International Conference of Social and Cultural Studies of Urban Issues

‘POST’-URBANITY: REFLECTING ON CULTURAL AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN URBAN SPACES
Abstracts

October 4–5, 2012
Klaipėda University, H. Manto 84, Klaipėda, Lithuania

Klaipėda, 2012
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Abstracts edited by Dr. Aušra Paulauskienė

Conference website: http://postinurban.wordpress.com/

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Rapid social and technological changes have transformed urban spaces and their semantics, identities and representations all round the world. Many urban spaces have lost their previous function, and might therefore be defined as ‘post’-spaces of various kinds, as for example post-industrial, post-military, post-Soviet, postmodern, post-ideological, posthumous and so forth. ‘Post’-urbanity then points simultaneously to new spatial projections of specific and recent sociological developments and to the continuing presence of the previous social order, to emergent social orders and their related identities and practices and to a meaningful continuity of older ones.

In all this the most important question is how the processes defined by the notion of ‘post-urbanity’ transform and affect the contemporary city. Which urban spaces are most vulnerable to change? In which spaces is the conflict between old and new social meanings most apparent? How are those changes perceived in everyday consciousness? What are the dominant ideological representations of ‘post’-spaces? And which economic, technological and political structures support their existence? And what are the cultural meanings and social possibilities of new urban developments?
The ‘Post’-Urbanity conference invites participants to discuss issues of post-urbanity from the perspective of sociology, philosophy and cultural studies, especially in terms of theoretical overviews, empirical research and/or case studies of recent developments in urban spaces and their social implications globally.
## Conference Programme

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1. Theorizing the Notion of ‘Post-‘ in Urban Context

Cognitive Post-cities
Gintautas Mažeikis
Vytautas Magnum University, Kaunas, Lithuania

Contemporary growth of multilevel, global communicative actions in the processes of deterritorialization and re-conceptualization of urban spaces determines the origin of cognitive post-cities. There are a lot of discussions about the nature of cognitive cities as a specific form of thinking, behaviour, planning and development. I’ll pay attention to the cognitions which are partly independent from everyday life and are based on industrial imaginary. Cognitive post-cities are first of all possible worlds and are based on new urban, architectural solutions, on such concepts as creative cities, dream cities or even simulacrum cities, and stimulate new urban utopias, and dystopias. The growth of contemporary creative-industrial imaginary depends on artistic-commercial works and academic project activities. Both of them are different from traditional urban-utopias such as celestial Jerusalem, T. Campanella’s The City of the Sun, J. Andréa’s Christian polis, visions of City-Garden of the beginning of XX century and the like. New imaginary cities are first of all conceptual and related to projects and scientific visions. The second contemporary urban imagination is completely industrial: it depends on contemporary industrial supply and consumption and foundation’s imagination. Modern society on different levels consumes multilevel imaginary of new cities. For some corresponding to academic visions or to the needs of fabrics-universities are important, while for others industrial production of dystopias satisfy their demands or their needs for catastrophes or pleasure. Real cities in this case play a less important role. For example, imagination of creative New York or Moscow and industrial dystopias about post-apoc-
alyptic New York or Moscow are equally important, but for different classes of consumers, and doesn’t depend on everyday problems and life. New conceptual cities compete with „real” on the level of maps, books, stories, ideologies, and influences on futuristic projects. Real cities presuppose first of all traditional geography, while post-cities are based on original conceptual solutions, cognitive maps, new medias and multilevel communication. Many forms of altered realities are presented in conceptual post cities. For example games of altered realities or global non-local and non-urban elements as global energetic lines or globalized airports are expressions of cogitations in post-cities.

“Time is Money”. The Paradoxes of Capitalism in Post-spaces
Nerijus Milerius
Vilnius University, Lithuania

The famous dictum “time is money” which is basically rooted in ancient wisdom took a decisive part in grounding both capitalism and socialism in general, and their attitude towards the urban space in particular. Originated in ancient thought, reinterpreted in Leon Battista Alberti’s moral instructions and protestant ethics, “time is money” was inaugurated by M. Weber as the basic principle of capitalism. In Soviet times, on the other hand, the dictum “time is money” has become associated with exclusively socialist and communist meanings. As the socialist society had communism as its final stage and goal, the dictum “time is money” literally meant the necessary funds needed for the fastest possible achievement of this goal. The paper will consist of three parts. First, it will be shown how the “logic” of money was applied to the space, that is, how the dictum of “time is money” was transformed into the principle of “time and space is money”. Second, the differences and similarities of the subordination of space and time to the order of money in capitalism and in socialism will be defined. Third, the examples of the hybridization of spaces, that is combinations of capitalist and socialist elements in the post-spaces of post-soviet urban cityscapes, will be examined.
In this paper, I would like to argue that the key to emergent spatial forms is not the temporality of pre- or post-urbanity, but a radical multiplication of spatial scales active in shaping spaces in the present. In order to illustrate this point, I will use a case study of research done on the banks of the Wisla River in Warsaw. My argument is that this example illustrates the need for research in the region that focuses on constructing and visualizing the complex spatial relations by which our spaces are formed.

The Wisla River and in particular its banks have been characterized as a problem in Warsaw: the river is polluted, the banks are not sufficiently used by the city’s inhabitants or tourists, and the wildness of especially the east bank are seen as evidence of the city’s inability to modernize, with forms of usage and wildlife inappropriate for a European capital. Thus, for several years the river has been a centerpiece of the city’s efforts to develop Warsaw. Yet, what these efforts reveal is a fascinating and problematic patchwork of different interests and modes of organizing and conceiving the space. Thus, NGOs engaging with the cultural and ecological value of the river, private developers seeking to capitalize on the exchange value of the river, the city seeking to develop the cultural and tourist potential of the river, the European Union which has marked the banks of the river as a space of ecological value as a nesting place of migrating gulls and terns, the Mazowsza Regional Authority responsible for planning flood control, public-private corporations extracting sand from the river bed for building, UEFA and the allure of global sport which led to the construction of the national stadium on the banks of the river, sailors, fishermen, cyclists, locals and tourists: all contribute to a complex web of competing visions of what the Wisla River is and why it is valuable for Warsaw. In particular, my argument will focus on the multilevel nature of the spatial relations which compose this space.
(from the very local to the international), the fragmentary nature of urban governance it reveals and a sense in which, even though intimate interrelations between the city authorities and developers appear to always have the upper hand, this competing field of interests opens up the possibility for protest and change in modes of urban development. It is thus hoped that research into and visualizing these complex spatial configurations and contradictions can influence debate on emergent modes of spatial formation.
2. Social Changes in Urban Space

Cluj-Napoca in the Post-Communist time: Ethnic Narratives in the Urban Space

Yulia Gordeeva
Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Poland

The city of Cluj-Napoca developed on a cultural borderland; different ethnic groups and civilizations left their print on the city’s landscape. With its origins in Antiquity, the city was claimed as their own by different ethnic groups, such as Roman, Dacian, Saxon, Hungarian and Romanian. During its history the city was also inhabited by such ethnic minorities as Jews and Roma.

