

This shift towards urban research meant not only the changes from rural to urban locations of research (mostly in continental European ethnologies) but in cultural and social anthropological traditions in some countries (USA, UK) it coincided with the general shift from doing research on distant cultures and in remote places towards the research of domestic society. These shifts were gradually also indicated in the naming of the discipline's research stream as *urban ethnology*, *urban anthropology*, *anthropology of the modern world*, *l'ethnologie du proche*, *anthropology at home*. In Croatian ethnology, which is the standpoint from which this text is written, the paradigmatic shift was named *ethnology of our everyday life* after a prominent Croatian ethnologist Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin and her seminal book in 1988. The first line in the book states that ethnology "started to lose its subject of research" – that is national folk culture – due to processes of urbanization and that "the city, naturally, emerged as a challenge to ethnological research" (Rihtman-Auguštin, 1988: 3–4). In the articles compiled in the book the author deals with classical ethnological themes (customs and festivities, family relations, food, music, clothes etc.) in an urban context with the underlying interest in the transformation of (rural) traditions in the urban context.

There were a few more cornerstones built in this significant paradigmatic change in Croatia. Previously, the nation was seen exclusively as rural, folk and peasant but it is replaced with the notion of nation as comprised of various social strata. Moreover, the previous view of culture as an inventory of cultural elements was criticized, and notions of culture as dynamic, processual and changeable were set at the forefront of the research. Finally, the highlight was put on the present everyday life, thus seeing past (traditions) as part of *our* contemporaneity. It was not only that urban context alone influenced the change of tradition, but there were several more overlapping contexts: the context of industrialization, the context of modernity, the context of growing new media technology; and, in East-Central Europe particularly, the context of socialism/communism.²

Another significant upsurge in urban research in ethnology and cultural anthropology was evident in the 1990s after the collapse of communism. The post-socialist city became a significant topic due to radical political, economic and social changes which influenced the way of life, social relations, cultural values, everyday habits, annual festivities etc. During the last two decades a comprehensive body of literature on post-socialist cities has been produced dealing with spatial, economic and social restructurings that significantly left their mark on urban landscape and the way of life (Andrusz et al., 1996; Hamilton et al., 2005; Stanilov, 2007; Kliems and Dimitrieva, 2010; Hirt, 2012). These vibrant and constantly changing urban contexts have been a fruitful ground for ethnological research into urban ethnic and migrant encounters, social networking, neighbourhood life, appropriation of space, social differentiation, culture of leisure, urban identity processes, festivals and public events, new life-styles, civic engagements, etc. (Bodnar, 2001; *Ethnologia Balkanica*, 2005; Roth and Brunnbauer, 2006; Lisiak, 2010; Hirt, 2012; Grubbauer and Kusiak, 2012; Bitušíková and Luther, 2013; Zlatkova, 2015).³

of the 20th century while American cultural anthropology did a significant part of research in Latin American cities (Hannerz, 1980: 119–161; Foster and Kemper, 1974); European continental ethnologies mostly oriented towards cities in their national countries.

2 This shift resulted in various new topics in Croatian ethnology being researched in the city in the following years like youth popular culture, contemporary urban ritual traditions, subcultures etc. (see for example: Vodopija, 1976; Prica, 1990; Kalapoš, 1996; see also Gulin Zrnić, 2009: 20–26; on the more detailed history of Croatian ethnology see Čapo and Gulin Zrnić, 2014).

3 Again, this is not a comprehensive literature list.

Apart from research and analyses of practices and imaginations of post-socialist cities from the ethnological viewpoint, there are various critiques that stress the predominance of “transition” grand-narrative which implicitly inoculated the post-socialist (and socialist city before being ‘post’) with the notion of being “overly ‘orientalised’ as radically different” and the “difference is interpreted as mere ‘backwardness’ within the Western paradigm of urban modernization” (Grubbauer and Kusiak, 2012: 14). It might not come as a surprise then that postcolonial theory is also harnessed to the understanding of post-socialist cities (Lisiak, 2010). Other comments point at the post-socialist city studies as an undertheorized field, although there is potential of more theoretical discussion and contribution to general urban studies on at least two issues that stem from ethnological research of post-socialist city case-studies: the issue of “convergences versus particularities, and changes versus continuities” (Grubbauer, 2012: 54).

