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Relational versus local values of cultural heritage

Tourism gentrification and governance in context

Abstract

Both harmony and conflict may occur between local and more distant communities regarding artefacts of cultural heritage. Incoming tourism, which is attracted by cultural heritage, may provide jobs and other means of income to local residents. However, incoming tourists may also trigger or accelerate a process of gentrification in which local residents are directly or symbolically displaced by tourists. Local authorities develop governance mechanisms to address this issue, both by visioning and formulation of strategies and by issuing direct tools to regulate use of land and properties in a way that matches this vision. The paper discusses two case studies in the Netherlands, Amsterdam and Giethoorn, where communities and local authorities struggle with the threat of over-tourism. The Amsterdam case focuses on gentrification caused by tourists who rent homes as holiday accommodation through online platforms (such as Airbnb) and the governance response by the city to contain it. The Giethoorn case reveals how economic values of tourism and quality of place to live are competing in the context of a village with a distinct heritage based on a mode of production that has become marginalised. The paper aims to improve our understanding of governance responses regarding heritage-based tourism and gentrification. Based on the analysis, the paper also presents three directions for research: first, mapping relational geographies of heritage; second, developing interactive tools to bridge proximate and more distant communities in a process of place making; and third, development and evaluation of governance measures.

Keywords: cultural heritage, gentrification, Airbnb, planning, housing, governance

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Introduction

Cultural heritage represents the history and identity of a place, and leads to bonding with that place, but also with the past, the present and the future (Timothy–Boyd 2003, Waterton 2005). This heritage is a set of cultural objects or traditions from the past, and it can be tangible or intangible. One of the most pressing problems is the protection of cultural property, as individual and community interests may clash, while it is also difficult to balance public and private rights. Likewise, a delicate balance needs to be struck between (often expensive) conservation and protection and using cultural artefacts for boosting place attractiveness.

Artefacts of cultural heritage that are located in a certain place may cater to an audience that is much larger than just the local community. Different artefacts of cultural heritage may have different relational patterns; they attract people from different regions or cultural backgrounds. The meaning such an artefact has in the local community may be different from the values that are appreciated in more distant areas. A common sociological understanding is that proximity does not always ensure the deepest or strongest relationship between a community and artefacts of cultural heritage. Localised cultural heritage may, however, contribute to place attachment and a sense of belonging. The distant appreciation of cultural artefacts may result in economic activities, e.g. it may support the tourism sector, and so provide jobs and other means of income to local residents.

However, incoming tourists may also cause a process of gentrification in which, in some cases, local residents are displaced by tourists paying much more for homes, directly or indirectly through the exploitation of property for overnight stays or tourist facilities, than locals can afford to pay (Wachsmuth–Weisler 2018). For instance, Airbnb may remove housing from residential housing markets, which can exacerbate the shortage of housing and may increase real estate prices (Edelman–Geradin 2016). It may also result in a form of cultural gentrification in which an 'invasion' of tourists changes the character and 'feel' of the area. Consequently, defining cultural heritage by a local community may not only strengthen local communities, but it may also be a threat if the values defined are too appealing to the outside world.

This paper discusses three potential problems regarding the management of cultural heritage. First, it discusses the delicate balance between local and relational values attached to cultural heritage, an issue that is becoming more prominent now that tourist flows across the world are rapidly increasing. Second, we discuss how places with important cultural heritage may face the risk of displacement of local population due to gentrification processes. Third, our attention turns to the management of these two previous threats and

particularly the potentials of instruments to govern the process in which the local and the relational become more intertwined, leading to more desirable outcomes.

We illustrate these three potential problems by using two case studies from the Netherlands: Amsterdam and Giethoorn.

The second part will provide a theoretical perspective on the issues of local versus relational values, gentrification due to tourism and the development of policies that can handle these potential conflicts. The next chapter will introduce the case studies, which are subsequently elaborated in the following part. In our concluding section we will discuss the wider implications of our findings.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Clashes between local and relational values result in questions of gentrification and governance

The values of cultural artefacts are not only connected to the local communities living in the proximity of these areas but may also extend into a much wider hinterland. A classic example is the long-term appreciation of Jerusalem, which even contributed to crusades of distant groups to ensure that the 'holy city' would be managed by those that appreciated the cultural artefacts in the 'right' way, and which were not necessarily the groups currently living and ruling the area (John 2017). Also, the appreciation of cultural artefacts from ancient Mediterranean cultures and shipping these towards areas outside this region is a classic example of the large hinterland certain artefacts of cultural values may have and the different ways of representation (Hoock 2007, Stevenson et al. 2016). This often leads to conflicts, a clear example of which is the recent call by the Thai government to stop the disrespectful use of Buddha images and statues as decorations or even tattoos (Tourism Authority of Thailand 2015). The hinterland of a cultural artefact is not anymore defined by religious beliefs, as in the time of the crusades, or ideas of the origin of culture, as in relation to antiquities, but can be socially constructed in different ways to make it relevant for a new target group. Residents that have more benefits from tourism tend to judge these differences more mildly than other residents (Shtudiner et al. 2018).

Such clashes between local and relational values not only occur in case of a regime change, as in the age of the crusades, or by taking artefacts out of the area, but such clashes may also happen within the surrounding area itself. Economic development and cheap air travel makes it possible to visit even very distant locations, and we are less dependent on local word-of-mouth information about cultural heritage, as online websites spread the word. Analyses of mobile phone data shows that long-distance travel is even more frequent than is reported using traditional data based on surveys (Janzen et al. 2018). This movement towards global accessibility has also a flipside, in the sense that the promotion of cultural assets to a global hinterland can promote the development of mass tourism. Mass tourism may result in compromising the quality of the location and may ultimately result in reduced attractiveness not only for residents, but also for tourists (Caust and Vecco 2017). This results in questions on how to govern cultural heritage sites in a sustainable way. Engagement of the local community is part of this as local communities may benefit economically from visitors, but, at the same time, residents may be displaced if exploitation of an area for visitors is more profitable than residential use.

Gentrification

A second potential problem relating to a disconnection between the local and the relational interpretation and appreciation of cultural heritage is gentrification. This is a term originally used by Ruth Glass (1964) when she described how the regeneration of Notting Hill and Islington streets by affluent London 'bohemians' coincided with the displacement of long-standing working-class communities. Fundamental to the notion of gentrification is the concept of "displacement" (Glass 1964: xxv). *"All those who cannot hold their own in the sharp competition for space [...] are pushed away."* (Glass 1964: xxv–xxvi) The effect of this particular type of population turnover is a change in the "social character" (xviii) of a district. Nowadays, gentrification is still used to refer to "*...migration of affluent households to neighbourhoods containing poorer households and generally lower-value property in both urban and rural settlements."* (Atkinson 2012: 269) However, the concept has provoked much discussion and what it may entail is highly debated, in particular the idea of displacement. Seminal work has been done by Marcuse (1985), who identified four forms of displacement for any building (usually dwelling) on the property market: (1) economic/physical displacement – residents are priced out of a dwelling through rent increases or by physical means such as demolition and upgrading; (2) last-resident displacement – a measure in which only the last resident is displaced; (3) chain displacement – includes all residents who have been displaced from a property during a certain period; and (4) exclusionary displacement, which includes all people who have been unable to access property because it has been gentrified.

The importance of economic/physical displacement is obvious for urban renewal programs with a clear component of housing demolition. Marcuse's income-based exclusion (see above) refers to the widespread phenomenon in gentrifying areas whereby previously affordable housing experiences rapid price increases and becomes unaffordable for the type of family that had lived in that area. Next to these four forms of displacement, another type can be distinguished. This type is subtler and does not require a move, because it relies on a different mechanism of exclusion. This type of exclusionary displacement often applies to long-term residents who witness gentrification processes in their neighbourhood. Both the characteristics of newcomers (e.g. middle-class gentrifiers or tourists) and place-based changes to social and service environments can create much uneasiness among especially long-term residents who are confronted with rapid and fundamental changes in their neighbourhood. This type of displacement has been labelled as 'hidden costs of gentrification' (Atkinson 2000), 'indirect displacement' (Davidson 2008), and 'class-based transformation of place' (Davidson 2011). As mentioned above, the result is not necessarily a move out of the neighbourhood, but an increasing sense of feeling 'out of place' among long-term residents, which may be partly counterbalanced by decreases in local crime and the opening of new stores (see e.g. Freeman 2006, Atkinson 2015). Displacement is also possible in the context of tourism that is attracted by cultural heritage. The relational, distant, appreciation of cultural heritage may displace the local heritage, which may happen if an area is flooded with tourists. This phenomenon has been called 'tourism gentrification' and has been described in relation to New Orleans (Gotham 2005), Barcelona (Lambea Llop 2017) and heritage centres in Mexico (De La Torre–Navarrete 2016).

De La Torre and Navarrete (2016) are very critical about heritage policies in Mexico. World heritage sites have become a national concern and local populations, including civil society, are excluded from its use. It has

also a negative impact on social capital as localised networks of social capital are not replaced by an equivalent network among tourists as they stay too briefly to form a localised social capital network.

In a study on holiday rentals in Barcelona, focusing on Airbnb rentals, Cócola Gant (2016, 2018) distinguishes three manners of displacement. Firstly, direct displacement, which involves the termination of use rights of residents in favour of tourists of dwellings "that once provided accommodation for long-term residents" (Cócola Gant 2016: 6). In the most popular area of Gótic, this accounted for about 17% (1191 apartments) of all flats. Ironically enough, this area is a relatively new (1927–1970) quarter built to reflect ideas about Catalan nationalism "as a way to promote the city through spectacular historic monuments, irrespective of whether they were materially authentic" (Cócola Gant 2014: 18). In other words, an area that was created to express local values has been very strongly affected by economic pressures of others that aim to experience these values for a short stay. Secondly, exclusionary displacement, which implies that the alternative of vacation rentals and the additional scarcity in dwellings available to full-time residents raises property values to levels that become unaffordable for many local households. Thirdly, displacement pressures, which may involve the issues of symbolic gentrification mentioned above, but may also involve "several types of disruption that affect the private lives of residents" (Cócola Gant 2016: 6). Such disruption may go beyond symbolic appreciation, and involve the inability to sleep at night if a large share of apartments in one building are rented out to tourists (including youth hostels), and the acoustic environment creates a mismatch with a context in which people aim to get up early to go to work after a quiet night of rest. Other, effects mentioned imply that the facilities in the area become increasingly oriented towards tourists and not to local residents, resulting in an alienation from their own neighbourhood through symbolic displacement. Platforms such as Airbnb have an important role in this: 'Tourist housing is seen as a business opportunity, even for non-professional lessors.' (Lambea Llop 2017: 126) In other words, Airbnb has resulted in a shift of properties in tourist cities from homes to live towards properties to exploit. This exploitation strongly affects the neighbourhood, not only through property prices being set to this new level of exploitation – you cannot afford to live anymore in the area if you are not keeping up with the Joneses in exploiting the property – but also through services and ways of living. So, tourists that may book through online platforms to seek authentic experiences in residents' homes are at the same time contributing to the destruction of the authenticity they are looking for.

Direct and exclusionary displacement work through the property market in which a rent gap (Smith 1979) can be closed by displacing local residents with tourists. Displacement pressures may also be used by landlords as an instrument to get dwellings available for more profitable uses (Newman and Wyly 2006). Moreover, landlords may choose not to enforce nuisance criteria in the rental agreement if noisy tenants are willing to pay a higher rent than quiet tenants.

Tools of governance for local authorities

The extent to which 'the local' and 'the relational' clash and different forms of gentrification occur is dependent in part on how local authorities address tourism in relation to cultural heritage. What is particularly important is whether they possess and are able to employ instruments to balance the local and the relational,

and whether citizens take part in the policy-making process with respect to tourism and cultural heritage. It must be stressed that the need to actively engage with tourism in relation to cultural heritage differs between places. For many local authorities the idea of containing visitors is currently not on the agenda as they are not yet tourist hotspots and they are actually working towards place promotion and branding to improve its tourism destination competitiveness (Drakulić Kovačević et al. 2018); they would consider it to be a luxury situation. However, with the global increase in tourism, much of which is related to cultural heritage, heritage-rich places increasingly need policies and policy instruments to avoid conflicts between the relational and the local. In relation to the instruments of local authorities it is relevant to distinguish the strategic level, i.e. the process of visioning and formulation of strategies, from the operational level, i.e. the (deployment of) instruments and regulations to prevent unwanted developments.

Visioning and formulation of strategies

As developed in this paper, cultural heritage may have different meanings in different communities, that is the local community of people living in the neighbourhood and more distant communities of potential visitors. In other words, trying to develop local strategies for cultural heritage requires identifying and managing the perceptions and interests of various target groups among citizens and visitors. For citizen engagement in urban planning and policies, a wide range of digital participatory platforms have emerged recently, which are "a specific kind of collaborative social media." (Falco and Kleinhans 2018a: 17) Such platforms include a range of functionalities (e.g. analytics, map-based and geo-located inputs, importing and exporting of data, ranking of ideas) which transcend and considerably differ from social media such as Social Networking Sites (Facebook, Twitter and Instagram). Digital participatory platforms thus allow for different levels and intensity of citizen engagement and participation. Falco and Kleinhans identify six main challenges in using these digital participatory platforms: (1) internet accessibility, digital illiteracy and the digital divide; (2) institutional framework, technological factors; (3) technological advancements and data management, and organizational factors; (4) process-related challenges; (5) intra-organizational culture; and (6) availability of human resources. The non-technological issues become even more pressing if these platforms are used to promote interaction between different communities. In the context of this paper, different communities or target groups also involve a large cultural divide, including potentially a language barrier between the communities, and there is a significant difference between living and working in an area and the experience of an area for a visit. However, using digital participatory platforms can potentially help to align perspectives between various parties and can help local communities to develop policies. After all, the tourist sector is also a sector which may allow many locals to earn a living and there are many joint interests between these groups. Moreover, tourists increasingly orient themselves online to visit areas of interest, both in advance and during the trip itself, and participatory tools may help to enrich the experience of visiting and living in an area. Fan pages on social media are used to brand tourist areas and have positive effects on tourist visits (Perez-Vega et al. 2018). Perez-Vega et al. (2018) indicate that creating a fan page community helps in branding areas and that interaction of visitors may help in attracting more visitors. It is not established yet whether, and if so in what ways, interaction between residents' and visitors' communities may help to address symbolic gentrification by creating joint representation of the area.

Instruments used by local authorities

Apart from their strategic vision, local authorities may deploy tools or instruments, such as land use regimes or byelaws, to guide the development of tourism in certain areas. Usually tourist accommodation took the form of separate facilities that could be regulated using land-use regulations. This separation of land use has come to an end with the emergence of the sharing economy, including the large platform of Airbnb. As a response, novel experiences have been gained in regulations focused on controlling Airbnb in certain areas. Although there is some evidence of landlords providing rewards to tell on them about subletting apartments through Airbnb to enforce rent agreements (Kaplan and Nadler 2017), most regulations are discussed at the level of local authorities. Here many differences can be seen in shape and form, and the choice of regulations may deviate widely. "Moreover, each regulation reflects the needs of the specific housing markets in particular cities and, as such, demonstrates that there is no one-size-fits-all model." (Interian 2016: 159). There is currently not much evidence on how effectively these rules operate in practice in relation to the aims the authorities have. A relevant issue is also whether regulations, if issued, can be enforced. By its nature Airbnb rental is a fluid type of land use (Gurran–Phibbs 2017). There is also uncertainty regarding whether authorities have the same aims with these regulations.

METHODS

In this exploratory paper two cases will be analysed to get more insight into the complex aspects mentioned above. The case studies selected are Amsterdam, which is in absolute figures the largest tourist destination in the Netherlands, and Giethoorn, which is in a relative sense, considering its small population, one of the larger tourist destinations. Despite Amsterdam being a large cosmopolitan metropolitan space, and Giethoorn being a 'rural idyll', they have in common the dominance of water (canals) in the public space, and as mode of transportation. Both have used nicknames relating to the appeal of Venice in tourist marketing: 'The Venice of the North' (Amsterdam) and 'Holland's Venice' (Giethoorn). This is now quite ironical perhaps, since Venice is the archetypical example of an area suffering from 'over-tourism' (Seraphin et al. 2018), and the challenge for both Amsterdam and Giethoorn actually is how to stop tourism eroding the residents' quality of life. Here, we document the strategies of the local authorities to balance local and relational dimensions of cultural heritage.

Amsterdam is an increasingly strong magnet for tourists and a city in which gentrification is a serious concern that is also high on the political agenda. Moreover, fears of 'Disneyfication' of the inner city area has led the local authority to develop rules to contain tourism, resulting also in a practice of enforcement. In the case study these policies are analysed. There is a specific focus on the attempts to contain the massive growth of overnight stays booked through online platforms, such as Airbnb. Court cases and enforcement strategies are analysed.

One of the areas that has relatively recently made the step from regional tourism to a more global appeal is Giethoorn, a very picturesque village dominated by water. To study this case the local land use plan is analysed, including the different opinions of interested parties on allowing changes in land use and the arguments developed by the local authority of Steenwijkerland in which Giethoorn is located. Policy documents

by Steenwijkerland are analysed. In Giethoorn two associations, one of entrepreneurs and one of residents, show in their statements diverging opinions on tourist development and these have been analysed based on materials produced by these associations. This provides the second case study.

Case studies

Amsterdam

Clashes between the local and the relational

Amsterdam is an established tourist attraction. During the Global Financial Crisis tourism continued to be a flourishing economic sector in Amsterdam and many buildings, including former offices, have been transferred to hotels resulting in a considerable growth of hotel accommodation *(Figure 1).* These figures do not include accommodation through platforms such as Airbnb, so actual growth of accommodation available to tourists was even higher. Also, the tourists kept coming. Between 2006 and 2012 there has been a growth of both guests and overnights stays of about 14.5%. In later years this growth has continued, but at a much higher pace *(Table 1).*

Figure 1. Development of hotel accommodation in Amsterdam (OIS, 2017)
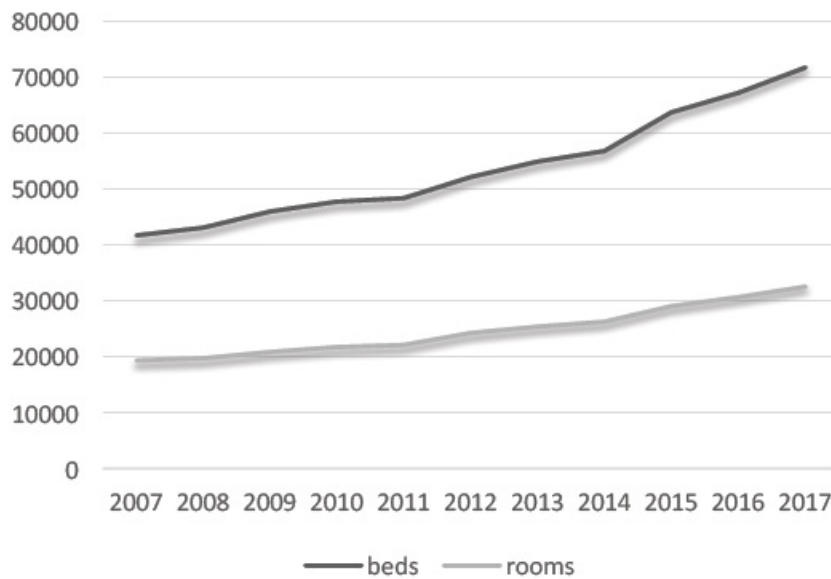
Table 1. Development of tourists and length of stay in Amsterdam (OIS, 2017)

	guests	nights	length of stay
	x 1,000	x 1,000	nights per guest
2012	5,733	10,581	1.85
2013	6,024	11,262	1.87
2014	6,670	12,538	1.88
2015	6,826	12,899	1.89
2016	7,270	13,983	1.92

Policies have been developed to redirect tourism from Amsterdam to other areas. The assistant minister *(staatssecretaris)* has for example written a letter to parliament to indicate the actions taken to achieve this aim (MEZ, 2018). Concepts such as "Holland City" are used to attract tourists to areas outside Amsterdam and to attempt to deliberately disperse tourists over a larger area in order to release the pressure on the inner city of Amsterdam. Narratives are developed to combine interests of tourists with other regions, such as that tourists interested in Van Gogh are invited not only to visit the Van Gogh museum in Amsterdam, but also other locations that are relevant to the life and work of this painter. The 'Amsterdam brand' is used to market destinations outside the city; for example, the seaside resort town of Zandvoort is now referred to as 'Amsterdam beach', the bulb-flower area is now nicknamed 'Flowers of Amsterdam' and there is an 'Amsterdam Castle' *(Muiderslot)* that is located far beyond the city borders. Obviously, there is some local discontent, as these places feel annexed by the city, but at the same time, it is a strategy that pays off, especially as it is combined with a convenient public transport tourist pass that supports this strategy.

Amsterdam's attraction to tourists has a significant impact on the 'sense of belonging' of residents (Pinkster–Boterman 2017). In the canal district, *"Respondents themselves look at the landscape of the neighbourhood with a tourist gaze and understand its appeal. On the other hand, the reality of sharing the neighbourhood with visitors is experienced quite negatively."* (Pinkster–Boterman 2017: 464) Pinkster and Boterman point to two metaphors indicating this discontent, one being the theme park in which everything goes, Amsterdam as the city to engage in drugs and drinking, riding beer bikes, having stag parties and getting involved in inappropriate behaviour that you would not do at home, and the other being the metaphor of a museum. Amsterdam has UNESCO heritage status, in which ordinary shops for residents are replaced by expensive outlets to sell to high-end tourists. Remarkably, Amsterdam is a city that attracts both types of tourists, which may also result in conflicts between tourist groups themselves. Residents have responded by shielding themselves from tourists. The emergence of online platforms such as Airbnb has resulted in even a finer grain of mix between residents and tourists and results consequently in larger tensions around the appreciation of heritage (Pinkster–Boterman 2017).

Touristic use of housing has been significantly developed and there are concerns about it. The containment of tourism to find a new equilibrium between its positive and negative impacts on the quality of life is an important issue in the coalition agreement agreed after the council elections of 2018 (Coalitieakkoord 2018).

Prices for Airbnb accommodation in Amsterdam belong to the highest in Europe (Gemeente Amsterdam 2018c). A comparison *(Table 2)* of the share of Airbnb rented dwellings per district and the development of housing value per square meter in these areas between 2015 and 2017 shows a strong correlation (0.80; R^2: 0.64; $R^2_{adjusted}$: 0.62).

Table 2. Share of Airbnb in housing stock in December 2017 and change of assessed value of housing per square meter (WOZ) per district in Amsterdam (Inside Airbnb, 2017; OIS, 2017)

	Share Airbnb	Value 2015–2017
Centrum-West	7.6%	28.9%
Centrum-Oost	6.3%	28.9%
Westerpark	6.4%	23.5%
Bos en Lommer	5.9%	30.9%
Oud-West/De Baarsjes	8.4%	30.6%
Geuzenveld/Slotermeer	1.0%	12.7%
Osdorp	0.9%	9.5%
De Aker/Nieuw Sloten	1.1%	13.9%
Slotervaart	2.0%	23.0%
Oud-Zuid	4.8%	33.2%
Buitenveldert/Zuidas	1.7%	21.7%
De Pijp/Rivierenbuurt	6.4%	31.1%
Oud-Oost	6.2%	34.7%
Indische Buurt/Oostelijk Havengebied	4.4%	26.7%
Watergraafsmeer	2.7%	23.8%
IJburg/Zeeburgereiland	4.1%	13.3%
Noord-West	1.6%	13.8%
Oud-Noord	3.6%	20.9%
Noord-Oost	1.8%	16.4%
Bijlmer-Centrum	0.8%	23.2%
Bijlmer-Oost	0.8%	9.8%
Gaasperdam/Driemond	0.7%	7.2%
Average	4.3%	25.5%
correlation: 0.80		
R2: 0.64; R2adjusted: 0.62.		

It can be discussed whether this correlation is a matter of causation, i.e., that the potential of exploiting dwellings such as Airbnb is causing this value change, as is suggested by a bank's press release, indicating that proceeds of Airbnb allow for an extra mortgage of about € 100,000 (ING, 2016), or that the same external factors make the same area more attractive both to tourism and housing. In either case, gentrification can be an issue. Another potential explanation is that the higher shares of Airbnb premises are located in central areas which have, almost by definition, a higher value of housing, which is also prone to stronger value increases.

Relevant to the gentrification issues are all kind of governance arrangements that may provide a counterforce to the use of dwellings as tourist accommodation. In the following we will discuss public and private arrangements.

Public arrangements

The City of Amsterdam uses housing laws to restrict the use of housing for other purposes than residence, which includes the use of housing for Bed & Breakfasts (B&B) and for holiday rentals, such as through platforms as Airbnb (Le Cat 2017). The law *(Huisvestingswet,* article 21) provides local authorities with the possibility to apply more stringent rules to those parts of the housing stock that are scarce in order to protect

it from further shrinkage. Based on a study of housing conditions, the city of Amsterdam has decided that the whole of the housing stock belongs to this scarce housing stock category. Scarcity is not defined by market definitions of effective demand and supply, but by political definitions of housing need and adequate housing provision. In Amsterdam this is indeed an issue and the council has used these extra powers to apply extra rules to the management of the housing stock. These extra powers cannot run forever: the City must review the housing conditions at least every four years to determine whether the scarcity still exists and define appropriate measures, which may be laid down in a new byelaw, based on this new assessment.

The use of housing for tourists is considered to be a withdrawal of housing from the scarce housing stock and is so bound by certain rules. If an owner or tenant follows these rules it is allowed as-of-right. However, for withdrawal of housing from the housing market beyond these rules, a permit must be requested, and it is illegal to withdraw housing stock without a permit. Alternatively, house owners could apply for a permit. The general principle behind this permit is a weighing of interests. Such a permit can only be withheld if the municipality considers the interest of containing the housing stock more prominent than the interests the applicant has in permitting it (MvT Huisvestingswet 2010). The byelaw must contain principles to weigh these interests and it is possible for interested parties to go to an administrative court to review a decision to grant or not to grant such a permit. There are cases in which permits have been provided to change housing to tourist accommodation (Gerechtshof Amsterdam 2017b). The rules about the as-of-right permission exclude the use of the social housing stock, which includes all housing with a rent of, currently, below € 710 a month, which includes about 42% of all dwellings in Amsterdam. In case of B&B these rules prescribe the maximum share of the guest accommodation of the floor area of the dwelling, the obligation of the lessor to live in the dwelling at the same time as the guest stays, the maximum amount of beds (four, which is based on fire regulations) that can be exploited and the obligation of the lessor to report the B&B to the local authority. There is no obligation in relation to the amount of nights that a B&B can be exploited per year as the conditions see to the enduring liveability of the dwelling by its main user. For holiday rentals of the whole apartment (or for a larger percentage than the B&B-rules) there is a cap of 60 days per year, which will be reduced to 30 days from 2019 (Gemeente Amsterdam 2018a), and a maximum of 4 guests per dwelling, which is based on fire regulations. Since October 1, 2017, all individual bookings must be reported to the local authority, which has opened a specific web portal to allow for this. The City has the power of issuing an administrative fine if conditions are not met, because in that situation the dwelling has been withdrawn from the housing stock without permit. For first time offenders this fine is currently € 13,500 – per dwelling – so it adds up if several dwellings in a building are being used for holiday rentals without meeting the as-of-right conditions, and this fine has been upheld in court (Raad van State 2017a, Rechtbank Amsterdam 2017a, 2018). Next to Airbnb, also rentals using other platforms, such as Booking.com (Raad van State 2017c), are being prosecuted. These fines may be issued to both owners and organisations organising rentals, which in the latter case resulted in a € 178,000 fine for 14 dwellings (Raad van State 2018) next to a fine to the owners. The fact that a dwelling is temporarily rented to tourists means that *"the dwelling during the rental could not be used as a dwelling"* (Raad van State 2017b, paragraph 3.1) and is consequentially withdrawn from the housing stock. This means that the rental period is not relevant, but that any use for another purpose can be qualified as such if this is formulated in the right way.

From October 2017 rental must be reported and the City has issued administrative fines (of € 6,000) for not reporting a single rental contract (Gemeente Amsterdam 2017b), These measures have not yet resulted in an end of the growth of supply of dwellings advertised through Airbnb. The supply rose by 8% between July 2017 and July 2018 (Gemeente Amsterdam 2018d).

The housing byelaw cannot be used for house boats. The city used the local land use plan, which did not allow the exploitation as an hotel, as a ground for issuing a € 50,000 penalty to ensure conformance, which was allowed according to the court (Rechtbank Amsterdam 2017b). However, as this is just a penalty to ensure conformance, it can be avoided by changing the situation after the city has issued the penalty. By a formal registration as living in the boat, a presumption that this is the case is created and a new burden of proof rests on the municipality.

Illegal holiday rentals are a priority in the municipal enforcement programme (Gemeente Amsterdam 2016). A combination is sought between acting on complaints and active enforcement directed towards repeat offenders, i.e., professional agencies that transfer housing to holiday rentals. For this enforcement officers focus on certain areas and search for rentals on the internet. To follow up on complaints, the local authority has equipped an agency "Meldpunt Zoeklicht" that handles all kinds of housing fraud, including subletting, drugs and human trafficking, and which for illegal holiday rentals can be called 7 days a week and provides direct contact with a law enforcer who can visit the location. A report of such a law enforcement officer has the power of proof in the courts. So, in this way, people that face nuisance issues of holiday rentals in their neighbourhood have a direct contact possibility with enforcement agencies who have the capacity to act. This bureau has received a strong growth of reports of tourists rentals of dwellings, that is, 403 in 2014, 834 in 2015, 1332 in 2016 and 1770 in 2017 (Gemeente Amsterdam 2018b). An enforcement overview indicates that 378 administrative fines have been issued of a total value of €4.2 million in 2017, compared to 169 fines for €1.9 million in 2016 (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2018b). The amount of Airbnb rental dwellings according to Inside Airbnb (2017) is 18,547, which is comparable to figures published by the City of Amsterdam (Gemeente Amsterdam 2018c, 2018d).

The City has made deals with Airbnb (Gemeente Amsterdam and Airbnb 2016) and Booking.com (Booking.com and Gemeente Amsterdam 2017) to promote rule following and collection of tourist tax, which is currently 6% of the accommodation price for this type of accommodation. This provides a considerable financial stream of income to the city, which accounted about € 65 million in 2016 (Gemeente Amsterdam 2017a). In this way, the City can afford to hire some law enforcement officials. Public policies are not restricted to Airbnb, as even with regard to regular hotels, policies are now in place to restrict the opening of new hotel facilities in the inner city and to direct development to less central locations.