At the beginning of the 20th century the majority of the city’s population was Hungarian, and the city’s landscape was dominated by Hungarian rhetoric. The period between the beginning of World War I and the end of World War II was a time when the city was in turns a part of Romanian and Hungarian states, and a “war of symbols” between Romanians and Hungarians in the city’s landscape took place. After World War II the city became a part of the communist Romanian state. This fact influenced a lot the changes in the city landscape which were meant to adjust the city to the new political realities and make the new inhabitants (first of all Romanians which came from other parts of the country in order to “Romanize” the city) and the new authorities feel comfortable in this city. The Romanian communist authorities reconstructed the city space by adding a new meaning to the existing landscape and by building the new neighborhoods as well as monuments, and this way constructing the boundaries within the “new” and the “old” parts of city landscape.

In my presentation I would like to concentrate on the problems which the city faced after the Romanian revolution 1989. After the fall of the Communist regime, the construction of a new mythology and ideologi-
cal narrative in the city space was needed. What filled in the semantic and ideological emptiness in the city space after the fall of the ideology-based communist regime? How have the visions of the city changed after the 1989? Which ideological and ethnical narratives occurred in the urban space of Cluj-Napoca after 1989? Which parts of the city landscape were reconstructed and in which way? Which ideological discourse prevails in Cluj-Napoca’s city space today? How are the changes that occurred in the urban space of Cluj-Napoca after 1989 perceived by its citizens? What is the attitude of contemporary Cluj-Napoca inhabitants towards the communist past of the city? How is the multiethnic past of the city presented in today’s Cluj-Napoca urban space? In which way is this past reflected in the consciousness of contemporary town dwellers? By analyzing interviews with contemporary Cluj-Napoca inhabitants as well as visual and factual materials and museums exhibitions, I would like to try to find the answers to these questions.

**Discourses of Urban Identity in a Post/Old Industrial City of Ukraine**

*Gennadii Korzhov*

Makiyivka Institute of Economics and Humanities, Ukraine

Cities in post-Soviet Ukraine are going through the processes of deep changes in terms of architectural structuring as well as technological and social institutional frameworks. New urban identities are emerging, and they connect people around common problems, interests, and symbols. Sometimes these identities come to the fore of public life as a spontaneous reaction to globalization challenges and/or local aspirations, or sometimes they emerge in the processes of purposeful activity of local elites to re-construct social space. Urban identity refers to a major categorization tool by which people perceive themselves as representatives of an imagined community based on the shared spatial category of the city and conceive the surrounding world and people from other spatially based groups.
The dimensions that may be salient in this process of categorization have been postulated previously (Valera, 1997): territorial (perceived boundaries), temporal (history and temporal relation to the surroundings), behavioral (characteristic practices), psychosocial (lifestyle and social relations), social (perceived social homogeneity), and ideological (shared cultural and ideological values). The salience of various dimensions depends on many characteristics of cities and their residents.

Previous sociological research shows that local and urban identities occupy high-rank positions in the identification hierarchy of Ukrainian citizens. One third of the Ukraine’s population perceive themselves first of all as inhabitants of their city (town or village). One can observe complex unfolding of the processes of social identity formation in which two factors play a role of utmost importance, namely the constructing of a new national identity, on one hand, and the rising feelings of regional attachment competing with national identification, on the other.

The case of Donetsk, a large industrial city in the Eastern Ukraine, a centre of old industries (coal-mining, metallurgy, chemicals), helps to better understand peculiarities of urban identity formation in old industrial cities that emerged in the age of late modernization and lack a long-lasting historical and deep cultural heritage. The strength of Soviet historical heritage, which is especially observable here, is explained by the peculiarities of historical development, a particular patron-clientelist model of sociality, and processes of nation-state formation in the transformation period.

The order of urban discourse of local elites is not totally pro-Soviet. It is much more complicated and ambivalent where various topics and motifs – sometimes mutually exclusive – are present: ethnic, religious, economic and symbolic. Elements of modernization and Europeanisation which can be found in hegemonic discourse are subject to specific re-interpretation aimed at the legitimization of local ruling elites and reinforcement of their powerful positions.
In my paper I will consider the role of economic and cultural capital of the city as a collective entity in the producing of urban identity of city-dwellers. I hypothesize that higher cultural capital can produce a more substantial, sustainable and intrinsic urban identity based upon a stronger network of social ties and inhabitants’ mutual obligations. The focus on economic aspects of urbanity, which is typical of the city at question, encourages pragmatic and purely individualistic orientations which potentially may well endanger social capital and destroy common good.

**The Impact of the Social Changes and Its Projection on Urban Spaces in a Small Rural Town in Slovak Republic**

*Eva Kráľová, Gabriela Pavlendová and Paulína Šujanová*

Slovak University of Technology in Bratislava, Slovakia

Slovakia is a small country situated between the Danube and the Carpathian curve. The rugged terrain, initiated the formation of a dense network of small settlements. Every change of the political system has been mirrored in the appearance and disposition of the cities. This process has been even more visible after the fall of the socialist government and the rise of globalisation. The above mentioned changes are continual; therefore the affected communities often do not recognize them.

The article represents an empirical study of the social development in the small rural town Hronsek influenced by the changes in the urban landscape. At this point it is necessary to emphasize that Hronsek is a historical vassal settlement. The village was first mentioned in 1500. The wooden church built in 1725–1726 is one of the wooden churches of the Slovak part of Carpathian Mountain Area that was added to the list of UNESCO World Heritage Sites in 2008. The changes of the social structures and the lifestyle are manifested in the morphology and spatial arrangement of residential structures. Because the cur-
rently valid landscape plan does not define a connection with the traditional appearance of the town, many disruptive foreign elements emerged. This phenomenon weakens the former historical urban relations and works against the preservation of cultural diversity. The inner identity of the town is in crisis since its individual parts stopped to communicate together.