The quest for more profound theorizing the city does not pertain only to post-socialist city studies; it is a recurrent comment on research of cities from an ethnological and cultural-anthropological perspective (Low, 1999). One of the rare authors that developed a coherent structure of ideas on which urban anthropology could rely is Ulf Hannerz. In his “Exploring the City” (1980) he grounds the discussion on key anthropological concepts (person, networks, relational perspective, diversity) developed in general anthropology as well as in particular research on urbanization (mostly African cities) combined with congruent sociological urban approaches (the Chicago school, Goffman), and stresses the value of the “ethnographic panorama” and the adaptability of anthropological methodology. The discussion leads to theorizing the city in terms of indeterminacy, variability, fluidity and incompleteness as well as dynamic interaction between the city and individuals.

In the ethnological sense, a congruous metaphor, recognized by Hannerz, would be the “soft city” (Raban, 1998). Compared to “hard city” – the city defined in geographical maps, sociological statistics or architectural reviews – the “soft city” is the city that emerges from the inscription of individual biographies and identities on its tissue and the city which invites inhabitants to “remake” it (ibid.: 3–4). It is the city that individuals appropriate and transform, “humanize”, “invest” with culture, and “shape the city through their everyday resourcefulness” (Cohen, 1993: 5, 17). The core of such an ethnological approach to city is in the *everyday lived urban experiences*, as the most prominent prism of living, understanding and sensing various macro-processes that direct the life of individuals in the city.⁴

Such notions of city and urban life are built in the current project “City-making: space, culture and identity” which focuses on contemporary transformations in/of the Croatian capital, Zagreb.⁵ The project proposes to develop an encompassing platform for studying city-making or contemporary restructuring of the city, its identity and identities of its inhabitants. The premise that city-making is a result of a set of entangled variables (political, economic, social and cultural) intersecting at different levels (local, national, regional, European, global) and engaging various actors (citizens, civil society associations, city municipality) informs the project’s approach and

4 Some comments on the history of urban research and theorizing the city are taken from the author’s book (Gulin Zrnić, 2009) which made significant ground for the development of the project “City-making”.

5 The project is conducted by Dr. Jasna Čapo; the author is a member of the research team. Web site of the project: www.citymaking.eu.

methodologies. Special attention is paid to contemporary processes of commodification, public governance (privatisation of public space, festivalisation, touristification) and mobility (as a vector of city transformations and pluralisation) as they impact on city structures and representations and at the same time impact local urban images, histories, ways of life, interests and identifications. Specifically, in the vibrant and changing city-scape of Zagreb the project aims to understand some of the following issues:

How do the images of the city held by various actors of city-making relate to one another? Does their meeting result in a collision or synergy?

What symbolic means do city residents use to inscribe themselves in the city tissue, and specifically into public spaces?

How are the proclaimed political and social values (pertaining e.g. to diversity, multi-culturalism, unity and coexistence of diversity, etc.) enacted in everyday practices – and eventually changed by these enactments?

How do policy makers engage with marginality, be it social, economic or cultural?

Can the city be described as “parallel worlds” (a mosaic) or as a hybrid whole?

Does the city governance envisage and project the values of a sustainable and liveable space for its residents?⁶

Further discussion in the article is organized around two segments of research which are still work in progress. The focus is on the recognition of themes and approaches (and their fruitful juncture) which could indicate potent components for future more profound theorizing the city and urban space from an ethnological and cultural-anthropological perspective. The first part presents the research of artistic interventions in public spaces in Zagreb in 2016. The particularity of these interventions is that they arise from the synergy of artistic work and the project research since the researchers were involved in artistic creations from the very beginning, even influencing the artistic concepts. Discussed from the perspectives of production and construction of the city, the particular art interventions open up issues of understanding the city in terms of multiple temporalities, affective atmospheres, various paces of traversing the city and provoking active engagement with the urban space. The second research segment describes city-making by public event but again, the focus is particularly oriented towards discussing research methods that would grasp affective and performative aspects of the city and urban space.