Private arrangements

An important issue, already discussed in section 2 relating to Barcelona, is the 'infiltration' of tourism in apartment buildings, having direct impact on the experience in the building's common spaces. Residents of apartments can not only file complaints to the local authority to enforce public regulations but may also demand observation of private apartment regulations. Two regulations are of relevance: first, the property

division deed, by which the rights over the apartment are created, and, second, the domestic rules set by the meeting of the association of apartment owners. The property division deed is the constitution of the apartment rights: it is concluded by a notary, laid down in the public registers, and can only be changed with explicit support of all (or nearly all in some cases) apartment owners through a procedure at the notary. The domestic regulations can be changed during a meeting of the association of apartment owners *(Vereniging van Eigenaren)* using procedures set in the property division deed, which may indicate that a simple majority, based on the shares of different owners in the association, can be sufficient. It is however only the property division deed that can limit the rights of the holder of an apartment right (Le Cat 2017).

An example of how these two rules interact can be found in cases brought before a cantonal judge (Rechtbank Amsterdam 2015a, 2016a). In both cases the meeting of owners had decided to tolerate Airbnb rental. However, the property division deeds indicate that it is not allowed to use the apartment as a guest house (in Dutch *"pension"*). One of them was even, at its building stage, advertised as "an island of tranquillity" *(oase van rust)*, but this did not prevent one of the owners finding "a stranger wandering in the staircase. He had a Google print-off showing that he had a rental in [address] and wanted to get back into the flat. He smelt of alcohol and was clearly slurring" (Rechtbank Amsterdam 2015a: paragraph 1.7). Based on the property division deed, the court, based on a claim of other owners, nullified the decision of the association of owners in both cases. Airbnb was not allowed.

Landlords have also ended rental agreements of tenants subletting to Airbnb. The rental agreements have in practice a provision that it is not allowed to sublet the whole or part of the dwelling. For social housing, there is in addition a principle that social housing is not a commodity and should not be a source of revenue. In theory, the rental contract can be dissolved in such a case. Courts have not always done this as they are bound to weigh the proportionality of the measure (Vols et al. 2015). A tenant in Rotterdam could stay in her dwelling as the housing association had not well communicated the specific Airbnb type of subletting, the tenant stopped subletting at the first signal of the landlord, was already living for 21 years in the dwelling, and had specific personal circumstances (Rechtbank Rotterdam, 2015). The Court of Appeal, however, decided that the benefits of the Airbnb rental, that is the proceeds minus costs, such as the contribution to Airbnb, had to be paid to the housing corporation as compensation (Gerechtshof Den Haag 2017a, 2017b). Also in a case of only 5 subrentals the transfer of profits to the housing associations was required by the court (Rechtbank Amsterdam 2016b). There are other cases in which rental agreements have been dissolved due to subletting to tourists (using the Airbnb platform) on request of private landlords (Rechtbank Amsterdam 2014, 2015b, Gerechtshof Amsterdam 2017a). This means that by subletting their rental home, tenants are taking a serious risk of losing it. Considering their position as protected tenant (Korthals Altes 2016), with a high level of tenure security, this is a strong sanction against subletting dwellings to tourists.

Landlords that fail to enforce subletting arrangements may be fined by the local authority in the same way as this is done with other owners. So, this is an extra incentive for landowners to enforce their rental contracts.

In conclusion, the case of the very cultural heritage-rich city of Amsterdam shows an enduring pressure of visitors that reduces the resident's appreciation of the area. As a counterforce, policies have been developed

to protect dwellers from exploitation of housing for touristic purposes. This demands a lot of regulatory and enforcement capacity, and the existence of regulations that can be used to regulate the housing stock plays an important role in this.

Giethoorn

Clashes between the local and the relational

Giethoorn is a village of 2570 inhabitants (CBS 2018) in the municipality of Steenwijkerland in the province of Overijssel. It is a *"water streekdorp"* (Kroes–Jans 1986), which means that it is developed from the production of peat and that water was originally its primary mode of transportation. It is not built around a village road, but along a village canal *(dorpsgracht)*. It is located in a region in which peat production, reed production and agriculture have been developed in a specific order (Haans 1953). After the extraction of peat, used as fuel, reed, to be used for roofs, has been growing forming floating islands based on the networking of roots, the *"kragge"* (Haans 1953). After a certain period, the *kragge* became land, which reduced the productivity of reed growth, but allowed for the production of hay or the grazing of cows. Specific for Giethoorn, and different from the more westerly located wetlands Weerribben and Wieden, is that the sand layer is relatively close (only about 1 to 1.5 meters) to the surface, which allowed for a much swifter cycle of territorialisation towards dairy farming (Haans 1953).

Giethoorn is an iconic area for this specific type of community. It provided the backdrop to the 1958 movie *Fanfare* (by Bert Haanstra) over two competing brass bands in a village, including iconic pictures of a brass band in a punt. The area has had official heritage protection *(beschermd dorpsgezicht)* since the 1980s (Kroes–Jans 1986) and 43 buildings are listed in the national heritage register (https://cultureelerfgoed.nl/monumentenregister). The location by the water makes it a tourist attraction, which had predominantly a regional focus, meaning that it had a clear touristic peak in the summer season.

Recently, tourism to Giethoorn has changed from daytrips and short visits of regional visitors to a more global tourist attraction with many visitors from Asia, including China. This shift is generally attributed to the activities of one entrepreneur, Gabriella Esselbrugge (Alebeek et al. 2015, Hillebrand 2015, Jacobs 2016), who is the third generation in a family run hotel with about 20 rooms. Esselbrugge has developed broad experience in the tourist sector through her previous employers Tulip Inn and Booking.com. It took about 6 years between the first presentation in China at a happening organized by NBTC Holland Marketing in 2005 and the growth of tourist numbers, and this involved making a culture shift towards presenting a tourist destination that fits to the expectations of people from a different culture.

The idea of getting new visitors was also aimed at lengthening the tourist season (Alebeek et al. 2015). However, it also resulted in extra pressures in summer, resulting in problems for residents, who cannot cycle anymore on cycle paths as these are blocked by tourists wondering why people are cycling on this busy footpath.

Governance arrangements

The Association of Village Interests of Giethoorn (VDG 2017) sent a pressing letter to the council of the municipality of Steenwijkerland, in which the association members indicated that they appreciate tourism,

but that the pressure has become much too large. It is not only about transferring homes to tourist accommodation, but also about the busyness of the area, which previous measures, such as one-way traffic boating in canals, have not addressed sufficiently. They demand that measures be taken, which include ensuring the liveability, security and authenticity of the village, the enforcement of regulations, parking, signage, improvement of paths, greenery and lighting, the sheet piling of canals, public transportation, access of emergency services, the distribution of tourist accommodation and a new waterway ordinance (VDG 2017). Many of these issues, such as parking signage and waterways improvements, are also a matter of concern for the local association of entrepreneurs, but they also ask for a relaxation of rules to allow for more tourist accommodation (GO 2017). These two perspectives on the area, enlarging liveability for the inhabitants and enlarging the capacity to host more tourists, are on the agenda of the local authority Steenwijkerland, which is seeking to develop a joint vision for the area (Gemeente Steenwijkerland 2017). Working groups were established on: (1) transport and safety, including parking and access of emergency services; (2) boating, including the congestion on the *dorpsgracht*; (3) staying and overnights, including tourist facilities, Airbnb and B&B and (4) maintenance of public space.

Posters produced for this session (Gemeente Steenwijkerland 2018d) show that data is lacking on tourists and use of accommodation. They also show concerns about ghost houses, which are empty except for seasonal rent and the issue that some tourists apparently think they are visiting a museum village and have their lunch on garden furniture in private gardens. Tourists renting a boat do not all have boating experience or think it is fun to use the boats as a bumper car on the water, which makes the water a no-go area for residents.

Parallel to this has been the process of renewing the local land use plan, which contains the regulation of land use. The aim of the municipality was to conserve current land use, based on what has been approved before. In this process, 39 opinions of interested parties have been raised and collected giving an overview of the concerns, which confirms the picture of conflicts between tourism and amenities for residents. These opinions were both pro and con facilities for tourism. Examples of issues raised are the following: the use of buildings for tourist facilities, including B&B, ice-selling parlours with terrace, use of an approved boat house for a restaurant, allowing of camping on some spare land, and land use changes from retail to gallery or museum of jewellery, including a gift shop. Several opinions concerned the shift from traditional land use to contemporary land use: which includes the change of a building from use by a thatcher (reed roof makers) to housing or from agriculture to a landscaping firm. Many issues were also about boat storage facilities, both in summer as well as in winter storage. The answers show that a so called 'facet plan' for containing tourist development had been developed earlier. This plan was especially restrictive on the use of auxiliary buildings, not connected to the main building, for tourist facilities. Some matters were allowed based on prescription due to continuing deviant use from 1996 to 2017.

The local authority has submitted a bid book to acquire provincial grants to develop infrastructure that can help spread tourism over a larger area (Gemeente Steenwijkerland 2018c). This bid book has been critically assessed by the residents' organisation as they expected that it would result in more tourists (Gieters Belang 2018a). Moreover, the preparation of this bid book was done in parallel to, but without any interaction with,

the process of visioning together with local stakeholders. This grant was not awarded by the province, which decided to spend the money elsewhere. The residents were much more positive about the purchase of a farm by the local authority. In this deal 22 hectares of grassland was bought for 1.5 million euro allowing different parts of the village to be connected, which was part of the agenda in the bid book (Fix 2018, Gemeente Steenwijkerland 2018a, 2018b). The purchase of the farm was not covered by a provincial subsidy and was not planned beforehand. A critical issue in the decision document was that a market party was interested in the farm and the local authority could get control over development by this purchase. The local authority bought the property subject to approval by the council, which was granted at a confidential meeting of the Council of September 18, 2018 (Gemeente Steenwijkerland 2018a) – though this confidentiality was lifted right after the meeting (Gemeente Steenwijkerland 2018b). The residents' organisation has performed an online survey of its members about what to do with this land (Gieters Belang 2018b). Some respondents consider it as an opportunity to reduce the pressures on the village, while others fear that it will be used for facilities that will result in extra attraction for visitors or that it will result in decay of the current characteristics of the area. The survey indicates that there is no support amongst the members of this organisation for new leisure centres in the area.

The case study shows that emergent developments may intervene in ongoing processes of visioning and shows that making connections between these two layers of governance is complex. Decisions relating to emergent developments have to be taken irrespective of the time schedule set out for the process of visioning.

DISCUSSION

Visitors of heritage sites provide economic opportunities for local communities. These economic opportunities may include jobs, tourist spending and other ways to make a living. However, local and relational communities of heritage may have different interests, which may result in conflicts.

The cases show that whereas in Amsterdam, the growing tourist sector has found a counterforce in housing regulations and an enforcement agency based on which a number of fines can be collected ensuring that enforcement is self-financing, the situation in the rural context of Giethoorn is different. There, discussions on handling tourism are still in an early phase and the economic interest of tourism is relatively of much greater importance in Giethoorn than in Amsterdam, which has a much broader economic base. The Giethoorn case shows a remarkable shift in visitors, from regional Dutch to Asian visitors, involving a change in the relational geography of heritage.

The Amsterdam case also shows that the economic value of exploiting homes as tourist accommodation is high and that development of holiday rentals in dwellings can push away residents so that development of house values largely correlate with shares of Airbnb rental in their district. Enforcement of policies must, consequently, be able to have significant enforcement capacity and sanctions to have any effect on it. The Amsterdam case shows both public enforcement and private enforcement. In public enforcement the authorities need to make full use of powers given them by law, which makes that for certain types of housing, as house boats, there are less mechanisms available. Residents and landlords can use private enforcement powers. Neighbours sue each other to deny the possibility of holiday lettings of apartments based on the apartment

constitution, and landlords have evicted tenants because of illegal subletting to tourists. The level of fines and persistence of development is such that currently public enforcement can be financed by fines, and the tourist tax provides a safety net in case almost everybody obeys the law and hardly any fines are due. Currently, the number of dwellings being offered for holiday rentals is still growing, but figures presented show that the rules may impact the way properties are used, e.g. the 60-day rule is generally observed (Gemeente Amsterdam 2018d). It is an open question how this will develop and whether the more stringent measures to limit rental even more will work as well. Apart from public policies we can also observe private enforcement of the use of dwellings for housing.

The Giethoorn case shows that in a more rural area conflicts may be sharpened by additional, more globalised tourism. The tension between local entrepreneurs and residents comes more to the surface as tourism is one of the main local employers, as traditional employment has diminished in importance. Joint visioning activities and land use planning are used to govern the situation, while emergent developments such as new provincial grants and land purchase opportunities may thwart these activities in a way that may be supported by one of the groups.

Promising research on this topic may be developed in three directions, first by mapping relational geographies of heritage, second by developing interactive tools to bridge adjacent and more distant communities in a process of place making and third by development and evaluation of governance measures.

Mapping relational geographies of heritage may be addressed by using 'big data' to detect patterns in cultural heritage tourism as follows. Using the digital archives of travel guides (e.g. Michelin, Lonely Planet, etc.) it is possible to study the development of cultural heritage tourism over several decades, e.g., which places are mentioned for their cultural heritage and how extensively is this covered in guidebooks and how does this develop over time? This could lead to identification of best practices and worst cases: what explains why places with cultural heritage have been newly included or get relatively more coverage in guide books over time. And why does the attention directed towards others decline? Factors could include: policies, accessibility and quality and ease of use of transport, offer and quality of accommodation, possible combination with other tourist activities (part of itineraries?) This approach could be extended to include TripAdvisor and similar sites, or the offer of professional (quality oriented) travel agencies.

Planning practices, using social media, are in need of further development. Research has shown that both social media and digital participatory platforms show potential in terms of their characteristics, features and applications to foster joint resource mobilisation and collaboration between (local) authorities and various stakeholders, including joint solutions, designs, delivery schemes and budget priorities for urban spaces, public facilities, etc. (Falco–Kleinhans 2018a: 2018b). In the context of local and relational communities of heritage, such media may facilitate a more comprehensive perspective on the different and/or conflicting interests between long-term residents of cultural heritage areas, and 'external consumers' of such areas and their amenities, i.e. not just tourists but also travel agencies, etc. However, the abundance of digital platforms as well as research on the conditions to use these platforms and other social media has paid little attention to how governance networks need to be adjusted to effectively incorporate the data produced through such

methods. Revealing different and conflicting interests between residents of cultural heritage areas and 'external consumers' does not solve the conflicts. Even if challenges and requirements for social media use (see Falco–Kleinhans 2018b) are properly addressed, online two-way communication between authorities and citizens requires offline follow-up actions to lead to any real changes in public policy or service delivery. Further research should reveal how intra-organisational workflows and government 'back offices' need to be adapted to implement ideas or solutions that arise from online dialogic governance and conflict resolution. By bridging both local and relational communities, symbolic gentrification may be addressed. This does not help against economic gentrification, but such a bridging effort may mitigate the undesirable and unintended consequences of symbolic gentrification. Here, enforcement of deviant use of areas is an issue: establishing clear shared interests between local and relational communities helps to get information and carrying capacity.

Finally, governance measures can be developed and evaluated. Here measures must fit the local situation and policies developed in the area. The Amsterdam approach, using enforcement mechanisms and big fines, is an option, but would not work in all contexts. Using a local land use plan, as in Giethoorn, requires a very good enforcement mechanism as most changes are about changing the use of properties, which means that change of use has to be monitored. It is important that these policy measures fit the specific local type of heritage patterns and are based on a sound policy. If the policy aim is to support citizens in taking ownership of their area and heritage, this should be a starting point for elaboration of the policy itself. Here there could be a tension between local policies for the locals and the regulation of the single European market, involving principles such as the freedom of capital and the freedom of establishment for all throughout the European economic area.

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Melanie Kay Smith[1]

Cultural ecosystem services of visited landscapes

An exploratory comparative study

Abstract

Academic interest in ecosystem services has been growing in the past ten years with an increasing number of research studies and papers being dedicated to this complex and diverse field of enquiry. The Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MEA 2005) suggested that cultural services and values were not recognised enough in landscape planning and management. This paper therefore focuses on Cultural Ecosystem Services (CES), one of the four main categories of ecosystem services (MEA, 2005). Cultural Ecosystem Services (CES) include aesthetics, cultural heritage, inspiration, spirituality, sense of place, tourism, recreation and education. Although previous research on CES has placed emphasis on the importance of human perceptions in CES and landscape research (Daniel et al. 2012), this study proposes a new research tool for doing so. The tool is a quantitative questionnaire, whose design was based on a Cultural Ecosystem Services framework. It is argued that the data can provide some interesting insights into the values and benefits that can be derived from different types of landscapes. Unlike previous CES research, this study focuses on all categories of CES simultaneously. It also attempts to differentiate between the benefits derived from different landscape types by collecting data on visitor perceptions, a hitherto under-researched area in this field.

Keywords: cultural ecosystem services, landscapes, benefits, visitors

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Introduction

Landscapes have been the object of recreation and pleasure for various types of visitors over the course of centuries. Numerous studies have shed light on the relationship between the visitor and the visited, either before, during or after a visit — albeit mostly from westerners' perspectives (Shaw-Willliams 1994, Porter–Sheppard 1998, Crouch 1999, Aitchison et al. 2000, Cartier–Lew 2005, della Dora 2009, Terkenli 2014). Nonetheless, the great variability, depth and significance of this (at least, twofold) relationship, both geographically and historically, remains largely unexplored, especially as regards the role of the landscape in the visitor experience. This gap is addressed by this research, through a comparative exploratory probe into visitors' conceptualisations of landscapes and their benefits in a range of contexts. A cultural ecosystem services framework is used for this analysis. The reason for this is that academic interest in ecosystem services has been growing in the past ten years with an increasing number of research studies and papers being dedicated to this complex and diverse field of enquiry.

The Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MEA 2005) divided ecosystem services into four main categories: supporting, regulating, provisioning, and cultural services. More emphasis has traditionally been placed on use, monetary and economic value of ecosystem services rather than non-use, intangible or cultural values (Chan et al. 2012). However, MEA (2005) stated that cultural services and values were not recognised enough in landscape planning and management. Musacchio (2013) suggested that emphasis needs to be shifted towards understanding peoples' experiences of landscapes, including wellbeing benefits. Cultural Ecosystem Services (CES) represent physical, intellectual and spiritual interactions with ecosystems. This includes aesthetics, cultural heritage, inspiration, spirituality, sense of place, as well as tourism, recreation and education. Although previous research has placed emphasis on the importance of human perceptions in CES and landscape research (Daniel et al. 2012, Schirpke et al. 2016, Riechers et al. 2016), this study proposes a new research tool for doing so. Willis (2015) suggests that a better understanding of the non-material benefits of nature using a CES framework could have important implications for sustainable development, local and tourist satisfaction.

In order to undertake this research, we formulated our research questions as follows:

1. What are the main benefits that visitors derive from visiting landscapes?
2. How can those benefits be articulated and measured in the context of Cultural Ecosystem Services (CES)?

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LANDSCAPES AND CULTURAL ECOSYSTEM SERVICES

Landscapes can be defined and interpreted in various ways, but the European Landscape Convention (ELC 2000) produced one of the most often quoted definitions of a landscape as *"an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors"*. Interpretations of landscape can vary considerably across cultures, for example, Tenberg et al. (2012) make the distinction between Nordic concepts of landscape which include interactions between people and place, whereas Anglophone interpretations are based more on visual features of landscape. Vallés-Planells et al. (2014) suggest that landscape is a perceived environment as much as a geographical and biological entity. Indeed, landscapes can hold multiple values for different stakeholder groups (Meinig 1979, Crouch 1999, Terkenli 2001). Musacchio (2013) advocates that a better understanding of peoples' experiences of landscapes and the benefits which they value needs to be cultivated. This includes their psychological, cultural and social relationships and connections to nature and biodiversity. Wu (2013: 1019) states that *"landscapes represent, arguably, the most operational scale for understanding and shaping the relationship between society and the environment"*.

The Millennium Assessment (MEA) (2005) describes Cultural Ecosystem Services (hereafter, CES) as *"The non-material benefits people obtain from ecosystems through spiritual enrichment, cognitive development, reflection and aesthetic experiences"*. Chan et al. (2012: 9) describe CES as *"ecosystems' contributions to the non-material benefits (e.g. capabilities and experiences) that arise from human-ecosystems relationships"*. The relationship between humans and ecosystems is clearly a fundamental principle in the assessment. Hernández-Morcillo et al. (2013) suggest that researchers who work with CES should consider not only the services generated by the ecosystem, but also the relationship between the observer and the environment and the factors that influence demand.

Table 1 shows the main elements of Cultural Ecosystem Services as defined by MEA (2005). It is difficult to find information about how these categories were generated, although it is indisputable that they are all important in the context of landscape management. Some of these elements have been researched more than others, largely as a result of the challenges of researching some of the more intangible dimensions. Plieninger et al.'s (2013) review of 42 papers about CES showed that most papers focused on recreation and ecotourism services (54%) followed by aesthetic (14%) and educational (9%) dimensions. Hernández-Morcillo et al. (2013) also reviewed 42 papers and suggested that recreation and ecotourism is the most accounted CES category, while categories like aesthetics, spirituality or inspiration tended to be neglected. Andersson et al. (2014) describe how spiritual experiences, aesthetics, and sense of place are perceived as being especially elusive.

Table 1. Main elements of cultural ecosystem services

Spiritual and religious: many societies attach spiritual and religious values to ecosystems or their components
Recreation and ecotourism: people often choose where to spend their leisure time based in part on the characteristics of the natural or cultivated landscape in a particular area
Aesthetic: individuals find aesthetic value in various aspects of ecosystems, as reflected in support for parks, scenic drives, and selection of housing locations
Inspirational: ecosystems provide a rich source of inspiration for art, folklore, national symbols, architecture and advertising
Sense of place: ecosystems as a central pillar of "sense of place", a concept often used in relation to those characteristics that make a place special or unique as well as to those that foster a sense of authentic human attachment and belonging
Cultural heritage: many societies place high value on the maintenance of either historically important landscapes ("cultural landscapes") or culturally significant species. Educational: ecosystems and their components and processes provide the basis for both formal and informal education in many societies. In addition, ecosystems may influence the types of knowledge systems developed by different cultures.

Source: Adapted from MEA (2005)

It is worth questioning some of the categories and their connections. One of the common features of landscapes is their natural and cultural heritage value, from which other values or benefits could be derived. These include recreational, tourism and educational values as well as inspiration and sense of place. The latter might be intensified because of the aesthetic or spiritual appeal of the landscape. Sense of place may be especially important in fostering community attachment and identity. Smith and Csurgó (2018) explore these inter-connections in the context of a Hungarian rural landscape emphasising the fundamental importance of cultural heritage to other categories. It should be noted that historically important landscapes and cultural landscapes might be quite different, with the latter being defined by UNESCO as expressing the relationship or interation between people and their natural environment (UNESCO 1992). Historically important landscapes can also be urban and include the built as well as intangible heritage.

Landscapes, tourism and visitation

It is clear from previous meta-analysis (e.g. Plieninger et al. 2013, Hernández-Morcillo et al. 2013) that tourism and recreation have received considerable attention in CES and landscape research. This is unsurprising if one considers that all types of landscapes may potentially hold interest for visitors for the consumption of services, activities, experiences, etc. However, certain types of landscape can be more appeing to visitors than others. Tourism travel trends from the post-war era indicate an overwhelming visitor preference for coastal, sea-sand-sun destinations, during the most accommodating time of the year (i.e. summer), rather than urban tourism, and secondarily for other types of natural environments and ecosystems, such as mountains, forested, lake-side or rural areas (Towner 1996, Löfgren 1999). Experiences greatly diverge among different types of landscapes, which tend to offer widely varying services to their visitors, e.g. tranquility, excitement, seduction, awe, inspiration, sense of wellbeing, etc.

Landscapes can clearly hold multiple values for different stakeholder groups (Meinig 1979, Crouch 1999, Terkenli 2001). For example, the attraction of landscapes for health was already acknowledged in ancient Persia, Greece and Rome and gradually became popular in Europe from the 18th century. Access to some form of

'nature' seems to be a fundamental need for humans, gaining even more importance in the context of modern urban lifestyles (Ward Thompson 2011). What a particular landscape means however, depends on the cultural values of the visitor (Plachter 1995). Although there is some common understanding, the ways of encountering and experiencing nature may vary between individuals and populations (Hartig et al. 2014). Whether we perceive a landscape as natural depends on its socio-cultural definition and is related to a particular human lifestyle and code of conduct. In this sense, every landscape is a cultural construction, meaning that its cultural reality is defined by what is representative for a specific culture (Seeland 2011).

We can however conceptualize landscape as a health-enhancing resource. A review of over 120 studies by Abraham et al. (2010) identified the potential of landscapes as a resource for physical, mental and social wellbeing, providing a range of benefits *(Table 2):*

Table 2: Potential benefits of landscapes

Physical wellbeing	Promotion of physical activity (both in daily life or as leisure time) through walkable environments
Mental wellbeing	Attention restoration
	Stress reduction
	Evocation of positive emotions
Social wellbeing	Social integration, social engagement and participation
	Social support and security

Source: Abraham et al. (2010)

However, the therapeutic influence of landscape has to be addressed critically as it does not always or only have a positive influence on quality of life and wellbeing (see for example, Milligan–Bingley (2007) in their study on the impact of woodland on the mental wellbeing of young adults). Nature can also cause fear (biophobia) (Van den Berg–Ter Heijne 2004).

What is the (attributed) role of places and landscapes to health? Gesler (1992) asked the question and launched the concept of the therapeutic landscape providing a way of seeing that had increasingly been taken up by medical geographers. Therapeutic landscapes can be defined as places, settings, situations, locales, and milieux that encompass both the physical and psychological environments associated with treatment or healing, and the maintenance of health and wellbeing (Williams 1998). In the concept of therapeutic landscape environmental, individual and societal factors can be explored that come together in the healing process in both traditional and non-traditional landscapes (Kearns 1997). This is a way of resisting the "positivist hegemony" in health geography and extending the meaning of "traditional health care landscapes" from all landscapes that are a product of human action and the human mind, reflecting both human intentions and actions and the constraints and structures imposed by society (Gesler 1992: 743). The therapeutic landscape framework was first used to investigate places that achieved lasting reputations for healing. Over time this was extended to places associated with the maintenance of health and wellness and everyday pursuits of health and wellbeing (Gesler 2009, Khachatourians 2003), such as coastal towns (Andrews–Kearns 2005).

Although the physical effects of a visit to a landscape may be experienced as more concrete, the mental impact of landscapes may be more important. Pretty (2004) identified three levels of engagement with

nature, which all deliver mental health benefits: firstly, viewing nature, for example through images in a book, a painting or on television; secondly being incidentally in nature, for example through walking, cycling or another activity, like visiting a park with friends or, thirdly, by active involvement in nature, such as by gardening or farming (Pretty 2004). Natural environments turn out to be particularly rich in the characteristics necessary for restorative experiences, improving directed attention, which plays an important role in human information processing and has far reaching consequences (Kaplan 1995). Natural environments may well be gardens and plants in artificial landscapes but can also contribute to mental wellbeing (Van den Berg 2005) or even visual landscapes. The work of Ulrich (1979, 1984) on the influence of visual landscape on psychological wellbeing and recovery is well known in this context.

Conradson (2005) explains the experience of a therapeutic landscape as the outcome of a relationship between a person and the broader socio-environmental setting (Conradson 2005). As everybody experiences landscape differently and the idea of a therapeutic landscape is 'context dependent' no setting of landscape is intrinsically therapeutic (Gesler 2005). The mental contribution of a therapeutic landscape can also be proven by psychoanalytic and psychotherapeutic theories, using the concept of 'mentalising' (Rose 2012). This means that prior familiarity with representations of specific landscapes enables us to apprehend them metaphorically and help to improve individual self-understanding and to enhance the capacity to empathise with others. This can explain why co-presence is not necessary: imaginations of landscape suffice and imagined places, being constructed and manipulated, can be used in therapy sessions (Andrews 2004).

There is a growing literature on the health effects of green- and blue space (like lake- and riversides) as part of the living environment (Hartig et al. 2014, Völker-Kistemann 2015), bringing forth the urge for urban landscape planners to include open green (and blue) spaces in order to create possibilities to reduce stress-related illnesses (Grahn–Stigsdotter 2003).

Challenges of researching and measuring CES in the context of landscapes

the importance of human perceptions in the context of CES and landscapes was noted by Daniel et al (2012) and Schirpke et al. (2016); however, it seems that there have not yet been many comprehensive empirical studies of peoples' perceptions in the context of CES (Riechers et al. 2016), and Van Zanten et al. (2015) state that very few comparative landscape preference studies have been undertaken overall. A few recent studies have emerged (e.g. Schirpke et al. 2016, Zoderer et al. 2016), but most of these examine only one type of landscape. The subjective and intangible nature of CES is one of the main challenges (Chan et al. 2012, Leyshon 2014) and some categories are more elusive than others. There is a lack of understanding of terminology associated with CES, as many people are unfamiliar with the term (Riechers et al. 2016) or find it difficult to articulate their feelings about them (Gould et al. 2014).

Several studies on CES and landscapes have emphasised the human wellbeing dimension (e.g. Aretano et al. 2013, Wu 2013, Vallés-Planells et al. 2014, Riechers et al. 2016, Blicharska et al. 2017). Vallés-Planells et al. (2014) undertook research on CES, landscapes and wellbeing and emphasised the fundamental role that cultural services play not only in enjoyment such as recreation or aesthetics, but also in personal fulfiment such

as education, inspiration and spiritual benefits, health (e.g. calm) and social fulfilment (e.g. cultural heritage, sense of place).

Paracchini et al. (2014) analyse the preferences of different nationalities for certain types of recreation within ecosystem services. Several studies have started to emerge which differentiate between age, gender, education levels and nationality when researching visitor perceptions of landscapes. For example, Van Zanten et al. (2015) suggest that individuals with higher education levels tend to demonstrate stronger preferences for cultural landscapes. Zoderer et al. (2016) found that cultural heritage was valued more by older people, and that people with higher education levels did not value leisure opportunities as much as those with lower levels of education. Schirpke et al. (2016) could differentiate between French-speaking and German-speaking residents, and between German and Italian tourists, and Zoderer et al. (2016) could distinguish between Italian and German tourists' perceptions of CES in landscape. However, the latter three studies only focus on one type of landscape.

Research method: Questionnaire design and analysis

A questionnaire was designed which aimed to capture visitor perceptions and experiences of all of the categories of CES as listed in Table 1 in several different kinds of landscape. The justification for this choice of research tool was that previous studies of CES have tended to be qualitative and very few comparative landscape preference studies have been undertaken (Van Zanten et al. 2015). Previous research tended to focus on only one or two categories of CES, whereas this research includes all of the categories. Using the seven CES categories as defined by the Milliennium Ecosystem Assessment (2005) as well as an additional wellbeing category, a scale was developed with nineteen items or statements (see *Table 3).*

The statement design took into consideration the concerns of Gould et al. (2014) and Riechers et al. (2016) that questionnaire respondents or interviewees often struggle to comprehend CES categories or to articulate their feelings about them. The statements were designed to be as closely aligned with the CES categories as possible, but at the same time remaining understandable to all respondents and comprehensible enough to translate into several languages. With the exception of two statements referring to use or function (e.g. relating to recreational activities), the questionnaire mainly focused on perceptions.