The contemporary methodology of processing the layout and development plans does not work with the attributes of local cultural tradition in a sufficient way. The newly planned housing development does not react to the needs of inhabitants and damps the growth of social relations.

In the case of the village of Hronsek, changes in social establishment and the associated trends in the construction were analyzed. In addition, the changes in the layout of the seat and the formal side of architecture were examined. Subsequently the comprehensive picture of the seat from street elevation was analyzed. Semantic hierarchy of the village premises was identified and collision points of this structure were identified as well.

The research was oriented towards the identification of the key elements that represent the nature of the settlement and support its identity. Gained results have been implemented into the proposal of the regulation tools for the activation and development of the village. The proposal was presented and discussed with the village representatives and citizens. After the incorporation of the remarks and recommendations the final proposal was given to the village self-government.

In the time of globalization we recognize the need to preserve the cultural diversity of mankind. We should consider the specifics of settlements and incorporate them into the landscape plans. Selected experimental approach to the identification of the key village identity elements could serve as an example for the development of the landscape plans aimed at the preservation of the cultural diversity.
3. Prospects of Creative Industries and ‘Post-‘

Tensions between Arts and City: A Case of Vilnius as European Capital of Culture

Jūratė Černevičiūtė

Department of Creative Entrepreneurship and Communication, Creative Industries Faculty, Vilnius Gediminas Technical University

Cities are changing their role as the cultural production sites, and creativity becomes the material for the creative industries development. The professional arts (or “high culture”) become part of the unique urban culture of that city. The potential of artistic activity as a tool for urban regeneration has been widely discussed. Notions of “cultural/urban tourism” and “arts/city marketing” are popular among marketers, city planners and cultural policy-makers alike. However, artistic creativity has yet to achieve a position that allows it to be perceived as a relevant contributor to the success of major events. Major events are seen as a particularly effective catalyst for city regeneration processes because they are able to merge tourism strategies with urban planning and can boost the confidence and pride of the local community. Founded in 1985 the Capital of Culture is now regarded as the most prestigious and popular European cultural event. The following numbers, derived from a report by the European Union covering the 21 Cultural Capitals between 1995 and 2004, depict the significance of hosting an ECOC. Founded in 1985 the Capital of Culture is now regarded as the most prestigious and popular European cultural event. Politicians and promoters of public investment often emphasize the positive effects of this mega-event. This presentation aims to analyze the influence of the former major event – Vilnius as ECOC in 2009 – on Vilnius citizens’ attitudes toward conceptual arts in public space, based on Lithuanian press and survey done in 2011.
Creative Entrepreneurship as Restructurizer of the Forgotten Space: The Example of Riga

Evija Zača
Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Latvia

Architectural heritage is the most notable heritage in the history of the cities. Buildings are history keepers and tellers that have experienced different owners and different ways of their use. Riga, the capital of Latvia, has outlived many different times with different ruling powers – German, Swedish, Polish, Russian, and independent Latvia. But the biggest contribution to the architectural heritage was made in the 19th and 20th centuries, when the city centre and huge industrial infrastructure were built.

Each of the edifices was built with a specific purpose: one was for living, another was for working and yet another for industrial production. With time many buildings started to deteriorate. They were abandoned and doomed to destruction. Those kinds of buildings were, and still are, common in Riga, and they take up huge spaces. That is why the abandonment of these buildings is such a crucial problem that needs to be solved as quickly as possible.

Fortunately, lately we have witnessed an interesting tendency. During the last few years these forgotten spaces have attracted more and more interest from one specific group of people – artists and creative entrepreneurs. Creative people choose different old, empty and forgotten spaces for their work and come forward with their production and services. Old and empty spaces become filled with new and innovative things and events. The negative image of the space turns into an attractive one. Active interactions between artists and creative entrepreneurs on one side and space and community on the other are developed. The space becomes more attractive: it attracts community that start reconstructing its attitude towards the place. The place turns from forgotten to prestigious where social, economical and cultural processes encourage prosperity of the area. The area branding takes place, and this makes visits of the place so trendy.
In my paper I will disclose three different cases where three different spaces – a factory, a street, and a port – experienced that kind of transformation.

**Redevelopment of Post-industrial Space in Helsinki**  
*Maria Mikheyshina*  
University of Helsinki, Finland

The city of Helsinki is undergoing some very large-scale redevelopment plans. When the three cargo ports were transferred in 2008 from the city centre to the suburb of Vuosaari, some 250 hectares of waterfront areas were vacated. In addition to the port areas, a former railway hub in Pasila and some other sites are undergoing major transformation. Altogether, by redeveloping all of this post-industrial space, the city of Helsinki plans to build 4.5 million floor sq. m. for housing and almost 2.5 million floor sq. m. for business purposes. Major construction projects are to be completed in the 2030s. The scale of changes in the urban environment is great, especially considering that almost all of the projects are in the closest proximity to the city centre.

I intend to analyze the ongoing process of post-industrial change in Helsinki by looking at the relationship between the proposed top-down redevelopment projects and local initiatives. It is widely acknowledged that in Finland (and in Helsinki, in particular) there is a strong tradition of centralized urban planning that has to do with the legacy of modernist architecture and “total” planning that were crucial for the growth of Helsinki after WWII. However, the discourse of citizen participation and involvement has emerged in the official planning policy. Local activists and various interest groups use the post-industrial space for their temporary projects, establishing “soft infrastructure” for social and cultural activities. This potential of the “creative city” economy is obviously being recognized by city officials. For example, a lot of temporary art, cultural and social projects affili-
ated with Helsinki World Design Capital 2012 appear in current redevelop-ment areas, namely Pasila and Kalasatama. But local initiatives for the use of post-industrial space do not always correlate with large-scale official plans. On the one hand, the interest in revitalizing underused and abandoned sites is common for all stakeholders, but on the other hand, the means of these “revitalizing” actions are very different: market- and city planning-led development (the top-down approach) and direct people’s initiatives exercising their right to the city (bottom-up approach). In my presentation I will try to see whether these approaches are in conflict or if they can co-exist in the case of Helsinki.
4. Urban Sociality

Everyday Interventions in Urban Spaces: Exploring “Light Sociality”

*Jekaterina Lavrinec*
Vilnius Gediminas Technical University, Lithuania

The concept of “light sociality” (Thrift, Amin), which refers to the connections and relations emerging in anonymous public places, encourages to explore forms and scenarios of micro-communication in urban space. There is a wide range of anonymous communication that breaks the routine scenario of avoiding interaction with strangers: street announcements and neighbors’ messages in block houses, spontaneously arranged places for sharing, and places for lost and found objects. These everyday interventions bring changes into an everyday scenography of city spaces and influence the choreography of passers-by, who become involved into interaction. Everyday creativity becomes a source of inspiration for the art projects, which explore forms of communication and cooperation in public spaces.

