformation of the former industrial areas is even more radical, where office buildings, hotels and shops have been emerging. While these projects are driven by the interests of private capital, the area of the former slaughterhouse was recognized as having development potential of exceptional significance for the City of Zagreb, and its transformation was granted the status of a strategic city project (the realization of which is still in preparatory phases).

In other parts of the city district of Trnje, which this study did not cover, the transformation of the spatial structure also took place at different paces and intensities. Some parts were reconstructed according to a plan, so there, along with a more favourable spatial morphology, we find a population with a higher socio-economic status, in contrast to the parts still awaiting reconstruction, while the urban plans limited their spontaneous rehabilitation. More detailed information on the development and transformation of the spatial structure of the city district of Trnje can be found in the studies by authors with various scientific backgrounds – geographers, historians, architects, urban planners, art historians, and sociologists (Žuljić, 1965, Kolar-Dimitrijević, 1981, Maroević, 1999, Radović Mahečić, 1993, Ivanković, 2006, Perković, 1990, etc.).

Dimenzije osjećaja mjesta: imaginacija, vrednovanje, privrženost

U kvartu, neposrednom okolišu mjesta stanovanja, odvija se velik dio života gradskoga stanovništva. On je fizički okvir za organizaciju njihovih svakodnevnih aktivnosti (Gold, 2009). Poput proširene kuće on mora zadovoljiti potrebu za utočištem i sigurnošću, potrebu za ravnotežom između društvenosti i privatnosti. Kvart je mjesto, što znači da je on središte ljudskih iskustava i aspiracija (Tuan, 1976). Kvart je mjesto i kao takvo uključuje fizički okvir, ljude i njihove institucije te osjećaj pripadnosti (Eyles, 1985, 63).

Preko svakodnevnih susreta i interakcije kvart se konstruira u našoj imaginaciji, vrednuje s obzirom na naše potrebe, sudjeluje u razvoju afektivnih odnosa. Polazeći od toga, mi ćemo se prilikom istraživanja osjećaja mjesta u zagrebačkim kvartovima, kako je već rečeno, koncentrirati na njegova tri elementa, odnosno tri dimenzije – imaginaciju mjesta, vrednovanje mjesta i strukturu osjećaja prema mjestu (privrženost mjestu).

Imaginacija kvarta

Osjećaj mjesta jest kognitivna struktura (Agnew, 1987) koja podrazumijeva imaginacija kvarta. U našim mentalnim kartama mjesta imaju svoja obilježja koja mogu biti različita, promjenjiva te ovise ne samo o realnom okolišu (onome što se percipira) nego i o personalnim karakteristikama pojedinih osoba (onome tko percipira). Ovdje ćemo se pozabaviti samo dijelom te složene imaginativne strukture. Koncentrirat ćemo se na suodnos estetskoga (vezanog uz krajolik), funkcionalnoga i društvenoga aspekta kvartova u imaginativnim slikama njihovih stanovnika. Želimo razumjeti što je od tih triju aspekata kvarta stanovnicima najvažnije, s pomoću kojega od njih si najviše predočavaju svoj kvart i postoje li u tom pogledu razlike između kvartova.

Kao što je već rečeno, za istraživanje kvartovskih razlika uzeli smo kompaktnije dijelove Trnja: središnji i zapadni dio Cvjetnog naselja, jugozapadni trokut Kanala, središnji i zapadni

Dimensions of sense of place: imagination, evaluation, attachment

In the neighbourhood, the immediate surrounding of home, a large part of the life of the city's residents takes place. It is the physical framework for organizing daily activities (Gold, 2009). Like an extension of the home, it must satisfy the need for shelter and security, the need for a balance between social and private. A neighbourhood is a place, which means that it is the centre of human experiences and aspirations (Tuan, 1976). A neighbourhood is a place and, as such, includes a physical framework, people and their institutions, and a sense of belonging (Eyles, 1985, 63).

The neighbourhood is constructed in human imagination via daily encounters and interactions, it is valued with regard to people's needs, and participates in the development of affective relationships. Starting from this, when researching the sense of place in Zagreb's neighbourhoods we shall focus on its three elements, i.e. three dimensions – the imagination of the place, the evaluation of the place, and the structure of feelings towards the place (attachment to the place).

Neighbourhood imagination

A sense of place is a cognitive structure (Agnew, 1987) that implies the neighbourhood imagination. In our mental maps, places have their own characteristics that can be different, changeable and depend not only on the real environment (what is perceived), but also on the personal characteristics of individual persons (who perceives). We shall deal with only a part of that complex imaginative structure by concentrating on the relation between the aesthetic (related to the landscape), functional and social aspects of neighbourhoods in the imaginaries of their inhabitants. The aim is to understand which of these three aspects of the neighbourhood are most important to the residents, which one is used the most when imagining the neighbourhood, and whether there are differences between the neighbourhoods in this regard.

As already mentioned, for the investigation of neighbourhood differences, we took more compact parts of the city district of Trnje: the central and western parts of Cvjetno naselje, the southwestern triangle of Kanal,

dio Trnja te cijelo područje Vrbika. Tako je u uzorak za kvartovske (tj. međukvartovske) usporedbe ušlo 245 ispitanika. Odabrani su se kvartovi razvijali u različito vrijeme i na različit način, imaju određene razlike u morfološko-funkcionalnim karakteristikama (v. gore) i određene razlike u strukturi stanovništva (v. Prilog 3). Naime, udio visokoobrazovanih stanovnika u Cvjetnom naselju i Vrbiku veći je u odnosu na Trnje i Kanal, što se odrazilo i na našem uzorku¹. Stanovništvo Kanala mlađe je u odnosu na druge mjesne odbore, što se u uzorku očitovalo ne samo u većem broju mladih osoba² nego i u prosječno kraćem razdoblju stanovanja ispitanika u kvartu – pokazalo se da čak 35 % ispitanika živi na Kanalu između 5 i 9 godina³ (naspram 17 % na Vrbiku, 16 % u Trnju i 13 % u Cvjetnom naselju).

Predložili smo ispitanicima da između 11 varijabli odnosno karakteristika kvarta zaokruže tri koje smatraju najvažnijima za život u svom kvartu. Pri kreiranju varijabli vodili smo računa da one pokriju tri, po nama važna, aspekta imaginacije kvarta – funkcionalni, estetski i društveni.

Za identifikaciju funkcionalnih aspekata po kojima stanovništvo prepoznaje svoj kvart kreirali smo varijable:

- opskrbljenost trgovinama i uslugama,
- lokacija unutar grada i prometnu povezanost,
- blizina obrazovnih i zdravstvenih ustanova (vrtić, škola, ambulanta, ljekarna, fakultet),
- blizina mjesta za rekreaciju.

Za identifikaciju estetskih aspekata po kojima stanovništvo prepoznaje svoj kvart kreirali smo varijable:

- ljepota prirodnog okoliša,

1 Postotak osoba s visokim obrazovanjem u uzorku je sljedeći: Cvjetno naselje 40 %, Vrbik 39 %, Trnje 37 % i Kanal 34 %.

2 Među ispitanicima s Kanala bilo je 16 % osoba u grupi 18 – 24 godine (naspram 10 % u Vrbiku, 7 % u Trnju i 5 % u Cvjetnom naselju) te 6 % osoba u skupini 65+ (naspram 13 % na Vrbiku, 14 % u Trnju i 15 % u Cvjetnom naselju).

3 Osobe koje u kvartu stanuju manje od 5 godina bile su isključene iz istraživanja.

the central and western parts of local council of Trnje and the entire area of Vrbik. Therefore, 245 respondents made up the sample for comparisons between neighbourhoods. The selected neighbourhoods developed at different times and in different ways, they have certain differences in morphological and functional characteristics (see above) and certain differences in the structure of the population (see Appendix 3). Namely, the share of residents with a university degree in Cvjetno naselje and Vrbik is higher compared to LC Trnje and Kanal, which is also reflected in our sample¹. The population of Kanal is younger compared to other local council areas, which is evident in the sample; not only in the larger number of young people², but also in the average shorter period of residence of respondents in the neighbourhood – it turned out that as many as 35% of respondents have lived in Kanal between 5 and 9 years³ (versus 17% in Vrbik, 16% in Trnje and 13% in Cvjetno naselje).

We asked the respondents to choose three features they consider most important for living in their neighbourhood out of 11 features (variables) listed in the questionnaire. The variables created covered three important aspects of the imagination of the neighbourhood – functional, aesthetic and social.

To identify the functional aspects that residents associate with their neighbourhood, we created the following variables:

- supply of shops and services,
- location within the city and traffic connections,
- proximity to educational and health institutions (kindergarten, school, clinic, pharmacy, faculty),
- proximity to places for recreation.

To identify the aesthetic aspects that residents associate with their neighbourhood, we created the following variables:

- beauty of the natural environment,
- beauty of the built-up environment and orderliness,

1 The percentage of people with a university degree in the sample is as follows: Cvjetno naselje 40%, Vrbik 39%, Trnje 37% and Kanal 34%.

2 Among the respondents from Kanal, there were 16% of people in the 18–24 age group (versus 10% in Vrbik, 7% in Trnje and 5% in Cvjetno naselje) and 6% of people in the 65+ group (versus 13% in Vrbik, 14 % in Trnje and 15% in Cvjetno naselje).

3 People who have lived in the neighbourhood for less than 5 years were excluded from the research.

- ljepota izgrađenog okoliša te uredenost,
- čistoća i opći izgled kvarta.

Za identifikaciju društvenih aspekata po kojima stanovništvo prepoznaje svoj kvart kreirali smo varijable:

- kultura i urednost stanovnika kvarta,
- blizina prijatelja,
- širok krug poznanika,
- opskrbljenost mjestima za izlazak i druženje.

Na osnovi dobivenih podataka izračunat je indeks I_i^4 , koji pokazuje u kojoj su mjeri tri analizirana aspekta važna za život u pojedinim kvartovima, te indeks I_{ij}^5 , koji pokazuje razlike u stupnju važnosti tih aspekata za život u Cvjetnom naselju, Kanalu, Trnju i Vrbiku.

Kao što vidimo na sl. 2 i sl. 3, stanovnici svih četiriju naselja prepoznaju svoj kvart preko funkcionalnosti, izražene u relativno dobroj infrastrukturi, prometnoj povezanosti i dobroj lokaciji. No, pri tome se jasno izdvaja Cvjetno naselje čiji stanovnici povezuju svoj kvart pretežito s estetskom komponentom.

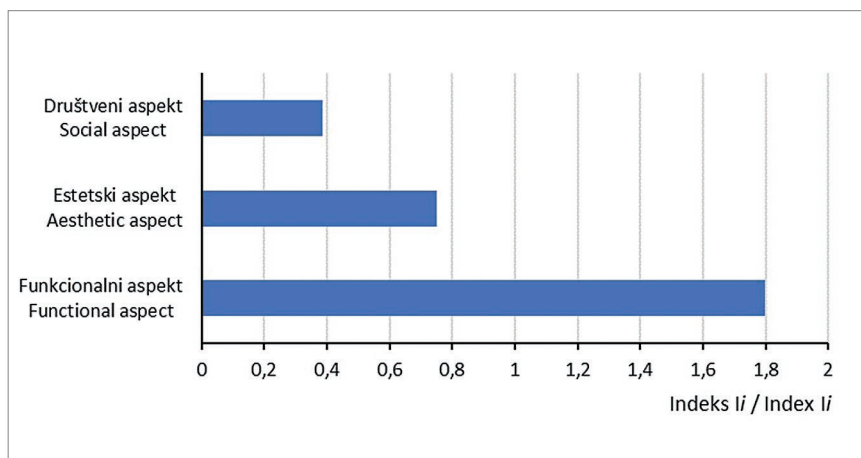
- cleanliness and general appearance of the neighbourhood.

To identify the social aspects that residents associate with their neighbourhood, we created the following variables:

- culture and tidiness of the residents of the neighbourhood,
- proximity of friends,
- presence of a broad circle of acquaintances,
- presence of places for going out and socializing.

Based on the obtained data, index I_i^4 was calculated, which shows the extent to which the three analysed aspects are important for living in certain neighbourhoods, and index I_{ij}^5 , which shows the differences in the degree of importance of these aspects for those living in Cvjetno naselje, Kanal, Trnje and Vrbik.

As we see in Fig. 2 and Fig. 3, residents of all four neighbourhoods recognize their neighbourhood via functionality, expressed in relatively good infrastructure, traffic connections and a good location. However, Cvjetno naselje clearly stands out, as the residents associate their neighbourhood mainly with the aesthetic component.



Sl. 2. Procijenjena važnost pojedinih aspekata za život u kvartu: visina indeksa I_i

Fig. 2 Estimated importance of certain aspects for living in the neighbourhood: height of index I_i

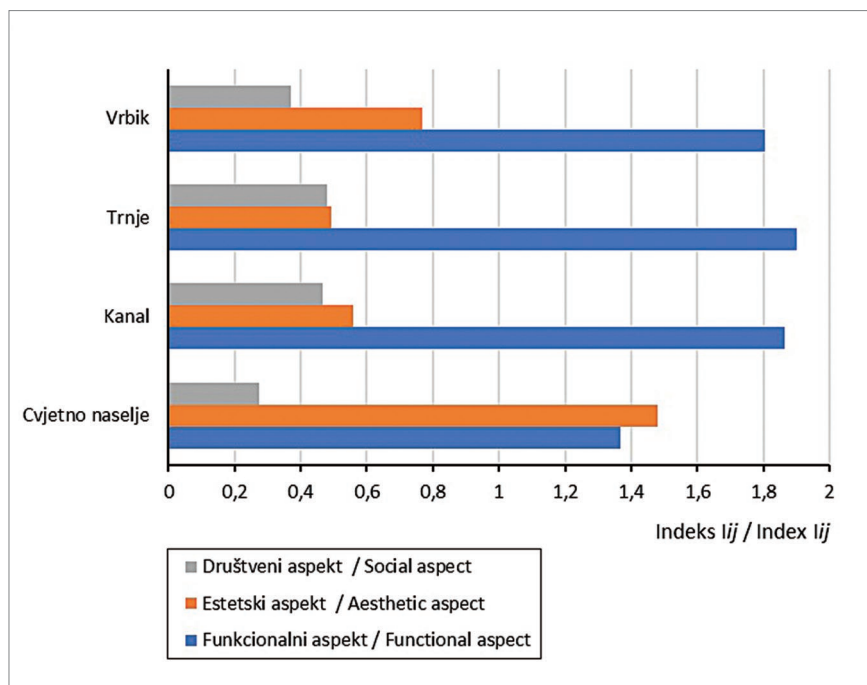
Izvor: anketno istraživanje (N = 375)
Source: survey research (N=375).