Table 3. Questionnaire statements relating to cultural ecosystem services categories

MA CES Category	Linked Statements
Spiritual/religious	I came to this landscape for spiritual reasons
	I feel a close connection to nature here
	I feel connected to a special energy here
Aesthetic	I came here to enjoy the beautiful scenery or views
	I came here to enjoy the plants and flowers
Inspirational	I find this landscape awe-inspiring
	This landscape makes me feel creative (e.g. to write, draw, paint or make music)
Sense of place	This landscape is unique and unlike other landscapes that I have been to
	I feel a strong sense of place in this landscape
Educational	I came here to learn something new about the natural environment
	I came here to learn something new about cultural traditions
Recreation/tourism	I came here to enjoy recreational activities linked to fitness or sports (e.g. hiking, biking, climbing, swimming)
	I came here to view wildlife/animals
Cultural heritage	I came here because of the interesting cultural or heritage attractions
	This landscape is linked to peoples' cultural traditions
Wellbeing	Being in this landscape makes me feel happy
	I came here to feel calmer
	I came here to reduce my stress levels
	I came here to relax

The statement design was refined during a two-round Delphi process with fifteen experts from an EU-funded COST Project on *Tourism, Wellbeing and Ecosystem Services* between March and June 2015 and the questionnaire was finalised after a pilot study with 22 visitors in a Macedonian national park in June 2015. The questionnaire was translated into eight languages and distributed in six different types of landscape (forest, mountains, lakeside, seaside, mountains and desert) in Belgium, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Israel, Macedonia, Netherlands and Poland. Visitors were asked to rate the nineteen statements on a Likert scale of 1–7. 876 valid responses were gathered and subsequently analysed. It should be noted that no distinction was made between visitors and tourists in this research, as it was assumed that the values and benefits would not vary greatly across these groups.

Only seventeen of the items were found to be appropriate for factor analysis, according to the criterion of the 0.5 cutoff. The item 'I came here to enjoy recreational activities' was excluded because it was negatively correlated to the other items, perhaps because it addresses active experience rather than passive engagement with the landscapes. All items contributed to a single factor, except the 'being in this landscape makes me feel happy' item, which was also excluded in the later analysis due to double loadings. This resulted in 15 items being included in the factor analysis and the Extraction method of Principle Component Analysis with a rotation method of Varimax with Kaiser Normalization produced 4 factors solutions after 6 iterations. Four distinct factors were identified which are connected to the benefits derived from landscape. These were labelled as follows:

- spiritual interaction (e.g. finding the landscape awe-inspiring, feeling creative, feeling a close connection to nature and feeling connected to a special energy)
- emotional interaction (e.g. reducing stress levels, feeling calmer, relaxing)
- cognitive interaction (e.g. learning something new about natural and cultural traditions, visiting heritage attractions)
- experience-related interaction (e.g. enjoying the beautiful scenery or views as well as flora and fauna).

These four interactions converge quite closely with the Common International Classification of Ecosystem Services (CICES) version 4.3, which was developed by the European Environment Agency (EEA) to promote standardization in the process of ecosystems services valuation (Haines–Young–Potschin 2013). Looking back at the statements in the questionnaire which were designed to reflect the MEA (2005) CES categories (Table 3), the factor analysis confirmed that the statements were relatively well-designed. For example, the statements relating to spirituality, inspiration, aesthetics and education clustered closely in the factor analysis. The same was true of wellbeing (see *Table 4).*

Table 4. Factor analysis derived from the CES questionnaire data

Component	Spiritual factor	Emotional factor	Cognitive factor	Experience factor
connected to a special energy here	.784	.301	.130	-.079
feel creative	.735	.091	.112	.122
close connection to nature	.733	.128	.134	.289
awe-inspiring	.677	.059	.046	.384
a strong sense of place	.616	.245	.239	.146
to reduce my stress levels	.148	.898	-.013	.143
to relax	.171	.872	-.031	.074
to feel calmer	.268	.860	.011	.135
to learn something new about cultural traditions	.111	.103	.885	-.051
to learn something new about natural	.284	.030	.788	-.034
cultural traditions	.126	-.071	.740	.192
cultural heritage attractions	.007	-.088	.711	.369
to enjoy the plants and flowers	.149	-.013	.142	.752
to enjoy the beautiful scenery or views	.166	.266	.080	.742
*feel happy (excluded later)	.406	.260	.094	.557

Note: estimates with the same alphabetical superscript are not significantly different from each other at the 0.05 probability level

In terms of data relating to different kinds of landscape (see *Table 5)*, it could be seen that a seaside landscape is superior in all factors, but the same was not true of the riverside or lakeside landscape. This suggests that although 'blue' or 'blue/green' landscapes are often considered to be the most therapeutic, further research is needed to confim if seasides have special qualities which distinguish them from lake or riverside landscapes. This could build on the work of Völker–Kistemann (2015), for example, who emphasised the therapeutic and health benefits of blue spaces in non-marine environments. Visitors tended to prefer landscapes which are simple and plain, rather than those that combine many elements, especially one which includes man-made features. This confirms the findings of Schirpke et al. (2016) whose research showed that residents and tourists tends to be less positive about landscape images which include settlements, infrastruc-

ture, intensive agricultural use and streets. Orenstein et al. (2015) also suggested that visitors tend to dislike the disturbance caused by objects or people in landscape. This is perhaps surprising if one considers the ELC (2000) definition of landscape quoted at the beginning of this paper, which emphasises the interaction of natural and/or human factors. Norberg–Schulz's (1980) earlier conceptualisations might also have suggested that landscapes that have not been tamed by human intervention could be deemed inhospitable. Interestingly, and perhaps surprisingly, green landscapes were not preferred over desert landscapes, which might suggest that 'yellow' landscapes can be as therapeutic as green ones. Given that visitors seem to prefer plain and 'uncluttered' landscapes, desert usually offers such an experience, including long vistas and views of the horizon.

Table 5. Analysis of landscapes, using factors as dependent variables

Dependent variable	Landscapes	Estimate Mean	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Spiritual interaction	Seaside	4.974a	.092	4.792	5.155
	Mountains	4.785ab	.135	4.520	5.051
	Forests	4.668bc	.091	4.491	4.846
	Lakeside	4.154	.137	3.886	4.422
	Desert	4.873abc	.149	4.581	5.165
	Nature and manmade	3.616	.136	3.349	3.884
Emotional interaction	Seaside	6.055	.101	5.856	6.254
	Mountains	4.940a	.148	4.649	5.231
	Forests	5.423b	.099	5.228	5.617
	Lakeside	5.260ab	.150	4.966	5.554
	Desert	4.831a	.163	4.511	5.152
	Nature and manmade	4.041	.149	3.748	4.334
Cognitive interaction	Seaside	4.436a	.101	4.238	4.634
	Mountains	4.784a	.147	4.495	5.073
	Forests	3.635b	.099	3.441	3.828
	Lakeside	3.486b	.149	3.194	3.778
	Desert	3.640b	.162	3.322	3.958
	Nature and manmade	3.585b	.148	3.293	3.876
Experience-related interaction	Seaside	5.275a	.096	5.087	5.463
	Mountains	4.716b	.140	4.441	4.991
	Forests	5.254a	.094	5.070	5.438
	Lakeside	4.018	.141	3.740	4.295
	Desert	4.581b	.154	4.278	4.883
	Nature and manmade	5.318a	.141	5.041	5.595

Conclusions

This paper has suggested that a research tool based on a Cultural Ecosystem Services framework can provide some interesting insights into the values and benefits that can be derived from different types of landscapes. Unlike previous CES research which was mostly qualitative in nature, this study provided a quantitative tool for the analysis and focused on all categories of CES simultaneously. It also attempts to differentiate between the benefits derived from different landscape types by collecting data on visitor perceptions, a thus far under-researched area in this field.

The questionnaire design proved to be statistically valid and reliable and the factor analysis corresponded closely to previous categorizations of CES. In future research, it could be useful to analyse different perceptions of tourists (domestic and international), day trippers or local resident visitors to ascertain if there are any differences in perceptions. A larger sample of visitors in each landscape might also have allowed a more statistically representative sample from which to analyse differences between nationality groups (it should be noted that variance according to gender and age in this study was minimally significant).

It might also be useful to explore further the relationship between use or function value (e.g. recreational activities) and more perceptual ones (e.g. aesthetics, wellbeing). It could also be important to differentiate more clearly between motivational factors and benefits or outcomes of a visit. It could be argued that the questionnaire statements in this research reflected both without a clear enough distinction.

In terms of the implications for landscape planning and management, the questionnaire could certainly become a useful instrument for collecting CES data from wider samples of visitors. Indeed, CES can inform landscape planning by identifying and incorporating the values that various stakeholders attach to landscape (Plieninger et al. 2015). It seems that the visual and perceptual experiences of landscape are among the most important for visitors, therefore these should be taken into consideration in the context of landscape development (Ungaro et al. 2016). One final area of investigation could include the relationship between CES and the wellbeing benefits of different types of landscapes and the activities and experiences that take place within those landscapes.

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Eszter György – Gábor Oláh[1]

The creation of resilient Roma cultural heritage

Case study of a bottom-up initiative from North-Eastern Hungary

Abstract

The notion of cultural heritage has become an essential part of social science discourse in recent decades, and its position and institutionalization vis-à-vis history-writing has been consolidated. Regarding minority culture and heritage, a central issue to consider is to what extent the previously marginalized minority heritage can stand on its own or emerges as part of the mainstream canon – due to increasing attention and acceptance. In the case of Roma heritage, one cannot ignore that the marginalization of Roma in Hungary is still palpable in numerous aspects and that their often very deprived social status also has an impact on the access to cultural heritage. Furthermore, this ongoing marginalization has a great impact on the access to power and control: as in academia and in political activism, the genuine presence of a "Romani voice" is still a goal to be achieved in heritage production as well. Therefore, in order to sensitively problematize and understand the present times' cultural challenges (which may take the form of political activism as well), we are aiming to introduce the concept of resilient Roma cultural heritage in Hungary. In order to do so, the paper will test the applicability of this concept (of resilient cultural heritage) to a specific case study of the First Roma country House.

Since the early 2000s, when resilience has become a central concept of cultural heritage discourses, cultural heritage is often manifested as a tool that gives a community the opportunity to create a reserve that increases its resilience and renewal capabilities. This model aims to link the theory of resilience with the preservation, use/re-use and management of cultural heritage. To create a bridge between the two concepts, participatory approaches seem to be the most suitable.

By looking at the case study of the First Roma country House in Hodász,[2] we would like to analyze the specific and unique position of a bottom-up cultural initiative that tackles the institutionalization of Roma traditions and heritage and creates real social cohesion on a local level, in a highly rural deprived area (Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg country). Our study (based both on field and desk research) on the Roma country House in Hodász, as an eminent example of resilient cultural heritage, represents the first stage of a large project, focused on the access to cultural heritage for wider participation in the preservation, (re)-use and management of European culture.[3]

Keywords: resilience, minority heritage, Roma heritage, community participation

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[2] http://romatajhaz.withssl.com/

[3] http://reach-culture.eu/pilots-and-best-practices/minority-heritage

Eszter György – Gábor Oláh

The creation of resilient Roma cultural heritage

Case study of a bottom-up initiative from North-Eastern Hungary

In memory of Lina Rézműves

In this paper, our aim is to analyse the concept of resilient Roma cultural heritage in Hungary. To test the applicability of the concept, we will examine a specific case study of the First Roma country House, in Hodász, North-Eastern Hungary.[4] Before analysing our case, the paper will propose a brief overview on the theoretical framework of the current regime of cultural heritage, minority heritage and its situation in the Hungarian context.

The notion of cultural heritage has become an essential part of social science discourse in recent decades. Moreover, researchers like Luciana Lazzaretti consider that the current (third) cultural heritage regime offers a more complex notion of cultural heritage and moves from a conservation- or object-oriented approach to a value- or subject-oriented one (Sonkoly–Vahtikari 2018: 11–12). This paradigm-shift leads to a genuine transformation in heritage discourse appearing both in contemporary policies and social sciences, where cultural heritage is considered to have major social and economic impacts on society. Considering that in this third regime, different social and economic values may be represented in cultural heritage management, heritage itself becomes the expression of social inclusion and democracy (Lazzaretti 2012: 229–230). According to Gábor Sonkoly, the heritage in this new paradigm is defined in a continuous time (sustainability, resilience, management of change, etc.), in a continuous territory (determined by spatial categories, which imply belonging and community-based perception such as places of cultural heritage and cultural/urban landscapes) and by the perception of its local community, which is the custodian of the survival of cultural diversity, and consequently, of heritage values (Sonkoly 2018: 10–11).

Resilient cultural heritage and communities

Nowadays, more and more sciences have are engaging with the concept of resilience. Among the many reasons for this popularity, its complexity and various interpretations should be highlighted. Hence, it could be challenging to define common characteristics of the models' understanding in different disciplines. Nevertheless, most of the research using resilience theory is basically system-based and rooted in post-positivist epistemology (Lang 2011: 17). The first appearance of resilience in the social sciences arose out of system-based theories in the 1970s and 1980s and at that time it was mainly connected to ecosystem related research. In the 1990s the exclusively ecological interpretation expanded to society by using the concept to understand complex socio-economic systems. Thanks to this shift of focus and the growing debates

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4 This paper is written in the frame of a three-year-long Horizon 2020 project entitled REACH (H2020-SC6-CULT-COOP2016-2017) which aims to create social platforms for a participation in cultural heritage preservation, re-use and management; reach-culture.eu

over sustainability, adaptivity and vulnerability, resilience has become part of political discourse, especially in development policies.[5] It evolved into an interdisciplinary research direction in which ecology seemed to lose its leading position as researchers started to talk about nested socio-ecological systems (Westley et al. 2002: 119). The growing interest on resilience as a concept for understanding, managing and governing complex systems represents a move beyond the dominant auto-organisation-based ecological definitions (Walker et al. 2006). Apart from its extended research areas, the novelty that social sciences brought to the theory is in the switching scales among the examined systems. Psychology, the first discipline among the social sciences to discover the concept, first examined the individual, and then gradually extended to families and later to communities. In brief, by applying the concept to understand change in hybrid and complex systems like communities, it became part of cultural heritage discourses.

Every community is affected by various trends of change. The capacity to respond to these changes shows a wide range of socio-spatial differences and disparities. The theory of resilience offers a model to understand multi-dimensional transformations in complex social systems and the occurring disparities due to their adaptivity to change. Researching the responses raises questions of governance and controllability. By conceptualizing resilience as a systemic capacity to cope with challenges, it seems to be necessary to create the institutional background of the management of change. Resilience as social strategic category functions if we reconsider structural determinants. Establishing the frameworks of community governance gives the option to promote human agency in the adaptive cycles. Consequently, the question of institutionalizing community governance becomes crucial. More precisely, the ways in which the processes, vulnerabilities, risks and challenges are identified, understood and managed by the community need to be considered (Lang 2011: 15–16). Who acts towards resilience? As Thilo Lang summarized, despite the systems thinking nature of the model of resilience, it is not the system as a whole, not the "community" who is able to act but the individual and collective actors. These processes of participatory governance appear as *"social processes that are shaped in a tense atmosphere of structure and agency."* (Lang 2011: 21).

The new paradigm that relativized the role of authenticity led to new concepts entering heritage discourses. The continuous recreation of heritage is defined through the lens of sustainability and resilience. The fear of loss of past is transformed into the fear of loss of identity. The main question in preserving identity is change: how the community relates itself to change, how it manages change, how it adapts to change (Sonkoly 2017: 32–35). In short, the model of resilience is about understanding change in complex systems. It explains how social systems engage in forward-looking behaviour and what types of institutions are established and developed to cope with anticipated uncertainties (Yorke et al. 2002: 451). Building resilience is important since it reveals *"the ability of a system to absorb disturbances and still retain its basic function and structure"* (Walker–Salt 2006: XIII) and *"the capacity to change in order to maintain the same identity"* (Folke et al. 2010) The management of change becomes crucial for communities as it offers risk-spreading and insurance strategies for social and economic development (Yorke et al. 2002: 433).

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5 The inclusion to the political discourse is made by the declaration before the Rio+20 conference. United Nations Secretary-General's high-level panel on global sustainability 2012: *Resilient People, Resilient Planet: A future worth choosing.* United Nations, New York.

According to David E. Beel and his co-authors, the notion of resilience in the context of community heritage appears as human agency that, on the one hand, helps to understand how different cultural repertoires have been maintained through generations and on the other hand, describes a set of relationships that continue to maintain those cultural repertoires, especially as practices move towards digital forms. Thus, in the case of resilient communities, their activity to maintain their heritage is represented by the concept of 'heritage from below' paraphrasing the concept of 'history from below'[6], describing the social conditions of history rather than a narrative based on the lives of 'great men'. This new narrative in heritage studies offers a manifestation of counter hegemonic practices. Therefore, these community heritage projects do not conform to a top down narrative, but aim to represent the 'ordinary' lives and practices of the local community (Beel at al. 2015: 462).

Recently there has been increasing interest in rural areas as an alternative for leisure and tourism to urban areas, and it is crucial to understand how resilience may be understood in this context. According to Jacinthe Bessière, as rurality does not mean anymore a peasant society and therefore these areas are opening up, tourism might gain new attractivity here, serving a nostalgia for the "good old days" and the finding of an improbable authenticity in the innocent and mythic, close-to-nature villages (Bessière 1998: 22–24.) In this new context, the interpretation of the concept of resilience might also go through changes. Instead of understanding it as a process of how communities react after external shock, we might sense that cultural activity will have a main role in these forms of resilience. As David E. Beel and his co-authors state, rural communities are continually changing, while rural areas themselves are constantly shifting with regards to external and local changes (Beel et al 2015: 461). This constant change also implies the difficulty of focussing on one specifically resilient reaction. Beel, citing Kristen Magis, emphasizes the resilient character of rural communities, living in an uncertain, unpredictable environment which leads them to build personal and collective capacity, enabling the sustainability and renewal of the community, as well as the development of new paths for their future (Beel et al 2015: 461). When a community is able to construct its own resilient heritage, it also means that the stories told might differ from the mainstream narrative. This (also political) will to represent the everyday life of (often marginalized) communities – distinguishing from the national heritage and historic canon – leads us to the concept of minority heritage and its relationship towards mainstream heritage.

Minority heritage

Since the beginning of the 2000s, critical heritage studies have put great emphasis on the interpretation of native cultures within a post-colonial narrative and on their integration in the national cultural canon. The UNESCO declarations from 2003 on the priority of cultural diversity have also contributed to the integration of the intangible cultural heritage of previously oppressed first nation minority groups in the collections of national heritage (Vrdoljak 2005: 16–18). Regarding minority culture and heritage, a central issue to consider is to what extent the previously marginalized minority heritage can stand on its own or emerges as part of the mainstream canon – due to increasing attention and acceptance. Notions like contested or dissonant heritage explain the tensions that emerge during the process of heritagization and the process of becoming a touristic site. According

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6 This historical movement, taking ordinary people as its focus, emerged in Great-Britain in the 1960s and was mostly represented by historians of the History Workshop movement at Ruskin College like Raphael Samuel, Edward Thompson

to Tunbridge and Ashworth, due to the zero-sum character of heritage, once something becomes a cultural heritage, those who do not identify themselves with that tradition are excluded. In order to redefine cultural heritage in the postcolonial (and, in the Hungarian context, in the post-socialist) world, mainstream heritage needs to be rewritten to move from the periphery to the centre. Moreover, minority heritage should be possible to interpret outside its own ethnic boundaries, in its "racialized" difference (Ashworth et al. 2007: 44–60).

Finding a proper and acceptable path for minority heritage is pertinent because, as Rodney Harrison explains, heritage originates in the modernist nexus of European state formation and Romanticism, which is connected in the field of politics to nationalism. Therefore, as the nation state constructs a collective social memory for itself, it will use heritage as an educational tool and will select those stories or narratives which are appropriate to create a sense of belonging. Thus, national heritage will be partial and the place for the heritage of minorities within it will be subject to selection (Harrison 2010: 169–170). In other words, this is what Laurajane Smith calls the *Authorized Heritage Discourse*, referring to the claims that institutions present when creating national narratives of heritage, based on technical, professional expertise and aesthetic judgement (Smith 2006: 12).

Furthermore, if we repeat the emblematic arguments of Stuart Hall, we may understand that this selectivity and the authorization of heritage discourses is closely related to the power and authority of *"those who have colonised the past, whose versions of history matter*."(Hall 2000: 6) These people, the "colonisers", have been primarily upper or upper middle-class white people, particularly men, and this means that "other heritages" did not count (Littler 2008:91). These power relations concerning the creation and maintenance of heritage have been valid until more or less the 1970s–80s, but during the last few decades the question of "otherness" and "unauthorized" heritage have gained more importance, together with a shift towards the creation of "heritage industry". At this point, we are referring to the third cultural heritage regime, already introduced at the beginning of this text, where community participation and social impact are much more emphasized than before. According to Harvey, in this recent period, new heritage practices that are built on the true involvement of the community may re-interpret the traditional roles of heritage producers and consumers. Therefore, minority heritage will be closely connected to the new regime and to new heritage practices which are built on the involvement and participation of social groups that had been traditionally excluded from deciding and preserving their heritage (Harvey 2008: 30–31).

Roma cultural heritage

Europe's largest transnational ethnic minority, the Roma, do not have a visible and well- established political and cultural representation. For a very long time, their representation in the European cultural canon has been interpreted along the dichotomy of "we" and "them". According to McGarry: *"Roma thus become objects of research and policymaking, a puzzle to be solved, a problem to be fixed. Roma as objects are shaped by discourse which imposes boundaries between Roma and non-Roma and ascribes negative associations on group identity. It is important to include the active participation of voiceless groups such as Roma in research lest their needs be distorted. The presence of 'a Romani voice' within research is crucial so that Roma do not*

remain mere objects of research but become active players in informing research agendas" (McGarry 2014: 758). This passive and oppressed role in research may also be relevant in regards to cultural understanding and the construction of Roma representations. However, once the "Romani voice" may be heard, it should be accepted in its heterogeneity. According to Roma activist Nicolae Gheorghe, Romani identity and memories have been more based on the experience of discrimination and external stereotypes than on commonly shared meanings of being Roma in an ethnic sense. Therefore, Gheorge states that '*representations of Roma culture are often simply responses to other people's expectations of the performance of otherness*' (McGarry 2014: 763). What may be constructed besides this otherness has to be de-essentialized and adaptable for various different sub-groups.

This shift in the struggle over representation may be compared to the famous description of Stuart Hall when, in his essay New Ethnicities, he describes the change that occurred in the 1980s in black identity politics. From a struggle over the relations of representation to the politics of representation itself, the hegemonic, singular, unifying black experience of the first phase has transformed into the understanding of a more complex representation that includes, in this second phase, references to the dimensions of gender, class, and sexuality (Hall 1989: 442–443). It seems that what has already been achieved in Great Britain regarding the positioning of black representation and identity is still some way off for the status of Roma culture and heritage in Europe. Even if a shift may also be detected in this field and the monopoly of non-Roma artists and theorists on representing the Roma has been broken in the last few decades, Roma artists and scholars are still too few to have the authority and power to decide and manage their cultural representation (Junghaus 2007: 17).

Recently, however, a historic moment occurred when in late 2017 the European Roma Institute for Arts and Culture (ERIAC) opened in Berlin with the aim of being the promoter of Romani contributions to European culture. Today it is still too early to see its real impact in European cultural policies but we cannot deny its exemplary and unique position, especially when compared to other European Roma museums and cultural centres that mostly represent only one specific aspect of the Roma culture or history (for example Flamenco and basketry museum, or the Roma holocaust) and stay in most cases very apolitical, not reflecting on the sensitive and tense relations between Roma art and political-cultural reality (like the Museum of Romani Culture in Brno) (Cserti Csapó 2014: 150–166). Even if the importance of these local institutions should not be underestimated, their existence maintains a dual heritage system where the Roma cultural heritage is not canonized and does not become an immanent part of the national heritage.

Concerning the Hungarian Roma heritage, on the one hand dissimilarity is still very much emphasized in it, in the sense that in spite of the assimilatory social and cultural policy of the state-socialist era and its discriminatory and oppressive practices, authentic Romani culture (dance, music, and language) was maintained in the post-socialist era, and its status consolidated. On the other hand, the possibilities of and obstacles to inclusion in the majority society are continuously present, as well as the questions regarding integration into the canonical cultural heritage.

This duality is illustrated by Sándor Romano Rácz's notion of „outsider culture" and its critics who consider the exclusion of Roma culture not as a permanently existing ethnic character but as the result of a

specific social and economic situation (Binder 2010: 174–176). The Kamill Erdős Gipsy Museum in Pécs, the multimedia collection entitled "The Virtual House of Roma Culture", edited by Péter Szuhay and Gábor Fleck, or the First Roma country House in Hodász, are all important initiatives to represent Roma heritage. However, because of their small size and their marginal, almost invisible role in public education, Roma culture and tradition and their contemporary practices are only available to a very limited public.

If we try to link the above-mentioned concepts and adapt the resilience and local community-theories to the use and protection of Roma heritage, we might sense a lot of contradictions and tensions between theory and practice. In order to test this adaptivity, we focus on a specific case and analyse the establishment and functioning of the first Roma country house in Hodász.

The Roma Country House in Hodász

Hodász is a large village in Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg country, located about 50 km from both the Ukrainian and the Romanian border. Of its 3300 inhabitants, around 40% are Roma (both Vlach and Hungarian Gypsies). The country house is located in the largest segregated area among the three zones appearing on the website of the village.[7] According to a demographic study, based on the census of 2011, the surroundings of the country house are characterized by a very low level of education (70% of the local population only finished primary school), very bad housing quality (Almost 50% of the flats are low comfort, 45% without comfort; lacking bath, toilet, gas and electricity) and a high ratio of unemployment and inhabitants who lack a regular income.

Despite the disadvantaged environment, the Roma community in Hodász has a long and complex history. With its Roma Greek Catholic chapel and a kindergarten, created in the middle of the Roma settlements, the community has a long history of social cohesion and community resilience.[8]

In 1940, Miklós Sója was appointed as a Greek Catholic clerk in Hodász. The young churchman quickly found the Roma settlement of the village, called "Choleric". After the regular visits of Sója in the slum, from hovel to hovel, the community converted to evangelism and built together a cob-chapel. Later, they translated the liturgy to the Romani language so that they could practice the worship-service in their own language. Today, the cob-chapel has been reconstructed as a prestigious building and is surrounded by a community house, an elderly house, a mothers' shelter and a kindergarten. Thus, besides its importance and unique position as the only Roma Greek Catholic Parish in Hungary, it also plays an important role in local community building, and in some ways it takes over public social services.

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7 http://www.hodasz.hu/dokumentum/hodasz_attekinto.jpg

8 Our analysis on the Roma Country House is based both on field and desk research that was conducted from spring 2017 to spring 2018. In 2017, we have visited twice the Country House and conducted participant observation during which we have visited the buildings of the Country House, the former building of the String Kindergarten and the Roma Greek Catholic Parish. During these occasions, we have met the colleagues of the Chapel and of the Country House and had informal conversations with them. Besides, we have made semi-structured interviews with Melinda Rézműves and through the last years, we have had several informal discussions with her during various kind of meetings and encounters. These interviews and conversations enabled a deeper understanding of the history and the present functioning of the Country House. The information that are not cited properly in our article are based on the information gained from these above-mentioned oral testimonies.

"String" Kindergarten in Hodász
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The first and only Roma kindergarten in the country, the so-called 'string-kindergarten' (named after the strings that had been stretched around the Roma settlement) was founded in 1970 by Lina Rézműves, mother of Melinda Rézműves, the owner and manager of the Roma country house. After a year of functioning inside the "strings", the local community established a small kindergarten-building, with the help of the People's Patriotic Front, operated under the leadership of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. The children of the slum, living at the margins of the village and excluded from the local institutions, could start to attend kindergarten.[9] Under the leadership of Lina, they were offered a bilingual education and a very open, inclusive approach (comprehending a permissive mentality toward the presence of the parents and younger brothers or sisters as well). Thus, the Roma kindergarten of Hodász soon became well-known, even in the state-socialist context.

The two institutions- the parish and the kindergarten- bear witness to the particular history and unique regional status of Hodász. Taking into consideration the demographic data and the different indicators of social, spatial, and educational segregation, as well as the levels of unemployment in the region and in the Mátészal-ka sub-region, it seems that the majority of the local Roma population is living in very disadvantageous life conditions, and therefore the presence of such institutions is even more significant (Forrai 2012: 5). Besides the town of Nagyecsed (located about 25 kilometers from Hodász), where the local Hungarian and Gipsy dance traditions have been submitted to the national inventory of the UNESCO intangible cultural heritage list, there is no other place in the surrounding area where Roma cultural practices can be safeguarded and exhibited.[10]

The Roma country house was founded and is managed by Melinda Rézműves, who was born and raised in Hodász and who is Lina's daughter. According to her, the country house was established in Hodász because from an ethnographic aspect there has been a Romani language-speaking, traditional Roma community living in the village since the 18th century. This community is also able to represent other, culturally similar communities of the region.

The country house comprises three buildings in all: the main building is a small cob house that presents the living conditions of a relatively wealthy Roma family with traditional furniture and home utensils. The site

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9 http://romatajhaz.withssl.com/index.php/rolunk

10 http://szellemikulturalisorokseg.hu/index0.php?name=0_nagyecsedi_ciganytanc

Visitor group in the Country House
© Közművelődési és Vidékfejlesztési Program-
iroda Egyesület

also has a shabby house dug in the ground that represents the living conditions of the 1940s. This latter buil-
ding is somewhat disturbing: what the visitor can see hardly exceeds the minimum requirements of human
living standards. The half-underground house is a one-spaced hovel in reality, consisting of an earthen floor,
two 'dikó's (narrow beds made of wooden planks) and a 'brugó' (very rudimentary stove that was also used as
a hot-plate, made of plate-iron).

While the main building contains wooden furniture and a gas-oven in the kitchen, the other building
only has nails to hang the clothes on. In both houses, a basin of water stands for toilet purposes. Even though
the shabby house illustrates the living conditions of the period before the slum clearance in a domesticated
and arranged manner (being decorated with flower-stands and painted in blue and white), it clearly displays
the misery of Romani people in Hodász.

The traditional buildings are completed by a bigger community house where various activities take place
and which is more capable of hosting larger groups. In this way, the different functions of preservation and
re-use of cultural heritage are divided at the two sides of the street: while the small, traditional buildings have
representational functions, the recently built community house enables real participation in several different
activities.