CITY-MAKING THROUGH ART

Art is conspicuously present in the city. Public monuments, sculptures, fountains, buildings and other constructions of artistic value (bridges, parks) are key points of urban sightseeing. How does art make the city? What can ethnological research say about the relationship between art and the city? Historical and artistic evaluation of particular piece of art lies in the domain of other sciences like the history of art. An ethnological perspective on art and the city starts with the thesis that art is one of the niches through which the city is created, challenged and changed. The two perspectives set out by Setha Low on space (1999a) could be well adopted and adapted in researching the city-making through art (as well as through public events, which will be presented

⁶ See project website for the summary of the research proposal and questions, as well as for continuous activities and results of the project (www.citymaking.eu).

in the continuation of the text).⁷ *Production of the city through art* includes those dimensions of art in the city that are realized from above, and which are part of municipal authorities' decision-making with regard to governing space and creating the city's identity. This dimension is mostly realized with larger artistic projects in terms of extent and financial investment. *Construction of the city through art* refers to interaction of citizens and the piece of art in a public space which is realized by practices (incorporating the art work into daily habits of using space), phenomenological dimensions (perception and embodied experience) and by symbolic dimensions (meaning-making, connecting the piece of art with one's own understanding and uses of city).

One example of *production of the city through art* in Zagreb is the monument of a world known scientists and innovator, Nikola Tesla (1856–1943), on the occasion of commemorating the 150th year of his birth in 2006. One monument of Tesla was created by an eminent sculptor, Ivan Meštrović, in 1956 (marking 100 years) to be placed in the park of a newly-founded research institute in Zagreb. Fifty years later (2006), the city and state authorities decided to remove the monument from the Institute's park and to relocate it into the very centre of the city. State and the city representatives were all present at the day of opening in 2006. The event bore national importance as a promotion of an internationally known scientist from Croatia, but also it was important on the level of the city since it was aimed at making a strong new visual marker of the city. The monument located in the street that is named after the scientist (Tesla Street). It is on the very street level where the horizon of *construction of city* begins. The monument is located in the very dense street matrix of Zagreb Down Town; its proportions are too large for the existing street's space; and its orientation (looking toward Tesla Street but at the same time turning its monumental back and shoulders toward another street at the crossroad) closes the street space both visually and spatially. All these observations of the monument in the space were also part of the critique made by urban specialists, like art historians, at the time of relocation of the monument. On the other hand, at the level of everyday life rhythms and practices of this particular part of the city, the monument was soon incorporated in the life of the city. Standing at the crossroad of a pedestrian area which is full of cafes serving at tables on the street, the monument figures as a border towards the traffic street; during hot seasons when people stand in groups and drink, the monument is used for leaning on or leaving glasses; children climb on the monument in their play; some people lean their bikes on the monument; others leave rubbish bags there. Many people, still, remember that the monument was taken away from some other location, and that it does not really belong to Tesla Street. Such practices, memories and habits are part of the *construction of city* from below. Moreover, this example reveals another dimension of potential ethnological interest, that of contestation – of monuments in space, of locations and decision-making with regard to monuments, and art in the city in general – that is of various actors in the processes of city-making.

Notions of production, construction and contestation of spaces by art were the framework for a collaboration of ethnologists in the “City-making” project with artists in the “CreArt”⁸ project in 2016. Five artists were selected by the Croatian Association

7 I am referring here to two perspectives for researching space – production and construction of space – set out by S. Low (1999a).

8 “CreArt” is a network of cities for artistic creation, <http://www.creart-eu.org/>.



Photo 1: Artistic intervention (artist: Duje Medić) in the contested space (European Square) (photo by Juraj Vuglač, March 2016, courtesy of HDLU)



Photo 2: Temporary site-specific intervention (artist: Duje Medić) (photo by Ena Grabar, March 2016) (courtesy of the author)

of Fine Artists (HDLU) who made art interventions in the city. The locations for their work were proposed by ethnologists who made the research on historical, social, cultural, transit, contested or other characteristics of particular city spaces. The idea was to see how artists implement particular characteristics of space into the very artistic concepts and how the particular urban space becomes a constitutive part of the art piece and /or art performance. The five artists worked in various artistic media – sculpture, site-specific intervention, sound installation, body art and mural. Interviews with artists about their life in the city, how they understand urban life and how they use specific spaces as well as about creating particular interventions were part of the research methodology. Another methodological perspective was that researchers were not only observers of the genesis of the artwork, but also participants of the artistic process – which in this particular case means that some researchers were immersed in the very artist’s creating concept or realization of the artwork. From the methodological perspective it was more than only a participation (in already existing lived-in world): it was methodological immersion in the creative process with the research subject. Finally, the researchers were interested in how the space with the artwork is changed, how the meanings of space are affirmed, redefined or questioned; what are the reactions of people and passers-by, do the interventions change their perception and use of space; what are the affects that the artwork generates in a moment of interaction; what kind of changes happen between artistic work and everyday life. In the continuation of the article, several examples of art interventions in Zagreb⁹ are presented and discussed for their relevance for the urban research (“City-making” project in particular) in terms of indicating research topics, approaches and contexts.