4 $I_i = X_i / X / Y_i / Y$, gdje je I_i indeks izraženosti aspekta i , X_i broj zaokruženih karakteristika vezanih uz aspekt i , X ukupan broj zaokruženih karakteristika, Y_i – broj nabrojanih karakteristika vezanih uz aspekt i , Y – broj svih nabrojanih karakteristika.

5 $I_{ij} = X_{ij} / X_j / Y_i / Y$, gdje je I_{ij} indeks izraženosti aspekta i u kvartu j , X_{ij} broj zaokruženih karakteristika vezanih uz aspekt i u kvartu j , X_j – broj svih zaokruženih karakteristika u kvartu j , Y_i – broj nabrojanih karakteristika vezanih uz aspekt i , Y – broj svih nabrojanih karakteristika.

4 $I_i = X_i / X / Y_i / Y$, where I_i is the index indicating relative importance of aspect i , X_i - the number of selected features related to aspect i , X - the total number of selected features, Y_i - the number of listed features related to aspect i , Y - the number of all listed features.

5 $I_{ij} = X_{ij} / X_j / Y_i / Y$, where I_{ij} is the index indicating relative importance of aspect i in neighbourhood j , X_{ij} number of selected features related to aspect i in the neighbourhood j , X_j - number of all selected features in the neighbourhood j , Y_i - number of listed features related to aspect i , Y - number of all listed features.



Sl. 3. Procijenjena važnost pojedinih aspekata za život u kvartu: razlike u visini indeksa lij između Cvjetnog naselja, Kanala, Trnja i Vrbika

Fig. 3 Estimated importance of certain aspects for living in the neighbourhood: differences in the height of index lij between Cvjetno naselje, Kanal, Trnje and Vrbik

Izvor: anketno istraživanje (N = 245)
Source: survey research (N=245)

Razlika između doživljaja vlastitoga kvarta između stanovnika Cvjetnog naselja i drugih kvartova vidljiva je i iz statističke analize. Testovi Kruskal-Wallis i Mann-Whitney U pokazuju da se ispitanici iz Cvjetnog naselja razlikuju od drugih u vrednovanju funkcionalnih obilježja kvarta ($H = 21.848$, $df = 3$, $p < .001$, $N = 245$) te je za njih funkcionalni aspekt manje važan za život u kvartu nego za ispitanike s Kanala ($p < .001$), Trnja ($p < .001$) i Vrbika ($p = .001$). S druge strane, ispitanici iz Cvjetnog naselja razlikuju se od drugih i u vrednovanju estetskih obilježja kvarta ($H = 48.525$, $df = 3$, $p < .001$, $N = 245$) i pri tome ih smatraju važnijima za svoj život u kvartu nego ispitanici s Kanala ($p < .001$), Trnja ($p < .001$) i Vrbika ($p = .001$).

Test je pokazao, također, statistički značajnu razliku u vrednovanju estetskih obilježja između ispitanika s Vrbika i Trnja, pri čemu Trnjani ta obilježja smatraju manje važnima ($p = .031$).

Određene zaključke o doživljaju kvarta možemo iznijeti i na osnovi odgovora na otvorena pitanja ankete („Koja biste mjesta u kvartu izdvojili kao najugodnija? Zašto?“, „Koja biste mjesta u kvartu izdvojili kao najneugodnija?

The difference between the experience of one's own neighbourhood between the residents of Cvjetno naselje and other neighbourhoods is also visible from the statistical analysis. The Kruskal-Wallis test and Mann-Whitney U test show that respondents from Cvjetno naselje differ from others in evaluating the functional characteristics of the neighbourhood ($H=21.848$, $df=3$, $p<.001$, $N=245$), and for them the functional aspect is less important for life in the neighbourhood than for respondents from Kanal ($p<.001$), Trnje ($p<.001$) and Vrbik ($p=.001$). On the other hand, respondents from Cvjetno naselje differ from others in their evaluation of the aesthetic characteristics of the neighbourhood ($H=48.525$, $df=3$, $p<.001$, $N=245$) and they consider them more important for their life in the neighbourhood than respondents from Kanal ($p<0.001$), Trnje ($p<.001$) and Vrbik ($p=.001$).

The test also showed a statistically significant difference in the evaluation of aesthetic features between respondents from Vrbik and Trnje, whereby people from Trnje consider these features less important ($p=.031$).

We can draw certain conclusions about the sense of place of the neighbourhood based on the answers to the open questions of the survey (“Which places in the neighbourhood would you single out as the most pleasant? Why?”, “Which places in the neighbourhood

Zašto?”, „Koje su prednosti života u vašem kvartu?”, „Koji su nedostaci života u vašem kvartu?”). Postavljena su i pitanja koja su uključivala i upotrebu karte. Ispitanici su bili zamoljeni da na gotovo praznoj karti (samo s obrišima kvarta i obilježenim mjestom stanovanja ispitanika) označe mjesta koja najčešće posjećuju. Na drugoj (istovjetnoj) karti ispitanici su trebali obilježiti važne objekte i ustanove koje daju prepoznatljivost prikazanom području (njihovu kvartu).

Ispitanici iz Cvjetnog naselja kao ugodna obilježja svojega kvarta ističu „prirodni okoliš”, „zelenilo vrtova kuća”, „lijepo uređenje”, „prirodu i uređenost”, „zelene površine”, „estetiku“, „zelena dvorišta privatnih kuća” i sl. Kao prednost najčešće se, uz zeleni i uređeni okoliš, spominje „mir”.

Kao jasni orijentiri i prepoznatljiva obilježja u mentalnim kartama stanovnika Cvjetnog naselja izdvojili su se Hypo centar (Hob Centar, po novome), HRT, „Kockica”, zgrada Vjesnika i Savski nasip, rjeđe Studentski dom, Boćarski dom, Sveučilišni računski centar. Zanimljivo je da su neki ispitanici, iako nisu bili zamoljeni, iscrtali na karti pravilan raster ulične mreže središnjega dijela Cvjetnog naselja, što upućuje na to da je visoko vrednovanje estetskoga aspekta kvarta povezano s „predočljivošću” (*imagibility*) i „dopadljivošću” krajolika (*likability*, Lynch, 1960, Nasar, 1998), prediktor kojih je red (poredak, jasnoća, koherentnost, olakšana identifikacija – *identifiability*). Dakle, činjenica da Cvjetno naselje stručnjaci smatraju prototipom promišljenoga, racionalnoga, kvalitetnoga i poželjnoga stanovanja i najboljim primjerom zagrebačkoga stambenog naselja individualnih kuća (Mlinar, 2018) jasno se zrcali u pozitivnom doživljaju estetske dimenzije kvarta od strane njegovih stanovnika.

S druge strane, nedostatke Cvjetnog naselja ispitanici povezuju s njegovim funkcionalnim obilježjima – malim brojem trgovina, udaljenošću od tramvajske linije i općenito javnoga prijevoza, nedovoljnom prometnom povezanošću, čak „izoliranošću”, nedostatkom kulturnih i zabavnih sadržaja, „manjkom sadržaja za

would you single out as the most unpleasant? Why?”, “What are the advantages of living in your neighbourhood?”, “What are the disadvantages of living in your neighbourhood?”. Questions that included the use of the map were also asked. Respondents were asked to mark the places they visit most often on an almost empty map (with only the outline of the neighbourhood and the respondent’s place of residence marked). On the second (identical) map, the respondents were supposed to mark important buildings and institutions that give recognition to the area shown (their neighbourhood).

Respondents from Cvjetno naselje pointed out “natural environment”, “greenery of house gardens”, “beautiful landscaping”, “nature and orderliness”, “green areas”, “aesthetics”, “green courtyards of private houses”, etc. as pleasant features of their neighbourhood. “Peace” is most often mentioned as an advantage, along with a green and well-organized environment.

Hypo Centre (now Hob Centre), HRT, the “Kockica” building, the Vjesnik building and the Sava embankment stand out as clear landmarks and recognizable features in the mental maps of the inhabitants of Cvjetno naselje, less often the Student Dormitory, the Bowling centre, the University Computing Centre. It is interesting that some respondents, although they were not asked, drew on the map a regular grid of the street network of the central part of Cvjetno naselje, which indicates that the high valuation of the aesthetic aspect of the neighbourhood is connected with the “imagibility” and “likability” of the landscape (Lynch, 1960, Nasar 1998), the predictor of which is order (clarity, coherence, easy identification – “identifiability”). So, the fact that Cvjetno naselje is considered by experts to be a prototype of thoughtful, rational, high-quality and desirable housing and among the best examples of Zagreb’s residential areas consisting of family houses (Mlinar, 2018) is clearly reflected in the positive experience of the aesthetic dimension of the neighbourhood by its residents.

On the other hand, respondents associate the shortcomings of Cvjetno naselje with its functional characteristics – the small number of shops, the distance from the tram line and public transport in general, insufficient traffic connections, even “isolation”, lack of cultural and entertainment facilities, and “lack of facilities for social life”. At the same time, the im-

društveni život”. Pri tome je slika kvarta, što ga je zaobišao infrastrukturni razvoj, jasno povezana sa svakodnevnim praksama ispitanika. Naime, među mjestima koja ispitanici iz Cvjetnog naselja najčešće posjećuju velik je broj (trgovine, frizerski saloni, pekare, kladionica i dr.) izvan njihova mjesnoga odbora, ponajprije na području Vrbika, odijeljenog prometnom Slavonskom avenijom. Kako je napisao jedan od ispitanika: u Cvjetnom naselju je „polo od važnih stvari izvan kvarta”.

Slika susjednoga Vrbika, kako pokazuju iscrtane karte i odgovori na otvorena pitanja, posve je drukčija. Kao osnovni orijentiri koji kvartu osiguravaju prepoznatljivost u anketi su se najčešće pojavljivali fakulteti (Filozofski fakultet i Fakultet strojarstva i brodogradnje), veleposlanstva (Njemačke i Velike Britanije), Pučko otvoreno učilište, stambeni tornjevi poznati kao „Rakete”, poslovne zgrade – Eurotower i INGRA. Kao najugodnija mjesta često su se izdvajala igrališta, osobito multifunkcionalno igralište s malim parkom na glavnom kvartovskom trgu poznato kao „Kalimero” (međugeneracijsko okupljalište djece i mladih), sam glavni trg (Kninski) s obiljem uslužnih funkcija, kvartovski kafici. Sudeći po anketi, Vrbik njegovi stanovnici doživljavaju kao prepoznatljiv po „živahnosti” koju generira koncentracija mladih ljudi oko fakulteta, mnoštvo uslužnih sadržaja, prostori namijenjeni djeci, kafici kao mjesta okupljanja i druženja. Teško se oteti dojmu da nepravilan, zbijen i mjestimično neurbaniziran („neizgrađen”, kako je napisao jedan od ispitanika) krajolik Vrbika, prepoznatljiv po zavojitim ulicama određenima topografijom terena, sami stanovnici, usprkos kritikama urbanista, doživljavaju kao dio kvartovske „opuštenosti” i „atmosfera” koja izmiče strukturiranosti. Jedan od primjera odstupanja od urbanističkih norma svakako je činjenica da se u samome središtu glavnoga trga naselja nalazi igralište („Kalimero”, za opstanak kojega su se stanovnici Vrbika izborili unatoč višegodišnjim pritiscima kapitala i gradske uprave.⁶)

age of the neighbourhood, which has been bypassed by infrastructural development, is clearly connected with the daily practices of the respondents. Namely, among the places that respondents from Cvjetno naselje most often visit are a large number of facilities (shops, hair salons, bakeries, betting shops, etc.) beyond the borders of their local council area, primarily in the area of Vrbik, separated by the busy Slavonska Avenue. As one of the interviewees wrote: in Cvjetno naselje, “half of the important things are outside the neighbourhood”.

The image of the neighbouring Vrbik, as shown by the drawn maps and answers to open questions, is completely different. Faculties (Faculty of Philosophy and Faculty of Mechanical Engineering and Shipbuilding), embassies (of Germany and Great Britain), the Public Open University, residential towers known as “the Rockets”, office buildings – Eurotower and INGRA, appeared most frequently in the survey as the main landmarks that ensure the district’s recognition. Playgrounds were often singled out as the most pleasant places, especially the multifunctional playground with a small park on the main neighbourhood square known as “Kalimero” (an intergenerational gathering place for children and young people), the main square itself (Kninski square) with plenty of amenities and neighbourhood cafes. Judging by the survey, Vrbik is perceived by its residents as recognizable by the “vibrancy” generated by the concentration of young people around the faculties, a multitude of service facilities, areas intended for children, cafes as places of gathering and socializing. It is difficult to escape the impression that the irregular, dense and in places unurbanized (“undeveloped”, as one of the interviewees wrote) landscape of Vrbik, recognizable by the winding streets determined by the topography of the terrain, is perceived by the residents themselves as part of the neighbourhood’s “relaxedness” and “atmosphere” that eludes “structuredness”. One of the examples of deviations from urban planning norms is certainly the fact that in the very centre of the main square of the neighbourhood, there is a playground (Kalimero), for the survival of which the residents of Vrbik fought, despite the pressures of investors and the city administration for many years.⁶

⁶ <https://www.zagreb.info/vijesti/teske-prozivke-rekli-smo-ne-gradevinskoj-mafiji-koja-zeli-pociniti-dodatni-urbanocid/221060/>

⁶ <https://www.zagreb.info/vijesti/teske-prozivke-rekli-smo-ne-gradevinskoj-mafiji-koja-zeli-pociniti-dodatni-urbanocid/221060/>

Prednost Vrbika njegovi stanovnici vide najčešće u njegovoj blizini centru grada, a osobito u njegovoj multifunkcionalnosti i samodostatnosti, tj. dostupnosti svega potrebnoga za život („sve je pri ruci”, „sve bitne stvari za život su dostupne”, „blizu svega što je neophodno”, „sve mi je blizu”, „kao centar grada, a nisi u centru”, „blizina svemu”, „dostupnost usluga, puno kafića”, „blizina svega, prometnice, fakulteti, vrtići, dućani, pošta” i sl.).

Među nedostacima Vrbika ističu se prometne gužve u radno vrijeme, odsutnost kulturnih sadržaja i manjak zelenila.