Since its foundation, the country house has been a private property and is managed by an NGO. The
functioning and the activities of the country house have been made possible by various grants and funds
(at the national level TÁMOP[11] and the Ministry of Human Capacity; at the international level EEA Grants).
Even though the country house greatly exceeds the standard character and requirements of such places, and
functions much more as a community centre and cultural hub, it does not receive any normative contribution
either from the local authorities or from any governmental funds. The Roma country house has been invited
to the annual meeting of the Hungarian country-house Alliance in 2015 and, since 2013, has a cooperation
agreement with the Hungarian Heritage House to promote traditional Roma professions by organizing folk
ribbon and basketry trainings for youngsters.[12]

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11 Social Renewal Operational Programme

12 http://www.hagyomanyokhaza.hu/page/12800/

As a "living country house", numerous activities are offered which are either organized within the framework of a specific grant or in the case of an organized group visit. The programmes and activities described below have been carried out within the framework of various grants[13] and although these grants have run out, some of the activities are still retained. Moreover, the Country House is continually seeking new grant opportunities, which means that its profile is constantly broadened with new occupations. Various artistic and professional workshops are provided, most of them linked to the traditional occupations associated with Roma life in rural areas and which are in part related to the nomadic lifestyle of the past. Professions like blacksmithing, carving or leathering are presented together with various art activities like folk ribbon and painting, and with the cooking of typical Roma meals such as bokoji ("Roma bread"). Multilingual media workshops have contributed to a more progressive understanding of cultural traditions, where youngsters receive web radio training and create short films about the neighbouring villages. This training has been offered by radio / media specialists who engage children to make interviews (in Romani and in Hungarian) with local inhabitants and thus create portraits of the Roma population of the village.[14] The country house is also engaged in the promotion and training of Roma museum pedagogy. The EEG project entitled *My Grandfather's Treasure* Program for the Bases of Roma – Non-Roma Intercultural Paths and Attractions', which was carried out in 2016–2017, encouraged children to become Local "knowledge carriers" and to look for tangible and intangible examples of Roma heritage not only from Hodász but from the neighbouring villages as well. Besides its own programmes and activities, the country house has also initiated the *invention of local traditions*: in 2015, they organized the first common Christmas celebration in the village, which was taken over in the following year by the local authority.

The above-mentioned activities obviously have a great impact on local community building: involving disadvantageous children in arts and in creative activities, teaching and learning traditional techniques and Roma crafts may strengthen cultural diversity and social cohesion. The web radio, available also from the country house's website, enables children to join a virtual community and to reach out from a small village. According to Andrew Flinn, community histories and archives are the grassroots activities of documenting, recording and exploring community heritage in which community participation, control and ownership of the project is essential (Flinn 2012: 20–21). Being a member of the local community and a highly skilled ethnographer at the same time, Rézműves represents an authentic actor in the field and someone who can easily reach out and facilitate the involvement of the local community.

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13 Main recent grants:

Duration	Project title	Supporting fund
2012–2014	A hodászi Roma Tájház a kreatív ipar szolgálatában (The Roma Country House of Hodász in service of the creative industry)	TÁMOP (Social Renewal Operational Programme)
2016	Lina-Romanyi Mentorica Program a Hodászi Roma Lányokért (Program for Roma girls in Hodász)	Ministry of Human Capacities, Hungary
2016–2017	Nagyapám kincse program a Roma-nem Roma Interkulturális Útvonal és attrakciók alapjainak megteremtéséért ("My Grandfather's Treasure" Program for the Bases of Roma – Non-Roma Intercultural Path and Attractions)	EEA and Norway Grants
2018–2021	Mirinkle Roma Kulturális Örökség a Nyírségben és Szatmárban (Roma Cultural Heritage in Nyírség and Szatmár regions)	EFOP (Human Capacity Development Operational Program)

14 http://www.hermanottointezet.hu/sites/default/files/competir_kiadvany_20141118.pdf

Flute lesson in the Country House
© Közművelődési és Vidékfejlesztési Program-iroda Egyesület

Concerning the sustainability of heritage practices, it is almost a commonplace to emphasize the role of digitisation and digital heritage. Citing David E. Beel again, this process is comprehended as both a resilient step forward and a process that aims to make such collections and histories more resilient in the future. In the case of the Roma country house, one may find both intangible and tangible heritage collections on its website. Besides the photo collections of artefacts, household objects and thematic photo collections (from 1951 to the present), comprising ethnographic and sociological collections, photos of religious life, of the Roma kindergarten, and of cultural events, as well as video and sound archives including recordings of tales, folk songs and interviews.[15]

Thus, it seems that the Roma country house fulfils all the expectations that one could have about a local heritage site that protects, manages and re-uses its cultural traditions and practices and moreover involves the local community and therefore fosters social cohesion. Through its digitised platforms, it enables the sustainability of an otherwise almost forgotten and invisible rural culture.

RESILIENT COMMUNITY OR INDIVIDUAL HEROES?

The success of this case study is however ambiguous. To what extent shall we talk about the redefinition of local rural identity and the contribution of this culture to build a sense of solidarity among rural communities and residents (according to Bessière and Brennan) and moreover, among Roma and non-Roma population if in the case of Hodász the local Roma heritage is protected in the middle of the Roma settlements, in an officially declared segregated area? What is the real impact of the community involvement in heritage practices when the community itself is living in extremely deprived housing and social conditions? And also, to what extent can we expect the local community to conserve and represent its heritage when the majority society, including the local authorities as well, are more ignorant than supportive of the case? This last question traces us back to the above-mentioned dichotomy of "we and them" between Roma and non-Roma groups. In the case of Hodász, it seems that in different historical and social contexts and despite its still persisting marginalized status, the "Romani voice" has been heard. Even if none of the three local institutions (the chapel, the kindergarten and the country house) have had an explicitly political mission, their existence has demonstrated a very powerful will for self-representation, identity building and knowledge production.

15 http://www.romatajhaz.withssl.com/index.php/kiallitoter

One can guess how many EU-funded projects have been undertaken in the last few decades since cultural heritage, social participation and the sharing of heritage have become main common strategies. For instance, the Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe has been in existence since 1987 and contributes to increase the visibility of living European heritage. In the third regime of cultural heritage discourses, the communities are supposed to define their own heritage more autonomously (Sonkoly–Vahtikari 2018: 14). This process reflects on the shift in the role and behaviour of individuals from being cultural consumers to cultural producers. The dominant role of traditional organisational structures has been questioned as they could not satisfy the public's needs and interests. In this narrative, participatory heritage could be defined through the engagement of individuals in cultural activities outside the existing traditional institutions or not necessarily in interaction with them (Roued–Cunliffe–Copeland 2017: XV). However, the Hodász case showed that a certain institutionalization should be proceeded in order to sustain the initiatives economically. By looking at these previously described initiatives and activities, could we consider that the case of Hodász is a good practice of resilient cultural heritage? To what extent could we think about resilient communities? How should we evaluate empirically this phenomenon that seems to differentiate this village from others in the same region? To answer these questions and find possibilities to dissolve the ambiguity between theory and practice, further researches should be carried out.

With its attempts to engage and mobilise inhabitants and build connectedness among them through cultural heritage, Hodász has a very unique position in this heavily marginalised region and community. Melinda Rézműves' mission is explicitly this by fostering certain forms of heritage practices which can serve as reserves to achieve social cohesion. Resilience seems to be a useful model to understand this dynamic approach in a contemporary and historical perspective. The long-term existence of community development initiatives in this segregated Roma area exemplifies the role of human agency in the management of change. The bottom-up nature of the religious, educational and cultural "missions" (Roma Greek Catholic chapel, "string-kindergarten", Roma Country House) is very different from the practices of other villages and towns with similar socio-economic prospects in the region. Among several reasons for the low number of activities concerning the preservation, use and re-use of cultural heritage, the limited chance for rural tourism due to the negative connotation related to the Nyírség region and the poor recognition of its cultural values (or even those related to the landscape) should be highlighted. The few examples mostly represent the emergence of top-down narratives. What evolves from this is that resilience is- in this sense- a comparative concept of describing systems and system capacities to reveal disparities among them. This demonstrates the dual nature of the concept: it is used both as a capacity and as a process (Fejérdy–Z. Karvalics 2015: 115). Understanding resilience as a process allows conceptualisation of the democratization process of heritage ownership, its impact on social cohesion, the preservation of local identity through time and the strategic thinking behind that. Therefore, it is challenging to measure all the impacts of the activities because they could be more complex than what hard socio-economic indicators could show. One of the major impacts of the Country House is the building of communal connectedness and strengthening of social ties, which requires further research. Furthermore, its programmes and short-term projects could be considered as successful initiatives, as participatory practices are integrated in the heritage agenda. However, it should be noted that long-term sustainability is still a question when such a small institution struggles to survive from one project to another and suffers from a lack of official recognition.

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Zoe Latham – Robert Brown[1]

Shenzhen's urban villages

Dialogic cultural landscapes and resilient rituals

Abstract

Rapid urbanisation is drastically reshaping our environment, destabilising traditional connections to place and notions of community, and with these the relationship between place and identity. In this context, how do we make sense of such change and how do we orient ourselves when prior notions of place and identity are disrupted or lost? To address such questions this paper will draw upon Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of dialogism, and through themes of mutuality, simultaneity, malleability and mobility examine concepts of cultural landscape, nature and ritual.

To pursue our study of this condition we have sited ourselves in the dramatically and rapidly transformed landscape of urban Shenzhen. The scale and speed of economic shifts and morphological transformations of the landscape have resulted in the contemporary phenomenon of the urban village, a trace of the past that remains within the present day city. These urban villages will be a focal point for our discussion, advanced through the use of narrative inquiry examining the viewpoints of those inhabiting Shenzhen, and reinforced through a review of discourse on cultural landscape. Through this, insights are revealed into the dialogical nature of the relationship people have with landscape.

Exploring further, we find that landscape both as a physical construct and as a concept is malleable, both shifting in response to and representing social aspirations and needs. This suggests that the way people orientate themselves or identify themselves can often be understood by the performances they pursue in engaging with landscape.

Keywords: cultural landscape, dialogical, malleability, mobility, mutuality, ritual, simultaneity

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ZOE LATHAM – ROBERT BROWN

SHENZHEN'S URBAN VILLAGES

Dialogic cultural landscapes and resilient rituals

'All things are in one way similar, and in another way different.'

(Chuang-tzu,[2] cited in Kao–Mei 1978: 286)

INTRODUCTION

This paper explores the contemporary phenomenon of China's urban villages, using Shenzhen as a point of reference. Shenzhen and the wider Pearl River Delta has undergone dramatic changes evidenced in shifts in economic activity and its marked presence on the landscape, magnified by the massive scale and rapid speed of these transformations. This condition has made more visible and accentuated the meaning these urban villages have, seen in how their inhabitants maintain an inherited cultural landscape amidst profound transformation of place. Previous studies of Shenzhen's urban villages investigated the role urban villages play in the city's economic transformation by providing informal and affordable migrant workers' housing. This paper introduces a different perspective through exploring representations of socio-cultural identity. More specifically, this paper asks how once rural communities, now embedded within *uber*-urban Shenzhen, make sense of the changing, intensely urban landscape. This paper will examine the urban villagers' (re)defining of their cultural landscape through the cognitive and ritualized acts they perform to orient themselves within their changed environment.

Two key elements frame this discussion. The first is a setting out of key themes drawing on Mikhail Bakhtin's dialogism, which are then used as a frame of reference to examine key concepts of cultural landscape, nature and ritual. The second is a narrative inquiry which explores inhabitation within the urban villages and the wider Shenzhen urban fabric. Situating these concepts within a dialogical framework recognises the criticality of the relationship between things, and how the concepts of cultural landscape, nature and ritual all reflect a dialogic mutuality, simultaneity and potential for change.

This inquiry illustrates the dialogical nature of the relationship people have with their changed, and still changing, urban landscape. This is reflected in inhabitants' and communities' ability to adapt and make sense of a changing environment / cultural landscape through a pre-existing relation to place and intrinsic ritualized behaviours. This inquiry equally makes an argument for a more dialogical understanding of cultural landscape.

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2 Chuang Tzu was an influential 4th Century B.C. Chinese philosopher.

METHODOLOGY OF THE PROJECT

There were three key actions pursued in a body of work which underpins this text: initial, informal work; a review of key concepts revealed by this work through an adopted lens of dialogism; and a narrative inquiry and narrative analysis as a framework to examine our case study of Shenzhen's urban villages. These are outlined briefly in the paragraphs below.

Initial, informal work and observations

Shenzhen and the wider Pearl River Delta is a context both authors have engaged with through architectural practice, education and volunteerism. Urbanisation of this region is rapidly transforming the landscape from rural to urban and is a particularly destabilising condition for communities. The phenomenon of the urban village is a unique product of China's urbanisation, built by and for rural communities in the city. Our initial work within various projects revealed key reccurring themes: mutuality, simultaneity, and change in the form of both malleability and mobility. Concurrently, what also emerged in our early engagement was the significance of three key concepts: cultural landscape, nature and ritual.

Literature review through a lens of dialogism

The themes of mutuality, simultaneity, malleability and mobility echoed for us our previous readings of Russian philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of dialogism. We understand Bakhtin's dialogism as concerned with 'consummation, or how parts are shaped into wholes (Holquist 1990: x),' positioning as key the relationship between things and their potential for making wholes. Drawing upon previous work (Brown 2015a, Brown 2015b), dialogism was instrumental as a cognitive lens to better comprehend emergent Chinese conceptions of cultural landscape and nature, which differ from historic Western[3] conceptions of the same. Dialogism was also useful in delineating ritual as a cultivating praxis.

Narrative inquiry and thematic analysis

The concepts present in our text grew out of previous work in the field, generating a notional space of inquiry; these were further articulated in a mutually informing process through the narrative inquiry. Clandinin writes of the relational dimension of narrative inquiry:

'Narrative inquirers cannot bracket themselves out of the inquiry but rather need to find ways to inquire into participants' experiences, their own experiences as well as the co-constructed experiences developed through the relational inquiry process. This makes clear that, as narrative inquirers, inquirers, too, are part of the metaphoric parade (Clandinin–Connelly, 1998).' 'They too live on the landscape and are complicit in the world they study (Clandinin 2006).'

Collated narratives, with further reference to relevant literature, were interrogated through the lens of the dialogical themes of mutuality, simultaneity, malleability and mobility; these interrogations are summarised below.

3 The term 'Western' is introduced here with caution; such terminology has historically been utilized as a cultural point of self-reference to distinguish the other. Any un-critical use overlooks how such terms have been manipulated by both East and West to serve cultural, economic and political ideologies; it equally fails to acknowledge the intrinsic nature of culture not as fixed entities but rather as transient, shifting and fluctuating. See for example: Brown 2011, Brown 2015, and Brown–Maudlin 2012.

Dialogical reading of cultural landscape, nature and ritual

to clarify our reliance upon Bakhtin's dialogism, we will draw upon discourse that introduces and delineates key aspects of it. Dialogism has been suggested as the global concept of Bakhtin's thinking (Renfrew 2015); distinguishing and underpinning his thinking was an 'extraordinary sensitivity to the immense plurality of experience (Holquist 1981: xx).' Bakhtin guides us away from a monological, totalizing and thus immutable perspective of any one thing. Rather, he emphasises the reciprocity of one thing in relation to another (Holquist 1990). At the same time, 'Bakhtin was not sympathetic to the ultimate fusion or erasing of differences (Emerson 1984: xxxii),' nor a reduction into dualisms; of value was the co-presence of disparate things *and* their interaction (Emerson 1984). Intrinsic to this relationship is its unfinalizability, and remaining open to new discourses (Holquist 1986). These three aspects of reciprocity, co-presence, and unfinalizability are explored further below, under the themes of mutuality, simultaneity, malleability and mobility, and frame later discussion in our text.

Dialogism as mutuality

underpinning *dialogism* is a recognition that entities are primarily defined by their relations to others, even between differences. Dialogism proposes that one entity cannot be complete in and of itself without an other. *'For Bakhtin "the whole" is not a finished entity; it is always in a relationship* (Emerson 1984: xxxix).' Entities are defined dialogically; i.e., they are primarily defined by their relationship to other entities. By way of example, our identity as individuals is not generated only autogenically; who we are is equally defined through our relationship with parents, siblings, partners, friends, colleagues, and even acquaintances. Similarly, others are defined through their relationship with us. Ames extends such thinking, highlighting that all entities require others as a necessary condition for being what they are. *'Each particular is a consequence of every other, such that there is no contradiction in saying that each particular is both self-determinate and determined by every other particular'* (Ames 1989: 120).

Bakhtin expands upon this mutually defining relationship noting that *'our practical everyday speech is full of other people's words'* (Bakhtin 1984: 195), which remain present in an expanded and mutually informing discourse. Yet rather than a passive re-transmission, *'someone else's words introduced into our own speech inevitably assume a new (our own) interpretation and become subject to our evaluation of them (ibid).'* Any discourse is directed both from our own reference *and* with reference towards another's speech. Bakhtin refers to this phenomenon as being *double-voiced* (ibid). Through this we understand any one thing not unto itself, but in its relationship with another thing, even where one thing can even be read as another thing.

Dialogism as simultaneity

Intrinsic to the above is the possibility for disparate even conflicting things to be simultaneously present. Crucial here is that the multiple elements' relationship is neither dialectic nor dualistic. Regarding the former, Bakhtin was openly critical of Hegel's construct of the positioning of a thesis and its antithesis together, from which would emerge either one or the other, or some form of unified hybrid, i.e., a synthesis (Bakhtin 1984).

Regarding the latter, Ames (1989) has challenged dualism's tendency towards one of the pair having supremacy over the other.

Echoing the construct of inclusive disjunction, what is posited is a condition in which two alternative, even conflicting truths may both be true. Yet their common presence is not merely an accommodation of another. As Bakhtin (1984: 189) suggests, *'two embodied meanings cannot lie side by side like two objects – they must come into inner contact; that is they must enter into a semantic bond.'* Through this one entity can obtain significance because of this adjacency, so that even brief moments or physical fragments become more pronounced in relation to some simultaneous other. Helpful to our understanding of simultaneity is de Certeau's (1984) proposition that one individual may hold more than one perception, even at the same time. The individual can shift between different meanings depending on the situation, including between an internal, imagined perception and an external reality (Bakhtin 1990).

Dialogism as malleability and mobility

Bakhtin's dialogism also recognises the potentiality of change. A *dialogic* view opens us up to the potential of a thing's *'unfinishedness and the inexhaustibility of our further dialogic interaction with it… We can take it into new contexts, attach it to new material, put it into a new situation in order to wrest new answers from it, new insights into its meaning'* (Bakhtin 1981: 346–347). Here any one concept is malleable, open to change, or in Bakhtin's words *unfinalized*. Rather than being finalized from within, all things change through their interrelation with others (Bakhtin 1984). Equally, concepts are mobile and can be relocated from one context to another.

Critical to note is that not only are ideas open to change, but concurrently any one person can him/herself be open to change, even defining a sense of self in dialogue within overarching narratives (Bakhtin 1981). Moving away from discourse which would delimit the individual to abstractions within general and reductive constructions (Benhabib 1992), what is posited is a dialogical condition in which individuals are framed both by shared discourses *and* through authoring their own ongoing and evolving narrative (Brown 2015).

These themes frame our dialogical (re)reading of inherited concepts of cultural landscape, nature and ritual which follow. Our intention is not to redefine these concepts; rather, it is to emphasise their dialogical qualities.

Dialogical reading of cultural landscape

Inherited conceptions of landscape in Western discourse have characterised it, through the originating influence of 16th Century Dutch painting of idealised landscapes, as an objectified scene (Corner 1999, Jackson 1986). Yet as Roe (2014: 241) recognises, *'landscape is no longer seen simply as a view or a scene, a static background.'* More recent writing posits understandings of landscape as defined not only by the visual, nor romanticized representations, but equally by what people do there (Corner 1999). Humans are participants within that landscape, acting upon it and actively engaging with it. This conceptual (re)transformation has carried through to a more complex understanding of landscape as an inclusive "field" of connective tissue that undergoes sequences of socio-cultural processes and events (Wall 1999).

Landscape becomes meaningful via interaction with it (Roe–Taylor 2014), through what Wylie (2007) describes as practices of landscape, including those grounded in the everyday such as walking. Roe (2014: 251) adds that *"landscape can be seen as a cultural process; something more than a topographical material entity, and more than something external to the individual to be perceived as 'a view'."* Thinking on cultural landscape has however extended beyond discussion of actions enacted within it and the meaning such actions emplace on landscape. This is reflected in UNESCO's category of associative cultural landscape, which gives value to *'the powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent'* (UNESCO, Cultural Landscapes). This concept is further delineated by Roe (2014: 245) who comments on 'imaginary or representative cultural landscapes' in which 'the landscapes have become symbolic,' where the 'relationship with the physical place is often minimal; the conception of such landscapes may in fact bear little relationship with the actuality of the place.' As Roe (2014: 247) adds, the identity of a landscape 'may be an illusory construct over time rather than something based on a physical relationship with landscape.' This conception evokes a quality of mutuality; that landscape, or even fragmentary elements of it, can be understood in relation to another, not present, landscape.

Evolved definitions of cultural landscape reflect a nuanced understanding of it not as a given condition, but as something intrinsically dynamic. Just as humans act on the landscape, transforming its physicality, so too through their actions and conceptualisations they can transform their emotional, mental and/or spiritual sense of the cultural landscape. This suggests that the way people orientate themselves towards the landscape is not fixed, but rather we are ourselves are malleable in how we interact with it physically and non-physically. As Speak (2014) suggests, our conception of a cultural landscape can be carried with us, projected from within as a framework with which we view any new landscape.

Extending our dialogical emphasis, we observe a shift from a view of landscape as totalized object to a more subjective view that recognises landscape as involving active, multiple relationships. Concurrently, we recognise the greater awareness afforded the category of associative cultural landscape. Indeed, Roe (2014: 264) posits that recent discourse suggests *"that perhaps it is most useful to talk about 'relationships' with landscape rather than 'interactions,' where 'interaction' indicates some kind of activity, while relationship indicates a connection."* She adds that '*landscape is often described as 'perceived by people' and is thus inherently a cultural construct of the mind or emotions'* (CoE 2000, Fairclough 2012). Wylie (2007) suggests a similar emphasis, noting landscape is seen and experienced as a projection of cultural meaning.

What is ostensibly being posed here is a valuing of connections fostered by the intangible as much if not more than a tangible materiality and a physical interaction with it. While we value this discussion (evidenced by our discussion of mutuality), we want to problematize momentarily the possibility of giving primacy to associational connections. Underlying our concern is a wariness of any compartmentalization implied by UNESCO's categorisation of cultural landscapes, and equally a wariness of prioritizing any one categorical reading. This concern acknowledges a Western intellectual predisposition towards categorization and a seeming need to decipher and normalize definitive meanings, manifested in the drawing up of boundaries and territories (Barthes 1982). While useful to navigate conditions and negotiate meaning, categorization can also put in place narrow,

fixed definitions that do not accommodate ambiguities (Brown–Maudlin 2012). We need to be wary of the reductive nature of categories, and consider the possibility of multivalence in any one condition, and relations across multiple conditions.

We advocate a more dialogical understanding, recognising the multivalent nature of landscape. To consider a particular location and talk of one landscape representing one category may be limiting. In opposition, we argue for a need to think of the possibility of any one place as presencing multiple landscapes simultaneously. While internalised (and communicated) mental associations are critical, equally critical in our understanding of place is the physicality of the landscape and what we do in it, including through everyday performances of and experiencing through the body (which we will explore shortly in discussion of ritual). In a more dialogical reading it is about the potential for two or even three things to operate simultaneously and inform each other.

Such thinking is echoed in how Chinese culture has historically conceptualised cultural landscape. *'For the Chinese, it is taken for granted that all landscapes are cultural as they are humanly conceived images of nature and deeply involve cultural and social constructions. In practice, it is also hard for the Chinese to accept World Heritage cultural landscapes only as cultural properties because this threatens the inextricable connection of nature with landscape and cosmological beliefs'* (Heng 2012).

While a defining aspect of a cultural landscape is the meaning placed upon it through human inhabitation, simultaneously a reciprocal meaning is emplaced by the landscape on those who choose to inhabit that place (Lovell 1998). This thinking echoes various writers who have observed that while we define places, our places equally define us, and subsequently becoming part of our identity. Lovell writes of this simultaneity when stating *'we enter a landscape and turn it into a place which we are no longer able to abstract from ourselves'* (Lovell 1998: 8).

Dialogical reading of nature

This dialogical emphasis is equally reflected in our considerations of nature and ritual (the latter is briefly considered in the next section). Historically Western conceptualisations situated landscape, and the nature within it, as distinct from places of human settlement. Nature was something wild and untamed, beautiful yet threatening (Roe–Taylor 2014). Such a perspective rendered nature as something to be kept at a distance and looked upon, and to be manipulated and controlled. At best it was something to be cared for and maintained in an act of stewardship (Brecher 2000); in this sense it remained detached from the human self. Such conceptions echo views dating back to the West's Judeo-Christian and Greco-Roman legacy of a dualistic separation of humans and nature, with man placed over nature (Callicott–Ames 1989).

Our understanding of nature has moved on; echoing landscape, there is now greater recognition of nature as something not to be challenged, but rather to be worked *with*. More significant has been the (re)emergence in a philosophical sense of ourselves as part of nature (Callicott 1989). Head (2012) takes this further, noting that we need more relational perspectives, and not simplistic dualisms of human/non-human or culture/nature.

This shift echoes Chinese conceptions, which do not see nature as something separate from us, but rather that the self is internalised in nature, just as nature is internalised in the self – i.e., they are mutually present, independent and at same time informing each other. The environment is understood 'as an immediate dimension of ourselves' (Ames 1989: 142). Our discussion of mutuality further resonates here, with delineation of the Chinese worldview as open, dynamic and transformational, in which nature is characterized by *'concord rather than discord and convergence rather than divergence'* (Tu 1989: 71). An *'aesthetic appreciation of nature is neither an appropriation of the object by the subject nor an imposition of the subject on the object, but the merging of the self into an expanded reality through transformation and participation'* (Tu 1989: 77).

Before going too far in our praise we need to acknowledge that Chinese culture's relationship with nature has also been marked by its impact on the landscape, and also acknowledge critiques of any over-romanticisation of Chinese attitudes towards nature. Tuan has challenged Western humanists' 'bias in favour of that country's Taoist and Buddhist traditions' (Tuan, cited in Hargrove 1989: xvli). Tuan (ibid) further notes that *'the ordinary Chinese through their long history [have] engage[d] in gigantic transformations of the environment.'* Thus it is no surprise to read of current Chinese government policy of building a sea wall along its entire coastline, with over 50% of it now completed with devastating impacts on agriculture (e.g., fishing) and wildlife (Stallard 2014).

In light of the above, we find it prudent not to rely on a romanticised account of historic Chinese attitudes of nature. While referencing it here as a means of placing our discourse into context, drawing on dialogism we find it more useful to position humans and nature as simultaneously present, each independent but concurrently interactive and mutually defining each other.

Dialogical reading of ritual

UNESCO (Intangible Cultural Heritage) identifies rituals as key 'habitual activities that structure the lives of communities and groups,' and which 'remind a community of its worldview and history.' Expanding on this, we see ritual as a tool for understanding cultures, and as a malleable "tool" by which all 'people make and remake their worlds' (Bell 1992). Useful here is identification of rituals as practices that cultivate who we are (Parkes 1995), and as reaffirming the meaningfulness of life by reaffirming one's understanding of life (Plutschow 1999).

Ritual practice encultures a distinct sensibility towards the world, and to people, places and things within it. This recognises that a sensibility towards the world may be generated both through the body as well as through conscious thought, a possibility which has only recently gained currency in the West, which has traditionally valued the mind over the body. In Asian philosophy, such thinking extends back to Confucius, who believed that one could cultivate the whole self through engagement of the body in ritual practices (Parkes 1995). Equally relevant is the generation of a sense of place through ritual practice, through which meaning is emplaced upon space (Brown 2013).

Adopting Bakhtin's thinking on the interrelationship of things, a dialogical use of ritual understands it as having relevance beyond the ritual itself. Additionally, it is a cultural agent of action which can equally give

an insight into how cultures interact with their landscapes, and normalise action within the landscape. Ritual is valuable; it reveals both how people structure an understanding of the world, and how they want to understand the world. By engaging with ritual we can understand how others see and experience the world. It also recognises that what is done at the personal scale has meaning on a wider scale. Through ritualization we come to understand and remember a place as the site of the ritual act (Kawano 2005). Through identifying the ritual act with a place, we conceptually re-schematize that place (Bell 1992). Inherent within this is a (re)structuring (or production) of space. Through ritual, we emplace (or project) on to that place our way of seeing and interpreting the world (framed by our beliefs, prior experiences and values embedded within the ritual); such emplacement enables us to both situate and orient ourselves within that place (Leach 2005). This emplacement of meaning onto place, and a simultaneous affording of possibility by the place to us, reflects Catherine Bell's (1992) construct of critical circularity. These are not two separate, monological discourses; rather they form a dialogue, in which each informs the other.

Equally intrinsic to rituals is the potential for malleability and mobility. *'Rituals…not only produce landscapes by imbuing space with moral values, ideas and perceptions, but are also capable of changing them.'* (Probst 2002: 179) The possibility that place can shape our physical and cognitive engagement with it, and that we can concurrently through our acts and thinking re-schematize that place, evidences that neither is fixed nor immutable, but rather that both ritual and place are malleable. The relation of ritual to place evidences the capacity for change of both ritual and place. Ritual is equally transmutable. Kawano (2005: 8) suggests that in helping structure our daily lives, ritual also enables people to 'fashion a strategic context for interaction and appropriation' (Kawano 2005: 8), and that the meaning generated through ritualized acts within a distinct place can actually extend beyond their site of enactment (Kawano 2005).

Bell (1992) carries this thinking forward, noting that once internalized, ritualized practices can be strategically manipulated in response to new spatial-temporal conditions. Key here is that ritualized acts can literally generate a world view that frames how we approach our relationships with other spaces, people, events and ideas beyond the site of ritual, and as Bourdieu (1977) suggests, with changing conditions in the future. Rituals are thus better understood not as static practice, but more as transformable, creative and generative (Bell 1992: 92).

Case Study – Background, methodology, results and analysis

Background

A range of experiences by this paper's authors situates the above discussion in the context of Southern China. Zoe Latham spent two years living, working and volunteering in Shenzhen, China, while Robert Brown has spent time leading student investigations of both traditional housing and urban environments for the past three years in Southern China. Throughout this time both informal dialogues with colleagues and the local community in these locations, and more focused investigations together with students have been pursued. This work revealed the presence and significance of concepts of cultural landscape, nature's place as intrinsic to this landscape, and the role rituals play in generating and reinforcing the community's cultural landscape;

equally exposed was a dialogical quality within these concepts. The unique phenomenon of Shenzhen's urban villages presences these concepts, both through the physical landscape and the intangible essence of everyday living within this changing context.

Contextualising Shenzhen's urban villages

Shenzhen was once a cluster of small, rural villages orientated around a network of rivers and paddy fields in which lychees, oysters and vegetables were cultivated. The name Shenzhen is itself agrarian, derived from the marking of the land by farmers with deep–"shen" furrows–"zhen" （深圳） (Wu 2014). Since the 1980's, indeed within the lifetime of one generation, the massive and rapid growth of Shenzhen and with it the wider Pearl River Delta has completely urbanised the landscape, negating the original inhabitants' previous connections with their agrarian setting. The city has engulfed these traditional villages, forming an extreme and unique urban reality (Smith 2014).