Contested space and artistic chronotope

Artist Duje Medić made his site-specific intervention on European Square. His intervention was polystyrene toy-car in vivid colours put on top of another monument in the Square. The specificity of this site-specific intervention is in subverting of and questioning the *produced* character of the Square. It subverts the ceremonial and formal style of the recently re-built Square, which was a parking site for decades, and today it occasionally hosts trendy auto-shows. Both of these facts, past and present connection with cars, inspired the basic concept of the intervention – the toy car (Photo 1). Part of the site is occupied by a huge newly-built glass building which hosts European Union administrative offices in Croatia, business offices and apartments. The site consists of 4 streets broadened at the crossroad which was recently turned to a pedestrian area. A monument was also erected there on the occasion of the Croatian accession into the European Union (2013) – connecting flag emblems of cube (Croatia) and star (European Union) – and it is the very monument on top of which the new artistic intervention was placed. In the official city nomenclature the site bears four street names, it is not a Square. However, both formal authorities as well as citizens adopted the name European square which reflects the “European” character of the space inscribed by EU offices and EU monument. But not all meanings are so overtly present.

9 The research is presented in the volume “The Place of Performance and the City-making” (Gulin Zrnić and Škrbić Alempijević /Eds./, 2016). Part of the volume comprises of articles that focus on each particular artwork; they are written by students from the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb who were incorporated into the research project and wrote their papers under the supervision of the two professors and editors of the book.

There are many contested issues which emerged during the research mostly connected to non-transparent procedures in planning and building the space during the revitalization project. They are part of the complex meanings of this site which the artist also implicitly wanted to refer to. The most explicit contestation could be recognized from the name of this site-specific intervention: *Toy Car with Special Needs for the Square with Special Needs*. The reactions of citizens (passers-by, internet comments) show that this reference to contested issues was not recognized. The artwork caught the citizens' attention mostly because of its vivid colours and attractiveness: it became the spot for taking pictures, and children's play (Photo 2).¹⁰

From the ethnological point of view one might ask if such a site-specific intervention is actually a production or construction of the city with art? It is part of the production process since the intervention was given licence to be performed officially from the city authorities. On the other side the artistic subversion of the meanings inscribed into the square from above (like representativeness, European-ness, pedestrian character) as well as the author's references on non-transparent urban governing, clearly situates the artwork in the domain of construction of the city. This indicates the issue of blurred boundaries of urban processes of production and construction of the city. The two should be seen as complementary aspects of city-making.

The other insight that is illuminated by this example is the *temporariness of the city*. Many current artistic interventions and performances last only for a limited time. Although the city as a whole is generally perceived as a fixed, stable, and durable structure in time, a blow-up of street scenes discloses its temporary and immediate character. This brings us to the issue of *time* as constitutive for understanding the city. Temporariness is time that stands separate from *longue durée* processes as well as from routines. Temporariness has the power to spark the difference. In an artistic performance, like the one that is described in the text, time and space are intrinsically connected and expressed, forming a particular *artistic chronotope*.¹¹ With five artistic interventions/performances in the city of Zagreb performed in March 2016, there were five different temporary chronotopes simultaneously present in the city. This explicitly calls for "the need to refigure the idea of the urban not as a singular abstract temporality but as the site where multiple temporalities collide" (Crang, 2001: 189).

Routine spaces and aesthetic interruption

Another example is sculptural intervention in the Oktogon passage in the centre of the city. Built in the beginning of the 20th century it is known for its central glass dome. Today it has mainly a transit character connecting the main street and nearby square. It is also a place where street musicians like to play music and sing due to its acoustics. Moreover, the floor of the passage covered with ceramic tiles brings a particular group of youth to the passage who occasionally perform (and practice) breakdance in the passage. The passage hosts some luxurious shops, but there are also some derelict shop windows; it is used mostly as a transit route in one's own routine use of the city. The glamour and vibrancy of this historic passage has been lost.

The sculptor Ida Blažičko reacted to these characteristics of the passage and her artwork was primarily oriented towards the aesthetics of this urban space. Her idea was to make people aware of the beauty of the passage, to make them a break in their

¹⁰ Interviews with the artist and reaction of citizens are presented in the student paper by Grabar, 2016.