Na kartama koje su ispunili ispitanici iz mjesnoga odbora Trnje kao najistaknutije obilježje kvarta najčešće se pojavljuju Zagrebačke fontane u ulici Hrvatske bratske zajednice, na samom zapadnom rubu MO-a. Iz ankete se nedvojbeno iščitava veliko značenje koje je imala izgradnja i uređenje fontana s travnjacima i cvijećem za stanovnike nekadašnjega radničkoga naselja, gdje, kako je napisao jedan od ispitanika „zelenila i parkova nema ni za lijek”. Fontane se doživljavaju ne samo kao najprepoznatljivije i najreprezentativnije nego i kao najugodnije mjesto kvarta. U tom ih je kontekstu spomenulo 37 % trnjanskih ispitanika, više nego bilo koje drugo obilježje kvarta. Pritom se one opisuju kao „lijepo uređeno” „ugodno mjesto” s „lijepim ambijentom”, s kojim se povezuje „mir, cvijeće”, „lijep ugođaj”, „zelenilo”, „osjećaj otvorenosti”, „rekreacija”. Kao ostale prepoznatljive objekte i ustanove u području stanovanja ispitanici iz Trnja na karti su obilježavali Palaču pravde, crkvu, Dom zdravlja, NK Trnje te ustanove izvan granica MO-a – KD Lisinski, NSK, Skupštinu grada Zagreba.

Ispitanici iz MO-a Trnje, čak njih 63 %, najvećom prednošću svojega kvarta smatraju blizinu centra grada. Najvećim nedostacima kvarta, s druge strane, smatra se nedostatna infrastruktura (trgovine), a osobito urbani krajoлик s „napuštenim prostorima”, „oronulim zgradama”, „nedostatkom zelenih površina”. Pri opisu Trnja koristile su se riječi „staromodno”, „zaostalo”, „zastarjelo”, „seoski život”.

Its residents see the advantage of Vrbik most often in its proximity to the city centre, and especially in its multifunctionality and self-sufficiency, i.e. the availability of everything necessary for life (“everything is at hand”, “all essential things for life are available”, “close to everything that is necessary”, “everything is close to me”, “like in the centre of the city, but you are not in the centre”, “close to everything”, “availability of services, many cafes”, “close to everything, roads, faculties, kindergartens, shops, post office” etc.).

Heavy traffic during working hours, the absence of cultural facilities and the lack of greenery are listed among the disadvantages of Vrbik.

On the maps filled out by respondents from the local council area of Trnje, the Zagreb fountains on Hrvatske bratske zajednice Street, on the very western edge of the council area, most often appear as the most prominent feature of the neighbourhood. The survey undoubtedly shows the great significance that the construction and arrangement of fountains with lawns and flowers had for the residents of the former workers’ settlement, where, as one of the respondents wrote, “there is not one ounce of greenery and parks”. Fountains are perceived not only as most recognizable and representative, but also as the most pleasant place in the neighbourhood. In this context, 37% of respondents from Trnje mentioned them, more than any other feature of the neighbourhood. At the same time, they are described as a “nicely decorated” “pleasant place” with a “nice ambience”, which is associated with “peace, flowers”, “nice atmosphere”, “greenery”, “a feeling of openness”, “recreation”. Respondents from Trnje marked on the map the Palace of Justice, the Church, the Health Centre, Football Club Trnje, and institutions outside the borders of the area – Vatroslav Lisinski Concert Hall, National and University Library and Zagreb City Assembly as other recognizable objects and institutions in the area of residence.

Respondents from the local council area of Trnje, as many as 63% of them, consider the proximity to the city centre to be the greatest advantage of their neighbourhood. On the other hand, the greatest disadvantages of the neighbourhood are the insufficient infrastructure (shops), and especially the urban landscape with “abandoned spaces”, “dilapidated buildings”, “lack of green areas”. When describing Trnje, the words “old-fashioned”, “backward”, “outdated”, “village life” were used.

Bez obzira na izolirane primjere nove stambene gradnje moderna izgleda i visoke kvalitete, kako se vidi iz ankete, Trnje se i dalje doživljava preko neravnoteže između centralne lokacije i periferne fizionomije sa starim trnjanskim uličicama i kućama. Jedan od ispitanika taj je disbalans opisao slikovito: „izgled kvarta narušava činjenicu da živimo u centru grada”.

Dok Trnje još čeka kompleksna rekonstrukcija i preobrazba, Kanal takvu preobrazbu upravo prolazi. Pretvaranje radničkoga naselja (nastanak kojega je pratio koncentraciju industrijskih pogona na Kanalu) u novo komercijalno središte širega centra grada vidljivo je u supostojanju znakova industrijskoga i postindustrijskoga razvoja: slabo održavanih tipskih radničkih zgrada s malim stanovima, guste mreže kućica izgrađenih na malim parcelama, novih stambenih zgrada visoke kvalitete i visoke cijene kvadrata te monumentalnoga centra Green Gold – poslovno-trgovačkoga kompleksa koji sam sebe reklamira kao „spoj modernog poslovanja, ugodnog ambijenta i vanjskog okoliša”, s „interijerom i eksterijerom europskih standarda”⁷.

Kao najveću prednost života na Kanalu ispitanici iz toga MO-a određuju lokaciju blizu centra grada i dobru prometnu povezanost koja je određena blizinom Autobusnoga kolodvora i križanjem tramvajskih linija u pravcu sjever – jug (po Držićevoj ulici) i istok – zapad (po Ulici grada Vukovara). Kod ispitanika s Kanala u tom pogledu bilježimo izrazito visok stupanj suglasnosti. Lokaciju i prometnu povezanost kao najveću prednost vidi čak 85 % ispitanika. Opskrbljenost sadržajima i uslugama (posebno blizinu trgovina i tržnice) ističe, kao drugu prednost, 42 % ispitanika. Nedostatak kvarta najčešće se vidi u malom broju parkova i zelenih površina (25 % ispitanika).

Kao najugodnije mjesto u kvartu ispitanici s Kanala najčešće su isticali centar Green Gold (29 % ispitanika) i park između zgrada na Dubravkinu trgu (17 %). Koliko god se odabir poslovno-trgovačkoga kompleksa kao

Regardless of the isolated examples of new residential buildings with a modern look and high-quality construction, as can be seen from the survey, Trnje is still perceived for its imbalance between the central location and the peripheral physiognomy with the old streets and houses. One of the interviewees described this imbalance vividly: “the appearance of the neighbourhood does not fit in with the fact that we live in the centre of the city”.

While Trnje is still awaiting complex reconstruction and transformation, Kanal is currently undergoing such a transformation. The transformation of the workers' settlement (the emergence of which was accompanied by the concentration of industrial plants on the Kanal) into a new commercial centre of the wider city centre is visible in the coexistence of signs of industrial and post-industrial development: poorly maintained typical workers' buildings with small apartments, a dense network of houses built on small plots, a new residential high-quality buildings with a high price per square meter and the monumental Green Gold Centre – a business and shopping complex that advertises itself as a ‘combination of modern business, pleasant ambience and outdoor environment’, with the ‘interior and exterior of European standards’⁷.

As the biggest advantage of living in Kanal, the respondents from that area identify the location near the city centre and the good traffic connections, which is determined by the proximity of Zagreb's main bus station and the intersection of tram lines (north-south along Držićeva Street and east-west along Vukovarska Street). Among respondents from Kanal, we note an extremely high degree of agreement in this regard. As many as 85% of respondents see the location and traffic connections as the greatest advantage. Provision of facilities and services (especially the proximity of shops and market) was highlighted as another advantage by 42% of respondents. A small number of parks and green areas (25% of respondents) was seen as the greatest disadvantage of the neighbourhood.

Respondents from Kanal most often pointed out the Green Gold Centre (29% of respondents) and the park between the buildings on Dubravkin Square (17%) as the most pleasant places in the neighbourhood. No matter how different the choice of a busi-

⁷ https://www.greengold.hr/hr/o_nama/green_gold_centar/

⁷ https://www.greengold.hr/hr/o_nama/green_gold_centar/

ugodnog mjesta činio različitim u usporedbi s odgovorima ispitanika iz drugih MO-a, treba imati na umu da je između zgrada kompleksa Green Gold uređen manji park koji čini najveću zelenu površinu u južnom trokutu MO-a Kanal, stoga su i obrazloženja takva izborna većinom povezana sa „zelenilom u parku“, „ugodnim okolišem“, „opuštajućom atmosferom“, „ugodom za boravak i promatranje“, ali i s „druženjem s prijateljima“ u brojnim kafićima i restoranima centra. Sasvim sukladno ideji višeslojnosti, eklektičnosti, preklapanja i multifunkcionalnosti postmodernih prostora, Green Gold, taj golemi poslovni kompleks, za stanovnike je istovremeno i užurbani poslovno-trgovački centar i „oaza mira“.

Centar Green Gold najčešće se pojavljuje i na kartama koje su ispunili ispitanici. On je prvi među mjestima koja stanovnici Kanala najčešće posjećuju i koja smatraju glavnim prepoznatljivim obilježjima kvarta. U skladu s prometnim položajem i industrijskom prošlošću Kanala, među drugim objektima koji, po mišljenju ispitanika, daju kvartu prepoznatljivost ucrtani su Autobusni kolodvor, Gradska klina i tvornica Katran – sada noćni klub. Zanimljivo je da su neki ispitanici ucrtali u kartu, među mjestima koja najčešće posjećuju, tramvajske postaje i benzinsku crpku, a jedan od ispitanika takav je potez popratio citatom jedne od tvrdnji iz naše upitnika: „Kvart je za mene tek mjesto gdje živim“.

Na većem, općem uzorku (375 ispitanika) provedenom u 6 MO-a gradske četvrti Trnje provjerili smo razlike u vrednovanju aspekata života između rodnih, dobnih i obrazovnih skupina te skupina podijeljenih po stambenom statusu (vlasnik nekretnine, član uže obitelji vlasnika, podstanar, stanarsko pravo) i dužini života u kvartu. Testovi Kruskal-Wallis i Mann-Whitney U pokazali su sljedeće:

- Usporedba po rodu i stambenom statusu nije pokazala statistički značajne razlike.
- U važnosti koju ispitanici dodjeljuju *funkcionalnim obilježjima* kvarta također nema statistički značajnih razlika.

ness and shopping complex as a pleasant place seems to be compared to the responses of respondents from other local council areas, it should be remembered that between the buildings of the Green Gold Complex, there is a small park that forms the largest green area in the southern triangle of Kanal, which therefore explains this as such choices are mostly associated with “greenery in the park”, “pleasant environment”, “relaxing atmosphere”, “pleasant to stay and observe”, but also with “hanging out with friends” in cafes and restaurants in the centre. Quite in line with the idea of a multi-layered, eclectic, overlapping and multifunctional postmodern space, Green Gold, that huge business complex, is, for residents, both a busy business and shopping centre and an “oasis of peace”.

The Green Gold Centre appears most often on the maps filled out by the respondents from Kanal. It is the place that the residents of Kanal visit most often and that they consider the main landmark of the neighbourhood. In accordance with the traffic situation and the industrial past of Kanal, among other buildings that, according to the respondents, give the neighbourhood its distinctiveness are the Zagreb Bus Station, the City Gas Plant and the former Tarn Factory – now a night club. It is interesting that among the places they visit most often some respondents marked tram stations and gas stations on the map, and one of the respondents accompanied such a response with a quote from one of the statements from our questionnaire: ‘For me, a neighbourhood is just a place where I live’.

On the larger general sample (375 respondents) conducted in 6 local council areas of Trnje city district, we checked the differences in the evaluation of aspects of life in terms of gender, age and education as well as housing status (property owner, member of the owner’s immediate family, subtenant, tenancy right) and how long a respondent has lived in the neighbourhood. The Kruskal-Wallis test and the Mann-Whitney U test showed the following:

- Comparison by gender and housing status did not show statistically significant differences.
- No statistically significant differences were noted in the importance given by respondents to *the functional characteristics* of the neighbourhood.
- There is a statistically significant difference in the importance given by respondents to *the aesthetic char-*

· U važnosti koju ispitanici dodjeljuju *estetskim obilježjima* kvarta postoje statistički značajne razlike između ispitanika različitoga stupnja obrazovanja ($H = 6.463$, $df = 2$, $p = .039$, $N = 372$); pri tome je ispitanicima s osnovnom školom estetski aspekt kvarta manje važan nego ispitanicima sa srednjim ($p = .044$) i visokim ($p = .024$) obrazovanjem.

· U važnosti koju ispitanici dodjeljuju *društvenim aspektima* kvarta također postoje statistički značajne razlike između skupina, i to:

- razlika između ispitanika po duljini života u kvartu ($H = 7.269$, $df = 2$, $p = .026$, $N = 369$): ispitanicima koji žive u kvartu više od 20 godina društveni aspekt kvarta bitniji je nego ispitanicima koji žive u kvartu 10 – 19 godina ($p = .010$)
- razlika između ispitanika s različitim stupnjem obrazovanja ($H = 13.368$, $df = 2$, $p = .001$, $N = 372$): ispitanicima sa završenom osnovnom školom društveni aspekt je bitniji nego ispitanicima sa srednjom školom ($p = .005$) i ispitanicima s visokim obrazovanjem ($p = .001$).

Dakle, analize nam omogućuju zaključak o postojanju sljedećih tendencija: funkcionalni aspekt života u kvartu podjednako je važan svima, estetski aspekt života najmanje je važan osobama s nižim stupnjem obrazovanja, dok je društveni život u kvartu važniji osobama koje dugo žive u kvartu i osobama sa slabijim obrazovanjem.

Vrednovanje kvarta

Imaginacija mjesta neposredno je povezana s evaluacijom, zapravo je od nje neodjeljiva. Ingold (1992) smatra da ljudi percipiraju i iskustveno doživljavaju okoliš kao set mogućnosti koje im se pružaju (*set of affordances*). Nadograđujući njegovu tezu, Butz i Eyles (1997) govore o „okolišno utemeljenom osjećaju mjesta” (*ibidem*, 8). Oni tvrde da se znanje o okolišu temelji na neposrednom praktičnom djelovanju u tom okolišu. Pojedinci svoju okolinu upoznaju kada počinju prepoznavati u kojoj mjeri ona odgovara njihovim praktičnim namjerama. „Mi

acteristics of the neighbourhood between respondents of different levels of education ($H=6.463$, $df=2$, $p=.039$, $N=372$). Specifically, respondents with completed elementary school consider the aesthetic aspect of the neighbourhood less important than respondents with completed secondary school ($p=.044$) and university ($p=.024$) education.

· There is a statistically significant difference in the importance that respondents assign to *the social aspects* of the neighbourhood, namely:

- the difference between respondents in terms of length of life in the neighbourhood ($H=7.269$, $df=2$, $p=.026$, $N=369$): respondents who have lived in the neighbourhood for more than 20 years consider the social aspect of the neighbourhood more important than respondents who have lived in the neighbourhood for 10–19 years ($p=.010$);
- the difference between respondents with different levels of education ($H=13.368$, $df=2$, $p=.001$, $N=372$): the social aspect is more important for respondents with completed elementary school than for respondents with completed secondary school ($p=.005$) and respondents with a university degree ($p=.001$).