At first glance the old farming villages of Shenzhen have disappeared – yet in reality their physical presence has persisted in a new form of urban agglomeration called an urban village (Liauw 2014). Due to the loss of agricultural land, the villagers abandoned farming. The retention of the villagers' housing plots was an opportunity for farmers to continue to make a living off their land – albeit in a non-agricultural sense. Villagers extruded their housing plots vertically, adding stories to their houses to provide affordable housing for migrant populations, low rent commercial space and employment opportunities, educational facilities and medical care for villagers (Hao 2012). The villages thus have remained a distinct feature of Shenzhen's urban landscape.

In morphological terms, the self-built urban villages have physical and social characteristics common to everyday patterns of collective living in China, while providing a degree of continuity with the rural heritage of inhabitants. The multi-functionality of traditional courtyards 'provide a space in which neighbours maintain contact with each other,' a place where 'friendship and cooperation naturally bloom (Wang 2000: 4).' The inside/ outside nature of spaces formed by a traditional courtyard house continues to be marked by everyday practices of using these communal spaces. While pertinent to the discussion, the perpetuation and transformation of the courtyard house is not so significant, as the pre-existing rituals remain more-or-less intact. What is more significant to this study is how the community has maintained a sense of conceptual continuity with their past despite the transformation of the physical presence of their prior wider landscape.

In the context of the above, it's easy to assume the villagers' connection to their previous cultural landscape would be lost, given the negation of the physical landscape and physical actions within it. The land was once worked by hand, weather and seasons defined workdays and crops directly fed inhabitants, but this is no longer the case; yet a sense of connection remains. It is argued the transformation of the surrounding physical landscape has actually strengthened the villagers' cultural identity by reinforcing a notable difference from urban Shenzhen's cultural and phenomenological norms (O'Donnell 2008).

Even though there are very few physical remains of agrarian life, the shift from rural to urban has not diminished all village-based cultural identities. The tightly packed enclaves of the urban village are full of street life, pockets of public spaces, and lively pedestrian activities – a vibrant urbanity that is rarely found outside of

Figure 1. Da Fen Urban Village Street Life –
market stalls, trading, historic traces, community gathering and playground.
Photos by Zoe Latham, 2014
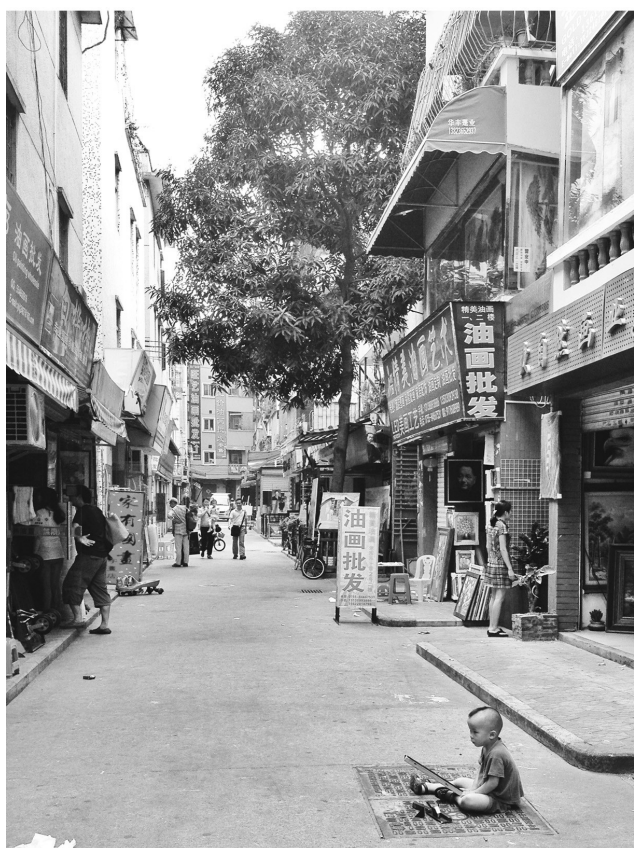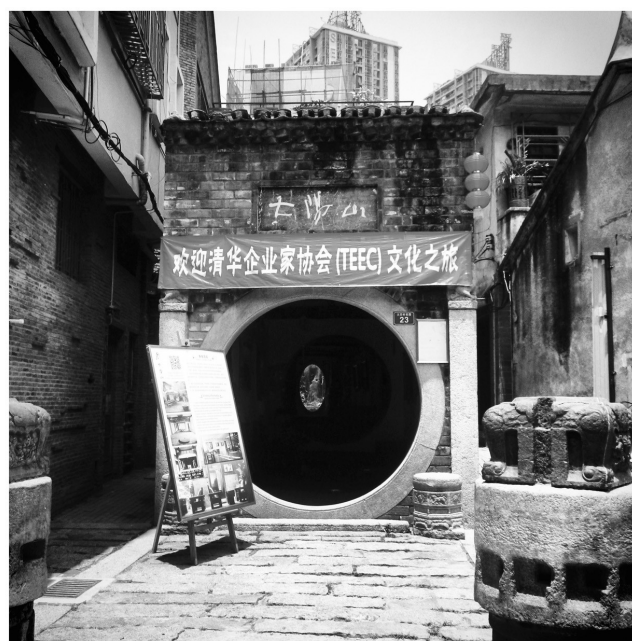
these enclaves in Shenzhen. Many of the rural people and ways of life remain, making urban villages one of the rare places in the city that indigenous socio-cultural actions/rituals remain. Rural traditions or cultural dispositions continue to inform property ownership and businesses, often revolving around family and neighbour relations, retaining a very local socio-cultural essence to the urban village. Yet what remains – most significantly for discussion here – is a way of conceptualising landscape.

Building off the prior informal discussions noted above was an explicit investigation carried out in the form of a narrative inquiry with inhabitants of Shenzhen's Urban Villages. While the former revealed the overarching narrative of the inhabitants' cultural landscape, understanding of nature and the role of ritual, the latter provided deeper insight into the nuances of the meaning of each as situated in Shenzhen's urban villages.

Narrative inquiry and thematic analysis

A phenomenological discussion was shaped through a dialogical meaning-making process between the inhabitants of these places as participants and the authors as researchers/observers over time. Bakhtinian conceptions of dialogism (1981) influenced a "narrative turn" that saw the study of narrative increasingly permeate disciplines. Stories have always been a way people create meaning in their lives and narrative inquiry embraces the fact human beings live and tell stories about their living (Clandinin 2006). The narratological process is increasingly recognised as a useful tool for the interrogation and understanding of human action (Reissman 1993). This narrative approach has been a way of understanding the collective experience of a place as well as a group's cultural milieu (Clandinin–Connelly 2000).

A thematic analysis of early informal discussions revealed overarching narratives or themes of the inhabitants' conceptions of cultural landscape. Thematic analysis has proven useful in illustrating *'how stories can have effects beyond their meanings for individual story tellers, creating possibilities for social identities, group belonging, and collective action'* (Reissman 2008: 54). These themes prompted subsequent, more explicit narratives that provided deeper insights into nuances of meaning of their cultural landscape. In this application of narrative inquiry, the data (participant's stories) was interpreted through the thematic lens of emergent dialogic theory conceptions of cultural landscape, nature and ritual. This form of analysis does not focus on the structure of narrative, but purely the content in an effort to generate a shared or collective understanding. Participants in the narrative inquiry had resided in Shenzhen, China although many had relocated from other provinces. Participants were between 20 and 65 years old, both male and female, from rural and urban backgrounds, and most participants were professionals.

The questions posed were based around connections to nature, in particular human/cultural action or thought in response to nature within the urban context. These open-ended questions aimed to uncover potentially subtle daily rituals performed, or emotions people might feel in order to re-orientate themselves within the rapidly changing rural-urban context. Listed below are the questions put to participants as a way of initiating a narrative.

Question 1.

In your city, how do you connect with nature?

Question 2.

Are there any things you do every day that connect you to nature? Or remind you of nature?

Question 3.

Are there any countryside traditions that are still practised in the city?

Question 4.

If you are from the countryside, does anything in the city remind you of the countryside?

Question 5.

Tell us your favourite story or experience about being in nature.

In what follows we have selected a number of distinct comments made by participants, representative of the respondents as a whole, that illustrate our thematic analysis of mutuality, simultaneity, malleability and mobility. Their narratives illustrate the dialogical nature of the participants' conception of and relation to cultural landscape and nature, and evidence the role ritual plays in formation of each of these two concepts. These are then expanded upon in a phenomenological-based discussion with reference to wider discourse.

One aspect of the participants' narratives describes experiences that highlight ways in which inhabitants enact both selective rituals at seasonal celebrations (e.g., the making and eating of special foods, and the lighting of fireworks) and everyday rituals to reinforce and evoke their conceptualisation of their cultural landscape. While of interest, the former has been explored elsewhere (e.g., Feng–Du 2015). It is the latter, and how people orient themselves through ritual within their new environment on an everyday basis, that is the focus of our discussion below.

Mutuality

 "Sometimes, no matter where you are, even if you are in the city, a little thing from nature could lighten you up, that is the power of nature."

The above comment was made by one participant making reference to *little things* from nature being important and having impact on their emotion. From this comment one can assert the context of that reference is not significant and the scale or quality of that *little* reference to nature is not significant, yet it can potentially open a window to some greater, abstracted concept of nature. Roe describes this mutuality as relevance or mirroring, 'it is not always the high quality of the landscapes that determine whether landscapes are highly valued, but the relevance to and mirror of a particular culture that seems to be important (Roe 2014: 247).'

The same notion of mutuality is reflected in descriptions below between the *little things* and their (re) conceptions of *nature* into a broader sense of the meaning.

"One evening, me and my friend were walking at the side of the road, and noticed a twinkle flash to our eyes. We had not taken much notice at the first glance, and we continued to walk a few yards more, and realized the twinkles are fireflies; they were dancing around by the small lawn which belongs to the apartment. We were getting excited, and very happy."

"Watching the trees, grass or sky to let myself not forget there is something beautiful over there."

"I have to walk to the mailbox to get the mail everyday. The mailbox is a bit away from the apartment. There are some small trees by the sidewalk. And some taller trees beside the apartments. That makes me connect to nature and reminds me of nature."

"If I see flowers and grass on the way or I heard bird call, nature will come to my mind, that's beautiful."

"When I get out of the office, I look up to the sky, to catch the beauty of sunset. In the evening, I enjoy jogging with the moon and stars."

Participants give voice not only to conventional settings such as a rural scene or a city park but also individual fragments in which nature is immanent. *"The enduring use of wild and wilderness as concepts linked to ideas of 'pristine' nature"* (Roe 2014: 241) are less relevant here; nature in this context does not need to be bounded by our pre-conceived ideas of what constitutes nature. Even when seemingly far removed from nature, something seen from the road riding on a bicycle or even within a bus can bring relevance to some intangible meaning or cultural landscape,

"Everyday I go to work either by bus or shared bike following the same route where there are very big trees and green grassy fields on both sides. There's also a small mountain park in my neighbourhood so the environment is very pleasing. Every day when I go to work I feel good and comfortable."

These insights attest to the capacity of nature to be understood even as a fragmented form (such as a firefly, a tree or the moonlight). This accepts nature not as some preconceived whole, but open to varying forms of conception and associations of what landscapes mean to people (Smith–Jones 2007).

By considering the potentiality of a fragment of nature as a prompt for associations and conceptualisations, this alludes to another representation of nature, a remembered actual landscape, or an imagined landscape. This recognises the ability of things to:

'have a dimensional character that goes beyond their materiality; on the one hand in and of itself they are icons that represent and signify something, and on the other hand they also obtain relevance in their composition and arrangement. That is to say, the monumentality is relevant by itself (as a monument), but also collectively as a combination by their association with people and by means of other characteristics of the landscape, be they other monuments, paintings or topographical features' (Curtoni–Beron 2011, 110–111).

Considering the above in relation to participants' narratives, the *mirroring* between physical fragments of nature such as trees or moonlight represents and signifies something beyond just what it *is* but also the collective associations with other people and aspects of an imagined or remembered landscape. For instance, moonlight is an evocative fragment, prompting notions of openness and reflection. Similarly, when thinking of a tree, what is it in relation to? The fragment itself becomes significant in its ability to connect people to wider landscapes remembered or imagined and inherently cultural.

This mirroring, or mutuality, is reflective of inherited Chinese thinking. Western philosophical tradition emphasises objectivity and a faith in underlying rationalist principles. We see this played out from Euclidean and Cartesian thought, through natural law theorists to the Structuralists. Eastern philosophy by contrast em-

braces the subjective; rather than conveying a Western analytical, positivistic theory, valued is *'a metaphorical mode of knowing, an epistemological attempt to address the multidimensional nature of reality by comparison, allusion, and suggestion'* (Tu 1989: 69). This thinking relies not on logically demonstrated truth made tangible, but instead embraces the evocative metaphor, such as the fragment with associated meanings. It promotes not the scientific, but instead the aesthetic (Callicott–Ames 1989). Through this multi-dimensional nature, *'a linkage will always be found between any given pair of things in the universe. We may have to probe deeply to find some of the linkages, but they are there to be discovered'* (Tu 1989: 70).

This way of viewing the world is reflected in traditional Chinese aesthetic sensibilities. A prime example is present in T'ang poetry, in which manifold meaning is given emphasis – i.e., metaphoric relation and allusion dominate over analytic relation (Kao and Mei 1978). This illustration is expanded upon by Yu (1981: 220), who notes that *'almost all Chinese images, therefore, function… as illustrations or embodiments – whether of their semantic category or of an intellectual or affective meaning implicit in them.'* She further adds that in Chinese philosophical thought a sense of the transcendent was not something lying beyond that which was present, but rather was 'immanent in all things' (Yu 1981: 221), and that such analogies lie latent waiting to be discovered, and are not manufactured (Yu 1981). Heng (2012) adds to this, noting a Chinese predilection for expressing meanings not in a direct way but rather through symbolism and metaphysical rhetoric. Heng (2012) further states that *'Subjectivity is at the centre of Chinese philosophies informing Chinese landscape culture, and that… Chinese landscape painting is another testimony to such subjectivity… (as) all landscape paintings are subjectively created and mixed with all the imaginings in an artist's mind.'*

The double-voiced nature of this relationship with nature is echoed in the participants' narratives revealed through our inquiry. Though seemingly fragmentary, the glimpses of elements within the urban landscape speak of another nature; it is not simply the fragment present before them that they experience, but equally another condition present in their minds as memory or imagining.

Simultaneity

"I could see from far the city skylines and from near the mountain range and reservoirs… And I loved my city more at that moment."

In this utterance two disparate things come together; the city (or human or culture) and nature. These two aspects, seemingly conflicting, are presented and brought together in a simultaneous presence and even a mutual embrace. The participant relishes the view, considering the city and nature co-joined as a favourite view. Similarly, one participant shared a mutual experience of the body moving the through city,

"The purpose of this walk is to sense the city's space with my own body. That is always my favourite part when I can see the whole city view in a mountain."

Neither of the participants quoted above perceives their actions as a retreat from the city into nature; both are simultaneously valuing the city and nature, experiencing the city through the nature of body. While one thing may have a presence in its own right, this is about that thing as one *element* within a composition of relational things. Something may take on enhanced meaning in composition with/presence next to/in juxtapo-

sition with man-made context; in this context 'a specific object, because of shared cultural associations or the context in which it is placed, cries out to be read as something more' (Yu 1981: 219).

The city and nature are not mutually exclusive; through conceptions of cultural landscape both can be present simultaneously as an inclusive disjunction. Several participants made mention of their ability to navigate between cultural landscape, (present day) physical urban cultural landscapes and conceptualised or (past) remembered cultural landscapes.

"Sometimes you can hear fireworks. They are banned in the city but you can still hear them sometimes, and it reminds me of childhood when we had fireworks."

The above quote illustrates how remembered non-urban landscapes and rituals within those can permeate into the present day experience of the city. Smith and Jones describe this simultaneity as,

"Systems of knowledge have developed over long periods of time in a particular place and are embedded in that place. They are systems of knowledge that have enabled [its inhabitants to live in landscape with multiple meanings] *and to cognitively and/or spiritually navigate between different spaces and meanings."* (Smith and Jones 2007: 62)

There is significant mention throughout the narratives of re-energising through walking or jogging in nature, signifying these activities are more than just leisure or exercise; they are opportunities for reconnection with nature (whether fragments or perceived wholes). Participants tell stories of sensing the city's space with their own body – through sight, smell, sound and feelings. Participants speak of the importance of this in their comments,

"I had a strong feeling of being alive when seeing such a great view."

"The people here are very fond of nature, and often go to the mountains in their leisure time …to feel nature, and to feel the wonders and magnificence of nature."

Ritualized behaviours have enabled a once agrarian community to situate itself within the now highly urbanised landscape of Shenzhen. This is realized not through shutting out the present day and retreating into the past, but rather through a dialogue grounded in ritual with people's present-day landscape. They have built themselves a cultural landscape grounded in their past that allows them to orient themselves in the rapidly changing context of Shenzhen and simultaneously connect with their cultural dispositions.

Malleability and Mobility

"There is a wetland park near where I live… the lotus pond is the most attractive in summer… there are no lights, but the stars and the frog's croaking... (I love the lotus pond). The lotus pond always reminds me of the countryside where I used to live. There was a lotus pond in front of my uncle's house. He had a boat in the pond to help catching fish and digging out lotus root for food."

"I was born in a small town in the south; a small town in China is actually the countryside. When I see some old man selling his own vegetables in the market or some children playing with stones on the side of the road, I am reminded of my memories of the countryside because this is an interesting game."

The voices heard here are not simply passive in their engagement with place; through ritualization they take on an active role in the conceptualisation of cultural landscape. The experience of a prior cultural landscape and cultivated ritual practices sensitises the participant to similar fragments of that cultural landscape even if in a very different urban context. This attests to not only the role people can play, but also the mutability of both the rituals and cultural landscape. In these commentaries a number of ritualized behaviours are enacted in the respondents' everyday life, re-engaging and re-orientating them to a past life. Although the physical environment has changed, daily rituals allow the participant to make mental connections to memories (whether mental or body-based) of their natural environment. Roe expands upon these multi-landscape interactions:

'In changing landscapes the contribution of serendipity is acknowledged in the synergies between people and nature that result in the cultural landscapes that are highly valued. These landscapes evolved because of intimate and fortuitous associations between communities, livelihoods and environments over time fulfilling what seems to be a deep-seated spiritual need to connect to the environment in ways that are meaningful (Roe 2014: 259).'

Within the urban villages, rural activities, whether as festivals or everyday events, continue to have a presence and attest to their mobility. While present throughout the city, festivals are arguably more pronounced and more impassioned in the urban villages, marking the seasons, and thus the agricultural calendar; festivals continue to have presence and on-going relevance. As one participant notes, they provide a *"countryside breath"*. Rural customs equally show mobility, moving from one place to another but still carrying a resonance. One participant is reminded of the countryside through the simple action of an old man selling his own vegetables in the market. For another, it is through carrying out a custom one can see in rural China of going out in the evening and meeting with neighbours, sitting under a tree or exercising.

The mobility and malleability of ritual allows people to respond to changing contexts, such as Shenzhen's rapidly urbanising landscape, through their own imaginings and memories. Ritual is posited as a malleable and mobile practice that frames how we engage with and give meaning to place, whether the site of the ritual itself or even beyond the site of the ritual. In times of change Selman emphasises 'the need for 'social reconnection' with landscape', but states *'reconnection may indeed require imaginings, the desire to create connections between the past and the future that requires valuing things such as traditional attitudes to landscape'* (Selman 2012: 142). Cultural landscapes are socially conceptualized or imagined and subsequently can be physically transformed; through ritual practice people build their own places – changing cultural landscapes over time (Tilley 1994).

This enactment is *dialogical*. In an immediate sense, they have embraced what the urban landscape has to offer them; yet concurrently they can project onto that landscape something of their past. They haven't turned away from their new urban environment, but rather have directly engaged with it. This is not about two landscapes merging into one, but rather that one worldview, or cultural landscape grounded in the agrarian, frames how they interact with and what they appropriate from another, urbanised landscape. In so doing, they (re)generate meaning of their previous life that they come to associate with their new, and different, landscape. Such rituals reaffirm their personal and cultural identity, reminding them who they were and still are.

These narratives suggest there doesn't need to be a particular physical landscape for people to enact their rituals within; connections to place (in this example nature) can be tenuous, even artificial. The important determination of a ritualized connection to nature within this cultural landscape is that ritual can be adaptive and resilient despite adverse changes to or shifts in its setting (Brown 2013), notably here a dramatic shift from a rural to an urban landscape.

Conclusion

The ever-increasing and rapid urbanisation present in contemporary life has, and is, dramatically transforming our environment. It has disrupted inherited connections to place and integral to this our conceptualisation of our identity. To pursue our study of this condition we have sited ourselves in the dramatically and rapidly transformed landscape of urban Shenzhen and its urban villages, which are a trace of the past that remains within the present day city. Our study has been advanced through the use of narrative inquiry examining inhabitants' structuring of cultural landscape in the context of Shenzhen's recently urbanised landscape.

Exploring this condition, we have drawn upon Bakhtin's dialogism and definitions of landscape, cultural landscape and ritual. Analysis of a narrative inquiry through a Bakhtinian dialogic framework revealed that the concept of *mutuality* allows people within the city to use fragments of nature to relate to another, remembered cultural landscape. In addition, *simultaneity* allows people to hold multiple perceptions (past and present) of relations to cultural landscapes, both in their mind and through their lived experience. Lastly, *malleability* and more so *mobility* in the context of Shenzhen's urban villages recognises that people's perceptions and rituals can adapt and be relocated to new ritual contexts. Our analysis reveals ways people can control their cultural landscape, whether physically, conceptually, or through ritual enactment; people can also respond to change through holding multiple cultural landscapes in their mind and siting themselves within these.

Building again off dialogism, we recognise and embrace the proposition that things are defined by their relationship with others. Ritual has been used to examine our conceptualisation of cultural landscape; further revealed has been how ritual itself acts to structure how people schematize their landscape, both as individuals and as part of a shared cultural identity. We have also shown the ways in which ritualized behaviours have enabled a once agrarian community to adapt to and situate itself within the now highly urbanised landscape of Shenzhen. This is realized not through shutting out the present day and retreating into the past, but rather through a dialogue grounded in ritual with people's present-day landscape. They have built themselves a cultural landscape grounded in their past that allows them to orient themselves in the rapidly changing context of Shenzhen and simultaneously connect with their cultural dispositions. As landscapes around the world change in response to forces of increasing globalization and urbanisation, there is still much we have to learn about the dialogical and resilient potential of our conceptual and experiential relationship to place.

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Gergő Hajba[1]

"Struggling with temporality"

A case study of place attachment and displacement of an urban agriculture community in Hungary

Abstract

I have been conducting anthropological research, involving participant observation in microcommunities engaged with urban agriculture, especially crop cultivation, from late December, 2015.

Beyond the avarage yield of basic vegetables or fruits and herbs, community gardening is about 'colonising' urban space, or in other words, practising community control over a relatively small piece of urban land, endowing vacant lots with new functions. Thus, urban gardening is a territorial natured initiative, a materialized conglutination of various ideas and acts referring to the dynamics of urban transformation processes and city development. Apart from introducing a bottom-up Hungarian garden community settled in a constantly transforming district of Budapest, I represent how place attachment and displacement influences the decision-making practices of the community, and how place attachment functions under rapidly changing conditions. At the same time I argue that place attachment lets the gardeners express forms of criticism addressed to development and to the underlying logic of 'progress': the controversial appearance of economic growth and capital injection in the district. I suggest that such affective initiatives function as social seismographs, in which the perceptions of contemporary urban transformations are emergent, highlighting a dialectical relationship between urban dwellers and modernisation processes.

Keywords: community gardening, place attachment, displacement, urban transformation, critical urban theory

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"Struggling with temporality"

A case study of place attachment and displacement of an urban agriculture community in Hungary

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to represent examples based on empirical research about the connection between community gardening and place attachment, similar to the critical urban studies approach (Bodnár 2013: 15, Brenner 2009: 202–204, Fujita 2013: 6, 30–35), referring to the deeper structural processes and contradictions that occur under the surface in our everyday life and social practices. I have been conducting anthropological research, mostly participant observation in the field of social participation, primarily in communities involved in urban agriculture since late 2015. I argue that urban agriculture, especially collective forms of crop cultivation amongst urban circumstances, offers multiple ways of cultural identity construction, from health promotion and recreational opportunities, through shaping patterns of trust amongst city dwellers, not to mention acquiring and reproducing democratic values through social cooperation in organic food production (Hajba 2017: 312–313). It is recommended to think about these special parts of the urban fabric as places of expression of various needs and desires, a possibility of a more democratized urban development, and an alternative mode of city dweller participation.

Paradoxically the lifetime of these initiatives heavily depends on the contemporary transformation tendencies of cities, affected by global economic tendencies, of which the most obviously striking is the flow of capital embodied in various development projects, resulting in economic expansion and inequalities (Harvey 1978: 113–118, Swyngedouw–Heynen 2003: 900–902, Faragó 2016: 238). Whether these interventions in former urban space involve district rehabilitations with housing estates designed in the latest architectural style, or settling financially strong multinational enterprises in hi-tech thematic parks, the urban fabric is indisputably under rapid transformation (Gyáni 1990: 1–2) with all of the tension that goes with that – and so are the social perceptions of space of the urban population. In many cases community gardens are located in vacant lots and abandoned allotmens, which are sensitive to the processes of the property market mentioned above. That means gardens may be established in forthcoming construction sites of a new development, or in the location of a potentially profitable municipal investment, so that many communities face uncertainty and a lack of opportunity to deepen their bonding with places. I assume that in such conflicting situations members of community gardens may articulate critical interpretations addressed to some of the forms of urban transformation of space such as alienation, negative effects of development programs on public spaces, displacement of people, and the underlying logic of these phenomena: capital concentration, and endless economic growth, as well as the inappropriate communication of local authorities related to the ambivalence of political power
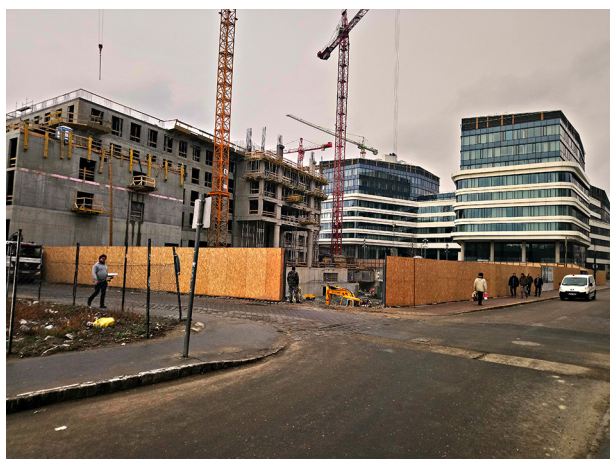
Picture1. The rising blocks of Corvin-Quarter from Tömő street. Own photograph, 2018

Picture 2. The undeveloped part of the disctrict, down the street. Own photograph, 2018

towards green demands, which can be captured in the actions, discourses and debates of community life. Criticism means a wide scale of phenomena from mere presence of the community in an "*unconventional place*" to debates and comments on local events, since mega-projects with the promises of advancement do not fulfil the expectations of local communities, and provide no real answer to the miscellaneous social problems rooted in the neo-liberal economic structure. (Földi 2009: 32)

By introducing a case study of a garden community situated in an inner district of Budapest, Hungary, I would like to highlight how notions of place and attitudes towards urban life shift under constantly changing circumstances. My choice of anthropological fieldwork did not follow from a previously grounded research focus, quite the opposite: after the first year of participant observation I identified conspicuously popular themes and I recognized that a critical approach in the spatiality of community gardening seems to be a quite obvious way in Józsefváros, which is one of the districts in Budapest where the congestion of spatiality is a meaningful problem issue. *(Picture 1 and 2)* A critical approach is often used to reveal the uneven mosaics of cities and asymmetrical social fractures heavily affected by the capital flow of developments, (Soja 1990: 3) but it does not efficiently refer to the more or less philantropic benefits of transformation or what is to be gained out of temporality for communities. I consider culture to be a widespread and open debate in which self-expression, evaluation, and attachment are the acts of seeking and establishing certitude or illusion of balance between uneven spatial-institutional structures of acceleration. In my opinion community gardens can be postulated as indicators of community demand to balance out structural inequalities emerging in the urban fabric. As a matter of fact my aim is to combine a critical approach of development, acts of evaluation and attachment to reflect contemporary dynamics of urban transformation; more specifically I am curious about how gardeners explain their relationship to the transforming city and to the garden, and which acts and endeavours refer to place attachment. How does the doubtful ownership situation influence community life, and is the community still capable of defining itself from time to time in the face of the constant shifting of the physical location of horticultural initiatives between the rapidly changing conditions of the built environment? How do these motifs refer back to urban development- an influencing channel of postmodern urbanity? Community vacant lot

cultivation, as I suppose, itself has a dialectical relationship with imprinting values, and many forms of evalua-tion (as my examples will show), even though personal motivations in plant care are multifarious.

To answer these questions efficiently, I consider it necessary to briefly outline various concepts of the relation of space and place as well as the current situation of urban agriculture in Hungary.

Growing plants in an urban context already has at least several decades or even 200 years of history, depending on which activity we identify as the historical root of urban gardening. Summerising international literature it seems that (community) gardening activity is noticably more viral at various kinds of crisis periods such as world wars, or the political transformations of the 1970's, and most recently it gained striking signifi-cance again worldwide after the economic crisis spread around 2008. (Bassett 1981, Fáczányi–Balogh 2015)

Although comparing garden communities (just like cultural imprints) reveals countless differences re-garding ideas and goals, still many conceptual schemes have been constructed to allow us a deeper insight into these new forms of social relations. For example organic food production, health promotion, urban community appraisal, encouraging social participation and evaluting democratical practices, neighborhood revitalisation, culture conservation, reconsidering human relations with the 'green' and with nature through practices related to space. (Eizenberg 2011: 4–7)

'Avoiding the bad neighborhood': Concepts of space and place

One general concept of place is the idea of third places, which are locations of our social life seperated from our usual environments (Oldenburg 1999: 44–51), considered to be home and workplace: for instance a pub, a coffee shop, a bookstore, or even a community garden. Although, as Gyáni mentions, the separation of spaceforms maintained for social, public and explicitly private behaviours has earlier roots than the 19th century image of the city (Gyáni 1990: 2), discrepancies or blurring boundaries became noticeable, since the perceptions of social acceleration became present. In the last few decades, since the 1970's, concepts of space have radically shifted from merely a condition or a background framework of the social structures making his-tory, to a perception of it as an essential dimension of making policy and influencing social relations. (Harvey 1973: 306–308) The myth of the neutrality of space had permanently lost its credibility when space "*became a concrete expression of each historical ensemble in which a society is specified.*" (Castells 1977: 115–116) If we consider space as a socially constructed phenomenon, as Soja suggests, it should be differentiated from physical space, material nature and representations of mentally comprehended images of space even though materializations and illusions of space are all included in the social conglomerate of spatiality. (Soja 1990: 120) Debates about space construction emphasize that capitalism occupies and reproduces space to maintain its structural pattern of stability. (Soja 1990: 157, 187) In such historical and social circumstances, vigorous at-tempts are being made to conceptualize space as a dynamic conjunction and to capture laws of motion in it. Space appropriation is often decribed as a process by which individuals or communities bond emotionally to their current physical location, (Scannell–Gifford 2009: 1–2) creating a "*sense of home*" (Rioux et al 2017: 60) or a feeling of familiarity by drawing the physical or symbolical edges of privacy, visually reshaping its image, or expanding the meaning of existing relations with acts, habits, or motions. A less critical, but more philosophical

approach regarding the concept of place is the idea of non-places introduced by Marc Augé, as the transitional buffer zones embodying supermodernity. Partly opposed to places, non-places do not offer perdurable symbolical keypoints of individual identity, nor common references to social groups. Place differs from space as the latter reflects on the vectors of physical extensions and motions between dimensions, while the former refers to the individual or collective perception of it, expressed in a story, characterized by languages or emotions. (Augé 1995: 77–81, 103) This dynamic model consisting of the mutual interdependence of space and place gained attention in sociology and urban planning, as well as in contemporary literature and theater studies, since the narration of this relation assumes the inclusion of social time, and different social-authority operation schemes marking border crossings, and radical social reorganizations (Bíró 2014: 8). "*Structural effects of this multivocal code system for example orientation, continuity and separation in space are creating multidirectional relationships*" (Faragó 2014: 23–24, own translation).