¹¹ The term and notion of chronotope (TimeSpace) is borrowed from M. Bakhtin.



Photo 3, 4: Airy sculpture (artist Ida Blažičko) - aesthetic interruption into a routine passing-by, March 2016 (photos by Juraj Vuglač (left), courtesy of HDLU; and by Ida Blažičko (right), courtesy of the author)

walk through the passage, to add one more artistic dimension (sculptural) to those which already existed in the space – the architectural and musical. Blažičko made an airy sculpture of bamboo and silk, which was hung under the central glass dome. The light made the silk even more ethereal and constant flow of air in the passage made the sculpture to be in slight motion all the time. The name *Aithérios* for the intervention captured its essence.

The intervention was exhibited for several weeks and it could be seen from both openings of the passage. Even pedestrians and people in the tram on the main street could see the sculpture if only they had a glimpse at the passage in their passing by. People going through the passage could not pass without noticing it. It was something that made people slow down their pace of walking and to raise their head and to see the space anew no matter how many times they routinely pass through (Photo 3, 4). This particular piece of art asked for an *active engagement with the space*. This is precisely what is meant by the idea of the *construction* of space in the ethnological sense. After the sculpture was exhibited, many people spent some time under the dome, going around and catching play of the light reflected on the sculpture; some people took pictures; others would comment the artwork and asked for some additional information.¹² Dynamics and the relation to the space were visibly changed.

From the research perspective it could be noted that passers-by were affected by this artwork. People were surprised, thrilled and curious. The intervention *Aithérios*

¹² The reaction of the public is recounted in student work by Crnčević, 2016.



Photo 5: Swan by graffiti artist OKO (photo by Juraj Vuglač, March 2016, courtesy of HDLU)

brought to the space a new atmosphere which “interrupts, perturbs and haunts” the fixed place (Anderson, 2009: 78). It provoked a new sensory experience. It provoked an affect. It is an instant and embodied reaction which is theoretically defined with characteristics of intensity, contingency and potentiality (Frykman and Povrzanović Frykman, 2016). The recent “affect turn” in humanities carries strong potential for new perspectives on understanding cities, particularly the interaction of people and the material (built, fixed, temporary) urban environment.

Heterogeneity of rhythms and lived-in city worlds

The third artistic case study is about the artistic intervention of the graffiti artist OKO. She did not choose any of the locations that the researchers proposed for the interventions but decided to make the mural on the wall of a building in the Student Center – a complex of facilities for students. It was also an interesting site with many layers of history as shown by the research: a site with an economic importance (fairs) for the development of the city, a site with some controversial political meanings (WWII camp), and of artistic meaning due to the novel views on art and performances which were initiated in Student center in the 1970s etc.

From the ethnological point of view it is a site inscribed with many significant political and social meanings that could be reflected upon in an art piece. Still, the artist decided to ignore all these layers and to refer to her personal relations to the city, more precisely to this particular site, and even more precisely, to the particular building on which her previous mural was made. The new mural, the *Swan*, (Photo 5) was

drawn over the artist's old mural. While the interviews with the artist gave the insights in her individual view of the city as well as her understanding of art and her own artistic development, the choice of the mural site still puzzled the researchers.¹³ It was the wall on the remote building within the site, presumably with not a lot of people that would figure as the audience. A laconic sentence by the artist – “It could be seen from the train” – gave an explanation (Photo 6). Indeed, the building stands nearest to the railway. Thinking about riding the train from the main railways station to the outskirts of the city of Zagreb, there will be plenty of murals and graffiti drawings that could be seen from the train along the way.

The artist's view pointed out yet another question as to relationship between the city and art: the means and *pace of traversing the city* and its relevance for understanding the city. For an urban anthropologist, the dominant pace for encountering the city is mainly the one of pedestrian usually depicted in the figure of the *flâneur* (Baudlaire,

Benjamin) in a stroller's pace, or “rapid passage through varied ambiances”, a *dérive* (Debord). Understanding the city through another type of motion and speed (bicycle, car, tram, metro, train) might be illuminating for some (spatial, social, artistic etc.) niches of the city that go unnoticed. Provoked by the location of the mural *Swan* the researcher notes yet another aspect of the heterogeneity of the city – that offered by the graffiti scene and its particular artistic sensibility and social grouping, for example skateboard groups that gather and practice on the ground of the Student center, just around the corner of the mural. The city is a complex whole containing many parallel worlds and this urban heterogeneity is in focus of the ethnological and cultural-anthropological perspective on the city.