Thus, the analysis enables us to conclude the presence of the following tendencies: the functional aspect of life in the neighbourhood is equally important to everyone, the aesthetic aspect of life is the least important to people with a lower level of education, while social life in the neighbourhood is more important to people who have lived in the neighbourhood longer and people with a lower education level.

Neighbourhood evaluation

The imagination of the place is directly related to the evaluation, in fact it is inseparable from it. Ingold (1992) believes that human beings perceive and experience the environment as a set of affordances. Building on his thesis, Butz and Eyles (1997) speak of an ‘ecologically-grounded senses of place’ (*ibidem*, 8). They claim that knowledge about the environment is based on immediate practical action in that environment. Individuals get to know their environment when they begin to recognize the extent to which it corresponds to their practical intentions. ‘We never just perceive the

nikada ne percipiramo okoliš tek tako, mi ga uvijek percipiramo kao nešto što olakšava ili smeta ostvarenju naših namjera” (*ibidem*, 9).

I mi ovdje polazimo od ideje da osjećaj mjesta uključuje „okolišnu”, tj. instrumentalnu dimenziju. A „okolišna dimenzija osjećaja mjesta nastaje iz akumuliranih setova percipiranih/spoznanih mogućnosti koje pruža okoliš” (*ibidem*, 10). S toga se motrišta čini primjerenim proučavati evaluativnu dimenziju osjećaja mjesta te se pri tome koristiti odgovarajućim istraživačkim instrumentima vrednovanja okoliša.

Da bismo dobili predodžbu o tome kako stanovnici odabranih kvartova procjenjuju svoj kvart, upotrijebljen je instrument koji se obično koristi za mjerenje subjektivnih procjena kvalitete života i stavova o zadovoljstvu okolišem. Instrument kojim smo se koristili u ovome dijelu istraživanja mjerio je na Likertovoj ljestvici od 5 stupnjeva zadovoljstva pojedinim aspektima kvarta i kvartom u cjelini. Oslanjajući se na prethodne radove o mjerenju stupnja zadovoljstva okolišem i subjektivne kvalitete života (Magino, 2006; Marans, 2012; Campbell, Converse i Rodgers, 1976; Marans i Kweon, 2011; Marans i Stimson, 2011; Bonaiuto, Fornara i Bonnes, 2003; Fried, 1982; Fried, 1984; Rapley, 2003; Slavuj, 2012; Tiran, 2014; Tiran, 2015; Tiran, 2017; Krevs, 2004; Krevs, 2024), odabrali smo 33 čestice koje pokrivaju zadovoljstvo različitim domenama života u kvartu – od kvalitete zraka i prometne infrastrukture do susjeda.

Vrijednosti indeksa R_i^8 (tab. 1) pokazuje da su indikatori u okviru kojih je izražen najveći stupanj zadovoljstva na razini cijele GČ Trnje lokacija, blizina javnoga prometa, blizina obrazovnih ustanova i zdravstvenih usluga te blizina kafića. Niske vrijednosti R_i upućuju na nezadovoljstvo stanovnika GČ Trnje količinom parkiranih mjesta, stupnjem zaštićenosti od prometne buke, kvalitetom zraka te održavanjem čistoće, kao i uz to vezanim estetskim izgledom izgrađenoga okoliša kvarta. Najmanji stupanj zadovoljstva iskazan je u odnosu na kulturno-zabavne mogućnosti u kvartu (kino, centar kulture i dr.) i blizinu trgovina s luksuznom robom, što odražava realni nedostatak takve infrastrukture u gradskoj četvrti Trnje.

environment, we always perceive it as something which facilitates or confounds our purposes’ (*ibidem*, 9).

Here, too, we start from the idea that the sense of place includes an “ecological”, i.e. instrumental, dimension. And ‘the ecological dimensions of senses of place emerge from accumulated sets of perceived/known ecological affordances’ (*ibidem*, 10). From this point of view, it seems appropriate to study the evaluative dimension of the sense of place and to use appropriate research instruments for environmental evaluation.

In order to get an idea of how the neighbourhood residents evaluate their neighbourhood, an instrument commonly used to measure subjective assessments of quality of life and attitudes about environmental satisfaction was used. The instrument we used in this part of the research measured satisfaction with certain aspects of the neighbourhood and the neighbourhood as a whole on a 5-point Likert scale. Relying on previous works on measuring the degree of environmental satisfaction and subjective quality of life (Magino, 2006, Marans, 2012, Campbell, Converse and Rodgers, 1976, Marans and Kweon, 2011, Marans and Stimson, 2011, Bonaiuto, Fornara and Bonnes, 2003, Fried, 1982, Fried, 1984, Rapley, 2003, Slavuj, 2012, Tiran, 2014, Tiran, 2015, Tiran, 2017, Krevs, 2004, Krevs, 2024), we selected 33 variables that cover satisfaction with different domains of life in the neighbourhood – from air quality and traffic infrastructure to neighbours.

The values of the index R_i^8 (Tab. 1) show that the indicators in which the highest degree of satisfaction is expressed at the level of the entire city district of Trnje are location, proximity to public transport, proximity to educational institutions and health services, and proximity to coffee shops. Low values of R_i indicate the dissatisfaction of the residents of the city district of Trnje with the number of parking spaces, the degree of protection from traffic noise, air quality and cleanliness maintenance, as well as the related aesthetic appearance of the neighbourhood’s built-up environment. The lowest degree of satisfaction was expressed in relation to the cultural and entertainment opportunities in the neighbourhood (cinema, cultural centre, etc.) and the proximity of shops with luxury goods, which reflects the real lack of such infrastructure in the city district of Trnje.

⁸ $R_i = X_i/X$, gdje je X_i prosječna ocjena varijable i u ukupnom uzorku, X prosječna ocjena svih varijabli u ukupnom uzorku.

⁸ $R_i = X_i/X$, where X_i is the average score of variable i in the total sample, X – the average score of all variables in the total sample.

Indeks R_{ij}^9 (tab. 1) upućuje na kvartovska odstupanja u tim tendencijama. Na primjer, zbog noćnoga kluba u bivšoj tvornici Katran te kluba u centru Green Gold ispitanici iz MO Kanal bili su zadovoljniji kulturno-zabavnim mogućnostima, isto kao i ispitanici iz MO Trnje zbog blizine koncertne dvorane Lisinski. Isto tako, koncentracija trgovina više cjenovne razine (odjeća, nakit, luksuzna oprema za kupaone, rasvjetna tijela i dr.) u MO Kanal čini ispitanike s Kanala zadovoljnijima blazinom trgovina s luksuznom robom. Instrument upotrijebljen u ovoj analizi, kao i prethodni (v. prethodno poglavlje), ponovno pokazuje osobit položaj Cvjetnog naselja. Visokim ocjenama opet se ističu obilježja vezana uz kvalitetno urbanističko oblikovanje Cvjetnog naselja (izgled kvarta, količina zelenih površina, urednost kvarta i dr.) i blizinu Savskoga nasipa (prirodni okoliš, rekreacijske mogućnosti, čistoća zraka).

Faktorskom analizom varijabli vezanih uz zadovoljstvo različitim aspektima kvarta izdvojeno

Index R_{ij}^9 (Tab. 1) refers to neighbourhood deviations in these tendencies. For example, because of the night club in the former Katran factory and the club in the Green Gold Centre, the respondents from Kanal were more satisfied with the cultural and entertainment opportunities, as were the respondents from Trnje due to the proximity of the Lisinski Concert Hall. Likewise, the concentration of higher-priced stores (clothing, jewellery, luxury bathroom equipment, lighting fixtures, etc.) in Kanal makes respondents from Kanal more satisfied with the proximity of luxury goods stores. The instrument used in this analysis, as well as the previous (see the previous sections), once again shows the special position of Cvjetno naselje. The high marks once again highlight the features related to the quality urban planning of Cvjetno naselje (appearance of the neighbourhood, amount of green areas, orderliness of the neighbourhood, etc.) and the proximity of the Sava embankment (natural environment, recreational opportunities, clean air).

Factor analysis of variables related to satisfaction with different aspects of the neighbourhood iden-

Tab. 1. Zadovoljstvo kvartom prema pojedinim indikatorima
Tab. 1 Satisfaction with the neighbourhood according to individual indicators

Aspekti zadovoljstva kvartom / Aspects of neighbourhood satisfaction	Visina indeksa R_i u gradskoj četvrti (GČ) Trnje / The height of the index R_i in the city district of Trnje N = 375	Visina indeksa R_{ij} po pojedinim kvartovima / The height of the index R_{ij} by individual neighbourhoods N=245			
		Cvjetno naselje N = 57	Kanal N = 59	Trnje (MO) N = 67	Vrbik N = 62
lokacija kvarta / neighbourhood location	1.257389	0.99	0.97	1.04	1.00
blizina javnog prometa / near public transport	1.244099	0.79	1.09	1.08	1.02
blizina obrazovnih ustanova (škola, vrtić) / near educational institutions (school, kindergarten)	1.18084	1.01	0.93	1.03	1.02
blizina kafića / near a cafe	1.176109	0.91	1.01	1.04	1.03
blizina zdravstvenih usluga (ljekarna, ambulanta) / near health services (pharmacy, clinic)	1.131871	0.91	0.95	1.07	1.05
kvart u cjelini / the neighbourhood as a whole	1.084618	1.04	1.01	0.97	0.99
sigurnost na ulici tijekom dana / safety on the street during the day	1.084618	1.04	1.01	0.97	0.99
javna rasvjeta u kvartu / public lighting in the neighbourhood	1.069176	1.02	0.99	1.00	0.99

⁹ Radi se o varijaciji lokacijskoga kvocijenta. $R_{ij} = X_{ij}/X_j / X_i/X$, gdje je X_{ij} prosječna ocjena varijable i u kvartu j , X_j prosječna ocjena svih varijabli u kvartu j , X_i prosječna ocjena varijable i u ukupnom uzorku, X prosječna ocjena svih varijabli u ukupnom uzorku.

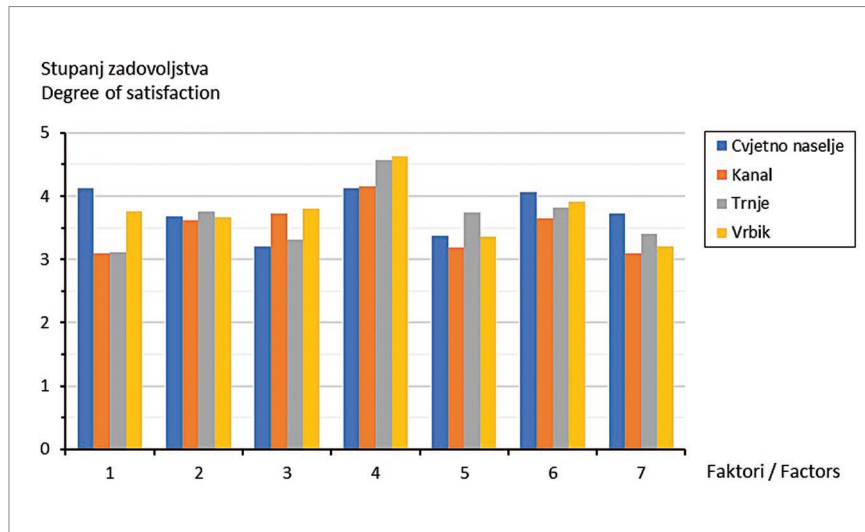
⁹ It is a variation of the location quotient. $R_{ij} = X_{ij}/X_j / X_i/X$, where X_{ij} is the average score of variable i in neighbourhood j , X_j is the average score of all variables in neighbourhood j , X_i is the average score of variable i in the total sample, X – average score of all variables in the total sample.

nastavak Tab. 1. Zadovoljstvo kvartom prema pojedinim indikatorima
continued Tab. 1 Satisfaction with the neighbourhood according to individual indicators

Aspekti zadovoljstva kvartom / Aspects of neighbourhood satisfaction	Visina indeksa R_i u gradskoj četvrti (GČ) Trnje / The height of the index R_i in the city district of Trnje N = 375	Visina indeksa R_{ij} po pojedinim kvartovima / The height of the index R_{ij} by individual neighbourhoods N=245			
		Cvjetno naselje N = 57	Kanal N = 59	Trnje (MO) N = 67	Vrbik N = 62
blizina banke, bankomata, pošte / near bank, ATM, post office	1.044747	0.84	1.06	1.00	1.08
dostupnost usluga u kvartu općenito / availability of services in the neighbourhood in general	1.040668	0.91	1.08	0.94	1.07
odnosi sa susjedima / relations with neighbours	1.040317	0.99	0.99	1.04	0.97
blizina restorana / near a restaurant	1.030956	0.94	1.05	1.00	1.01
protočnost prometnica u blizini mjesta stanovanja / traffic flow near the place of residence	1.030551	0.92	0.99	1.16	0.92
susjedi općenito / neighbours in general	1.02907	0.97	1.06	1.03	0.95
blizina trgovina s robom svakodnevne upotrebe / near shops with everyday goods	1.021314	0.83	1.22	0.86	1.09
količina zelenih površina / number of green areas	1.017225	1.21	0.82	0.94	1.03
sigurnost na ulici tijekom noći / safety on the street during the night	1.015952	1.04	0.96	1.02	0.98
susretljivost susjeda / friendliness of neighbours	1.008059	0.96	1.03	1.04	0.96
prirodni okoliš kvarta općenito / the natural environment of the neighbourhood in general	1.000437	1.17	0.90	0.90	1.04
estetski izgled prirodnog okoliša kvarta / aesthetic appearance of the neighbourhood's natural environment	0.982129	1.16	0.87	0.91	1.06
kultura i ponašanje susjeda / conduct and behaviour of neighbours	0.981989	0.98	1.04	1.02	0.97
rekreacijske mogućnosti / recreational opportunities	0.974605	1.14	0.94	1.03	0.90
opći izgled kvarta / general appearance of the neighbourhood	0.968699	1.15	0.97	0.88	1.02
prometna infrastruktura općenito / transport infrastructure in general	0.961012	0.94	0.98	1.11	0.95
kvaliteta cesta / quality of roads	0.958738	0.98	0.99	1.06	0.97
uređenost kvarta / orderliness of the neighbourhood	0.913071	1.14	0.94	0.88	1.06
održavanje čistoće kvarta / maintaining the cleanliness of the neighbourhood	0.897607	1.08	1.00	0.88	1.06
estetski izgled izgrađenog okoliša kvarta / aesthetic appearance of the neighbourhood's built-up environment	0.890244	1.15	0.97	0.87	1.03
kvaliteta zraka / air quality	0.887851	1.10	0.91	1.01	0.99
zaštićenost od prometne buke / protection from traffic noise	0.86607	1.02	1.05	1.04	0.89
količina parkirnih mjesta / number of parking spaces	0.824021	1.01	0.93	1.09	0.96
kulturno-zabavne mogućnosti (kino, centar kulture i dr.) / cultural and entertainment opportunities (cinema, cultural centre, etc.)	0.727753	0.77	1.19	1.09	0.94
blizina trgovina s luksuznom robom / near shops with luxury goods	0.670747	0.97	1.15	0.94	0.95