Regarding walks of life it is already a commonplace that over 60% of the human population now lives in urban conditions, and the number is rising constantly. Szijártó argues that due to the urbanisation processes the way in which city dwellers act, make decisions, or associate meaning to space is fundamentally changing, the spacial manifestations of the transition lead to the 'erosion' of publicity. (Szijártó 2010: 60–61) At the same time, the emphasis of managing relations between neighbouring localities shifted from practical utility maintained through information exchange, to avoid bad neighbourly relations. (Bali 2012: 211) The evaluation of belonging somewhere, and space appropriation, are likely to be intensively emergent in urban areas, whereas the basic needs of communicational practices are degraded to the everyday elemental forms of politeness. According to Castells, places are not necessarily equivalent to communities or deeper forms of human connections, "*although they may contribute to community-building.*" (Castells 2000: 455) Thus, 'living elsewhere' than the city is interpretable as a conscious pursuit opposed to the general transformation process, and the logic behind it: vague scenarios about capitalist growth society. (Farkas 2016: 128–131) Summing up, community gardening is a constant seeking for places of ostensible stillness in accelerating motion systems, offering the opportunity for groups to deepen their internal and external relations. In this regard, I presume that community yard evaluation can be described in Lew's terms as a "*sense of place*" (used in cultural geography), as the way in which a group of people may imprint values and traditions. (Lew 2017: 2) I agree with Horlings that a place-based critical approach does not simply disclose the possible and characteristic inequalities generated by capitalism, but by taking social discourses, practices, and individual and communal experiences into account it can refer to a more sustainable, humane trait of development. (Horlings 2015: 258, 260) Davies notes that values (and negative qualities as well, I believe) are constructed through interaction between members of society and socially or institutionally characterized places (Davies 2001: 82–83), therefore there must be an obvious correlation between vacant lot evaluation and attachment to places. To support this claim I will present examples and struggles from a socially diverse community garden in Budapest located in an inner district, where transformation processes are strikingly emergent.

Research methodology

definitions of community gardening may vary in relation to the factors of geographical position, legal situation, economic profile, social composition, primary purpose, and power relations as well as researcher attitude towards agriculture or emic-etic statements about community approach. My research strives to propound a quite universal definition: I consider organic food production, voluntary membership, space attachment, and establishing mutual trust as the main aspects to understand urban gardening, in which the question of control is a crucial keypoint to observe the dynamics of contemporary social transformations. One of the interpretations is that community gardening involves members occupying a relatively small piece of land to practice community control (Eizenberg 2011: 8), so that gardeners are able to self-express, cooperate, create or maintain social relations, while they perform regular gardening tasks. Alhough this designation is broadly limited to describe inner and outer power relations of social movements, I consider it to be particularly useful since it can show a wide spectre of social actors influencing local community life. This kind of approach correlates with the novel framework of ecosystem services as well, which incorporates all the benefits for individuals to stimulate sustainable life, to take responsibility for utilizing natural resources, (Jim–Tan 2017: 6, Chen 2017: 183–190) and (referring to more abstract levels of existence) to promote needs and autonomous decising-making while being consciously aware of opportunities and constraints. In a sense, the ecosystem services approach challenging the inner logic of property based market growth and the endless commodification of goods and places. (Sayer 2017: 110–111)

Urban agriculture in Hungary and an example: Grundkert

Since the first wave (2012) of community garden establishment in Hungary, there are approximately 60 community gardens considered to be active, two thirds of which are situated in the capital city, Budapest. There are active or emerging community initiatives in provincial towns as well, for example in Debrecen, Miskolc, Szeged, Pécs, Kecskemét, and Szentendre. A Hungarian professional support organization called Kortárs Építészeti Központ (Contemporary Architecture Center) has collected data (www.kozossegikertek.hu) and mapped the active and shut down gardens in the country, but the database has not been refreshed recently.

One of my main research sites is Grundkert *(Picture 3),* a bottom-up nature garden in the 8th district of Budapest (officially called Józsefváros), where symptoms of city transformation processes such as building re-

Picture 3. Grundkert from the eastern edge of the plot. Own photograph, 2018

furbishments and housing developments, social tensions from gentrification, poverty, and many forms of pro-visionality are heavily present. A city development project called Corvin Project (referring to the Corvin Quar-ter, a relatively broad part of Józsefváros) started around the turn of millennium. The development includes modernising the quarter by building residental complexes with a wide range of entertainment opportunities, office buildings housing international think tanks, shopping malls, newly built walkways, as well as partly ren-ovating or demolishing old buildings, and rearranging transport infrastructure. The arhictectural image of the district is manifold. Bourgeois houses from the turn of the century, housing estates from the 1970's, suburban family houses and hi-tech buildings can all be found in the streets of the Corvin Quarter.

The frontline of the 700m^2 garden area is situated in the middle of Apáthy István street, bordered by the Ronald McDonald Child Support Foundation's house on the western side, and two already confluent, empty rectangle-shaped territories from the north (Szigony street) to the east (Balassa street), each several thou-sand squaremeters. On the eastern plot there was a building complex previously functioning as a tyre and car service, till the real estate developer demolished it in February 2018 after it was abandoned, including the facades that used to shield many sections of the garden. The emtpy plot used to be a multifunctional site from a guarded parking lot to a film shooting venue, and temporary accomodation site with caravans for filmmaking crews in the last 3 years; now it is a closed construction site where the new part of the Corvin Project is under progress. The Grundkert community keeps plastic barrels on the edge of the two plots since there is no natural source of water or any tap water on the territory. Getting involved in plant cultivation with barely no experience in agriculture in a 2m^2 raised bed seemed to be an ideal way to conduct participant observation in the commu-nity, mapping inner and outer social relations, drawing concepts of urban space and greenery, and capturing self-reflections of community life. Furthermore I have been participating in events (seed or seedling exchanges, film clubs, roundtable discussions, creative workshops, community-building retreats, informal meetings, cele-brations) of community life "*beyond the garden fences*" since November, 2015. There are nearly 40 community members from various social backgrounds, of which the youngest member is 11, and the oldest is 75 years old.

In the first horticultural period after I joined the community in 2016 I participated in the blue collar work of the garden: I fabricated raised beds and wooden garden furniture, assisted in early spring arrangement tasks around the garden plot, while I observed the main discussions, turning points and happenings of community life, and took as many notes as I could while I was experimenting with the first tomato, mustard and paprika seedlings. I was trying to be present as much as possible, generally 2–3 times a week with varying intensity between weekdays and weekends. My own notes of discussions in various situations are complemented with hours of personal semi-structured interviews. For this article I selected 28 interviews from 13 different partic-ipants I collected over the last 2 years, mainly from 2018, and cited from 3 different group discussions in the last 2 years. These interviews begin with general inquiries *"How do you feel in the garden/community nowa-days?"* focusing on community related topics and moving forward to informal conversations. I added 7 online comments and notes from different members (apart from interview situations) excerpted from the analysis of the online surfaces, including inner discussions (Facebook group comments), and social media presence (see the cited comment debate about the development below). Inner chat mostly consists of organizing social life and administration, tips and tricks about plantcare methods, personal impressions about gardening, program

suggestions, and of course sometimes debates about news, happenings in the district, and reflections on community life.

Regarding these empirical sources my aim is to highlight the diversity of explanations around the core concept of place and expressions towards it in multiple ways. The majority of the gardeners support sharing knowledge and open discussions about many dimensions of urban agriculture, therefore I was not supposed to hide the garden's location and identity, but I use monograms and anonymity (in requested cases) to identify the opinions of partners, and refer to the context or situation, rather than to the year of the source briefly. Questions of ethical considerations were present in the case of place attachment through the removal of a politically contested symbol (barbed wire) but as we can capture from the different opinions, the debate itself reflected the complexity of divergent viewpoints even in the community, and there were no strict answers to such situations. A comprehensive set of photographs has been made to provide visual substantiation for the textual empirical material, illustrating community life and the constant spatial transformation.

Despite the scarcity of resources (water or electricity) the main idea of Grundkert is that a group of individuals from various social backgrounds occupy a vacant lot, and transform it as a counterpoint of growth processes accumulating in the precinct. In this sense, community gardening is about 'colonising' urban space, or in other words, practising community control over a relatively small portion of urban land. Grundkert allows more than 40 gardeners "to dig" as they say, divided between 28 outdoor allotments (maximum 9m^2 each) and 12 raised beds fabricated out of wooden waste boards (maximum 2m^2), so that some flowerbeds are cultivated by more than one person, friends, family members or volunteers of associations. Flower gardens made from car tyres filled with soil are a common feature. Basically, group members cultivate their plots individually, but forms of exchange and reciprocity, looking after each other's flowerbeds, are also present. Disfunction in community life (in the garden) is often caused by differences in personal proxemics, and neglected community rules, however considering the different focus of this article, I will not expound this phenomenon in detail. Grundkert community was an informal group in the last 6 years till 2018 April, at which point the Messzelátó Association took on the responsibility of legal representation on a courtesy basis, in exchange for a plot of land for their volunteers. The community took on a formally existing but not active association, *Kalapos Egyesület* to provide an official form of self-representation, but the official reconstitution has yet occurred. As many gardeners say, this step was necessary to form community demands of place attachment in the precinct (or somewhere else), when opportunities for vacant lots are scarce.

Vacant lots: Places of evaluation and/or displacement?

Legal status and access to urban space are crucial points in community garden establishment. Informal or grassroots initiatives may develop into privately supported groups or take the shape of an association. The attitude towards co-operation with the local council in order to rent urban allotments may depend on numerous subjective and objective viewpoints about economic profile, political commitment, or sense of dependency, just to name a few.

In their previous Facebook introduction Grundkert community emphasized the values they consider

to be important, stressing that gardening under urban conditions should not be an 'exclusive' initiation, but a possible means of urban transformation.

"We would like to try out and show: that there is an alternative way to live in the city, that an urban renewal territory can have another, favourable appearance, that vacant lots can have other functions than simply to be parking lots. We would like to show our children that a carrot does not grow in a wrapped polyethylene tray. We like to cultivate in the middle of the city. We are happy if we are able to bring vegetables from the garden to the kitchen for cooking. Moreover, we are happy as well, if we can get rid of our stress in the fresh air doing light physical work, together in the community." (from Grundkert Facebook site, translated from Hungarian, 2017)

The shifting functions of vacant lots as alternative city structures are emergent. Gardeners emphasize the importance of community gardens, as locations to reconnect to 'reality':

"I'll tell you why we do [community] gardening: because we live in cities, and we are all eager to have 'greenness'. [...] The keyword is time I guess, because you spend your time in an unconventional/not ordinary place. Not in the office, not in the pub, not at home watching TV, but in an interesting place where you meet good people... still, Grundkert is not about gardening... but about the place. Sitting there, drinking a good beer, cooking, so if we grow vegetables, than we use them for cooking [...] it is simple." (Nagyi, senior gardener, personal interview, 2018)

"...what matters is to have a place where you can let [problems, words, anxiety] out. For real. It is quite easy to do it here, out in the open air, because the open air means your freedom in some ways. The garden and the things and thoughts oscillating around or in it are modeling the universe in miniature... some tools are also needed here, just like in a workplace. Hoe, spade, wheelbarrow...a kind of order of things. Just the way we have financial experts here, we also have Uncle Pali, who fixes the lock of our garden gate." (FoG, gardener, personal interview, 2018)

- Is that symbolic to grow plants here, in the 8th disctrict?
"Yes, it is. Because you can utilize an abandoned plot differently. This is an extreme. Look at the opposite side, there is a huge parking lot. Extremes. [...] I am in favour of small experiments of creation, and it's quite easy to experiment here. It is good to own a place where you can walk out to water the plants daily, see what's going on with them... and there are members who you can ask for advice, whether some disease attacked your flowers, or they have nutrient deficiences, or how to handle the issue, what should you do." (NZs, gardener, personal interview, 2018)

In these explanations the garden site seems to be a multipurpose location besides home or workplace, a spot to raise awareness of processes of life hidden by the everyday ratrace in order to sustain a socially appropriate quality of life, even though (as shown below) sustainability in the context of gardening is surrounded by obscurity.

"I think the garden may help usunderstand that a particular area, a piece of land is capable of growing certain quantity of food, whether it's a lot or an insignificant amount... because of this, people maybe imagine more easily how much effort it takes to create it, and it raises awareness that Earth is finite. I can visualize people who realize the 'price' of things because of gardening." (BO, gardener, personal interview, 2018)

*"Personally the sustainability means a lot to me, nevertheless I don't consider Grundkert to be such a sustainable project... I hope we can do gardening here for a few more years, still it would be really great to find a permanent location, but I think of Grundkert as a mental/intellectual workshop exceeding the garden fences. We show that, even though we live in cities, it doesn't automatically mean there is only speed, and all you can think about is concrete." (*Gibbon, coordinator gardener, personal interview, 2018)

As these examples show, gardeners explain various ideas and concerns related to the controlled space, when I ask them about their motivations for gardening in the (centre of the) city. Many gardeners (like in the latter quotation) consider it desirable to find a permanent location. What does this claim mean in the context of a changing district? If a vacant lot is the main frame and condition of efficient community functioning, does space attachment exclusively define community life and opportunities? Not necessarily, I argue. Of course community gardens heavily depend on the changes of land ownership and resources on the actual vacant lot such as water access, but Grundkert itself provides unequivocal evidence that community life is not necessarily attached to exact places, as the gardening site is variable. Grundkert is one of the oldest urban agriculture communities in Budapest, with 6 years of history (in 2018), and right now the garden is situated in its third location within the borough. The first location in 2012 was in the nearby Práter street, next to Grund hostel, formerly a guerilla garden. As KZs, a founder member of Grundkert, explained in the online inner group conversation, since the garden plots always have been provided by Futureal (the developer company) at no charge, the expansion of the development affects the physiology, and durability of the garden. Then the second plot was by the Corvin walkway, down to Szigony street; both these locations lasted for a complete harvest year. Worries among the members about the following gardening season are present, since the investment company extended the easternmost scope of the Corvin Project purchasing the whole territory discussed above, including the third garden plot. I suppose that for a comprehensive understanding, space attachment should be examined involving the time factor (Rioux et al 2017: 62), weaving deeper meanings of place. Fluctuations in membership have occurred associated with shifting places, however a few gardeners still own plots even in the newest location. Gardeners who are/were engaged in cultivation in at least two locations usually compare their experiences when I ask them about their relations to different places. *(Picture 4)*

"I guess we moved enough with the garden to say it's not a certain area that defines the community. I think it probably goes on if we find another plot to continue... If so, then the greater part of the commu-

Picture 4. A few community members in annual meeting in the third location. Own photograph, 2018

nity will evidently move with the garden. Attrition exists apart from moving… many of the members were at least there when things came up, 'crisis' has a cohesive force. However I am quite pessimistic about human relations, but still…maybe we would even survive this [another moving]." (BO, gardener, personal interview, 2018)

"Our previous garden was much bigger, but cliques weren't as frequent there. The question is more about if you belong to the core of the community or an outer circle… I think the question is ambivalent, because the core members, approximately 15–20 members, live in the 8. disctrict anyway. Well, not everybody… Gibbon comes from Érd [a settlement in Pest county, nearby the capital.] He thinks that community and garden matters… well, it doesn't necessarily mean the same to everybody. […] As for me I live in the VII. district [Erzsébetváros] quite close to a transport node so if the garden moves, let's suppose, further than 20 km… I would say, well, nope. But if I can reach the spot in about 30 minutes with public transportation, I say okay." (NZs, gardener, personal interview, 2018)

"I got to the garden in the previous location barely knowing anything about gardening. Kinga planted for me at the beginning, I had no clue what I can plant next to each other, and I was lazy to look it up, but the truth is the people I met down there in the second place… are exactly those people, who were the reason that I used to love to be there. When we moved again, the situation became complicated: only a few of my acquitances remained, who I could ask for help, they used to tell me gladly… in the new place I felt like everybody minds their own business… for me it wasn't the place anymore, just a space of flowers. […] Somehow it's different here… people don't pay attention to each other like before, at the beginning. (FeE, senior gardener, personal interview, 2018)

"In the last garden it was a really good team… This place is much smaller here. Much smaller, yeah. It is a bit harder for me to make up my mind to go out there. I'm collecting the compost for weeks sometimes, till it's already smelly, even full of fruit-flies…and there's also compost in the kindergarten, but I don't bring it to the garden… it's a bit further than the previous garden, like 15 minutes from my home… but if we did something jointly, I would regain my enthusiasm to get involved with gardening." (ToB, gardener, personal interview, 2018)

"I used to live in Tömő street, parallel to Apáthy István street […] but I don't live there anymore, right now I come from MTK [Hidegkuti Nándor] stadium to the garden, a bit further away, but I really love to be there. When I am home alone and bored … I like to walk to the garden instead, and look around… something like that. […] I insist on gardening, not the garden site." (TaJ, senior gardener, personal interview, 2018)

Of course the garden location matters regarding mood and motivation for participation as a few gardeners resented shifting locations and compared them to previous experiences, but the fundamental desire to cultivate urban green or social relations cannot be undermined by the developmental process.

"Honestly, we got into gardening when the issue of community was not that important to us, I was more eager to have my own tomatoes. Our flat has no balcony, and the gangway in the building is not suitable for growing anything. I was always wondering where I can make a garden, then once we stepped outside our door, and it was right in front of us, now there is the head office of Nokia… so that was the start of our story with the previous location of Grundkert. And really, exactly right in front of our door and everybody was gardening. […] The lack of green in the 8th district is a really huge problem. In Grundkert I feel like

I've travelled to the countryside. After half an hour my brain switches completely, and I don't even feel like I am in Budapest, more like somewhere else. On the one hand the garden site is useful because of the opportunity for relaxation, and to enjoy the green as well... it's so good to have a green island in a district that has little to do with green... to chill out, doing something very different from what you usually do... kind of stepping out from the treadwheel... on the other hand when we started gardening, I thought we would have a child earlier... and I thought how good it would be, if I can carry him/her to the garden. But now our situation with the garden is uncertain. I think we won't move. But it depends on how far away we would get a space, because if it's within reasonable distance, then yes, maybe..." (CzR & BeS, coordinator, gardener, personal interview, 2018*)*

"It would be great to find a constant place where no one decides above our heads... a place to attach to more. [...] It was wonderful that Futureal lent us a piece of land, and it worked somehow... but it would be better to have a permanent place." (ToB, gardener, personal interview, 2018)

"Honestly I was eager to keep artichokes, but as far as I know that's biennial, so you have to care for it for 2 years and it needs plenty of space, and maybe we won't even be here next year. I didn't dare to do it. [...] Within a certain distance I would go with the community, if it's in a certain radius... But I hope that it [moving away] will happen later. I don't know Futureal that much [...] but I would like to believe that somebody will make Futureal act reasonably, that they will handle a piece of land for us, or if not, maybe they won't build upon this plot, but keep it as a green park for recreational purposes... I don't know if there are any more abandoned plots in the district where we can get our hands dirty..." (FoG, Gardener, personal interview, 2018)

As we could see, gardeners articulated a set of individual and collective advantages of gardening, taking into account the fragile relationship between development and ways of collective attachment or self-expression. Uncertainty is probably the hardest burden of community life, but an emerging feeling of displacement seems to be a strong cohesional trait, encouraging community members to cooperate in problem solving and acting collectively. Does constant shifting between places influence community life? Of course it does: sometimes the varying location may discourage some gardeners from getting involved in plant cultivation, but the overwhelming majority of the members are optimistic about the future: they wish for a piece of land, a place to cultivate. Many of the interviews cited above were made in mid-February, shortly after demolition machines, excavators, and construction workers unexpectedly appeared in the neighbouring plot, and rapidly started to demolish the abandoned building complex without informing the community about the potential scenarios. In such troublesome situations gardeners reflect, and explain their emotional relationship in connection to the place, opposed to the massiveness of demolition; on the other hand, they more or less implicitly draw up criticisms of modernisation and power, which I argue draws upon a kind of social pattern of how evaluation and place attachment operates. In conjunction with Eizenberg I experienced that "*determination of space facilitates a strong psychological ownership among gardeners*" (Eizenberg 2012: 116).

PLACE EVALUATION AS A CRITICISM OF DEVELOPMENT

In late winter in 2018, when expressed feelings of displacement showed up shortly after demolition work on the neighboring plot, gardeners instantly intensified communication, in which criticism of development was emergent. Members expressed misgivings about their place and the lifeforms of the ecosytem attached to it.

"If somebody was in the garden these days, you could see that the neighbouring building on the right side came to a sticky end. They've already started to demolish it, the car tyre service moved away earlier. The roofing was taken away at the edge of the two plots, in a narrow corridor, soon they will knock down the walls as well. Two things came to my mind: I guess workers will not act gently or circumspectly, there is a high chance that the bricks will fall on Kornél's cactuses. The second thing is the fate of the bees living in the wall crevice. They are doomed, unless an apiarist can save them with an empty hive. It would need some organization, and to keep an eye on the demolition work, and to ask them to leave the rest of the brickwall intact, so that we can take it down with our hands to avoid killing the bees with the falling debris and dust. Maybe it's impracticable, but if we don't even try they will surely die. (TJ, supporting community member, inner group conversation, 2018) *(Picture 5)*

"I feel serious pain when I look at these pictures. Our roses right next to the wall survived for now. The question is: for how long?" (FK, gardener, inner group conversation, 2018)

"I am afraid it means the end of the garden as well." (MaJ, gardener, inner group conversation, 2018)

"Damn, I can't believe we cannot spend a few years in the same place. I thought they would inform us in time to save our hide…" (Nagyi, senior gardener, inner group conversation, 2018)

Such an intense utterance of unbalance, I suppose, refers to existence of deeper attachment, even though, as we saw previously, many gardeners considered the actual garden site less important. A few days later many gardeners joined together in the garden to remove fallen bricks and dust from the plots that used to be by the edge of the wall. It turned out that the investment company did not inform the community on purpose, since it was winter, and indeed not the gardening season. Members resented the lack of adequate communication from the company, as it increased uncertainty. *(Picture 6)*

Picture 5. The days of destruction in February. Photo by János Tölgyesi, 2018

Picture 6. Gardeners removing the debris from the flowerbeds. Own photo, 2018

"I called the main architect of Futureal yesterday and he said that he told the contractor responsible for the demolition to look after the garden. They said they will be gentle. Gentle demolition, huh? (Gibbon, coordinator, gardener, own notes, 2018)

The rebuilding gained notable press coverage at the end of February, mainly in blogs and online magazines in the context of the Corvin Project. Corvin Negyed Blog, which writes about the current state of development, posted the following:

"This is the end for the buildings in the corner of Apáthy and Balassa street. Rebuilding work started recently, so it can definitely be stated that the development of Corvin Quarter won't stop at Szigony street, instead it goes futher in the direction of Klinikák [Clinics]. *Besides the development, we secretly worry for Grundkert in case they have to go; maybe they will get another opportunity for urban gardening."* (post from Corvin Negyed Blog, 14 February, 2018)

The article received a massive response from the gardeners in inner discussions and outer, public online fora as well, referring to the contradiction between progress and autonomous/self-expressive community initiatives, criticism addressed towards the development itself:

"This, what you call progress [of the district] *is exactly the thing that expels the bottom-up nature initiatives from the city, just like Grundkert, which tries to re-interpret urban spaces."* (TaV, gardener, public comment on article, 2018)

According to Ger, contrariness (the way how people express themselves differently) through setting goods in a new context can be liberating in a sense (Ger 1997: 111). Place attachment, particularly the community garden as a community asset challenges the traditional conceptions of urban space. Members constantly shared their opinions about the contradictions between the claim to control places and displacement. In the beginning of the sowing season in late March, early April, the topic came up many times: members addressed more specific criticism towards modernisation in the context of the garden's situation, and expressed the view that upcoming conflicts are more likely to be the outcome of bigger issue.

"Speaking from my life situation of course I am annoyed, because right there on the other side, by Corvin pathway everything is happy, happy, happy… hypocrisy. This is how I see it now, but it doesn't mean it is not a necessary thing to develop. I didn't spend much time investigating the history of the 8th district, but there were strange things around the tree felling at Orczy Park as well… My friends who are involved in municipal work are more focused on this issue, they say Corvin Project is a highly demanded development, with billions of forints put into it. But I think no one engaged essentially in the life circumstances of local inhabitants, they didn't do anything with the problems. For example isn't the solution to the problem of drug addicts to hide the needle … I do not know. […] I am pretty sure the house next to us will disappear soon. [She refers to an old building in Tömő street, settled by people who live under the subsistence level.] *I am desperate because of these trees in the empty plot in front of us as well. I can't see trees anywhere else around. If you pass by Nokia Centre down the street, there are display panels with landscape pictures placed on the outside. This is a lie. A complete lie."* (FoG, gardener, personal interview, 2018) *(Picture 7)*

"There are beautiful buildings for sure, but I suppose where things look too perfect… I'm not eager to walk around, still they are intensively developing Corvin. In point of fact we build modern housing estates
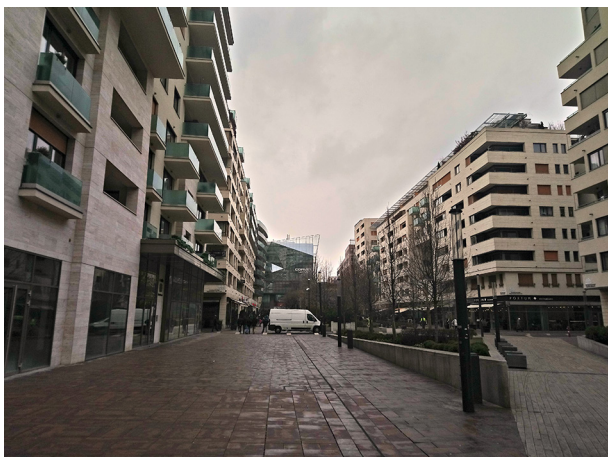
Picture 7. The neighbouring streets: the centre of Corvin development. Own photo, 2018

and modern factories. The scary thing about it is that the centre built next to the garden is a factory where people sit in front of computer screens. […] In many regards the district has become better, and in many regards it hasn't, since there is more concrete everywhere, and you can't intensify this to infinity, I think it will slow down or get stuck at a point after a while." (NZs, gardener, personal interview, 2018)

"I don't know where they would give us a new plot, because I was wondering after all they are building these high-rise buildings which I don't like…even though the 'neighborhood' changed a lot and the walkway next to Nokia is so different you can't believe it… My friend used to visit me and she told me, Erzsi, it's like we're not even in Hungary… They always told me when we went down to the walkway, that this is another world, how far is this world compared to the old 8th district? […] If young people come here to work, they won't know a thing about what the 8th used to mean before. When me moved here from Óbuda decades ago, they said to us: you are crazy. […] Because of the incessant rising of property prices my husband and his carpenter collagues have to move to find another workroom, but he does it as hobby, he is already 75 years old, but they have to move. If someone had told us decades ago that there will be such high houses blocking the view of the Buda mountains from the 9th floor, and warn me about this amount of dust coming into the flat daily, I would have considered staying in Óbuda instead. […] Green would be so important here, even now, after so many trees were cut in Orczy park because of the refurbishment, and even there is a lack of green in the inner courtyard of the new houses so… it would be necessary to leave green places, because new houses are rising, everything is being built-in and slowly you can't even breathe here […] even though, doing something with the 8th was really important." (FeE, senior gardener, personal interview, 2018)

Inertia, wrath and destruction. I quote Gergő: 'this is an indiscreet pout of the symbolic system of 'progress.' […] the Grundkert is on an adjacent plot, I have been cultivating plants there with a town community for 3 years […] capital concentration vs. social space, the 8. district, where "the largest continuous green area is the top of the pool table." (InP, gardener, shared Facebook post with pictures of the nearby demolition work, 2018)

These interviews and comments offer a detailed picture of the negatively experienced effects of the transformation, in some cases the developed part of Corvin even crops up as a physically opposable part of the disctrict compared to the garden site. A few members I asked feel like they are not able to express familiarity or homeliness with the upcoming developments of the district.

"Maybe it is a conscious strategy of the locals to push out poorer social groups from here, like a population exchange or I don't know. As I stare at these houses I cannot decide which method is easier: to refurbish or to rebuild them; look at that art noveau-styled house, that's where I live. There are a bunch of inner problems, and the house next to it is in even worse condition. During the 40 years of the socialist era they let these buildings deteriorate, now it's the responsibility of the dwellers to make them even habitable. But obviously new people come to live in the district from a different social layer, and I recognized that even kindergarten children like to hang out in the Corvin shopping mall. For me it's not a pleasurable time, I go there for a purpose, or if I need a kind of product. [...] But I've seen old people sitting inside on the benches, maybe it's good for them in winter to go to a warm place, and to use the public toilet for free. I don't know. It's ambivalent. I cannot reconcile these two things. It's really good to live in the city with lots of cultural opportunities right 'in your face', but I miss nature, and the opportunity to retreat to a place... I would love to live in the countryside if I had lots of money, you know... I would surely buy an active/passive or an eco-house. [...] But these monetary and profit-oriented companies cannot admit that this won't be profitable for them. Most of these corporations want more money, and to produce more... and no wonder you meet kind of degrowth groups who say: this is abnormal, planet Earth is finite, I don't know how far we can still grow economically."

- Even though the garden area is provided by a kind of company?