CITY-MAKING THROUGH PUBLIC EVENTS

It is not more than 15 years that Zagreb started to organize public events in public spaces on an almost monthly basis, and in the last 5 years the speed of governing the city by public events on open spaces accelerated rapidly. “Advent in Zagreb” started modestly in one park a few years ago; in 2016 it was a huge manifestation in more than



Photo 6: Graffiti artist (OKO) creating art near the railway (photo by Juraj Vuglač, March 2016, courtesy of HDLU)

¹³ Interviews with the artists and interpretation of the personal history in public space in student paper by Čurković, 2016.



Photo 7: “Advent in Zagreb”, park Zrinjevac by day (photo by Valentina Gulin Zrnić, December 2016)

20 locations in the city.¹⁴ Another manifestation – *Cest is d’Best*¹⁵ – that celebrates the culture on/of the streets (performers, music) – started initially with only a few days of programme, and in the last year it grew to a ten day festival.

Within the project “City-making”, researchers undertook a detailed description of annual events on selected open spaces – representative parks in the central part of the city. The idea was to capture the changing facets of the city through events. Some of these spaces the interlocutors described as “dead spaces” referring to previous times (1980s). In some parks there were only a few benches, and the use of green spaces (meadows) was not allowed – green patches were bordered by low fences thus indicating that crossing is forbidden and even could be fined. A first visible sign of the change towards the space were tourists’ sitting and lying on the meadows at the turn of the millennium. It was a modest change and the people practising the use of green spaces were still predominantly foreigners; natives still were looking at such practices as strange to the urban habitus. Still, this practice went hand in hand with growing tourism in the city. Urban boosterism gradually started to change the practices and narrations of the city and public events became the cornerstone in such urban politics.

One of the most visited public events in the city is the “Advent in Zagreb”. In the season 2016/17 it lasted 6 weeks continuously from the end of November till middle

14 It has to be noted that Christmas Market existed in Zagreb from the 1980s consisting of groups of street vendors in the centre of the city. “Advent in Zagreb” refers to Christmas market as an organized manifestation that together with street vendors includes various activities (concerts, Santa Claus’s house...)

15 The word “cest” in the title of the event means “street”, “d” stands for “the” (= the street is the best)



Photo 8: “Advent in Zagreb”, park Zrinjevac by night (photo by Valentina Gulin Zrnić, December 2016)

January and it was visited by more than 70 000 tourists.¹⁶ It would appear that there is hardly anyone of locals, citizens of Zagreb, who did not “go on Advent” during December. It is the 6th season of the manifestation and for the last two years it was selected as the “European Best Christmas Market”.¹⁷ The programme is organized in public spaces – parks, squares, streets – of the Downtown, Old Town, and this year in newer part of the city for the first time. Moreover, there are also some public institutions incorporated into the manifestation offering thematic Christmas programmes (museums, ZOO), as well as some private sites (common yards etc.). Almost 30 sites which are occupied by “Advent” manifestation indicate the intention of the organizer to spread all over the city.

The main organizer and coordinator of the event is the Touristic Board of the City of Zagreb but organization of events in particular urban spaces is given to various event agencies. Each public space has its own concept targeting at specific public (children, youth, families) or specific interest (romantic atmosphere, mysterious sites, old Zagreb sense or more contemporary and cosmopolitan). The atmosphere is built through decorations, lights, music (from Christmas songs – both Croatian church songs and international pop Christmas songs – to jazz, groove, disco, classical music etc.), gastro offering (on some locations dominant tastes were old Zagreb or far east tastes, or Mediterranean or of some particular national cuisines etc.) (Photo 7, 8). It is the

16 <http://dnevnik.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/zagreb-rusi-rekorde-za-blagdane-ce-se-okrenuti-200-milijuna-kuna-421071.html>

17 “The best Christmas destinations selected by travellers”, <http://www.europeanbestdestinations.com/christmas-markets/>