Kvartovski osjećaji
mjesta: primjer
kvartova gradske
četvrti Trnje

Neighbourhood
Senses of Place: a
case study of Trnje
in Zagreb



Sl. 4. Stupanj zadovoljstva kvartom, prema faktorima: 1 - okoliš, 2 - susjedi, 3 - dostupnost usluga, 4 - lokacija, povezanost, obrazovne ustanove, zdravstvene usluge, 5 - promet, 6 - sigurnost, 7 - zdravstvena kvaliteta

Fig. 4 Degree of satisfaction with the neighbourhood according to factors: 1 - Environment, 2 - Neighbours, 3 - Availability of services, 4 - Location, connectivity, educational institutions, health services, 5 - Traffic, 6 - Safety, 7 - Health quality

Izvor: anketno istraživanje (N = 243)

Source: survey research (N=243)

je sedam faktora: 1. okoliš, 2. susjedi, 3. dostupnost usluga, 4. lokacija, povezanost, obrazovne ustanove, zdravstvene usluge, 5. promet, 6. sigurnost, 7. zdravstvena kvaliteta (v. Prilog 2).¹⁰

Na sl. 4 prikazane su kvartovske razlike u prosječnim ocjenama unutar pojedinih faktora, dok je statistička analiza (Kruskal-Wallis test, Mann-Whitney U test) pokazala sljedeće statistički značajne razlike:

- Faktor 1 („okoliš”, $H = 66.782$, $df = 3$, $p < .001$, $N = 243$): ispitanici koji žive u Cvjetnom naselju u prosjeku su zadovoljniji od ispitanika iz svih ostalih kvartova – Kanala, Trnja i Vrbika ($p < .001$, $p < .001$ i $p = .001$). Ujedno su i ispitanici koji žive u kvartu Vrbik u prosjeku zadovoljniji od ispitanika koji žive u kvartovima Kanal i Trnje ($p < .001$ i $p < .001$).
- Faktor 3 („dostupnost usluga”, $H = 29.326$, $df = 3$, $p < .001$, $N = 243$): ispitanici koji žive u kvartu Vrbik u prosjeku su zadovoljniji od ispitanika iz Cvjetnog naselja i Trnja ($p < .001$ i $p < .001$). Ujedno su i ispitanici iz kvarta Kanal zadovoljniji od ispitanika iz Cvjetnog naselja i Trnja ($p < .001$ i $p < .001$).

tified seven factors: 1. Environment, 2. Neighbours, 3. Availability of services, 4. Location, connectivity, educational institutions, health services, 5. Traffic, 6. Safety, 7. Health quality (see Appendix 2).¹⁰

Figure 4 shows the neighbourhood differences in average scores within individual factors, while statistical analysis (Kruskal-Wallis test, Mann-Whitney U test) showed the following statistically significant differences:

- Factor 1 (“environment”, $H=66.782$, $df=3$, $p<.001$, $N=243$): respondents who live in Cvjetno naselje are on average more satisfied than respondents from all other neighbourhoods – Kanal, Trnje and Vrbik ($p<.001$, $p<.001$ and $p=.001$). At the same time, respondents who live in the Vrbik neighbourhood are on average more satisfied than respondents who live in the Kanal and Trnje neighbourhoods ($p<.001$ and $p<.001$).
- Factor 3 (“availability of services”, $H=29.326$, $df=3$, $p<.001$, $N=243$): respondents who live in the Vrbik neighbourhood are on average more satisfied than respondents from Cvjetno naselje and Trnje ($p<.001$ and $p<.001$). At the same time, the respondents from the Kanal neighbourhood are

10 S obzirom na to da je sumativna procjena zadovoljstva, varijabla „kvart u cjelini” nije uzimana u obradu. Varijabla „kulturalno-zabavne mogućnosti (kino, centar kulture i dr.)” izuzeta je iz obrade radi dobivanja bolje (čistije/logičnije) strukture – varijabla je bila pozicionirana na treći faktor (0,554) te djelomično na sedmi faktor (0,449) i peti faktor (0,234).

10 The variable “neighbourhood as a whole”, considering that it is a summative assessment of satisfaction, was not included in the final processing. The variable “cultural-entertainment opportunities (cinema, cultural centre, etc.)” was excluded from the final processing in order to obtain a better (cleaner/more logical) structure – the variable was positioned for the third factor (0.554) and partially for the seventh factor (0.449) and the fifth factor (0.234).

.001).

- Faktor 4 („lokacija, povezanost, obrazovne ustanove i zdravstvene usluge”, $H = 36.126$, $df = 3$, $p < .001$, $N = 243$): ispitanici koji žive u kvartovima Vrbik i Trnje u prosjeku su zadovoljniji od ispitanika iz Cvjetnog naselja ($p < .001$ i $p < .001$) i Kanala ($p < .001$ i $p < .001$).
- Faktor 5 („promet”, $H = 14.272$, $df = 3$, $p = .003$, $N = 243$): ispitanici koji žive u kvartu Trnje u prosjeku su zadovoljniji od ispitanika iz Cvjetnog naselja, Kanala i Vrbika ($p = .017$, $p < .001$ i $p = .009$).
- Faktor 7 („zdravstvena kvaliteta”, $H = 18.151$, $df = 3$, $p < .001$, $N = 243$): ispitanici koji žive u Cvjetnom naselju u prosjeku su zadovoljniji od ispitanika koji žive u kvartovima Kanal, Trnje ($p = .001$ i $p = .05$) i Vrbik ($p < .001$). Ujedno su ispitanici iz kvarta Trnje u prosjeku zadovoljniji od ispitanika iz Vrbika ($p = .037$).

Na faktoru 2 („susjedi”) i faktoru 6 („sigurnost”) nisu dobivene statistički značajne razlike prema kvartovskoj podjeli.

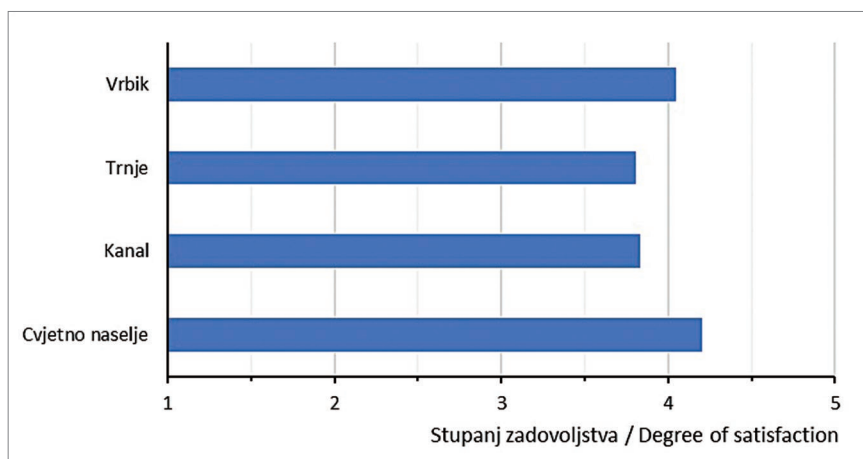
Kao što je već rečeno, pitanje o zadovoljstvu kvartom u cjelini nije bilo uvršteno u faktorsku analizu. Sl. 5. pokazuje da i u toj procjeni postoje kvartovske razlike. Najzadovoljniji su kvartom ispitanici iz Cvjetnog naselja i Vrbika, s prosječnim ocjenama između 4 (uglavnom zadovoljan) i 5 (u potpunosti zadovoljan). Prosječne ocjene

more satisfied than the respondents from Cvjetno naselje and Trnje ($p < .001$ and $p < .001$).

- Faktor 4 (“location, connectivity, educational institutions and health services”, $H=36.126$, $df=3$, $p<.001$, $N=243$): respondents who live in the neighbourhoods of Vrbik and Trnje are on average more satisfied than respondents from Cvjetno naselje ($p<.001$ and $p<.001$) and Kanal ($p<.001$ and $p<.001$).
- Faktor 5 (“traffic”, $H=14.272$, $df=3$, $p=.003$, $N=243$): respondents who live in the neighbourhood of Trnje are on average more satisfied than respondents from Cvjetno naselje, Kanal and Vrbik ($p=.017$, $p<.001$ and $p=.009$).
- Faktor 7 (“health quality”, $H=18.151$, $df=3$, $p<.001$, $N=243$): respondents who live in Cvjetno naselje are on average more satisfied than respondents who live in Kanal, Trnje ($p=.001$ and $p=.05$) and Vrbik ($p<.001$). At the same time, respondents from the neighbourhood of Trnje are on average more satisfied than respondents from Vrbik ($p=.037$).

Regarding factor 2 (“neighbours”) and factor 6 (“safety”), no statistically significant differences were obtained between neighbourhoods.

As was already mentioned, the question about general satisfaction with the neighbourhood was not included in the factor analysis. Figure 5 shows that there are neighbourhood differences in this assessment as well. Respondents from Cvjetno naselje and Vrbik are generally most satisfied with their neighbourhoods, with average ratings between 4 (mostly satisfied) and 5 (completely



Sl. 5. Stupanj zadovoljstva kvartom u cjelini: usporedba po kvartovima

Fig. 5 Degree of satisfaction with the neighbourhood as a whole: comparison by neighbourhoods

Izvor: anketno istraživanje (N = 245)
Source: survey research (N=245).

ispitanika iz Trnja i Kanala bile su niže i varirale su između 3 (niti zadovoljan niti nezadovoljan) i 4 (uglavnom zadovoljan).

Korelacijom svih faktora zadovoljstva s varijablom „opće zadovoljstvo kvartom” dobivene su statistički značajne korelacije između svih dimenzija (faktora) zadovoljstva različitim aspektima života u kvartu i općim zadovoljstvom kvartom u cjelini. Spearmanovi koeficijenti korelacije pozitivnog su smjera te su srednje visokih do visokih vrijednosti (od .18 do .61).

Privrženost kvartu

Uz imaginaciju i vrednovanje u osjećaju mjesta sudjeluju i afektivni odnosi (v. Tuan, 1976, Relph, 1976, Low, 1992, Eyles, 1985, Jorgensen i Stedman, 2001. i dr.). A oni se u tom kontekstu uglavnom proučavaju propitivanjem koncepta „privrženost mjestu”.

„Privrženost mjestu”, kao i osjećaj mjesta, fluidan je pojam. Neki ga autori smatraju emocijskom komponentom osjećaja mjesta (Jorgensen i Stedman, 2006, 317), dok ga drugi proširuju na sferu spoznaje, vjerovanja ili djelovanja u mjestu (Proshansky et al., 1983), odnosno na sferu zajedničkih kulturnih značenja i simbola (Low, 1992, 166). Ipak, u istraživanjima privrženosti mjestu uvijek su u središtu pažnje afekti, osjećaji (Low i Altman, 1992, 4). Dakle, pojam najčešće implicira afektivnu vezu ljudi prema okolišu pa se i ovdje koristi na taj način. Pri tome, iako termin implicira pozitivnu emotivnu vezu, istraživanje privrženosti u konkretnim lokalnim kontekstima može upozoriti i na odsutnost privrženosti (apatičan odnos prema mjestu) ili na karakter te privrženosti (npr. nostalgичni odnos prema mjestu).

Pristupajući propitivanju afektivnih odnosa prema mjestu u ovom smo se istraživanju djelomično oslanjali na tipologiju osjećaja mjesta koju su razradili Eyles (1985) te Butz i Eyles (1997). Ispitanici su bili zamoljeni da između četrnaest nabrojanih tvrdnji zaokruže sve s kojima se slažu. Tvrdnje smo razvrstali u sljedeće kategorije:

1. Osjećaj ukorijenjenosti u kvartu

- osjećam se ukorijenjeno u kvartu
- s ovim kvartom veže me puno uspomena

satisfied). The average scores of respondents from Trnje and Kanal were lower and varied between 3 (neither satisfied nor dissatisfied) and 4 (mostly satisfied).

By correlating all satisfaction factors with the variable “general satisfaction with the neighbourhood”, statistically significant correlations were obtained between all dimensions (factors) of satisfaction with different aspects of living in the neighbourhood and general satisfaction with the neighbourhood as a whole. Spearman’s correlation coefficients are positive and have medium high to high values (from .18 to .61).

Neighbourhood attachment

In addition to imagination and evaluation, affective relationships are also part of the sense of place (see Tuan, 1976, Relph, 1976, Low, 1992, Eyles, 1985, Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001 and others). In this context, they are mainly studied by conceptualizing “place attachment.”

“Place attachment”, like sense of place, is a fluid concept. Some authors consider it an emotional component of sense of place (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2006, 317), while others extend it to the sphere of cognition, belief or action in a place (Proshansky et al., 1983), that is, to the sphere of common cultural meanings and symbols (Low, 1992, 166). Nevertheless, in research on place attachment and affect, feelings are always in the centre of attention (Low and Altman, 1992, 4). Therefore, the term most often implies the affective connection of people to the environment, so it is used in that way here as well. At the same time, although the term implies a positive emotional connection, the investigation of attachment in specific local contexts can also reveal the absence of attachment (apathetic attitude towards the place) or the character of said attachment (e.g. nostalgic attitude towards the place).

In approaching the issue of affective attitudes toward place in this study, we drew in part on the typology of sense of place developed by Eyles, 1985 and Butz and Eyles, 1997. Respondents were asked to select the ones they agree with out of fourteen listed statements. We divided all statements into the following categories:

- ponosim se svojim kvartom
 - osjećam da pripadam svojem kvartu
2. Osjećaj zadovoljstva kvartom
- ne poznajem u kvartu puno ljudi, ali mi se sviđa sastav njegovih stanovnika
 - kvart mi je dobar i ne bih volio/voljela da se on promijeni
 - sviđa mi se duh mogega kvarta
 - bilo bi mi žao da se odselim iz ovoga kvarta
3. Osjećaj društvene povezanosti u kvartu
- prijatelji su mi jedna od bitnih stvari u kvartu
 - sviđa mi se da u kvartu poznajem mnogo ljudi
 - bilo bi mi žao da se ljudi koje cijenim odsele iz mogega kvarta
4. Osjećaj ravnodušnosti prema kvartu
- radije bih živio na nekom drugom mjestu
 - kvart je za mene tek mjesto gdje živim
 - moj kvart nije ništa osobito

Izdvojene grupe preklapaju se s nekim od tipova osjećaja mjesta koje su izdvojili Eyles (1985) i Butz i Eyles (1997).