"I think somebody, or somebodies handled our situation as a personal mission at the company, maybe it touched somebody... it is not the whole company at all. They get no profit from it. Maybe somebody in a decision-making position was favourable... but it's not the whole company, the whole logic behind it. 'Cause if it were, they would make a kind of green park, even with their name on the 'thanks to list' on the door of a community garden, or I don't know. It's very distant... it's about profit, profit and more profit, meanwhile the human disappears...the way how he/she feels him/herself disappears... and places narrow. Population grows, we need more space instead of places. But as for me I am happy that there are more and more community gardens opening every year, of course there are garden communities with an easier life and destiny... this is ours, struggling with temporality. The question is, whether the community is strong enough to seek another urban territory or not, and how much energy we want to sacrifice..." (ToB, gardener, personal interview, 2018)

"Listen, more or less, but this is about money... I don't live in this part of the city, I don't know, whether it affects the life of locals positively or not, but this is pretty much about money." (KoP, gardener, own notes, 2017)

"...you know, those guys at the Corvin Quarter Blog more have the viewpoint of evaluating progress, but I'm not. I think that all kinds of social formations should find their place in the city..." (TaV, gardener, own notes, 2018)

"Come on, this is about money. I think I've said everything with that. We can say 'things' just like in American movies: such a development, such opportunities for local entrepreneurs, how good it will be, everybody will be happy, and everything will prosper, still I'm not really concerned about this is how it should go. If the developers at Futureal are a bit reasonable, they will transform this place along the lines of a green concept, or leave it as a little green park. That would be something at least. And yes, if something, then achieving change in the minds of people: that's the hardest." (FoG, gardener, personal interview, 2018)

Summing up these viewpoints of criticism, does it mean that members refuse all the processes of modernisation? Of course not. This relation between place attachment and modernisation, as we have seen, is more complex and dialectic. Many of the gardeners find it positive that this part of the city is undergoing serious and benefical changes in transportation services, cultural opportunities and architecture. However, they are conscious about negative effects such as small communities losing ground in the city, that reflects the inner philosophy of development: forced individualisation, privatisation, lack of green, lack of connection with nature, and displacement through growth and property market dumping. Do these aspects automatically mean that the community and individuals do not attach emotionally or symbolically to places or locations? In the upcoming examples I suggest again: not necessarily. They do, but much depends on the time factor, and a certain or transparent legal situation. Urban gardening is a territorially natured initiative, a materialized conglomerate of various ideas and acts referring to the dynamics of adaptability and rapidly changing life conditions. Even though members bond more to other members and relations over 'the garden fences' through patterns of trust, there are many acts and actions that can be registered referring to the fact that the community tries to form the vacant lot like it is their own property, and take responsibility for its appearence and what kind of cultural content it mediates.

The cultural aspects of attachment: Two telling incidents from the garden

Given my word count limitation, I would like to mention two brief, interesting incidents that took place in the garden last summer and this winter, showing a more specific operation of place attachment and evaluation. First of all, after extremely long discussions about whether the garden should be more visible to passers-by at the front gate in Apáthy István street or not, two members of the community removed the barbed wire from the top of the garden wall (made of at least 2 meter high OSB plates) without asking the rest of the community members if they could do so. The barbed wire in the frontline had already been part of the fences around the vacant lot built by Futureal, shortly after the community members moved into the new garden site in the early spring of 2015. The removal happened in April 2017, when the heavily distorted anti-refugee discussion was at its most intensive in the mass media, and was a matter of common talk. As the participants of this action explained, barbed wire became a symbol of hatred and intolerance in Hungary. Because of its meaning it was felt it should not appear around the social space of a community that believes in tolerance, trust, the chance of integration, transparency, democratic values and experimenting with social participation. The case generated extensive discourse in the inner chat group and verbally as well, through mostly similar opinions and of course some surprising extremes. There was a broad consensus about the appropriateness of the action, although a few members expressed concern about the need for community re-conciliation in such important situations. Right now there is no wire in the fences anymore; therefore, the meaningfulness of the actual landscape has been modified. Conflicting viewpoints highlighted the way of attachment in spite of the awareness of temporality.

"Yesterday I removed the barbed wire from the top of the fences. I put the remaining pieces in a box next to the gate if someone wants to use it later. If not, then does anyone know a place where this can be handed in? I hope no one is shocked about it." (Anonymous gardener, inner group conversation, 2017)

"Why remove the barbed wire from the fences? Because it is a fairly ambiguous thing to protect an open-minded community garden with barbed wire from the outside world, since nowadays barbed wire is a symbol of populism and hatred in Hungary, and because we are hosting the Menedék [Shelter] *Association in the garden* [with a raised bed] *who are 'defending' refugees from barbed wire. And it's ugly too."* (TaV, gardener, inner group conversation, 2017)

"I thought it's a garden, not a shelter. They are welcome in the garden as always, in their point of view [she refers to the refugees here] *the barbed wire could be left as it was, because it was placed there for another purpose. If the wallpaper hurts my eyes when I am a guest somewhere, I don't think they will remove or change it for me. The guest should come, feel him/herself at home, and if he/she feels okay and done, then we should let him/her go home. It's not decoration. Réka is right, speaking about it referring to others' emotions has no ground. Especially afterwards."* (SGy, ex-gardener, inner group conversation, 2017)

"As for me I think it's important to discuss such things. Wire as a symbol is very negative. As a defending object it's very good. Moreover I think it's important to note that there are no hosts or guests in the garden. We are all gardeners with equal rights. Referring to the previous example: 'roommates'." (Gibbon, coordinator, gardener, inner group conversation, 2017)

"If you let me share my thoughts about this, I consider it a noble thing to try to keep democratic forms of coexistence, reconciliation and decision-making in unstable conditions, but there is a point when a sudden decision is taken. It is almost illogical, still it makes sense. That is why I agree with the seemingly revolutionary removal of wire under these circumstances. […] So in my opinion, we should speak about where and what is the exact role of a community garden in Hungary, in the 8th district, or in the world, if its functionality is still considered to be openness. I certainly don't think that it is the exceeding of average yields of tomatoes…" (SziG, gardener, closed group conversation, 2017)

"In principle this is a beautiful thought. But in practice this is the property of Futureal. Legally, Messzelátó Association is responsible for us! If Futureal wants, they can pick a quarrel about this, so Messzelátó, who are taking the legal responsibility for us as a favor, maybe it can cause trouble and awkwardness for the coordinators… with a revolutionary act like this." (CzR, gardener, coordinator, inner group conversation, 2017)

These segments of the discussion show that modifying elements of the garden site brings up the emotional connections with the place and deeper meanings attached to it. In the long run the barbed wire was removed and replaced with bell-shaped ornaments and festoons resembling colourful flags in mid April, after a decoration workshop. Gardeners mostly look back at the incident as getting rid of an unpleasant meaning attached to the place, which is inappropriate in such an open-minded formation as the garden community, even though the symbolic meaning of the barbed wire was assigned to it externally at first, defined by actual political-natured events.

"As for me the strange thing was that a newcomer does something, and doesn't reconcile it with the community. I rather saw a communicational problem in this thing, than something else. Well, I wasn't following the discussion that much, but the outcome was fairly positive for me, I didn't have a problem with the act itself, but how it was put into effect. To avoid indignation, speak about your intentions before you act… I think if they had asked them first, and argue why it is wrong, then maybe it wouldn't have caused trouble like a guerilla action." (BO, gardener, personal interview, 2018)

"I don't even remember clearly, but the truth is yes, it has symbolical meaning, and I am happy that it has been removed… but it's really difficult to find balance with these things… I think this is a kind of solution as well, that colourful flags have been placed there and not the barbed wire, which notoriously evokes unsavoury memories. I say no, it shouldn't be here, and it's not a problem that it's not here. If someone wants to break in here, it won't stop that person." (FoG, gardener, personal interview, 2018)

Many gardeners noted that the irony of the situation is that, shortly after the deconstruction ended, unknown culprits broke into the garden, removed the lock of the garden shed, and scrounged gardening tools, metallic objects, the wheelbarrow, the hydrant wrench, the aluminium hanging gutter, and the electric compost grinder. Even though the incident was reported to the local police department, the tools have not been found since then, and the incident caused momentary concern about whether the community could start the gardening season. The stock of tools has been partly restored by donations of other community gardens and private offerings with internet fundraising, and with internal support as well. Still the situation was discouraging for many members, since after the removal of debris from the neighbouring plot there were no walls to separate the garden site from the eastern property line; Futureal simply placed easily removable mobile fences around the plot. The community decided to place boards advising that it was a private area and property, and installed a burglar alarm above the door of the garden shed. The case revealed a set of values and ambivalences referring to the attachment to a temporary place. Apropos of installing tangible security elements to the garden, I asked the community members how they relate to publicity. The provoking question was that, if the community garden promotes that the city belongs to its dwellers and communicates openness, then why is the garden clearly physically separated from the street?

"You present this issue very well. Strictly speaking both extremes can be found here in the garden. Why close the gate? – leave it open; the other side, in a figurative sense, would even place wire at the top. The middle path is the best, just like everywhere else. People patently have a certain degree of self-defense thinking, mea culpa, because I was participating in it, I helped in things, I am attached to it. It wouldn't be good if someone disrupts it. Here is a short example: we have to care about people as well, the poor or humans falling on evil days, okay. Once we tried this, let them in, it didn't work."

– So, are these fences necessary?

"Yes, indeed." (Nagyi, senior gardener, personal interview, 2018)

"Yes, it's necessary, because we can be lambs but not sheep. Just because I don't take someone else's stuff, it doesn't mean I will leave the door open. You must be realistic, see the things as they are, apart from that we have open minds and we do certain kind of things, and a couple of things we don't. We gardened in all good faith, look what was the result: somebody broke in." (FoG, gardener, personal interview, 2018)

Gardeners make important remarks about the lines and limits of space attachment: clarifying that the promotion of importance of attachment and evaluation under the circumstances of tranformation and attachment itself is different, although in the examined case openness is an essential part of attachment to share a sustainable vision of the city.

"Yes, it's necessary for people to see the borders, but our door is open for everyone. There are tables of descriptions of gardening on the inner side of the walls, but if somebody stops, we invite them in, probably it's a kind of primary filter who to let in. [...] Well, a bit of prejudice is in everyone." (NZs, gardener, personal interview, 2018)

"It's self-defense. We are in the 8th after all, still we would like to harvest for ourselves... as for me, it's not the most important aspect to harvest my self-cultivated things, but still... there are lots of different people in the community. First of all, we have to focus on each other, secondly, on the place... we are a kind of a family, so it's a reasonable claim, if someone wants to border him/herself to defend the plants. [...] Our farming unit consists of, I don't know exactly, maybe 50–60 persons, I think 20 of them are really open minded, but there are lots of them who are not that open-minded. Our commitment is to embrace them as much as possible. Maybe some are not capable of being more open, but no one should be forced into unacceptable conditions, for example to cultivate on a plot without walls, in a fully libertine world, maybe they just want to eat the whatever... the potatoes they grew. [...] In the previous garden, before the Nokia centre was built, there were window boxes and wire fences. I'm not in favour of this wooden palisande wall here... there was a better opportunity to talk with the passers-by, you could invite them inside easier, come on, take a look around... this palisande somehow blocks it, so it's kinda' hard, because the essential purpose would be to communicate that you can do things like this in the city. (Gibbon, co-ordinator, gardener, personal interview, 2018)

A 'DOUBTFUL' CONCLUSION

In my opinion, space attachment unfolded in acts and discourses has to be researched if we are supposed to achieve a deeper understanding about the dynamics of social space construction in cities. According to Soja, Foucault, Sassen, Castells, and Harvey places are politically contested since they gain importance as the expression or solidification of power (through capital control, access control, and social exclusion). The aim of my analysis was not to challenge ideas about spatiality, but to glance over relatively rigid ideological positions on capital concentration, and to suggest a brief anthropological overview by examining a microcommunity: a dialogic relation with modernity through the lense of a community reacting to sustainability. In this sense, Grundkert is both a result and a symptomatic outcome of transformations. Thus, being in the crossfire of place evaluation and displacement we cannot speak of community life without the local political situation that is leading to an increase in the complexity of social dynamics.

I argue that these ways of forming space and the symbolical meanings attached to it imply a set of instructive community demands and directions which can be taken into account during community development processes and participatory planning of cities, maybe even in decision-making levels. Expressions, thoughts, acts and actions of the participants about attachment beyond all skin-deep recognition have the potential to address how ideas of development should be fine-tuned, incorporating the human factor of local perception, even without, I venture, changing the core logic of modernisation. In this article I attempted to introduce an (in some ways) overlooked territory of critical urban theory with an anthropological overview of members' impressions. Even though community gardening is currently still underrated in general urban development practice, it seems to be a useful context to particularize questions about sustainable directions. As I see it,

the real question is how much chance we have that development processes and engineering-approached city planning will take into account any of these (in the case of community gardening) more and more important social factors. I suppose, little. Yet, any kind of social participation in urban space planning has little significance in Hungary. Since there is no efficient communication between social actors, currently an unsupportive political environment for civil self-representation (Pálné 2008: 54–56), and the economic potential of civil associations is heavily differentiated, community gardening will still have more 'evident' (e.g. aesthetics, healthy food) material importance than compared to its deeper and more complex or symbolic dimensions. Still, if we take a look at communities that are forced to change, we are able to see that they have a remarkable corpus of survival strategies, which refer to more abstract questions of urban transformations perceived locally. Regarding local development it definitely has a humane and emotionally attached scenario if we see urban agriculture as a dialectic relationship, a set of attachments, expectations and desire of sustainability rather than aesthetics. Grundkert seems to be a valuable social seismograph of the occurring structural reshaping, where between the extreme ends of the pendulum, there runs an agreement that change is necessary: what would matter most is the exact scale and the methods.

I was writing the main parts of this article between March and May, 2018. It is May now, and the garden is blossoming. By the time the article is published, the gardenplace will possibly have been displaced by construction machinery, structural elements and mobile toilets instead of flowerbeds, so that the anthropological essence of this paper may involuntarily acquire the substance of an historical imprint. This is more-or-less a reflection of the logic of temporality, which is definitely becoming part of our perception of the world. In the case of community gardening, space attachment is dialectical with interdependent relations with land owners and economic processes. Although the average number of small communities getting engaged with social space production in cities is rising, it does not necessarily mean that they stick to only one geographical location. Varying the location does not necessarily mean that communities or individuals fail to deepen their relationship to place. Beyond the average harvest of paprika, tomatoes and countless mint leaves or parsley, the basic need to transform space is manifested in highly particularistic ways; the further question is, whether this affective equipoise can be sustained by microcommunities settled in cities within or without a supporting social and political environment. Criticism of the growth society through space usage practices and evaluation is emergent, and it needs further investigation to clarify its import, and to draw up alternatives for a more democratized, community based city planning. *(Picture 8)*

Picture 8. The property line of Grundkert with the construction on the background. Own photo, 2017

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Routes to right-wing extremism in times of crisis

An Austrian-Hungarian comparison based on the SOCRIS survey[2]

Abstract

Right-wing extremism has been flourishing in many European countries since the outbreak of the financial crisis in 2008, and the migration wave of 2015 intensified right-wing extremist attitudes even more in several countries in the region. In this paper we analyse two countries impacted very differently by the financial and the refugee crises with the help of the 2017 SOCRIS survey, which investigated different forms of inclusive and exclusive solidarity in Austria and Hungary. This paper wishes to contribute to a better understanding of the growing popularity of right-wing extremism (FPÖ, JOBBIK and FIDESZ) in these countries. Using step by step linear regression models and path-model analyses we found that the popularity of FPÖ is due to a strong social disruption in Austria, which is primarily conspicuous in the area of political and social values. In Hungary, however, right-wing extremism is more widespread, but caused by a broader range of factors, since Fidesz and Jobbik fight for right-wing voters. Our results indicate that while right-wing extremist thinking was typical of well definable minority groups in Austria in 2017, there was a wide permeation of right-wing extremism among different social strata in Hungary.

Keywords: multiple crises, right-wing extremism, SOCRIS project, path-models, comaprative analysis in Austria and Hungary

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Routes to right-wing extremism in times of crisis

An Austrian-Hungarian comparison based on the SOCRIS survey

Introduction

The recent economic crisis has severely affected citizens all over Europe, leading to high levels of insecurity, and declining trust in public institutions. Right-wing extremist parties successfully capitalize on people's anxieties by blaming scapegoats for society's problems, positioning those outside of the ethnic nation as an external threat to society. As recent European and national elections showed they are indeed becoming even more attractive to a significant part of the electorate, because reactions to the consequences of the crisis and to experiences of deprivation often lead to authoritarianism, nationalism and xenophobia.

Nevertheless, it would be short-sighted to interpret the rise of right-wing extremism only in the context of recent socio-economic crises. Already in 2004, Mudde warned of a "populist Zeitgeist" (2004: 542) and he has pointed to significant shifts in European politics starting in the 1960s that led to the breaking down of the post-war consensus and the weakening of centre-right and centre-left parties (Mudde 2016). While the "supply" side of right-wing extremism – media uses, strategies, discourses and activities of such political formations – has a considerable literature, in this paper our aim is to focus on the "demand" side, that is, the electorate's growing affinity towards right-wing extremist ideologies and political formations.

As a follow-up study to the earlier European research project SIREN,[3] this analysis will map the perceptions of, and reactions to, socio-economic change and will link these to political orientations of people in Austria and Hungary. In doing so, it will explore the impact of the crisis on democratic development. It will show to what extent these developments have fuelled exclusivist, nationalistic and xenophobic attitudes and increased the attraction to right-wing extremism. The paper draws on survey data (N=2000) from the ongoing SOCRIS research project[4] in Austria and Hungary to answer the following questions:

- What are the most important explanatory factors behind right-wing extremism in Austria and Hungary?
- How can we link social status and perceptions of socio-economic changes with affinity to right-wing extremism in two countries affected very differently by the crisis?
- How could the differences and similarities between the two countries regarding the routes to right-wing extremism be explained?

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3 The SIREN project (Socio-Economic Change, Individual Reactions and the Appeal of the Extreme Right) investigated connections between socio-economic changes on the labour market caused by neoliberal politics and the affinity to right-wing radicalism in eight European countries, among them in Austria and Hungary between 2001 and 2004. The project was funded by the European Commission and co-funded by the Austrian Federal Ministry for Education, Science and Cultural Affairs.

4 More details at https://www.socris-project.com

The cross-country comparison is justified by parallel phenomena taking place in a roughly similar manner in the neighboring countries: the rise of right-wing extremism both in Hungary and in Austria. As we will argue, however, this apparent similarity also masks important potential differences, especially when we focus on the "demand" side for right-wing extremism.

The paper is structured in the following way. In the opening, theoretical section of the paper we provide a short overview regarding definitions of right-wing extremism and relevant "demand" side theories. Our point here is not to reiterate already-known formulations on the subject but to emphasize and problematize two recent developments that require scholarly attention. First, the move of Hungary's largest right-wing party, Fidesz from a moderate to an extremist position, and second: the fact that both in Austria and Hungary, FPÖ and Fidesz respectively are governing powers at the moment. We believe that both of these novel developments necessitate a careful rereading and rethinking of already existing theoretical knowledge. Afterwards, we provide a short background of the relevant parties in the two countries, Fidesz and Jobbik in Hungary and FPÖ in Austria for a better understanding of the "supply-side" of right-wing extremism. In the next section of the paper we describe the research methods utilized and provide a detailed description of the operationalisation process we undertook. This is followed by the discussion of our empirical findings, introducing the stepwise regression models and the path-models of the research. Finally, concluding the article, we answer our research questions and discuss their relevance.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM

While terms such as the far right, extreme right, right-wing radicalism, extremism, and radical right are often interchangeably used, for the sake of the present research we focus on the phenomenon of right-wing extremism. Right-wing extremism, a famously difficult concept to define – with more than 26 definitions counted by Mudde (1995: 206) – has not become analytically easier to grasp in recent years with the blossoming of new political formulations.

When defining right-wing extremism, for instance, Betz emphasizes the following ideological elements: 1. nationalism, 2. militarism, 3. right-wing authoritarianism, 4. charismatic leadership (Betz 2001). We already find that issues of style, content and organization are all included in the definitions here. Holzer (1994) also provides an ideology-centric approach. According to him right-wing extremism can be described as follows: 1. the idea of national community – the living, eternal organism built on a hierarchic, patriarchal order that ensures the socio-economic status of the individual; 2. ethnocentrism and racism, a strong division of 'us and them' accompanied by the exclusion of strangers and looking down on them; 3. authoritarianism and anti-pluralism, the idea of a strong state and strong leader; 4. creating enemies, finding scapegoats; 5. the nationalistic approach to history that serves to support personal identity (Holzer 1994: 35).

Minkenberg characterizes right-wing radicalism or extremism the following way: *"right-wing extremism is a political ideology revolving around the myth of a homogenous nation – a romantic and populist ultra-nationalism hostile to liberal, pluralistic democracy, with its underlying principles of individualism and universalism"* (Minkenberg 2013: 11). The key characteristics we can take away from this definition are ultra-national-

ism, anti-liberalism, anti-pluralism, and anti-individualism. Nevertheless, as we will see, the phenomenon is a highly context-sensitive one where certain characteristics (such as anti-Semitism in Europe) may lose their relevance and new features gain prominence.

In this vein, Mudde (2000) warns that we should distinguish 'traditional neo-fascist' types from new, 'post-industrial' types of radical right-wing populist parties. The new type radical right-wing populist parties distinguish themselves from old-fashioned, neo-fascist extremism, with its anti-democracy and inclination to violence. These new type parties rather give a nationalistic response to the challenge of globalisation (Mudde 2000).

For the purposes of the present research we focus on the ideologies of parties in order to identify them as right-wing extremist, with an emphasis on ultra-nationalism, anti-liberalism, anti-pluralism, and anti-individualism. Nevertheless, we also claim that the contents of these ideologies are subject to change, similarly to the transformation that Mudde explained above.

Among "demand-side" theories of right-wing extremism, for the sake of the present research, we differentiate between four explanatory models, that we consider as different dimensions of the issue. The dimensions discussed below are: social status, socio-economic changes, socio-psychological drivers, and political atttitudes.

The first dimension states the importance of *social status* in right-wing extremist affinity. This approach connects the support of right-wing extremism to the lower strata of society, especially during crisis (Golder 2016). The threatened economic interest theory put forward by Lipset posits that exclusivism is common among working class voters who find they have to fight for scarce resources (1966). The impact of job insecurity has also been researched in this vein (Billiet et al. 2014). Nevertheless, this dimension provides a partial explanation at best, since on the one hand there is a clear difference between objective measures of social status and its perception, while on the other hand changes in social status should be included in our understandings as well.

A second dimension to understanding the demand for right-wing extremism therefore includes theories that emphasize changes, and the attraction of losers of socio-economic changes to right-wing extremist ideologies (De Weerdt et al. 2007, Flecker 2007). It is not objective social status, but a perception of changes that drive right-wing extremist affinity here. Furthermore, the theory of political dissatisfaction claims that losers of changes turn to extreme parties due to disappointment (Van der Brug et al. 2000). The above theories, however, are unable to explain the radicalization of the political centre and of the winners of changes. A number of approaches have attempted to interpret these phenomena. First, the theory of fear of *déclassement* claims that the middle-class feels that their position and identity may be threatened, contributing to radicalization (Lipset 1966). Others argue that radicalism in fact comes from the centre of society (Butterwege 2002). A difficulty with these approaches however lies in the fact that changes affect political preferences in a multitude of ways: they can lead to feelings of deprivation, but in times of disruption, feelings of empowerment as well; they can have detrimental effects on feelings of social attachment but can create strong ties of micro-solidarity as well.

Therefore, a third dimension, that is, the inclusion of *socio-psychological drivers* is necessary. The inclusion of these drivers is also important because a number of approaches investigate the link between issues such as new mercantilism (Flassbeck 2016), neoliberalism (Bruff 2014) and austerity (Doležalová 2015) on the one hand, and right-wing extremism on the other. A thread within this approach stresses the crisis of modernity (Betz 1994, Ignazi 2000); another emphasizes the erosion of identity where right-wing extremism offers a symbolic community (Sennett 1998). These are all connected to individualization and a destabilization of existing institutions. During times of crisis and chaos, right-wing extremist "solutions" can serve as "identity stabilizing tools", for these reasons we look at *socio-psychological drivers,* such as subjective wellbeing, feelings of collective deprivation and social attachment and their relationship to right-wing extremism.

Finally, a further dimension connects right-wing extremism to *political attitudes,* such as welfare chauvinism (Hentges and Flecker 2006), social dominance orientation (SDO), ethnocentrism, xenophobia, authoritarianism and political powerlessness which can provide explanations of right-wing extremist breakthroughs even in strong welfare states. Existing research has shown that social dominance orientation, welfare chauvinism, ethnocentrism, authoritarianism, and xenophobia are related to the support of right-wing extremist parties (Flecker 2007). We also analysed political powerlessness, as protest voting or political powerlessness can make voters turn towards extreme actors (Van den Burg et al. 2000).

While these dimensions might appear at first glance as competing explanations of the same phenomenon, we believe that an analytical advantage of our research design is to investigate the role and importance of different dimensions on the path to right-wing extremism, rather than seeing the phenomenon in a monocausal manner.

Right-wing extremist parties in Hungary and Austria

In this chapter we briefly present the history and the most important characteristics of recent right-wing extremist parties in the investigated countries.

Jobbik

Jobbik (Movement for a Better Hungary) was founded in 1999 by right-wing university students disillusioned by Orbanian ("neo-liberal politics in a conservative disguise") and Csurkian (Jewish conspiracy theories) politics. Gábor Vona became the party's president following the failed elections in 2006, and he created the paramilitary Hungarian Guard banned in 2009. Vona made the Arpad striped flag of the Nazi-ally Arrow Cross Party the symbol of his party and announced a markedly exclusivist extreme right-wing campaign. One of its victims was the Hungarian Roma population, but Jobbik did not spare gays, Jews, or left-wing liberals either. During the riots in the autumn of 2006, then vice-president of Jobbik, László Toroczkai, was also implicated in the siege of, setting fire to and ransacking of the TV headquarters.[5] The economic, political and corruption crisis of 2008, the radicalising tone of Fidesz, the murder in Olaszliszka (where men of Roma origin killed a "Hungarian" man), and the popularity of the Hungarian Guard created to curb "Gypsy crime" brought the first

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5 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8NJvNRvYtNM

success for Jobbik (for a more detailed analysis, see: Buzogány 2011, Karácsony and Róna 2011, Kovács 2013, Varga 2014, Tóth and Grajczjár 2015). The party received nearly 15% of the votes at the EP elections, nearly 17% at the parliamentary elections of 2010, and over 20% in 2014 (Nemzeti Választási Iroda 2014). The most important feature of Jobbik is that it revolts against the embedded liberalism of the open internal market of the European model, and that of the liberal democratic state building model followed in the region after 1989 (on embedded liberalism see: Ruggie 1982).

Jobbik offers by its simple populist slogans and putative national truths a new regime through 'clean hands' policy, protection for 'common men' and of national interests. Nevertheless, it offers a strong, fair, meritocratic and safe nation state based on a law and order policy as seen in the most recent political campaigns of the party. Jobbik is a radical party in the sense that it advocates revolutionary radical change to put the nation on a new development route akin to the „third way model" (between capitalism and socialism) proposed in the thirties, based on small private entrepreneurs in locally closed national markets, which would create an ethically and morally new and „right" nation as a new system. It is also radical in the sense that its political behaviour is driven by anger and hatred against the elites "serving foreign interests" and facilitating the exploitation of the virtuous people. It is nationalist as its concept of nation is diametrically opposed to traditional patriotism and it promotes an ethnocentric nationalism directed against minorities "unable" to assimilate culturally to the "nation".[6] Finally, it is populist by demanding a strong state that ensures "socialistic" style welfare support and jobs for the "virtuous" and "hardworking" people, excluding minorities like the Roma, who are deemed culturally distinct and living on welfare support and crime (see Halasz 2009, Magyar 2011, Nagy et al. 2012, Grajczjár and Kenéz 2015, Tóth and Grajczjár 2015).

Fidesz

The economic crisis of 2008, the political corruption scandals, and the critical state of the economic and political management forced socialist Prime Minister Gyurcsány to resign, but the new Prime Minister Bajnai did not manage to create an economic and social policy convincing enough for the broad spectrum of the society before the subsequent elections. In a radicalized atmosphere, the European Parliament elections in 2009 resulted in the success of Fidesz and Jobbik, and the elections of 2010 were won by Fidesz practically without an actual programme (Szűts et al. 2015), also winning a two-thirds majority in parliament. While there is considerable academic debate about the conceptualization of the regime introduced by Fidesz, there is also a consensus among scholars that it represents an autocratic turn in all spheres of politics (Kornai 2015). Taking advantage of the two-thirds majority, and the vengeful public sentiment, Orbán embarked on a nationalistic, witch-hunting, markedly exclusivist radicalization of Hungarian society. The historical relativisation of the Nazi-ally Horthy regime, and the use and partial realization of Jobbik[7]'s political programme of played an active

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6 Lukács highlighted the difference between the patriotism of traditional conservative elites and that of ethnocentric racist nationalism of the Nazi party in the interwar years in Germany (Lukács 1998).

7 For example: diminishing Hungary's role in World War II., freedom fight against the EU, strong anti-migration campaign, discrimination against multinational corporations, nationalizations in the financial sector, the public utility sector and the private pension system, public work for the unemployed, the idea of reintroducing of death penalty, opening to the East, and stronger ties with illiberal and authoritarian regimes first of all with Russia, eliminating the separation of church and state, while upholding segregation in the education system (for a more detailed analysis see: Political Capital 2015)

part in this operation with a double purpose: on the one hand, to take the wind from Jobbik's sails, and, on the other hand, to start a right-wing re-socialisation process that makes the return of parties previously considered earlier as left-liberal impossible.

Orbán introduced a new constitution based on a nationalistic credo, conquered the majority of printed and online, public and private media, started to create a new upper class called "national capitalists", to position the groups loyal to him, to nationalise the education system and to fill it with national authors, to reduce the number of graduates at universities and colleges, and to create an illiberal society based on work (for a more detailed analysis see: Bajomi-Lázár 2013, Sipos 2014, Csillag and Szelényi 2015, Ágh 2016, Enyedi 2016, Kornai 2016). The main feature of the latter is the anti-poor policy of exclusive solidarity based on the public employment system which does not lead back to the world of work, and which excludes people with low salaries from family benefits in most cases, and, at the same time, encourages well-to-do families to have more children (Szeredi 2013).

An important feature of Orbán's system is the freedom fight against the EU and global capital, the populist scapegoating attitude, keeping society constantly ready through the use of rumours, anti-migration and anti-refugee rhetoric (Krekó and Mayer 2015), and building a fence; thus creating a constant feeling of being endangered. As we will see, this discursive construction of fear is something that connects right-wing extremist parties in the two countries (Rheindorf and Wodak 2018, Krzyzanowsky et al. 2018).

The Fidesz-led right-wing government initiated a number of high profile conflicts with NGOs with international backgrounds, especially targeting those receiving and redistributing the Norwegian Grants and those supported by Hungarian-American businessman and philanthropist George Soros.