Multimedia Narratives from the Urban Roma Ghetto, Bulgaria

*Carmel Chiu Sutcliffe*
School of Natural and Built Environments, University of South Australia, Adelaide, Australia

In post-socialist Bulgaria the situation for the majority of Roma has severely deteriorated with a visible feature of this being the rise of the new European ghetto. One aspect seems to be apparent in the urban informality discourse on the issues, namely that lived experience within these urban settings appears to be inadequately recorded or
understood. In particular, there is a distinct lack of Roma voices in the discussion on the isolated ghetto that has come to be characteristic of the urban and social fabric of many European cities. These contested spaces are being examined as ambiguous and unequal urban environments that highlight the paradoxes of contemporary cities. Yet there remains a void in the way such examination is being played out, the lack of representation of these spaces by the inhabitants themselves being a central issue for inquiry. The participatory action research methodological framework used in this research will be discussed, as well as the use of multimedia as a research method for capturing narratives from one of Europe’s largest urban Roma ghettos located in the Fakulteta neighbourhood in Sofia, Bulgaria. This research examines the self-representation of the Fakulteta community and explores new ways for researching with and about this community. Using photography, video, audio, cloud-based software and editing tools, this research investigates how multimedia engages inhabitants with urban spaces in new and dynamic ways, allowing for the fragmented, spontaneous and interpersonal aspects of urban life to be captured. Montages of multi-dynamic images, words and audio created and edited by inhabitants present new urban narratives in multidimensional and polyphonic ways. As an experimental and collaborative process transformative learning experiences can occur for all involved. When used in a framework of participatory action, multimedia tools can encourage self-conscious reflexivity and potentially re-frame the way we deal with the self-representation of under- and misrepresented people, as well as research participants’ rights to authorship.

**Christian Community in a Post-Christian City**  
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Since its very beginnings as an academic discipline Sociology has been concerned with the viability of ‘communities’ within modern,
and particularly urban, settings. The general consensus is now that the Gemeinschaft type communities that dominated pre-modernity have largely been eclipsed by atomised post-modern communities. This paper is based on current research focusing on these issues and, more explicitly, exploring the current role of organised religion, if any, in aiding the formation and continuity of urban communities.

In the UK it is now claimed that secularisation has occurred to such an extent that it is now appropriate to talk about a ‘Post-Christian Society’. Church membership continues to decline and regular attendance is at an all time low. However, one notable development ostensibly aimed at addressing this decline has been “The Alpha Course”. Aimed primarily at atheists, agnostics and those who are new to the faith Alpha seeks to convert attendees, through ten weekly sessions and one weekend away, to its own particular brand of neo-Pentecostal Christianity. Although not the only attempt by the Church to reverse the trend of secularisation and bring people back to the faith, Alpha claims success far beyond any other initiative the Church has implemented.

This paper considers the extent to which this may suggest that there is potential for reigniting some form of Christian based community in our cities, and the extent to which its appeal is founded on some citizens’ need or desire to address their feelings of anomie or alienation in the urban milieu. Is it the comfort of Christianity in an increasingly disenchanted world, or the comfort of community in a seemingly isolated urban environment that leads people to attend? This in turn leads us to consider the wider question of how communities are structured in contemporary urban environments.
5. Quest for Urban Communities

Considerations about “Post” Communist Romanian Cities*

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There is a tendency to use the term of _community_ anywhere there is a group of people. This approach is false, and if it is understandable in the common language, it is not acceptable in the sociological and scientific understanding. Therefore, we talk about all kinds of “communities”, but could we really speak of communities in the post–communist cities?

The answers come from the way in which we define community. From our point of view, the main feature of an appropriate definition is represented by the social control function of the community. Thus, the definition we propose refers to community as a social structure, durable in time, gathering a relatively small number of people, with a common cultural background and having similar social positions. They live in a little extended area, have persistent and well-established relationships, and through these relationships express an efficient social control within that group.

In conclusion, we cannot speak about communities unless a set of strict conditions are fulfilled. For instance, this is why we do not accept the term of _virtual communities_. In the communist camp, the political power wanted to design the urban space in order to prevent the appearance of communities. Nowadays we continue to live in the same conditions, as we did not change the design of our living space. This is the reason we cannot refer to communities in its real meaning, not even in post-communism.

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Turning a Seasonal Landscape into a Permanent Residence: Transforming Former Summer Cottage area in a Suburban Zone of Tallinn
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One of the challenging problems in the suburbanisation of post-soviet cities during the last decades has been that both new suburban settlements and former summer-home environments lack central planning and have incomplete infrastructure. In our study we concentrate on one of these former summer-home areas, where the environment built for seasonal use is rearranged for permanent residence. Besides the lack of infrastructure and central planning we can add struggling with environmental conditions and seasonality to the problem list of this transformation process. We study the suburban area close to Tallinn, which is a large conglomerate of different summer cottage areas consisting of land plots distributed to the employees of various companies in the 1980s. We focus on the former gardening cooperative Lille that has about 22 houses, and most of them are inhabited all year round. The residents are mostly young families who have no long-term connection to the place, but through creating homes they integrate the landscape into permanent residence. A new community is being formed, and the links with its local landscape are created. We used the ‘go-along’ method, which concentrates on the meaning-making by subjective place attachment. With this method our aim is to comprehend the everyday layer of the Lille cooperative from an insider’s perspective. Our informant was a young mother who moved to the area in 2008 together with her family. When analysing her sto-
ry, we point to the meanings of the informant’s subjective emotions towards her new home and social relations. We pay attention how natural conditions and historical landscape are integrated into environment arrangement and to the new community identity creation. The study results reveal how the new residents in the cooperative interpret natural and historical layers and the lack of infrastructure not as hindrance, but rather as a possibility in the current arrangement of the cooperative. The organization of every day environment has led to practical and a necessity-driven experiential planning, which, we argue, complements the lack of central planning and infrastructure in this cooperative. The conclusions of our specific study add weight to the past landscape layers, where the former socio-spatial traces would have an additional cultural and social value. With the ‘go-along’ method and study results we also point to the methodologies of qualitative landscape assessment that could be more widely practiced by central planning. Studying subjective experiential landscape layer contains useful information in terms of how to integrate development projects dynamically without injuring the characteristic way of vernacular being in the local community.