„Ukorijenjenost u kvartu” povezana je s dobrim poznavanjem kvarta, prisnošću koja se ne svodi samo na znanje o njemu nego uključuje i s njim povezane uspomene i izraženi emotivni odnos prema njemu. Kvart je puno više nego okvir ili kulisa za društvene i druge aktivnosti. U ukorijenjenosti osjećaj pripadnosti, koji je povezan s kontinuitetom ili tradicijom, spaja se s poznavanjem koje proizlazi iz dugoga perioda života na određenom mjestu. U našem istraživanju jasno vidimo povezanost osjećaja ukorijenjenosti i dobi, duljine života u kvartu i vlasništva stana ili kuće (v. dolje rezultate statističke analize).

1. A sense of rootedness in the neighbourhood
- I feel rooted in the neighbourhood
 - I have many memories associated with this neighbourhood
 - I am proud of my neighbourhood
 - I feel that I belong to my neighbourhood
2. A sense of satisfaction with the neighbourhood
- I don't know many people in the neighbourhood, but I like the composition of its residents
 - I like the neighbourhood and I would not like it to change
 - I like the spirit of my neighbourhood
 - I would be sorry to move out of this neighbourhood
3. A sense of social connectedness in the neighbourhood
- friends are one of the important things in my neighbourhood
 - I like that I know many people in the neighbourhood
 - I would be sorry if the people I value moved out of my neighbourhood
4. A sense of indifference towards the neighbourhood
- I'd rather live somewhere else
 - for me, the neighbourhood is just the place where I live
 - my neighbourhood is nothing special

The identified groups overlap with some of the types of sense of place studied by Eyles (1985) and Butz and Eyles (1997)

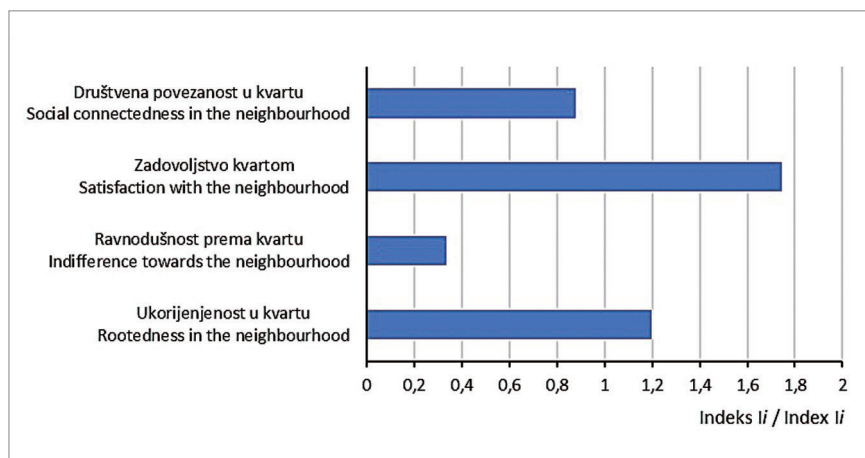
“A sense of rootedness in the neighbourhood” is associated with intimacy that is not only limited to knowledge about neighbourhood, but also includes related memories and a strong emotional relationship towards it. A neighbourhood is much more than a frame or backdrop for social and other activities. In rootedness, the sense of belonging, which is connected to continuity or tradition, combines with the familiarity that comes from a long period of living in a certain place. In our research, we clearly see the connection between the sense of rootedness and age, length of life in the neighbourhood and ownership of an apartment or house (see below the results of the statistical analysis).

„Osjećaj zadovoljstva kvartom” najizraženiji je od četiri tipa odnosa prema kvartu, što pokazuje indeks I_i^{11} (sl. 6). Osjećaj zadovoljstva kvartom implicira pozitivan, ali manje emotivan odnos od ukorijenjenosti. Taj tip odnosa Eyles (1985) i Butz i Eyles (1997) povezuju s „platformom” ili „scenom” na kojoj se odvijaju životi stanovnika mjesta. Zadovoljstvo kvartom implicira usporedbu s „nekom ‘idealnom’ slikom mjesta” (Eyles, 1985, 125; Butz i Eyles, 1997, 14). U ovoj grupi izražena je potreba ljudi da budu s onima poput sebe, da nađu odgovarajući *genius loci* u mjestu, gdje će uspostaviti stabilne društvene odnose. U našem uzorku nismo našli statistički značajne razlike u pogledu osjećaja zadovoljstva kvartom ni u jednom od parametara koje smo analizirali: dob, spol, najviše završeno obrazovanje, dužina života u kvartu i stambeni status.

„Društvena povezanost u kvartu” podrazumijeva važnost društvenih veza za pojedince, i to u kontekstu kvarta kao neposrednijega areala interakcija. Važna je blizina prijatelja, okruženost mnoštvom poznanika. „...Dok društvene veze dominiraju, one se događaju na određenim mjestima koja se, sa svoje strane, smatraju važnima zbog društvenih aktivnosti koje se odvijaju na tim mjestima. To je samo prividna

“A sense of satisfaction with the neighbourhood” is the most pronounced of the four types of relationship to the neighbourhood, as shown by the index I_i^{11} (Fig. 6). This type of sense of place implies a positive but less emotional relationship than rootedness. It is close to “platform” or “stage” category singled out by Eyles (1985) and Butz and Eyles (1997) referring to residents who see their neighbourhood as a platform on which to act out their lives. Satisfaction with a neighbourhood implies a comparison with ‘some “ideal” image of a place’ (Eyles, 1985, 125, Butz and Eyles, 1997, 14). Here the need of people to be with those like themselves, to find the appropriate *genius loci* in a place, where they will establish stable social relations, is expressed. In our sample, we did not find any statistically significant differences regarding the sense of satisfaction with the neighbourhood in any of the parameters we analysed: age, gender, education, length of life in the neighbourhood and housing status.

“A sense of social connectedness in the neighbourhood” implies the importance of social ties for individuals in the context of the neighbourhood as an immediate area of interactions. This type of sense of place implies the importance of being close to friends, being surrounded by many acquaintances. ‘... While social ties predominate, they occur at particular places which are, in their turn, regarded as important because of the social activities that occur at these places. This apparent tautol-



Sl. 6. Tipovi odnosa prema kvartu: visina indeksa I_i

Fig. 6 Types of relationship to the neighbourhood: the height of the index I_i

Izvor: anketno istraživanje (N = 375)
Source: survey research (N=375)

$11 I_i = X_i/X / Y_i/Y$, gdje je I_i indeks izraženosti kategorije i , X_i broj zaokruženih tvrdnji vezanih uz kategoriju i , X ukupan broj zaokruženih tvrdnji, Y_i broj nabrojanih tvrdnji vezanih uz kategoriju i , Y broj svih nabrojanih tvrdnji.

$11 I_i = X_i/X / Y_i/Y$, where I_i is the index indicating relative importance of category i , X_i – the number of selected statements related to category i , X – the total number of selected statements, Y_i – number of listed statements related to category i , Y – number of all listed statements.

tautologija. Mjesta imaju društveno značenje, a društvene veze imaju prostorno značenje” (Eyles i Butz, 1997, 13). Naša statistička analiza pokazala je da je društvena povezanost u kvartu bitnija ispitanicima koji dulje žive u kvartu, a tako i ispitanicima s nižim stupnjem obrazovanja. U ostalim testiranim varijablama razlike se nisu pokazale statistički značajnima (v. dolje).

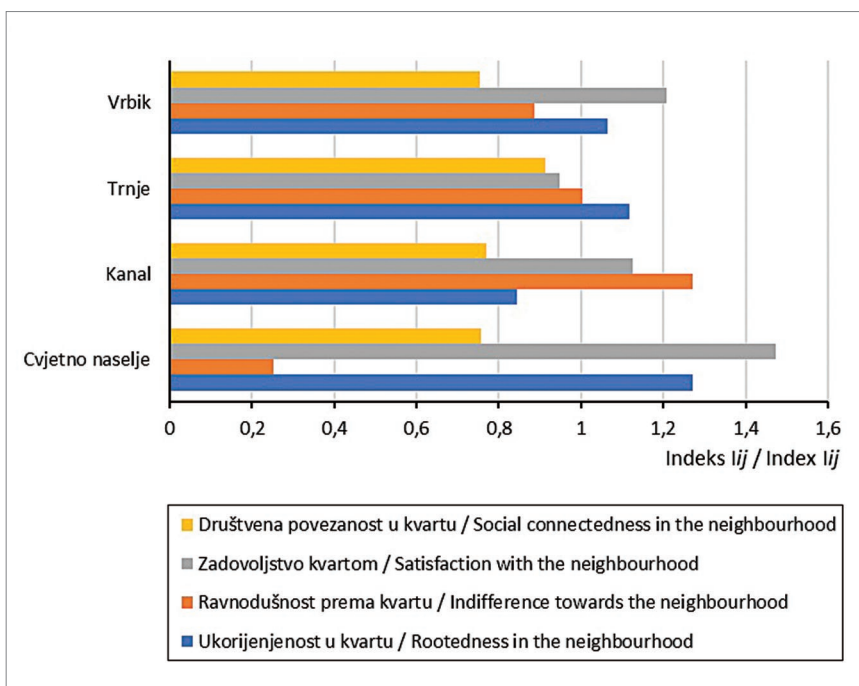
„Ravnodušnost prema kvartu” zapravo je odsutnost privrženosti. Taj tip odnosa prema kvartu uključuje gledišta ispitanika koji u svojem kvartu ne vide ništa osobito, za koje je kvart samo mjesto gdje žive i koji bi radije živjeli na nekom drugom mjestu. Sudeći po našem istraživanju, izraženost osjećaja ravnodušnosti prema kvartu značajno ovisi o duljini života u njemu.

Usporedbom kvartova prema stupnju izraženosti različitih tipova odnosa prema kvartu pomoću indeksa I_{ij}^{12} (sl. 7) uočava se specifič-

ogy dissolves. Place has social significance and social ties have place significance’ (Eyles and Butz, 1997, 13). Our statistical analysis showed that social connectedness in the neighbourhood was more important for respondents who have lived in the neighbourhood for a longer time, as well as for respondents with a lower level of education. In the other tested variables, the differences did not prove to be statistically significant (see below).

“A sense of indifference towards the neighbourhood” is actually an absence of attachment. This factor summarizes the views of respondents who do not see anything special in their neighbourhood, for whom the neighbourhood is just the place where they live, and who would rather live somewhere else. According to our research, the severity of feelings of indifference to the neighbourhood depends significantly on how long the respondent has lived there.

Comparing neighbourhoods according to the degree of expression of different types of sense of place using the index I_{ij}^{12} (Fig. 7), one can notice the specificity of Kanal,



Sl. 7. Tipovi odnosa prema kvartu: razlika u visini indeksa I_{ij} između Cvjetnog naselja, Kanala, Trnja i Vrbika

Fig. 7 Types of relationships to the neighbourhood: the difference in the height of the index I_{ij} between Cvjetno naselje, Kanal, Trnje and Vrbik

Izvor: anketno istraživanje (N = 245)
Source: survey research (N=245).

¹² $I_{ij} = X_{ij}/X_j / Y_i/Y$, gdje je I_{ij} indeks izraženosti kategorije i u kvartu j , X_{ij} broj zaokruženih tvrdnji vezanih uz kategoriju i u kvartu j , X_j broj svih zaokruženih tvrdnji u kvartu j , Y_i broj nabrojanih tvrdnji vezanih uz kategoriju i , Y broj svih nabrojanih tvrdnji.

¹² $I_{ij} = X_{ij}/X_j / Y_i/Y$, where I_{ij} is the index indicating relative importance of category i in neighbourhood j , X_{ij} – the number of selected statements related to category i in neighbourhood j , X_j – the number of all selected statements in neighbourhood j , Y_i – number of listed statements related to category i , Y – number of all listed statements.

nost Kanala, gdje je osjećaj ukorijenjenosti, kao i osjećaj zadovoljstva kvartom, manje izražen nego u ostalim kvartovima, dok je osjećaj ravnodušnosti prema kvartu izraženiji.

Testovi Kruskal-Wallis i Mann-Whitney U potvrđuju rezultate koje smo dobili primjenom indeksa *Iij*, ali daju nam i precizniji uvid u kvartovske razlike.

Između kvartova postoje statistički značajne razlike u osjećaju zadovoljstva kvartom ($H = 16.518$, $df = 3$, $p = .001$, $N = 245$), osjećaju ukorijenjenosti ($H = 10.470$, $df = 3$, $p = .015$, $N = 245$) i osjećaju ravnodušnosti ($H = 10.437$, $df = 3$, $p = .015$, $N = 245$). Pritom je kod ispitanika iz Cvjetnog naselja i Vrbika osjećaj zadovoljstva kvartom izraženiji nego kod ispitanika s Kanala i Trnja ($p = .001$, $p = .002$, $p = .012$, $p = .014$). Suprotno tomu, osjećaj ravnodušnosti prema kvartu izraženiji je kod ispitanika iz Kanala i Trnja nego iz Cvjetnog naselja i Vrbika ($p = .019$, $p = .011$, $p = .049$ i $p = .013$). U osjećaju ukorijenjenosti statistički značajne razlike postoje samo između Kanala, gdje je on najmanje izražen, i svih ostalih kvartova – Cvjetnog naselja ($p = .003$), Trnja ($p = .017$) i Vrbika ($p = .010$).

U osjećaju društvene pripadnosti, pak, nisu pronađene statistički značajne razlike između ispitanika iz različitih kvartova.

U svrhu evidencije prediktora pojedinih tipova osjećaja mjesta napravljena je bila multipla regresijska analiza u kojoj smo kao kriterije postavili tipove osjećaja mjesta, a kao prediktore dob, spol, najviše završeno obrazovanje, dužinu života u kvartu i stambeni status. Analiza je pokazala da je osjećaj ukorijenjenosti pozitivno predviđao broj godina života u kvartu ($F(6,364) = 12.114$, $p < .001$), a društvenu povezanost također broj godina života u kvartu te stupanj obrazovanja ($F(6,364) = 5.709$, $p < .001$).

Te smo nalaze provjerili testovima Kruskal-Wallis i Mann-Whitney U koji su pokazali sljedeće:

- Usporedba po rodu nije pokazala statistički značajne razlike.
- U izraženosti *osjećaja zadovoljstva kvartom* kod ispitanika također nema statistički značajnih razlika.

where a sense of rootedness in the neighbourhood, as well as a sense of satisfaction with the neighbourhood, is less pronounced than in other neighbourhoods, while a sense of indifference to the neighbourhood is expressed more.