“event of place” characterized by “throwtogetherness” (Massey, 2005); it is a “co-habitation” of various elements in “particular setting and situation” (Löfgren, 2016:126). Quite a challenge for an ethnologist to discern all the elements of various traditions that are thrown together in “Advent”, some old and some invented traditions but most of all hybridized in terms of mixing cultures (foods, drinks, music, design etc.). The image of the city built through the “Advent in Zagreb” is modern, open, traditional, European, cosmopolitan city. It is the statement of the city-to-be, an anticipation, a direction of urban politics as to how to develop the city. Therefore, it is an “event-that-models the live-in world” – it is oriented towards making the very change it imagines, “it contains future within itself” (Handelman, 1998: 28).¹⁸ The concepts and intentions of this public event are part of the *production* of city, it is an event (actually a conglomerate of events) orchestrated from above as part of the process of urban boosterism and developing urban tourism. In terms of methodology within the projects such a production of city can be grasped through interviews with officials from the municipal departments, organizers, event managers etc. Another method is analysis of discourse in official documents and newspapers. But for grasping the *construction* of city through the “Advent” manifestation, the research is methodologically challenged in order to provide more detailed ethnographies in accordance with the detailedness of the event. The method of participant observation is widely used. Ethnographic interviews with citizens who visited “Advent” are also carried out. However, they are post-festive interviews, made with a spatial and temporal distance from the immediate experience. Thus, we modified the interview method by inviting the interlocutor for a stroll through spaces of “Advent” manifestation. As a modified version of classical interview generally performed in a static place, *walking ethnography* is an interview in motion: interlocutors walk through the city together with the researcher and make comments and reflections on the spaces, situations and people they meet. The walking through the “Advent” also immediately affects people. The rationale of this method is that an individual in movement through the city re-activates his/her own knowledge of the city and the relationship towards the city, including his/her imagination of the city. It is this cognitive and affective ground which results in a selection of what is perceived and constitutes/builds individuals’ identity relationship with the city. The interview enacted in direct interaction of the person with the space brought more detailed comments on situations that were experienced or on people that were met during the interview in motion. Moreover it brought instant comparisons of various places passed through the walking and on their concepts and atmospheres; particularly, it provoked interlocutors’ comparisons on their experiences of other similar events in various European cities, as well as comparisons referring to Zagreb in previous decades. The walking of an individual through space should be seen in what Lefebvre (2004) calls “temporal-cognitive perspective” of multitudiness and simultaneousness of various motions and dynamics in the city.

Compared to the static version of the interview, walking ethnography abounds with sensory comments. While strolling through places a person is immersed in a mosaic of smells of the food and drinks offered at kiosks, and occasionally one could also taste these specialities. Smells of “American goulash and hot dog, Turkish baklava, oriental falafel, British punch, Swiss raclette” could all be smelled and tasted in just one stroll

¹⁸ More detailed description of the “Advent in Zagreb” and some structural, interpretative and phenomenological analysis in Čapo and Gulin Zrnić, in print.

along several vendors on the Tomislav Square. The European square mentioned as the site of artistic intervention, on the “Advent” occasion was given one more European reference – smells and tastes of European cuisines. The visual sensation was also dense – numerous Christmas lamps were wrapped around 220 trees in the park Zrinjevac,¹⁹ other places were decorated according to their concept by candles, torches, spotlights etc. One could also “light-up” the “Advent” by riding an electric bike with a glittering sign. The sense of sound was exposed to constant buzzing and various music genres when passing from one street to another and the rhythm beats also permeated the body in space. Due to the cold winter, the body felt chilly but might be warmed up with hot drinks. Another strong sensation was tactile, the sense of rubbing and pushing in a crowd. On the opening and during the weekends the central part of the city was so crowded that people spread even on the traffic routes and the traffic (trams, cars) occasionally could not pass through the crowd. Being in “Advent” is predominantly an embodied, sensory experience. Doing urban *sensory ethnography* is well applicable: it “takes as its starting point the multi-sensoriality of experience, perception, knowing and practice” (Pink, 2009: 1). Having in mind many studies and essays on Zagreb, there are scarce comments on the senses other than sight.