Urban Mobilizations in the Field of Housing and Local Environment: the Case of Post-Communist Vilnius

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The major problem since the fall of the communist regime has been the liberalization of housing and urban policies allowing market forces to take almost full responsibility over housing policy. During the communist rule it was the responsibility of the state, but after the introduction of market economy the question of housing became private. The privatization of the housing stock and the withdrawal of the state from direct intervention in the housing sector have created many problems in the post-communist cities. Among them are problems associated with maintenance and repair of the private stock,
lack of experiences in public-private partnerships and environmental issues. These shortcomings have mobilized residents around issues of sustainable housing and urban policy to ensure adequate and safe living conditions.

This paper explores urban mobilizations in the field of housing and local environment in post-communist Lithuania, focusing on the city of Vilnius. It explores mobilizations around housing management issues, especially mobilizations of apartment block owners in order to improve their housing efficiency, and mobilizations at the community level, which involve environmental issues, but also strive for the improvement of community’s economic conditions and development. The paper employs a qualitative approach to the study of urban mobilizations in Vilnius. The primary data comes from the 25 semi-structured interviews with community activists and the leaders of housing management. In addition, it analyses national and international statistical data, housing policy documents and secondary sources.

Territorial Communities at Neighbourhood Level: the Case of Post-Soviet Riga

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In the Soviet era specific features characterised urban planning: standardization of individual apartments, lack of private property and semi-private space, and lack of individuals’ responsibility about common space. At that time neighbours’ help-out, support and interaction, the processes that influence the formation of territorial communities, were more a necessity than a desire. Nowadays, during the last few years, the idea of neighbourhoods and territorial communities have become more and more common in post-soviet cities. During this period in Riga a few significant studies regarding historical urban structure and economical geographic questions as well as tendencies
of real estate have been done. But there is a lack of research regarding neighbouring and formation processes of territorial communities not only in Riga, but also in other post-soviet cities. Therefore in this study the author probes into four different neighbourhoods in Riga by using semi-structured in depth interviews with residents of these areas as well as representatives of formal and informal local initiatives. The results of the research are analysed by using principles of grounded theory and analytical induction. The results of the research show tendencies of territorial community formation processes as well as their goals.

Post-family Dwelling of Migrant Communities in Contemporary City
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Warsaw is an attractive place for young migrants from other parts of Poland because of its job opportunities and development possibilities. My proposal that is based on five-year-long research (including visual analysis) describes living arrangements of well-educated Polish people living in Warsaw in rented apartments shared by several unrelated inhabitants. Some are single, but there are also couples sharing apartments with other people (sometimes 5 or even more persons in one flat). Such a dwelling configuration gains recognition in different countries (for example Wohngemeinschaften in Germany) and perhaps has a chance to become an alternative for typical, omnipresent bourgeois-based standards of housing. In Poland one of the important factors may be the transformation of 1989, which not only destroyed the comparative stability of social (and family) structure, but also changed the perception of space and space practices. From the architectonical point of view these flats have been thought as a family home and constructed according to adequate expectations (quite a big living room, small bedroom(s) and children room(s), one kitchen and one bathroom); new inmates develop their everyday housing in completely different social configuration. Some elements of traditional home idea with its material equivalent have been reproduced, modified or rejected. The analysis of this phenomenon encouraged me to develop a theoretical category of non-home describing material and social as well as ideological uniqueness of this form of dwelling.
From the post-human point of view *non-home* creates a special kind of socialization. Probably only the minority of inhabitants chooses this way of living as permanent. For most inmates such a dwelling serves as a temporary arrangement before buying a flat. But some people choose *non-home* because of the benefits it brings. They can feel free, can easily change their life (place, city, job, social environment), avoid stability, expect new challenges and be ready to accept them.

**Emotions, Socio-spatial Segregation and Places of Marginality in Post-Soviet Lithuanian Cities**

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Emotional attachments are not only an important way of dealing with physical structures that people encounter in their everyday but also an indicator of people’s imagination of urban space and meanings that they attach to it.

This presentation focuses on emotions arising from the use of given urban spaces and affective investments that lie in the physical space of three Lithuanian cities, Vilnius, Kaunas and Klaipėda. Using quantitative and qualitative data (a survey and semi-structured interviews) from a research project “Social Exclusion in the Lithuanian Cities: Forms of Spatial Segregation and Polarization” conducted in 2011-2012, the presentation asks the following questions: What structures of feeling do people attach to different neighborhoods in Vilnius, Kaunas and Klaipėda? How do respondents perceive, at the level of affect, their neighborhoods and physical spaces in which they conduct their everyday lives? What strategies do they use to survive in their neighborhoods often imagined as shameful and abject?

Examining the geography of emotions that people draw with regard to their neighborhoods, the paper argues that respondents of the re-
search often articulate socio-spatial segregation and spatial inequality in terms of the weighty emotions of loss, revulsion, disgust and insecurity. They represent the spaces they inhabit as stigmatized, shameful and pathological at the same time creating social barriers and distances. It can be argued that these emotions prevent the emergence of positive, socially bonding collective practices and provoke some collective urban experience (for instance, feeling unsafe and “disposable”) that contribute to socio-spatial segregation of some neighborhoods in the Lithuanian cities. They divide and fragment neighborhoods and communities instead of bringing them closer together and create the so-called places of marginality marred by the growing urban inequality and social antagonisms.