The Kruskal-Wallis test and the Mann-Whitney U test confirm the results we obtained using the *Iij* index, but also give us a more precise insight into neighbourhood differences.

There are statistically significant differences between the neighbourhoods in the sense of satisfaction with the neighbourhood ($H=16.518$, $df=3$, $p=.001$, $N=245$), the sense of rootedness ($H=10.470$, $df=3$, $p=.015$, $N=245$) and sense of indifference ($H=10.437$, $df=3$, $p=.015$, $N=245$). Specifically, among the respondents from Cvjetno naselje and Vrbik the sense of satisfaction with the neighbourhood is more pronounced than among the respondents from Kanal and Trnje ($p=.001$, $p=.002$, $p=.012$, $p=.014$). The sense of indifference towards the neighbourhood is more pronounced among respondents from Kanal and Trnje than from Cvjetno naselje and Vrbik ($p=.019$, $p=.011$, $p=.049$ and $p=.013$). In the sense of rootedness, statistically significant differences exist only between Kanal, where it is the least pronounced, and all other neighbourhoods – Cvjetno naselje ($p=.003$), Trnje ($p=.017$) and Vrbik ($p=.010$).

In the sense of social connectedness, on the other hand, no statistically significant differences were found between respondents from different neighbourhoods.

A multiple regression analysis was performed in which we set the types of sense of place as criteria, and as predictors age, gender, highest completed education, number of years living in neighbourhood and housing status. The analysis showed that the sense of rootedness was positively predicted by the number of years living in the neighbourhood ($F(6,364)=12.114$, $p<.001$), and social connectedness was also predicted by the number of years living in the neighbourhood and level of education ($F(6,364)=5.709$, $p<0.001$).

We verified these findings with the Kruskal-Wallis test and the Mann-Whitney U test, which showed the following:

- Comparison by gender did not show statistically significant differences.
- There are also no statistically significant differences between respondents' expression of *the sense of satisfaction with the neighbourhood*.

· U izraženosti *osjećaja ukorijenjenosti* pokazale su se statistički značajne razlike. Izraženost osjećaja ukorijenjenosti mijenja se:

- ovisno o duljini života u kvartu ($H = 64.193$, $df = 2$, $p < .001$, $N = 372$), i to tako da je kod osoba koje žive u kvartu više od 20 godina osjećaj ukorijenjenosti izraženiji nego kod ispitanika koji u kvartu žive od 5 do 9 godina ($p < .001$), odnosno od 10 do 19 godina ($p < .001$)
- ovisno o dobi ($H = 16.612$, $df = 3$, $p < .001$, $N = 374$), i to tako da je osjećaj ukorijenjenosti izraženiji kod osoba s više od 65 godina nego kod osoba u dobi od 18 do 24 godine ($p = .002$), od 25 do 44 ($p < .001$) i od 45 do 65 godina ($p = .041$)
- ovisno o stambenom statusu ($H = 20.173$, $df = 3$, $p < .001$, $N = 374$), pri čemu osobe sa statusom podstanara imaju manje izražen osjećaj ukorijenjenosti od vlasnika stana ili kuće ($p < .001$), člana uže obitelji vlasnika stana ili kuće ($p < .001$) ili osoba sa stanarskim pravom ($p = .012$).

· Dobivene statistički značajne razlike upućuju na to da se izraženost *osjećaja društvene pripadnosti* također mijenja, i to:

- ovisno o duljini života u kvartu ($H = 19.749$, $df = 2$, $p < .001$, $N = 372$), s time da je osjećaj društvene pripadnosti izraženiji kod osoba koje žive u kvartu više od 20 godina u odnosu na one koje u kvartu žive od 5 do 9 ($p < .001$) i od 10 do 19 godina ($p = .003$);
- ovisno o obrazovanju ($H = 11.754$, $df = 2$, $p = .003$, $N = 375$), pri čemu je osjećaj društvene pripadnosti slabije izražen kod ispitanika s visokim obrazovanjem nego kod ispitanika sa srednjom ($p = .006$) i osnovnom ($p = .015$) školom.

· Izraženost *osjećaja ravnodušnosti* mijenja se s obzirom na duljinu života u kvartu ($H = 9.825$, $df = 2$, $p = .007$, $N = 372$), i to tako da je kod osoba koje žive u kvartu više od 20 godina osjećaj ukorijenjenosti izraženiji nego kod ispitanika koji u kvartu žive od 5 do 9 godina ($p = .002$).

· There were statistically significant differences in the expression of *the sense of rootedness*. The expression of the sense of the rootedness changes:

- depending on the number of years living in the neighbourhood ($H=64.193$, $df=2$, $p<.001$, $N=372$), such that people who have lived in the neighbourhood for more than 20 years have a more pronounced sense of rootedness than respondents who have lived in the neighbourhood 5–9 ($p<.001$) or 10–19 years ($p<.001$);
- depending on age ($H=16.612$, $df=3$, $p<.001$, $N=374$), so that the sense of rootedness is more pronounced in people over 65 than in people aged 18–24 ($p=.002$), 25–44 years ($p<.001$) and 45–65 years ($p=.041$);
- depending on housing status ($H=20.173$, $df=3$, $p<.001$, $N=374$); specifically, people with the status of tenants have a less pronounced sense of rootedness than apartment or house owners ($p<.001$), a member of the immediate family of the owner of an apartment or house ($p<.001$) or people with occupancy rights ($p=.012$).

· The obtained statistically significant differences indicate that the expression of *the sense of social connectedness* is also changing, namely:

- depending on the number of years living in the neighbourhood ($H=19.749$, $df=2$, $p<.001$, $N=372$); specifically, the sense of social connectedness is more pronounced among people who have lived in the neighbourhood for more than 20 years compared to those who have lived in the neighbourhood for 5–9 years ($p<.001$) and 10–19 years ($p=.003$).
- depending on education ($H=11.754$, $df=2$, $p=.003$, $N=375$); the sense of social belonging is less pronounced in people with a university degree than in people with secondary ($p=.006$) and primary ($p=.015$) education.

· The expression of *the sense of indifference* changes with regard to how long they have lived in the neighbourhood ($H=9.825$, $df=2$, $p=.007$, $N=372$), such that in people who have lived in the neighbourhood for more than 20 years, the feeling of rootedness is more pronounced than in respondents who have lived in the neighbourhood 5–9 years ($p=.002$).

Zaključak

U ovome se radu propituje kvartovski osjećaj mjesta kao subjektivni (intersubjektivni) doživljaj. Pri tome se polazi od stava da kvartovski osjećaj mjesta neizbježno uključuje tri međusobno isprepletene komponente: to je istovremeno imaginacijski odraz okoliša, evaluativna spoznaja okoliša i emotivna reakcija na okoliš. U taj su doživljaj uključene predodžbe o kvaliteti okoliša, idealne slike s kojima se okoliš uspoređuje, ljudske preferencije i praktične intencije na osnovi kojih se okoliš ocjenjuje, kao i afektivni odnosi temeljeni na iskustvu i pamćenju.

Korištena metodologija usklađena je s razumijevanjem pojma osjećaja mjesta, odnosno s trima njegovim komponentama/dimenzijama: imaginativnom, evaluativnom i emotivnom. Svaka je komponenta bila istražena zasebnim istraživačkim instrumentima.

Jedno od najvažnijih pitanja danoga istraživanja bilo je: ima li razlike između kvartovskih osjećaja mjesta unutar jednoga grada, štoviše jedne gradske četvrti? Bez obzira na to što većina ispitanika iz gradske četvrti Trnje, locirane na rubu širega centra grada, svoje kvartove procjenjuje s funkcionalnoga motrišta (lokacija, blizina javnoga prometa te obrazovnih i zdravstvenih ustanova, čime su u prosjeku i najviše zadovoljni), pokazalo se da ipak ima i kvartovskih razlika. Istraživački alati koji su bili primijenjeni omogućili su da unutar gradske četvrti izdvojimo različite i nijansirane kvartovske osjećaje mjesta.

MO Cvjetno naselje, kvart s jasnom strukturom, planski izgrađen, najviše odgovara pojmu predočljivosti (*imagibility*), pa su jedino ispitanici iz toga MO-a pri vrednovanju svojega kvarta najviše naglasaka stavljali na estetski aspekt te su posebno isticali zelenilo i mir, zadovoljstvo urednošću i općim izgledom kvarta, estetskim izgledom prirodnoga i izgrađenoga okoliša, čistoćom, kvalitetom zraka i zaštićenošću od buke, rekreacijskim mogućnostima. Ispitanici iz Cvjetnog naselja bili su, u usporedbi s ispitanicima iz drugih kvartova, najzadovolj-

Conclusion

In this paper, the neighbourhood sense of place is discussed as a subjective (intersubjective) experience. We started from the notion that the sense of place of a neighbourhood inevitably includes three interwoven components: it is simultaneously an imaginative reflection of the environment, an evaluative knowledge of the environment and an emotional reaction to the environment. The neighbourhood sense implies ideas about the quality of the environment, ideal images with which the environment is compared, human preferences and practical intentions on the basis of which the environment is evaluated, as well as affective relationships based on experience and memory.

The methodology used was aligned with the understanding of the concept of sense of place, i.e. with its three components/dimensions: imaginative, evaluative and emotional. Each of these components was investigated with separate research instruments.

One of the most important questions of this research was: is there a difference between the neighbourhood senses of place within one city, even more so one city district? Regardless of the fact that the majority of respondents from the city district of Trnje, located on the edge of the wider city centre, evaluate their neighbourhoods from a functional point of view (location, proximity to public transportation and educational and health institutions, with which they are generally the most satisfied), it turned out that there were also neighbourhood differences. The research tools that were applied allowed us to distinguish different and nuanced neighbourhood senses of place within the city district.

Cvjetno naselje, a neighbourhood with a clear structure, built as a planned housing estate, best corresponds to the concept of *imagibility*, such it is the only neighbourhood where the landscape aesthetic aspect prevails when evaluating the neighbourhood. Greenery and peace, satisfaction with the neatness and general appearance of the neighbourhood, the aesthetic appearance of the natural and built environment, cleanliness, air quality and protection from noise, and recreational opportunities stand out. Respondents from Cvjetno naselje, compared to respondents from other neighbourhoods, were most satisfied with their neighbourhood¹³ and

¹³ See Fig. 5.

niji svojim kvartom¹³ i češće su nego drugi¹⁴ zakruživali tvrdnju: „Kvart mi je dobar i ne bih volio/voljela da se on promijeni”.

Iz odgovora ispitanika iz MO Vrbik također se može rekonstruirati visok stupanj zadovoljstva kvartom, prepoznatljivom po živosti koju generira koncentracija fakulteta i mnoštva mladih ljudi, po atmosferi opuštenosti i izmicanju strukturiranosti, po uređenosti dječjih igrališta, po „blizini svega”, dostupnosti trgovina i usluga.

Slika MO Trnje, koju rekonstruiramo iz odgovora ispitanika, dihotomna je. S jedne strane oni svoj kvart povezuju s centralnošću lokacije, a s druge s „periferom”, „zastarjelom” fizionomijom, koja još uvijek dominira u nekadašnjem siromašnom radničkom naselju. Iznadprosječno pozitivno ocjenjuju se prometni aspekti kvarta (infrastruktura, protočnost, parkirna mjesta) čemu je razlog, sudeći po svemu, dominacija niskogradnje te, u skladu s time, manji broj automobila. Osjećaj ravnodušnosti prema kvartu ovdje je izraženiji u usporedbi s mjesnim odborima Cvjetno naselje i Vrbik, dok je stupanj zadovoljstva kvartom u odnosu na ta dva kvarta manji.

Ispitanici iz MO-a Kanal kao prednost svojega kvarta najviše ističu blizinu centra grada i prometnu povezanost te opskrbljenost trgovinama i uslugama. Kvartom su zadovoljni manje od ispitanika iz mjesnih odbora Cvjetno naselje i Vrbik. Za razliku od drugih kvartova, u kojima su ispitanici kao najugodnija mjesta isticali parkove, zelene površine, trgove ili igrališta, na Kanalu se kao najugodnije mjesto najčešće pojavljivao poslovno-trgovački kompleks Green Gold (u okviru kojega se, doduše, nalazi i lijepo uređen mali park). U usporedbi sa svim drugim kvartovima indeks *Iij* ovdje pokazuje izraženiju ravnodušnost ispitanika prema vlastitom kvartu, dok testovi Kruskal-Wallis i Mann-Whitney pokazuju izraženiju ravnodušnost u usporedbi s Cvjetnim naseljem i Vrbikom. Ispitanici s Kanala ujedno iskazuju i najniži stupanj ukorijenjenosti u odnosu na sve ostale kvartove obuhvaćene istraživanjem.

¹³ Vidi Sl. 5.

¹⁴ $\chi^2 = 10,607$, $df = 3$, $N = 245$, $p = .014$

more often than others¹⁴ circled the statement: “I like the neighbourhood and I would not like it to change.”

From the responses of respondents from Vrbik, a high level of satisfaction with the neighbourhood can also be reconstructed. In respondents' perspective it is recognizable by the vibrancy generated by the concentration of faculties and many young people, by the *genius loci* that includes relaxedness and eludes structuredness, by the arrangement of children's playgrounds, by the “closeness to everything”, i.e. the availability of shops and amenities.

The picture of Trnje, which we reconstruct from the respondents' answers, is dichotomous. On the one hand, respondents associate their neighbourhood with the centrality of the location, and on the other hand with the “peripheral”, “outdated” physiognomy that still dominates in the former poor working-class settlement. The traffic aspects of the neighbourhood (infrastructure, flow, parking spaces) are rated above average positively, the reason for which, apparently, is the dominance of low-rise houses and the smaller number of cars. The feeling of indifference towards the neighbourhood is more pronounced here compared to Cvjetno naselje and Vrbik local councils, while the level of satisfaction with the neighbourhood is lower compared to those two neighbourhoods.

Respondents from Kanal emphasize the proximity of the city centre and traffic connections, as well as shops and amenities, as the advantage of their neighbourhood. Fewer respondents than from Cvjetno naselje and Vrbik are satisfied with the neighbourhood. In contrast to other neighbourhoods, where respondents pointed out parks, green areas, squares or playgrounds as the most pleasant places, respondents from Kanal most often named the Green Gold shopping and business complex as the most pleasant place (which, admittedly, also has a beautifully landscaped small park). Compared to all other neighbourhoods, the index *Iij* shows a more pronounced sense of indifference of the respondents towards their own neighbourhood, while the Kruskal-Wallis and Mann-Whitney tests shows a more pronounced indifference compared to Cvjetno naselje and Vrbik. At the same time, respondents from Kanal show the lowest degree of rootedness compared to all other neighbourhoods included in the research.