In summary, walking ethnography incorporates sensory ethnography. It unites “material, social, and symbolic” with perceptual aspects of urban space and it is through the walking as embodied movement that some questions about the construction of urban space and the construction of urban knowledge are brought to the fore (Ingold and Vergunst, 2009). Particular potential of walking ethnography could be in enacting it with groups characterized by social marginality (homeless people, Roma people etc.) who’s understanding and knowing the city presumably differs significantly from the majority of “ordinary” citizens. The same goes for the walking the city with children. On the other hand, the project shows that this method might not be applicable for disabled people who rely on particular sensory modality: blind persons cannot walk and talk, they primarily have to listen to the city.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The research carried out within the Zagreb “City-making” project is embedded in urban anthropological approaches where the city is not only a location for the research of ethnological themes but the very focus of the research. The “new growth momentum” of cities (Hamilton et al., 2005: xiii) at the turn of the millennium, is characterized by global urban trends like neoliberal governance, commercialization of public space, development of urban tourism, immigration etc. In terms of the research, the “transitional” meta-narrative lost its dominance, and global economic and cultural processes that caused urban restructuring came to the fore, such as urban boosterism and creative industries.

The “City-making” project affirms the analytical grid of *production and construction of city* – the first perspective refers to influence and decision-making from above, while the second perspective focuses on lived experience and activities from below. However, the two perspectives are heuristic vessels since there is a blurred border between them as shown by the research. Two segments of the research that are presented in the text

19 <http://www.adventzagreb.com/advent-u-zagrebu/advent-na-zrinjevcu>

- production and construction of city by art and by public events - highlight the importance of *public space* as a stage of negotiating urban identity, questioning of (taken-for granted) values, and of remodelling urban life. Theoretical inputs by Henri Lefebvre, Michel Foucault, Michel de Certeau and others, who influenced the so called “spatial turn” in humanities and social sciences in the 1990s, show that space produces social and cultural relations and is produced by them. In contrast to the view on the space as mere container of culture and society - the view which dominated most of the discipline’s history - space has become conceived as a co-creator of social practice and cultural and social meanings.²⁰ In the “City-making” project, space has become the third pillar - together with culture and identity - of ethnological and cultural anthropological urban research.

Several research themes of the project are presented and commented as indicators of theoretical and methodological challenges for researching and conceptualizing the city from an ethnological perspective, particularly affect and *time*. “Affect arises in the midst of *in-between-ness*: in the capacities to act and be acted upon”, and it is the intensities, flows, forces and resonances of a moment that make the context for the affect (Seigworth and Gregg, 2010: 1). To be affected by an artwork in the city, or to be immersed in an “affective atmosphere” (Anderson, 2009) of an organized public event in urban public spaces, might become a looking-glass for research into the city. The main question then would be how affects influence the life-world. If a person is affected by public familiarity and cultural hybridity organized during the manifestation “Advent in Zagreb”, the research might be given an insight into the constituting of urban values such as diversity and tolerance through a public event. This might direct the research toward questioning new (urban) subjectivity, and new or modified citizens’ capacities of social and political engagement. In terms of methodology, attending the affect asks for modification of classical anthropological methods. *Walking and sensory ethnographies* engage the interlocutor in a more direct manner with the (urban) environment, people and situations, and they give the researcher an opportunity to capture the moment when a citizen is affected upon or affects the city.

Another potent theme that comes out of the research is time. Each space is a *pentimento*: in its form and architecture it hides and reveals traces of previous times. Thus, the space is simultaneousness of time - various epochs exist in the same space simultaneously. In Bakhtin’s words (1981), time is the fourth dimension of space. The city is thus a complex whole of many particular chronotopes. Moreover, each space has its own rhythm. It is Henry Lefebvre (2004) who introduced the idea of various rhythms of the city which arise from the mixture of “space, time, and activity”: moving through the city following routine directions (interrupted by a thrill provoked by artwork) or moving through the city in an “Advent” crowd (which suspends the speed of walking), seasonal changes of nature in the city or flow of urban annual festivities (no matter how commercialized they are, they still recall cyclical time of rituals), the rhythm of weeks and the rhythms of weekends, the pace of pedestrian and the pace of car. All these paces and motions - the time - in/of particular space create rhythms that can be harmonious or interfere, accelerating or soothing (ibid.). Through such understanding of time and space interrelation, Lefebvre wants to comprehend the everyday life - which is the domain of life that is a salient field of research in ethnology and cultural anthropology.

The project on city-making in Zagreb is still work in progress but certain research

20 On spatial turn see Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2003; Čapo and Gulin Zrnić, 2011.

activities open up the need for more profound elaboration on theorizing the city and it is the notion of simultaneousness (of time) and affectiveness (of space) that may add to the complex understanding of the city from ethnological and cultural anthropological perspective.

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