‘Greenpoint’s Cool Now’. Polish Immigrants and New Gentry in Post-Industrial Brooklyn Neighborhood
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The paper discusses how Polish immigrant community in post-industrial neighborhood of Greenpoint, Brooklyn have reacted to and coped with the process of gentrification that have been changing the neighborhood since the late 1990s. It demonstrates that, unlike in other post-industrial gentrified neighborhoods in New York City area in the past (Berry&Derevlany 1987; Abu-Lughod 1995; Smith 1996; Mele 2000; Marwell 2007) and unlike the American born working class people in Greenpoint itself (DeSena 2009), Greenpoint’s Polish immigrant inhabitants welcomed gentrification benevolently. Greenpoint has been a predominantly white, Catholic, working-class and postindustrial neighborhood in northern Brooklyn, adjacent to East River that separates the borough from Manhattan. The Greenpoint working class community, most often of Irish, Polish, and Italian origin, resisted minority settlement characteristic of the city’s peripheral neighborhoods in the postwar era. In the 1980s and 1990s, white
Greenpoint accepted the large influx of Polish immigrants. Since the late 1990s Greenpoint has been going through another change: a process of intensive gentrification by young, college educated Americans from outside of the city, that has accelerated since the 2005 municipal plan to turn the industrial or postindustrial waterfront areas into a residential zone of middle class apartment buildings and has continued, although at slower pace, during the financial crisis. Based on the extensive fieldwork in 2006 and 2010 that included oral histories (biographical interviews) of Polish immigrants, participant observation of public spaces in the neighborhood and archive research (newspapers and city data), the paper documents that Polish immigrants see American young gentry as a chance for improvement of their social status in New York City. Polish immigrants do so, first, for financial reasons, as they often are not only inhabitants but also owners of multi-family houses who can now rent apartments for a higher fee than new immigrant co-nationals would be willing to pay. Also, the presence of new gentry, often of artistic aspirations and hipster lifestyle, with ‘creative’ attitude toward post-industrial spaces and nostalgia for the (selected) attributes of the old working class urban lifestyle has given some Polish immigrants a sense of cultural upward mobility and integration into the city. Polish immigrants have been able to use gentrification to improve their self-perception and see themselves now as inhabitants of a cool neighborhood rather than a working class immigrant slum.

The Transformation of Migrant Enclaves in Post-Socialist China: The Case of Chengzhongcun

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Last decades have witnessed the largest migration in human history. The proliferating literature on migrants encapsulates a broad debate
on the social and spatial transformation of the migrant enclave and its controversial impact on the host society. Some studies highlight the function of such an enclave as providing social and economic support for migrants and giving them a transitional period to adapt to host society. Others focus on problems such as chaotic land use, chronic infrastructure deficiencies, poor housing and sanitary conditions, and disintegrated public security and social order. Chengzhong-cun (literally meaning ‘villages encircled by the expansion of urban areas’) in China is a form of migrant enclaves that emerged as intriguing spatial and social dimensions of urbanization in the process of the systemic shift from socialism to neoliberal regimes. On one hand, it functions as a network of human relationships by establishing a web among rural-to-urban migrants, and a social mobility path by linking migrants and host society together. On the other hand, it is criticized for deterioration of the cityscape and intensification of social disorder. Based on worldwide empirical studies, different policy frameworks and strategies are taken to cope with migrant enclaves. Some governments accept its presence and try to regularize it. Others, as in the Chinese case, take strategies of large-scaled slum clearance in the name of urban redevelopment, demolishing and redeveloping most of Chengzhongcuns. This paper takes Chengzhongcun as a case study to analyze the dynamic transformation of migrant enclaves in post-socialist China that have certain distinctive features in relation to the legacies of socialist institutions, such as the processes of restrictive or oppressive legislation and policy implementation. By using a combination of literature and empirically-derived data, this paper also aims to offer an initial examination of the spatial and social outcomes of Chengzhongcun redevelopment, exploring the problems faced by migrants during and after redevelopment and the impact of Chengzhongcun redevelopment on wider societies.
7. Urban Society & Cities

National Identity and Urban Society
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1. National identity supports the construct of a national state. The main task of national state policy was, and in many cases is, to strengthen the national identity with the instruments of culture and the educational system. Cities and urban sites are fabrics that produce cultural and political institutions, in other words, civilizational goods. Rural areas maintain the traditional and folk culture and lore. The character of national identity is formed by the peculiar and sometimes conflicting interaction of urban and rural „fabrics“. The power of cultural production and the capacity to strengthen national identity rely on urban society and its collective cultural and historical memory. This memory includes cultural historical heritage, relation with the past and relations with the internal and external Others.

2. Globalization fosters urbanization. Cities, urban agglomerations and their nets became the nodal points commanding globalization processes. Urban nets trespass states borders, thus urban societies assume many multicultural and cosmopolitan features. Globalization redistributes the powers of national states. These processes weaken national identity. However, we can detect the tendency to strengthen national identity as states are trying to cope with the new threats and challenges. Globalization has not formed a planetary political subject, thus we see a certain decomposition and heterogenization of globalization as world powers return to geopolitical thinking. These trends inevitably are bound with the national identity policy. Urban economy responds with the production of cultural goods with national features.
3. Lithuanian national identity has been created on the foundation of rural culture and mentality. Prior to Soviet occupation big Lithuanian cities, such as Vilnius and Klaipėda, have not participated in the production of national identity. After the Second World War these cities were „cleaned up“. Thus Lithuanian state was deprived of strongest and cultured urban societies. Rural people became urban dwellers lacking the urban cultural historical memory necessary for cultural and institutional production. The urban cultural memory has been weakened also by the focused many-sided Sovietization policy aiming at erasing bourgeois past. Till now urban societies lack vibrant cultural memory that would embrace the lives of 3-4 generations. Thus Lithuanian urban societies must incorporate in their cultural memory the Otherness of cultural heritage of vanished societies and make the national identity more potent and enabled culturally and intellectually.

“Post” Cities without “Ante” Cities. Late Urbanization in Southern Italian Cities
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This paper analyses the meaning of the suffix post in Mediterranean cities and, specifically, in some Southern Italian ones. It reflects upon some theoretical ways to understand and apply the post suffix in urban places which have never completed the modern process of urbanization but, nevertheless, have plenty of post-spaces. The paper tries to characterize those Southern Italian cities which have never accomplished a typical modern urbanization, in spite of the well-known controversy on the word modern. The goal is to understand how these urban places can be thought as post, even without this modern social process. We start from the assumption that it is possible to use this suffix,
both in different post-functional spaces and post-aesthetical ones, in many Southern Italian cities. These cities include a vast amount of urban spaces whose functions have become post without ever being functional. At the same time, a large number of case-studies show how aesthetical structures have immediately become obsolete, staying as unique symbolic flagships within isolated contexts.

The papers also stresses that most of these cities are a-priori planned and organized as “post-functional” (industries, ports, highways or hospitals never used) and as “post-aesthetical” (churches, beautiful architectures, places and residential areas built as already obsolete). Under these spatial conditions, their social representations from inhabitants are largely constituted by this kind of specific spaces: they are their constant, ordinary and public spaces.