¹⁴ $\chi^2 = 10,607$, $df = 3$, $N = 245$, $p = .014$

Korišteni instrumenti omogućili su i utvrđivanje utjecaja roda, dobi, obrazovanja, duljine života u kvartu te stambenoga statusa na kvartovski osjećaj mjesta. Kako se pokazalo, ne postoje rodne razlike u osjećaju mjesta. Dob, posve logično, utječe na osjećaj ukorijenjenosti, pa je kod osoba starijih od 65 godina taj osjećaj izraženiji. Pokazale su se određene razlike među skupinama s različitim stupnjem obrazovanja. Za ispitanike s osnovnom školom manje značenje ima estetski aspekt kvarta, no oni više cijene njegov društveni aspekt. Sukladno tomu, kod ispitanika s visokom školom društvena je pripadnost kvartu slabije izražena nego kod ispitanika s nižim stupnjevima obrazovanja. Stambeni status, prema podacima našega istraživanja, utječe jedino na izraženost osjećaja ukorijenjenosti. Naime, taj je osjećaj, logično, manje izražen kod podstanara nego kod vlasnika stana ili kuće, članova njihove uže obitelji ili nositelja stanarskoga prava.

Utjecajan čimbenik kvartovskoga osjećaja mjesta jest duljina života u kvartu. Ispitanici koji u kvartu žive više od 20 godina imali su jače izražen osjećaj ukorijenjenosti i manji osjećaj ravnodušnosti od onih koji u kvartu žive kraće razdoblje. Ima i naznaka da duljina života u kvartu utječe na vrednovanje društvenoga aspekta kvarta te na osjećaj društvene pripadnosti, ali podatci o tome nisu konzistentni.

Pozitivna korelacija između duljine života u kvartu i osjećaja ukorijenjenosti te negativna korelacija između duljine života u kvartu i ravnodušnosti utječe na interpretaciju nekih od naših rezultata. Naime, slučaj MO Kanal mogli bismo interpretirati kao potvrdu teze Edwarda Relpha (1976) o oslabljenim osjećajima privrženosti zajednici i mjestu što ih proizvode procesi modernizma i postmodernizma. Postmoderni krajolik Kanala u kojem je glavno središte poslovni centar univerzalnoga „bezmjesnoga” karaktera, koji supostoji s još uvijek vidljivim tragovima nekadašnjega industrijskog značaja toga kvarta, u kombinaciji s relativno visokim stupnjem ravnodušnosti prema kvartu i relativno niskim stupnjem ukorijenjenosti, mogao bi doista biti važan argument u korist Relphovih teza. Ipak, naše analize pozivaju na oprez. Naime, u uzor-

The research instruments used made it possible to determine the influence of gender, age, education, length of life in the neighbourhood and housing status on the neighbourhood sense of place. No gender differences in the sense of place were found. Age, quite logically, affects the sense of rootedness, so in people over 65 it is more pronounced. There were certain differences between groups with different levels of education. For respondents with completed elementary school, the aesthetic aspect of the neighbourhood is less important, but they value its social aspect more. Accordingly, among respondents with a university degree, the sense of social connectedness in the neighbourhood is less pronounced than among respondents with lower levels of education. Housing status, according to the data of our research, only affects the expression of the sense of rootedness, which is, logically, less pronounced among subtenants than among apartment or house owners, members of their immediate family or holders of occupancy rights.

An influential factor in the neighbourhood sense of place is how long a respondent has lived in the neighbourhood. Respondents who have lived in the neighbourhood for more than 20 years expressed a higher degree of sense of rootedness and a lower degree of sense of indifference than those who have lived in the neighbourhood for a shorter period. There are also indications that the length of life in the neighbourhood affects the evaluation of the social aspect of the neighbourhood, as well as the sense of social connectedness in the neighbourhood, but the data on this is not consistent.

The positive correlation between how long one has lived in the neighbourhood and sense of rootedness and the negative correlation between how long one has lived in the neighbourhood and indifference affect the interpretation of some of our results. Namely, the case of Kanal could be interpreted as a confirmation of Edward Relph's (1976) thesis about weakened feelings of attachment to community and place produced by the processes of modernism and postmodernism. The postmodern landscape of Kanal, in which the main centre is a business complex of a universal, "placeless" character, which coexists with visible traces of the former industrial character of the neighbourhood, combined with a relatively high degree of indifference to the neighbourhood and a relatively low degree of rootedness, could indeed be an important argument in favour of Relph's thesis. However, our analysis calls for caution. Namely, in the sample

ku iz MO Kanal (koji se ubrzano transformira i naseljava) veći je udio ispitanika, u usporedbi s drugim kvartovima, koji relativno kratko (5 – 9 godina) žive u kvartu. Dakle, osobita struktura osjećaja prema kvartu mogla bi u danome slučaju biti povezana upravo sa strukturom stanovništva (i, sukladno tomu, uzorka), a ne s morfologijom Kanala.

Iako nismo obuhvatili sve moguće aspekte doživljaja mjesta, ovim smo istraživanjem željeli istaknuti višeslojnost toga pojma te tako pokazati (dokumentirati) kako se različiti aspekti i dimenzije odnosa prema kvartu spajaju u različite kvartovske osjećaje mjesta. A poznavanje takvih osjećaja, vjerujemo, nuždan je uvjet za usklađivanje preferencija gradskih stanovnika s jedne strane i intencija urbanista i arhitekata s druge (Hrzić, 1995, 282).

from Kanal (which is rapidly being transformed and populated), there is a higher proportion of respondents, compared to other neighbourhoods, who have lived in the neighbourhood for a relatively short time (5–9 years). Therefore, the particular structure of feelings towards the neighbourhood could in this case be connected precisely with the structure of the population (and, accordingly, of the sample), and not with the morphology of Kanal.

Although we did not cover all possible aspects of the notion of sense of a place, this research hopefully highlighted its multi-layered nature and demonstrated how different aspects and dimensions of the relationship to the neighbourhood come together in different neighbourhood senses of the place. And knowing senses of place, we believe, is a necessary condition for harmonizing the preferences of city residents on the one hand and the intentions of urban planners and architects on the other (Hrzić, 1995, 282).

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Prilozi
Appendix

Obilježja ispitanika / Characteristics of the respondents	Ukupni uzorak (GČ Trnje) / Total sample (city district of Trnje)		Izbor iz uzorka za kvartovske usporedbe / Selection from the sample for neighbourhood comparisons			
	Broj / Number	%	MO Cytjetno naselje (bez Ledina, Struga, Pruda) / LC area of Cytjetno naselje (without Ledine, Struge, Prudi)	MO Kanal (južni trokut) / LC area of Kanal (southern triangle)	MO Trnje (sjeverno i zapadno od Trga Franje Šepera) / LC area of Trnje (north and west of Trg Franje Šepera)	MO Vrbik / LC area of Vrbik
Spol / Sex						
žene / Women	207	55,2	30	33	39	35
muškarci / Men	168	44,8	27	26	28	27
Ukupno spol / Total sex	375	100,0	57	59	67	62
Dob / Age						
18 – 24	55	14,7	5	16	7	10
25 – 44	132	35,2	15	27	26	20
45 – 64	114	30,4	22	10	20	19
65 +	73	19,4	15	6	14	13
Ukupno dob / Total age	374	99,7	57	59	67	62
Stupanj obrazovanja / Education degree						
bez završene osnovne škole / without completed elementary school	0	0,0	0	0	0	0
osnovna škola / elementary school	8	2,1	1	1	2	0
srednja škola / high school	140	37,3	16	24	28	23
visoko obrazovanje / higher education	227	60,5	40	34	37	39
Ukupno / Total	375	100,0	57	59	67	62
Stambeni status / Residential status						
vlasnik/ca nekretnine / owner of the property	215	57,3	35	29	34	40
podstanar/ka / tenant	54	14,4	9	16	5	7
član uže obitelji je vlasnik/ca nekretnine / a member of the immediate family is the owner of the property	94	25,1	12	14	25	14
stanarsko pravo / tenancy right	7	1,9	1	0	1	1
član uže obitelji ima stanarsko pravo / a member of the immediate family has the tenancy right	1	0,3	0	0	1	0
drugo / other	3	0,8	0	0	1	0
Ukupno / Total	374	99,8	57	59	67	62
Duljina života u kvartu / Length of life in the neighbourhood						
5 – 9 godina / 5 - 9 year	122	32,5	13	35	16	17
10 – 19 godina / 10 - 19 year	81	21,6	12	5	18	11
20 godina i više / 20 years and more	169	45,1	32	19	33	33
Ukupno / Total	372	99,2	57	59	67	61

Izvor: anketno istraživanje
Source: survey research

Prilog 2. Faktorska analiza varijabli vezanih uz različite aspekte zadovoljstva kvartrom (N = 336)
Appendix 2 Factor analysis of variables related to different aspects of neighbourhood satisfaction (N=336)

Varijable / Variable	Faktori / Factors							Kratki opis faktora / A brief description of the factor
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
uredenost kvarta / orderliness of the neighbourhood	,816							okoliš / Environment
estetski izgled prirodnog okoliša kvarta / aesthetic appearance of the neighbourhood's natural environment	,810							
estetski izgled izgrađenog okoliša kvarta / aesthetic appearance of the neighbourhood's built-up environment	,780				,209			
opći izgled kvarta / general appearance of the neighbourhood	,756		,202					
količina zelenih površina / number of green areas	,739						,291	
PRIRODNI OKOLIŠ KVARTA OPĆENITO / THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD IN GENERAL	,729						,394	
održavanje čistoće kvarta / maintaining the cleanliness of the neighbourhood	,703					,260		
SUSJEDI OPĆENITO / NEIGHBOURS IN GENERAL		,899						susjedi / Neighbours
susretljivost susjeda / friendliness of neighbours		,896						
kultura i ponašanje susjeda / conduct and behaviour of neighbours		,874						
odnosi sa susjedima / relations with neighbours		,843						
blizina trgovina s robom svakodnevne upotrebe / near shops with goods of daily use			,777					dostupnost usluga / Availability of services
DOSTUPNOST USLUGA U KVARTU UPĆENITO / AVAILABILITY OF SERVICES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD IN GENERAL	,241		,759					
blizina banke, bankomata, pošte / near bank, ATM, post office		,207	,652	,331				
blizina trgovina s luksuznom robom / near shops with luxury goods			,614	-,220	,210		,283	
blizina restorana / near a restaurant			,608	,302				
lokacija kvarta / neighbourhood location				,684		,292		
blizina obrazovnih ustanova (škola, vrtić) / near educational institutions (school, kindergarten)	,210			,658				lokacija, povezanost, obrazovne ustanove, zdravstvene usluge / Location, connectivity, educational institutions, health services
blizina kafića / near a café			,350	,611				
blizina zdravstvenih usluga (liječnica, ambulanta) / near health services (pharmacy, clinic)			,430	,595				
blizina javnog prometa / near public transport	-,262			,546	,253			
PROMETNA INFRASTRUKTURA OPĆENITO / TRANSPORT INFRASTRUCTURE IN GENERAL	,261				,790			
količina parkirnih mjesta / number of parking spaces					,685			promet / Traffic
protočnost prometnica u blizini mjesta stanovanja / traffic flow near the place of residence				,245	,678		,279	
kvaliteta cesta / quality of roads	,257				,673			
sigurnost na ulici tijekom dana / safety on the street during the day						,819		sigurnost / Safety
sigurnost na ulici tijekom noći / safety on the street during the night	,234					,806		
javna rasvjeta u kvartu / public lighting in the neighbourhood	,208				,204	,611		
zaštićenost od prometne buke / protection from traffic noise	,206						,733	zdravstvena kvaliteta / Health quality
kvaliteta zraka / air quality	,452						,667	
rekreacijske mogućnosti / recreational opportunities			,260				,494	
Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. a. Rotation converged in 7 iterations								
KMO = 0,860; Bartlett's Test of Sphericity = 5151,266 (465) 0,000 % protumačene varijance = 64,033								

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**Kvartovski osjećaji
mjestu: primjer
kvartova gradske
četvrti Trnje**

**Neighbourhood
Senses of Place: a
case study of Trnje
in Zagreb**

Izvor: anketno istraživanje
Source: survey research

Prilog 3. Popis stanovništva, kućanstava i stanova 2011. i 2021. godine - osnovni pokazatelji za odabrana područja njezinih odbora GČ Trnje
Appendix 3 Census of population, households and dwellings in 2011 and 2021 - basic indicators for selected areas of local committees in the city district of Trnje

Područje njesnog odbora <i>Local committee area</i>	Površina (ha) <i>Area (ha)</i>	Popis 2011. / Census 2011				Popis 2021. / Census 2021				Promjena broja stanovnika 2011-2021. (%) <i>Population change 2011-2021 (%)</i>	
		Broj stanovnika <i>Population</i>	Gustoća stanovništva (st./ha) <i>Population density /ha</i>	Indeks starosti (65+/0-14) <i>Ageing index (65+/0-14)</i>	Udio visoko- obrazovanog nezaposlenih* stanovništva* (%) <i>Share of the unemployed* (%)</i>	Prosjecan broj članova privatnih kućanstava <i>Average number of persons in private households</i>	Udio kućanstava samačkih kućanstava (%) <i>Share of one-person households (%)</i>	Prosjekna površina nastanjenih stanova (m ²) <i>Average area of inhabited dwellings (m²)</i>	Broj stanovnika <i>Population</i>		Gustoća stanovništva (st./ha) <i>Population density /ha</i>
Cvjetnica	18.67	2128	114.0	397.5	44.1	2.6	64.7	1933	103.5	352.2	-9.2
Cvjetno naselje	92.00	1785	19.4	175.2	39.6	2.5	74.5	1625	17.7	148.4	-9.0
Kanal	77.25	1411	18.3	89.3	37.2	2.1	59.0	1384	17.9	111.8	-1.9
Miramare	34.52	1297	37.6	114.6	48.1	2.3	67.8	1175	34.0	220.7	-9.4
Trnje	42.78	2129	49.8	97.6	29.3	2.4	58.3	2233	52.2	113.7	4.9
Vrbik	23.66	3352	141.7	161.9	45.3	2.2	64.8	3075	130.0	163.5	-8.3
GČ Trnje	736.46	42282	57.4	163.9	39.0	2.3	61.6	40539	55.0	160.9	-4.1
Grad Zagreb	64131.80	790017	12.3	117.8	29.0	2.6	71.0	767131	12.0	136.1	-2.9

* stanovništvo staro 15 i više godina / population aged 15 and over

Izvori / Sources : Popis stanovništva, kućanstava i stanova 2011. godine - posebno obrađeni podaci, Državni zavod za statistiku, Zagreb.

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