The paper addresses two specific theoretical questions. The first one inquires how inhabitants share common social and spatial representations of their spaces to shape a sense of public participation, as it is well-known that the quality of urban spaces (i.e., its spatial syntax and its sense of community) influences socio-political relations and public participation by inhabitants. The second question explores the kind of spatial references and social meanings which occur more frequently in all case-studies where a public urban dimension is partially revealed.

These two questions have been investigated in five small cities in Calabria and their nearer surroundings (Catanzaro, Cosenza, Crotone, Reggio Calabria and Vibo Valentia), where post-functional and post-aesthetical spaces represent the usual urban landscapes. Partial results from this research show interesting combinations whose specificity depends on a complicated and large set of spatial and social variables. For instance, some evidences from it show how the lack of spatial points of aggregation and of a public urban image in many areas is a limit; in some cases, it is quite often socially overcome or successfully spatially re-shaped by their inhabitants.
The rise of global cities network began to be discussed in the papers of geographers, sociologists and urban planners more than thirty years ago. The network theory supported global cities network theory foundation, noting the apparent increasing political and economic power of cities. This power has been attributed to the knowledge economy, the new production of space models, and their supportive post-Fordistic capital movement trajectories. Increased urban potential and the weakening influence of the state in urbanization processes quickly became noticeable in Lithuania. The first theoretical works on the cities network issue were written ten years ago and dealt with the issues of Vilnius-Kaunas dipole. Subsequently, there were several individual reflections on the Lithuanian cities involvement in the global urban networks. Klaipeda in this discourse has been virtually unexamined.

Historically, networks of cities have economic background and go back to the thirteenth century. They are related to the trade routes. One of the first networks of this kind was the Hanseatic League, which Kaunas joined in the fifteenth century. Klaipeda, founded in the thirteenth century by the Teutonic Order for their military ambitions, can be seen as the first Lithuanian network city-castle model, uniting diverse outposts in the eastern Baltic Sea coast. This paradigm can be considered as the first phase of city networking. The second wave of urban networks was started by Western city administration initiatives that arose after the post-war stagnation. The flagship “sister cities” networking model could be Coventry in England and Dresden in Germany. These cities were hit hard by air strikes during the Second World War: they experienced a lot of damage with the main religious buildings demolished. Klaipeda was spared a similar fate. The third generation of cities networks is more complex. They have formed not just via the usual exchange of economic relations,
urban management and infrastructure development in the field of engineering. Contemporary urban networking can be regarded as a spatial complex system, which consists of physical network elements, complemented by intangible connections, which can be symbolically divided into political, economic, social and cultural. Intangible connections are to be treated as an event of culture, forming the basis of modern urban vitality.

Arguing the possibilities of Klaipeda within global cities network, the Eastern branch of Baltic cities network might be seen as the first opportunity. Another option is to develop a new urban network in the Baltoscandic region. This network might be built upon the regional significance of eastern Baltic Sea and (possibly) cities from the Kalinin-grad enclave. Another direction for development is the use of cultural resources. Remembrance of grand historical figures and significant events connecting Klaipeda with the outside world is the easiest way to nurture historical memory and to develop a new face of the city.

The Competition between Architectural and Historical Visions of Post-Soviet Klaipeda

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The issue of the relation of Klaipeda’s image to urban planning has been the subject of intense debate. Old and new buildings transforming Klaipeda’s image at once correct and adjust the city’s past: its past can for example be reshaped, renewed, preserved or destroyed by architectural means. Thus architecture becomes an object of historical interest. In this article the analytic scheme proposed by the architectural historian Manfredo Tafuri is employed. Importantly, Tafuri dissociates architects from architectural historians: the former are operative, utopian and future-oriented; the latter are critical, memorial and oriented to the past. Between the two extremes Tafuri places the figure of the architectural critic, who is dependent on both architecture (as an object) and history (as knowledge). Such a schema is however incomplete, as Tafuri ignores the figure of the heritage protectionist. In the heritage protectionist Tafuri’s schema can be refugured around four categories: theory (historian and critic), practice (architect and protectionist), past (historian and protectionist) and future (architect and critic). This upgraded framework is applied to the case of Klaipeda city in order to describe recent encounters, controversies and conflicts between two predominant visions of city planning and the protection of material heritage: architectural and historical.
Subcultures, Spaces and Ideology

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The main goal of my presentation is to discuss the relationship between urban spaces and subcultural identity through an empirical reconstruction of the dynamics of musical subcultures in post-Soviet Klaipeda. Musical subcultures are treated as spatial social entities having their own geography, gathering places and sites of collective rituals. Covering the two decades of rapid urban change during the post-Soviet period, I would like to consider the relations between hegemonic youth, subculture, space and identity through the application of geographer and sociologist Kevin Hetherington’s theory of expressive identity. In this way three periods of subcultural dynamics in Klaipeda are proposed. From 1991 to 1996 subcultures were subordinated to hegemonic youth, while popular culture and subcultures were undifferentiated and different styles were mixed in hybrid identities. The period from 1997 to 2002 saw subcultures leave public spaces and thus escape social control, leading them to explore and appropriate new spaces for ritual performances. Finally, the period between 2003 and 2010 was marked by subcultural differentiation, the ideological purification of subcultural identity and the seclusion of ritual spaces. The processes identified are strongly linked with particular places in the city, where ideology structures and controls meanings, semantics and spatial arrangements of subcultural spaces. All transformations of local subcultures and subcultural spaces are discussed in a wider context of urban changes.

Criminal Areas, Booze and Prostitution

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The spatial analysis of crime in Klaipeda in 1990–2010 reveals several social trends. First of all, the intensity of crime appears to be linked
not only with density of population but with the number of places of consumption as well. Whereas throughout the period from 1991 to 2004 the majority of crime was registered in the southern districts of the city, increase in crime rate in the old town is observed alongside the growth of consumer society, i.e. in the area where low income citizens are fewer while places for consumption are abundant – bars, nightclubs, hotels. Although still high, the crime rate in the southern districts of the city is decreasing since 2002.

Secondly, points of selling illegal booze increase in numbers together with economic crises. The decrease of illegal booze selling points through 2000–2010 is obvious in the southern districts of the city in particular, while increasingly more such points are detected and shut down in central and northern districts. This tendency can be explained not just by the decline of illegal selling points, but also by the community’s intolerance towards this trade. The blocks-of-flats surroundings of the southern districts determine less tolerable environment for illegal booze selling than significantly lower (2–4 store) houses in the center and north. Particularly, the greater amount of people living in the blocks-of-flats determines the bigger number of discontent and police informing citizens.

Thirdly, in many cases points of selling illegal booze coincide with those of prostitution. A clear spatial correlation between these human vices is observed. However, also evident is another tendency of complete absence of illegal alcohol and prostitution in places of drug trading. It reveals different nature of these crimes.

Changes in Semantics of the City and Port Symbols in Klaipeda Media
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In the analysis of the roots of the idea of communication, researchers name at least five most widely spread conceptions of communication identified before the appearance of the so-called theory of informa-
tion: “communication as the management of the mass opinion, diffusion of the semantic fog, empty outbursts of the “I” citadel, exposure of otherness, and action orchestration” (J. D. Peters. Speaking into the Air: A History of the Idea of Communication). Thanks to Claude Shennon’s A Mathematical Theory of Communication and W. Weaver’s insights into the theory in mid-20th c., the conception of “communication as information exchange” spread and stayed popular to present. Theoreticians identify two major schools of communication: of the process (channel throughput) and of semiotics (development of signs and their meanings, their organization, and decoding). Both of the forms are integrated in the media. M. McLuhan calls the press “a form of group confession assuring community participation[…], as the press “discloses the history of the community actions and interactions from inside”. The members of the community enjoy recognizing their experiences in a new material form which enables acknowledgment, revival, and possibly reinforcement of the previous comprehension of the environment”. That is the basis of the media activity which stimulates the reader to re-live the experienced excitement and to participate in a common experience (M. McLuhan. Understanding Media).

The media reflects and represents symbols, creates prerequisites, and possibly forms their comprehension. The contemporary media covers traditional (print) and electronic (new) formats. Although the 21st century features the trend of using the e-media accessed on the Internet increasingly more frequently, a great part of the city population still use the traditional form of media, i.e. a paper version of the newspaper, that is a fixed information media form which enables the study of information from the past; therefore, on that basis, a representative-semantic analysis of the city and port symbols of the Soviet times is planned. E-media formats are characterized by continuous change; therefore, in the process of studies, specific time will be recorded, and the studies will be repeated in certain intervals of time (or, whenever possible, e-archives will be used).
On the basis of Jakobson’s communication model and Lotman’s insights into cultural semiotics, in the first stage of the research, the structure of analysis of the city symbols recorded by the city media is to be established by identifying and forming groups of symbols and the research criteria. The research aims to identify the visual symbols of the city and port currently used by the major dailies of Klaipeda ‘Vakary ekspresas’ and ‘Klaipėda’, as well as by the e-media portal Kultūrpolis and the website of the City Municipality and to interpret them from the viewpoint of semantic understanding, to find out the creative conceptions of the authors of symbols and the meanings perceived by the audience, and to compare them.

The Multicultural City and Representations of Ethnic Communities in Media (Klaipeda, 1991–2010)
Sigita Kraniauskienė
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In my presentation I would like to discuss the issue of a multicultural city. This is done in the context of representations of ethnic communities living in Klaipeda and based on critical discourse analysis of local media and in-depth interviews with representatives of different social groups. The main idea is to test how discourses of particular ethnic communities are or are not linked to articulations of multicultural identity of the city. The research focuses on texts (articles, announcements, interviews, short notices, reviews etc.) about ethnic communities which were published in local dailies ‘Klaipeda’ and ‘Vakaru ekspresas’ in 1991-2010. The main analytical categories of discourse analysis were ‘public identity’, ‘ethnic boundaries’, ‘relations with a dominant group’, and ‘openness/closeness’.
Public representations of Klaipeda’s Jewish community have been quite stable over the two decades and were mainly based on communication of its religious identity and Holocaust discourse. The local Russian community, which lost its political and symbolic power with the collapse of the Soviet system, had to find new public identities in Klaipeda. Therefore, in local media of 1991-1998 we can find discourse of ‘aliens’ structured by discussions about power/political relations between Russians and Lithuanians. The year 1998 indicates a cultural turn in Russian community, which found two new sources of its identity: traditions of ethnic folk culture and practices of high culture of pre-Soviet Russia. But in the last decade more public images of local Russians were shaped by the discourse of commemoration of the Victory Day (May 9) and the discourse of political representation of Russian population in local authorities.

Germans in Klaipeda were represented through two collective identities or communities. One was a real community living in the city, another was an imagined community (a concept of Benedict Anderson), which encompassed in one social body local Germans and those who left Klaipeda before 1945 and now live in Germany. Both communities are strongly linked to the city by history, memories, personal stories and family links.

Representations of local Ukrainians and Letts are mainly structured by traditional nationalistic discourse emphasizing ethnic traditions, folk art and national symbols of. National discourse brings both groups closer to Lithuanians, because they bear similar features of national consciousness, identity and its social practices.

How these public representations of five ethnic groups (Jews, Germans, Russians, Ukrainians and Letts) shape the general discourse as well as the understanding and definition of city identity will be the topic of this presentation.
Experiencing Four Stages of the ‘Post’ in Klaipeda: What’s Next?

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The city as the system is fulfilled by “post” ideologies and symbols. When exploring the development of Klaipeda we would like to point out a few stages or transformation, when the phenomenon of “post” urban culture arose in material culture by quality and quantity of new elements.

The evolution of Klaipeda since the 13th century is characterized by cultural transformation, where the brand new cultural start leads to the new cultural urban life accompanied by “post” shadow. We are able to recognize another social–cultural chronology where destructions of the town by fire or war, ethnical changes of population, architectural novelties and economic conditions led to distinctive view of past cultural history. From the 13th to the 21st centuries we can distinguish culturally different stages marked by the conflict of inherited cultural tradition and modern conditions. The peculiar urban landscape of Klaipeda and probably local culture was developed by the influence of German, English, Russian and Lithuanian political and economic dictates. The last decades have seen a long-lasting discussion about what we need to restore, rebuild or build and if we need new symbols of today’s power in the historical old town of Klaipeda, where Lithuanian political influence has been present only since 1923.

For that reason there are questions about objectivity in past historical knowledge when every new stage bears the new “post” cycle with changed identity of townspeople and changed cultural climate accompanied by nostalgia for the lost past and denying of modern architectural elements in historical old town but with tolerance to the new symbols of political power.
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Abstracts

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