FPÖ

The FPÖ was founded in 1956 as the successor to the short-lived Federation of Independents (VdU). This was a "conglomerate of former Nazis, German nationalists and a few liberals" (Bailer et al. 2000: 106). The FPÖ aimed at representing the "third camp" of Austrian politics, including German nationalists but also liberal political currents. Its first party leader was Anton Reinthaller, a former Nazi Minister and SS officer, thus a great percentage of former Nazis "felt at home" in the party: "The first programme was a brief catalogue of catch-phrases corresponding to the political interests of former NSDAP members" (Falkenberg 1997: 81). In the early 1980s the "young liberal forces" in the FPÖ seemed to have made the ultimate breakthrough. Voted in as party leader at the 1980 congress, Norbert Steger, much abused for his "left-wing liberal" course, was from the very start in the firing line both from other extreme right organisations and from the right within the FPÖ, and was particularly opposed by Jörg Haider (Bailer et al. 2000: 111). The "putsch-like" takeover (Falkenberg 1997: 109) of the FPÖ by Jörg Haider at the 1986 congress should be seen as the final victory of these extreme right forces. According to Rösslhumer (1999: 22), with the takeover by Jörg Haider the FPÖ entered a phase of "populist protest".

Since Jörg Haider's takeover of the leadership in 1986 the FPÖ increasigly became an "authoritarian leader-party" (Bailer 1995: 273). Under Haider there was a greater integration of right-wing extremism in the

party in terms of its membership (through an increased inflow of traditional extreme right and German-nationalist oriented people as well as neo-Nazis), although simultaneously, at the level of the official programme and public presentation of the party, German nationalist ideology and symbolism was being given up.

The cornerstones of the political orientation of Haider's FPÖ (based on an analysis of the party programme and political position on selected issues) were:

- Xenophobia, ethnocentrism, new racism and anti-Semitism;
- Volksgemeinschaft ideology;
- Enemy-image and scapegoat construction;
- Authoritarianism and anti-pluralism;
- A nationalist view of history and playing down of Nazism.

In 2006, the FPÖ split into two parties: the FPÖ (stronger orientation towards right-wing nationalist populism) and the BZÖ (stronger orientation towards right-wing liberalism). The FPÖ was initially weakened, but regained considerable strength from 2006 on, under its new leader Heinz Christian Strache. Since then the FPÖ has continuously gained further seats in regional as well as in national elections and reached government participation in upper Austria (since 2015 in coalition with the ÖVP) and in Burgenland (since 2016 in coalition with SPÖ). In the presidential elections in Austria in 2016 the FPÖ candidate Norbert Hofer gained most of the votes in the first round and narrowly lost the run-off (Bundesministerium für Inneres 2016). Now, FPÖ is in a governmental position in coalition with ÖVP. Concerning ideology, the FPÖ under Strache is still clearly right-wing and openly xenophobic and racist. Although its economic program is clearly neoliberal and thus advantageous for the elites, it presents itself as the party of the oppressed and anti-elite. What FPÖ is presently executing can be characterised as an exclusive solidarian turn by focusing on the welfare state, calling itself the social homeland party, while also trying to maintain a neoliberal approach as well by arguing for the conditionality of the welfare state when it comes to refugees.

METHODOLOGY

This paper presents results of the SOCRIS-survey conducted between July and September 2017 in Austria and Hungary, near the dates of the parliamentary elections in both countries (October 2017 in Austria and April 2018 in Hungary). The surveys were based on representative samples of active aged employed and unemployed people. The SOCRIS databases were weighted with the help of European Labour Force Survey 2016 data, so they are representative for gender, age-categories, level of education and degree of urbanization among employed and unemployed people between 18 and 65 years.

The SOCRIS-questionnaire – as the quantitative tool of the follow-up research to the SIREN-project –included the following sections: socio-demographics, labour market position, perceptions of socio-economic changes, socio-psychological drivers, political attitudes, orientations, voting behaviours, and subjective and objective incomes.

In this paper, all analyses were based on simple and step by step multiple linear regression models using confidence intervals for comparing country-results. Furthermore, we built path models to analyse latent

processes on routes from social status and perceptions of socio-economic changes to affinity to right-wing extremism.

Operationalization of background variables

As discussed before, we differentiated between four interrelated explanatory approaches to analyse the "demand-side" of right-wing extremism, namely: status, socio-economic changes, socio-psychological drivers and political attitudes. In the following chapter we present a short description of our background variables based on this distinction.

There is a general consensus in the literature that those who belong to lower social classes (that is: unskilled manual labourers, people with lower levels of education, the unemployed) can be counted among the prominent losers of social transformations (Lubbers 2001, Van der Brug 2003). A common argument connects the increasing support of right-wing extremism to such lower strata of society, especially during crisis (Golder 2016). In order to test whether this relationship exists, we used an aggregated variable (principal component) to measure the objective social status offered by Lenski (2013):

- q7 – occupational position (4-point scale),
- edu_level – education (10-point scale),
- q29/q30 – income per capita (objective income on 10-point scale).

We have seen that the relationship between perceptions of socio-economic changes and right-wing extremist attitudes is debatable at best. Therefore, the present paper focuses on the connection between affinity to right-wing extremism on the one hand and belonging among "losers" or "winners" of socio-economic changes on the other (De Weerdt et al. 2007, Flecker 2007). One of the most important results of the SIREN-project was that it proved that radicalisation and affinity to right-wing extremism takes place not only among "losers" but also among "winners" of socio-economic changes, among a large European sample (De Weerdt et al. 2007, Flecker 2007). The winners belonged mostly to higher social strata. The winners' route was taken by workers who felt employable and as a consequence emphasized attitudes of competition and exclusion, opting to reduce competition on the labour market (e.g. migrants). These winners stressed attitudes such as social dominance orientation (e.g. to legitimize inequality and dominance of some groups over others), expressed chauvinism, prejudice against immigrants and authoritarian attitudes, and favoured right-wing parties.

Therefore, in order to measure socio-economic changes, we used variables by combining 1) unemployment situation and workload in order to be able to measure socio-economic changes among the active aged (q10 combined with q3) and, 2) job security (by combining feelings of secure jobs among the employed and chances of having a job among the unemployed). From these variables we created an index.

Moving on to *socio-psychological explanations,* significant potential drivers behind radicalization are subjective wellbeing and collective relative deprivation. It is commonly understood that feelings of deprivation and lack of wellbeing explain unfavourable attitudes towards members of outgroups. Therefore, we can consider the "demand" side of exclusivist politics as rooted in a need for 'identity stabilising tools' once feelings of deprivation emerge and increase. These tools promise to replace feelings of insecurity with security,

competition with well-deserved positions, and feelings of chaos with order (Kriesi et al. 1998, Vester 2001: 299). It should be noted, however, that approaches positing a linear relationship between relative deprivation and right-wing extremism have also been challenged in scholarly discussions, and the rival theory of relative gratification (or appreciation) claims that gratification can also lead to increasing hostility against outgroups (Grofman and Muller 1973).

The subjective wellbeing variable (principal component) is based on the following components (originally measured by 4 and 5-point Likert-scales):

• q14 – changes in the financial situation of the family,

• q15 – optimism concerning financial possibilities of the family in the near future,

• q31 – subjective income.

Collective relative deprivation (principal component) was operationalized as follows (originally measured by 5-point Likert-scales):

• q19_1 – the appreciation that people like me get is not proportionate to the appreciation we deserve,

• q19_2 – people like me get rewarded for their effort,

• q19_3 – people like me have the power needed to defend our interests.

When examining the route to radicalisation, an important factor is social attachment. On the one hand we can consider social attachment on the macro-scale: as processes of "individualisation" have transformed broader society, it has led to the destabilization of traditional social institutions (the family or the neighbourhood), which in turn lose their ability to function as forms of security and protection. Feelings of isolation, insecurity, and perceptions of powerlessness therefore may increase, which can be potentially utilized by right-wing extremist ideology (Heitmeyer et al. 1992, Endrikat 2003). Elements of such an ideology – hostility towards the outgroup, authoritarianism – provide affected individuals with a sense of stability (Zoll 1984).

Thus, social attachment/identification (principal component) was operationalized as follows (originally 5-point Likert scales):

• q20_1 – I feel strong ties with my relatives,

• q20_3 – I feel strong ties with my neighbourhood,

• q20_5 – I feel strong ties with Austria/Hungary.

Finally, we examined the relationship between what we call political attitudes and right-wing extremist party affinity. The SIREN-project has already established that the existence of such attitudes, namely social dominance orientation, welfare chauvinism, ethnocentrism, authoritarianism or xenophobia based on the idea of inequality and discrimination, are clearly related to the support of right-wing extremist parties (Flecker 2007). Furthermore, feelings of political powerlessness may also affect right-wing extremism, as protest voting or political powerlessness can make voters who have lost trust in traditional party formations turn towards marginal and extreme actors (Van den Burg et al. 2000).

To measure social dominance orientation (principal component), we chose 3 variables (in the SOC-RIS-questionnaire measured by 5-point Likert-scales) from the original operationalization of Pratto's work (Pratto et al. 1994):

- q22_1 – some people are just inferior to others,
- q22_2 – to get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on others,
- q22_3 – it is probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top.

We operationalized welfare chauvinism (principal component – originally measured by 5-point Likert-scales) as follows (Norris 2005):

- q22_7 – when jobs are scarce, employers should give priority to [Hungarian/Austrian] people over immigrants
- q22_8 – people in rich countries should pay an additional tax to help people in poor countries
- q22_11 – the government should be fair and humane in judging people's applications for refugee status.

Based on recent theory and measurement instruments of authoritarianism (Altemeyer 1988; principal component), it was operationalized as follows (originally measured by 5-point Likert-scales):

- q22_12 – obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn,
- q22_13 – most of our social problems would be solved if we could somehow get rid of immoral and anti-social people,
- q22_14 – we need strong leaders who tell us what to do.

Based on our original SIREN-conceptualization, we kept two variables to measure xenophobia (index – originally measured by 5-point Likert-scales):

- q22_9 – immigrants increase crime rates in Austria/Hungary,
- q22_10 – immigrants contribute to the welfare of this country.

Similarly, following the SIREN-conceptualization, we preserved two variables for measuring ethnocentrism (index- originally measured by 5-point Likert-scales):

- q22_5 – the world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like Austrians/Hungarians,
- q22_6 – people should support their country even if the country is wrong.

The operationalization of political powerlessness (principal component) is as follows (originally measured by 5-point Likert-scales):

- q23_1 – it seems that whatever party people vote for, things go on pretty much the same,
- q23_3 – people like me have no influence on what the government does,
- q23_4 – the people we elect as members of parliament very quickly lose touch with their voters.

FINDINGS

Based on bivariate correlations, we first summarize the most important differences and similarities between the two countries under investigation concerning perceptions of changes and different exclusive attitudes.

According to our results the situation assessment of the respondents is rather optimistic (satisfaction, appreciation, positive perception of changes) in Austria, and rather pessimistic in Hungary, which is probably due to the fact that Hungary was worse hit by the crisis, and its society became much more polarized in comparison. Authoritarianism, welfare chauvinism, xenophobia and right-wing extremist affinity are more typical of Hungarian society, while social dominance orientation (SDO) occurs more frequently in Austria.

The socio-demographic background of the attitudes is quite similar in both countries, with minor differences. This corresponds to similar research results emphasizing the relevance of status in the mechanisms of prejudices, nationalism, and group-focused enmity. However, the subjective status-effect is rather weak in the explanation of identification with attitudes, with some exceptions. These include the case of Austria, where the level of authoritarianism, ethnocentrism, xenophobia, and welfare chauvinism significantly increases among people with low subjective welfare. However, authoritarianism, ethnocentrism and SDO are especially typical in Hungary among those who regard themselves as the losers of social-economic changes. Ethnocentrism among Hungarians is not only increased by lower subjective wellbeing, but by appreciation and social attachment as well.

Stepwise regression models explaining right-wing extremist party affinity in Austria and Hungary, separately

In this chapter we analyse the effects of the most important influencing factors towards right-wing extremist party affinity (RWEPA) in a step by step manner (Fidesz affinity was measured by satisfaction with the Orbán-government). It means that we build different, ever expanding explanatory models, where the included independent variables hold each other's effects to the given dependent variable under control. The first models always include socio-demographic variables, the second ones the perceptions of socio-economic changes as well, the third ones are complemented by socio-psychological drivers and subjective wellbeing, and the fourth ones by political attitudes.

Table 1. Stepwise overall regression on FPÖ affinity in Austria (N=806; enter method)

FPÖ Affinity	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Gender (Male/Female)	-0,05	-0,05	-0,07*	-0,05
Age	0,08*	0,07	0,04	0,03
Status (Lenski final)	-0,22***	-0,24***	-0,2***	-0,13***
SEC Index		0,11**	0,1*	0,13***
Subjective wellbeing			-0,02	0,01
Appreciation			-0,14***	-0,07*
Social attachment			0,22***	0,15***
SDO				0,15***
Welfare chauvinism				0,26***
Authoritarianism				-0,06
Political Powerlessness				0,24***
Xenophobia (-)vs. Tolerance (+)				-0,2***
Ethnocentrism				-0,14**
Adjusted R2	0,05	0,06	0,13	0,39

Legend:
* = p<0,5
** = p<0,01
*** = p<0,001

We found that status has a strong influence on right-wing extremist party preferences in Austria: the higher one's status the less likely one is to support right-wing extremist parties. The introduction of SEC also increases the effect of status on RWEPA. The relationship between the SEC-index and right-wing extremist af-

finity is significant: winners are more inclined to sympathize with FPÖ, but the introduction of this variable only increases the proportion of variance explained with 1%.

Adding subjective wellbeing, appreciation and social attachment lead to some important changes in this model: while subjective wellbeing has no effects on RWEPA, the less appreciated people feel, the more likely they are to prefer FPÖ. Feelings of social attachment strongly increase the likelihood of voting FPÖ as well. Altogether, the introduction of these variables doubles the explanatory value of the model from 6 to 13%.

The introduction of political attitudes (SDO, welfare chauvinism, authoritarianism, political powerlessness, xenophobia and ethnocentrism) has a clear positive effect on the overall explanatory power of the model (39%). The effects of receptiveness attitudes are as expected, with two exceptions. SDO, welfare chauvinism, political powerlessness, and xenophobia all have strong positive relationships with RWEPA. However, the effect of ethnocentrism is inverse: the less ethnocentric people are, the more likely they are to support FPÖ. Finally, the effects of authoritarianism are not significant.

Table 2. Stepwise overall regression on Jobbik affinity in Hungary (N=833; enter method)

Jobbik affinity	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Gender (Male, Female)	-0,08*	-0,08*	-0,09*	-0,07
Age	-0,09*	-0,08*	-0,14**	-0,13**
Status (Lenski final)	-0,11**	-0,12**	-0,09*	-0,05
SEC Index		0,003	0,03	0,003
Subjective wellbeing			-0,02	0,01
Appreciation			-0,15***	-0,08
Social attachment			0,07	0,05
SDO				-0,007
Welfare chauvinism				0,12*
Authoritarianism				0,1
Political Powerlessness				0,13**
Xenophobia (-) vs. Tolerance (+)				0,06
Ethnocentrism				-0,05
Adjusted R2	0,02	0,02	0,06	0,06

Legend:
* = p<0,5
** = p<0,01
*** = p<0,001

Regarding the potential relationship between explanatory variables and Jobbik affinity in Hungary, a model similar to the previously discussed one in Austria was constructed. It should be noted that even after the introduction of all variables explained above the explanatory value of the final model does not reach above 6%. These weak explanatory values probably show that the investigated attitudes (independent variables) are rather prevalent in Hungarian society and influence not only the affinity to Jobbik, but to other parties as well.

In the first three models gender, age and status have a significant effect on Jobbik affinity. Men and younger people appear to be more likely to prefer Jobbik. Status also has an influence on Jobbik-affinity; in Hungary just as in Austria, the relationship is inverse: people with higher status show less affinity to RWEPA. It should be noted, however, that only lower age remains significant in the final model. The addition of the

SEC-index has practically no effects on Jobbik affinity. Only feelings of appreciation have a strong inverse effect on Jobbik-affinity: the less appreciated (deprived) people feel the more likely they are to prefer Jobbik. Overall, the introduction of these three variables increases the explanatory power of the model to 6%.

Interestingly, the introduction of receptiveness attitudes (SDO, welfare chauvinism, authoritarianism, political powerlessness, xenophobia and ethnocentrism) does not increase the explanatory power of the model. The effects of gender, status and appreciation on Jobbik-affinity disappear. The effects of age also slightly decrease. However, the effects of most political attitudes (SDO, authoritarianism, xenophobia, and ethnocentrism) are also not significant. Welfare chauvinism and feelings of political powerlessness significantly increase Jobbik-affinity. At this stage, only three variables have a significant effect on Jobbik-affinity: age, welfare chauvinism and political powerlessness, and, as mentioned above, the overall explanatory value of the model is only 6%.

Table 3. Stepwise overall regression on Orbán-government satisfaction in Hungary (N=838; enter method)

Orbán government satisfaction	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Gender (Male, Female)	-0,02	-0,01	0,03	0,04
Age	0,07*	0,08*	0,15***	0,11**
Status (Lenski final)	0,001	-0,02	-0,08*	0,04
SEC Index		0,08*	-0,005	-0,002
Subjective wellbeing			0,2***	0,12**
Appreciation			0,2***	0,07
Social attachment			0,13***	0,03
SDO				-0,02
Welfare chauvinism				0,12**
Authoritarianism				0,09*
Political Powerlesness				-0,33***
Xenophopbia (-) vs. Tolerance (+).				-0,19***
Ethnocentrism				0,15***
Adjusted R2	0,01	0,01	0,11	0,31

Legend:
* = p<0,5
** = p<0,01
*** = p<0,001

Gender and status show practically no significant effects on Orbán-government satisfaction. Age, however, has a weak positive effect: older people seem to be more satisfied with the government. The introduction of socio-economic changes does not provide for a much clearer picture, but the addition of subjective wellbeing, appreciation and social attachment do: the higher one's level of subjective wellbeing, the more appreciated and integrated one feels, the more likely people are to be satisfied with the government. Taking these variables into consideration the proportion of variance explained through the model increases to 11%.

As a next step, political attitudes (SDO, welfare chauvinism, authoritarianism, political powerlessness, tolerance/xenophobia and ethnocentrism) are introduced in the model. First, this step weakens the effects of age, status (which becomes non-significant), subjective wellbeing, appreciation and social attachment (the latter two also become non-significant).

Political attitudes have ambivalent effects on satisfaction with the government. In the case of welfare chauvinism, xenophobia, authoritarianism and ethnocentrism, this relationship is positive: people who are more welfare chauvinist, xenophobic, authoritarian and ethnocentric are more likely to support the government. However, the effect of political powerlessness is inverse: people who feel more powerless are less likely to support the government. SDO has no significant effect on government satisfaction. The introduction of political attitudes increases the explanatory power of the model to 31%.

In sum, the effect of status on RWEPA declines by the entrance of attitude variables in Austria, while it completely disappears in Hungary. In both countries the influence of deprivation melts away in the final models. Younger respondents, moreover welfare chauvinistic and politically disillusioned people support Jobbik, while older people and those having high subjective status, moreover xenophobic, welfare chauvinistic, authoritarian and ethnocentric respondents and those having strong political trust support the Orbán-government.

In Austria, both objective losers (with lower social status) and subjective winners (with positive perceptions of SEC), moreover socially attached (integrated) and social dominance oriented respondents support FPÖ as well. Nevertheless, welfare chauvinism, political powerlessness and xenophobia strengthen FPÖ-affinity. Here, we can detect both winner and loser routes to FPÖ.

Path-models

Path-models are linear regression chains, where the correlation between two variables is broken up to some different routes. In the following we present 3 path-models, where the correlations between social status and affinity to an extreme right party are broken up to so called "winner and loser" routes.[8] So, we are able to analyse latent, indirect effects of social status and the perceptions of the crisis (SEC – socio-economic changes) on RWEPA (right-wing extremist party affinity).

In Hungary, affinity to Jobbik is directly influenced by authoritarianism, welfare chauvinism, and political powerlessness (see figure 1. – however, the effects of the explanatory variables are very weak, only 7%): the more authoritarianism, welfare chauvinism and political powerlessness the stronger the affinity to Jobbik. Respondents with a lower social status can develop the attitudes of ethnocentrism and authoritarianism directly. Ethnocentrism leads then through authoritarianism to Jobbik affinity. Nevertheless, the lower status and the negative perception of socio-economic changes (SEC) can lead to social dominance orientation (SDO) directly, which, through the attitudes of welfare chauvinism and political powerlessness, runs to affinity to Jobbik. A lower status, moreover, can lead to collective relative deprivation (CRD), which, through the attitude of political powerlessness, gets to Jobbik affinity.

However, not only so-called loser routes can lead to affinity to Jobbik. A higher status leads to more appreciation, appreciated respondents are more ethnocentric, and this route leads through authoritarianism to Jobbik affinity. Nevertheless, more appreciation leads to more SDO too, which strengthens welfare chauvinism and feelings of political powerlessness as well. These attitudes correlate with Jobbik affinity directly then. Also,

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8 Because social attachment has no correlation with social status and SEC among active aged respondents in Hungary, instead we used subjective wellbeing in the path models there. However, we furthermore used social attachment variable in the Austrian model, as we did in the SIREN project.

*Figure 1. Jobbik affinity (N=833; enter method)*
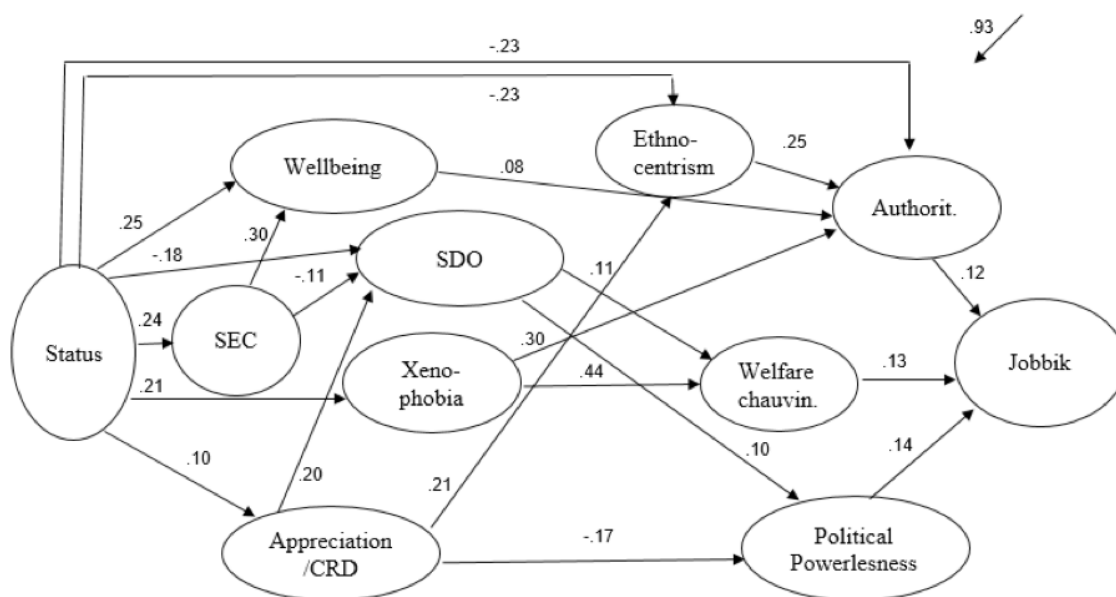
people with a higher status and/or positive perceptions of SEC show higher subjective wellbeing, which leads through authoritarianism to Jobbik affinity again. Higher status can also lead to xenophobia directly in Hungary, an attitude which through authoritarianism and welfare chauvinism strengthens the affinity to Jobbik as well.

In sum, collective relative deprivation, social dominance orientation, ethnocentrism, authoritarianism, welfare chauvinism and political powerlessness characterize the loser routes, while appreciation, subjective wellbeing, ethnocentrism, social dominance orientation, authoritarianism, xenophobia, political powerlessness and welfare chauvinism mark winner routes in case of Jobbik in Hungary. The most important surprise here is that social dominance orientation belongs not only to the winner route, and political powerlessness not only to the loser route; moreover, xenophobia belongs not to the loser, but to the winner route, as we saw in the SIREN-project 14 years before.

In case of satisfaction with the Orbán government (see *Figure 2.* – where the effects of the explanatory variables are much stronger than in the case of Jobbik – 31%) we can state that feelings of appreciation and subjective wellbeing are important drivers on winner routes towards support of the Orbán government. What's more, appreciation strengthens political trust, which leads directly to satisfaction with the government. Besides many direct and indirect winner routes, authoritarianism and SDO drives ethnocentrism, welfare chauvinism and xenophobia on loser routes. Practically, authoritarianism and xenophobia belong only to loser routes, while SDO, ethnocentrism and welfare chauvinism belong both to winner and loser paths. Feelings of deprivation play no role in the satisfaction with the Orbán government.

Figure 2. Orbán-government satisfaction (N=838; enter method)

Orbán-government – Active aged (SOCRIS)
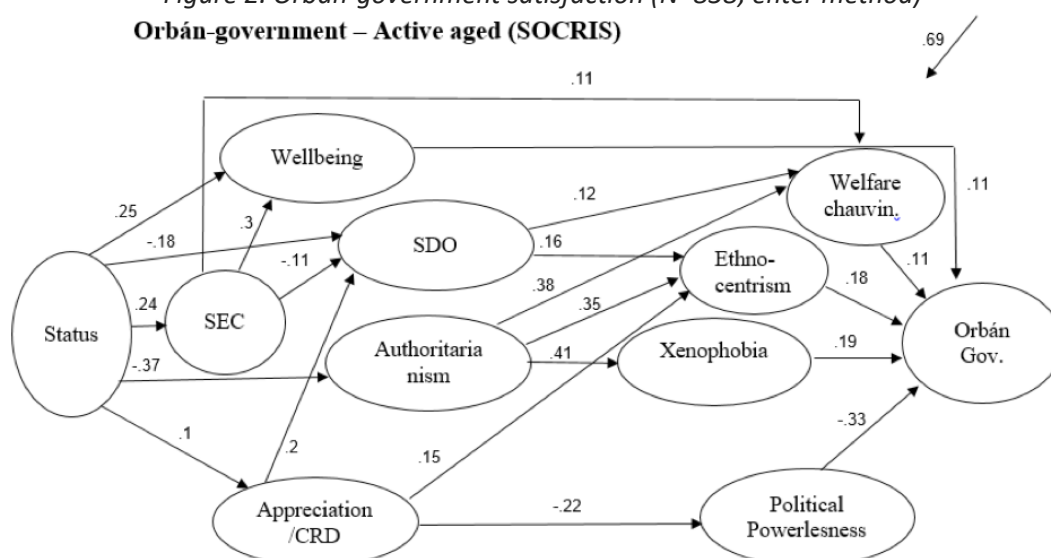
Analysing affinity to FPÖ we find winner and loser routes, as in the Hungarian models (see *Figure 3.* – the effects of the explanatory variables are 38%). SDO, xenophobia, welfare chauvinism and political powerlessness influence affinity to FPÖ directly. As we saw earlier, ethnocentrism plays no role, what's more, refusal of ethnocentrism correlates with FPÖ affinity.

Figure 3. FPÖ affinity (N=806; enter method)

FPÖ – Active aged (SOCRIS)
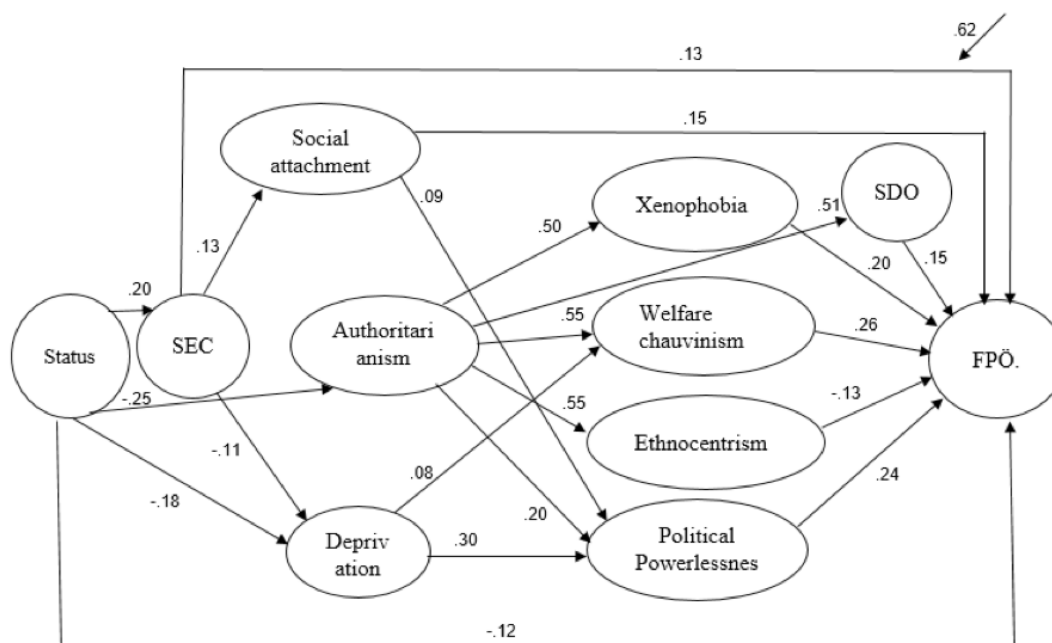
Lower status leads directly to FPÖ affinity in Austria. Nevertheless, lower status and negative perceptions of socio-economic changes both run through deprivation and political powerlessness and/or welfare chauvinism to affinity to FPÖ. Lower status, moreover, influences authoritarianism directly as well. Authoritarianism strengthens social dominance orientation, xenophobia, welfare chauvinism and political powerlessness and, as we already saw, these all lead to FPÖ affinity directly.

Similarly to the Hungarian models, not only loser routes lead to affinity to FPÖ. Higher status leads to more positive perceptions of SEC, which directly influences FPÖ affinity, or indirectly through social attachment (integration). Interestingly, higher integration can lead to stronger feeling of political powerlessness too, which runs to FPÖ affinity as well.

In sum, right-wing extremist political attitudes only play important roles on loser routes (with the exception of political powerlessness), while winner routes mostly directly or with the intermediary role of social attachment connect to the affinity to FPÖ. In 2017, however, political powerlessness became also a part of the winner routes in Austria. What's more, authoritarianism (probably as a scale of open/closed mindedness) behaves like a socio-psychological driver in the Austrian model.

Summary and conclusion

The results of the regression analysis presented in our paper clearly demonstrated differences between the Austrian and the Hungarian situation.

Answering our first research question, namely, what the most important explanatory factors behind right-wing extremism are in Austria and Hungary, we can state that in Austria the popularity of the right-wing extremist FPÖ is due to a strong social disruption in the country and is primarily conspicuous in the area of political and social values. As far as political attitudes are concerned, the supporters of FPÖ share a relatively unified and coherent ideology where social dominance orientation, welfare chauvinism, political powerlessness, and xenophobia are all very popular. This is complemented by lower status and deprivation, but a stronger social attachment among supporters of right-wing extremism. One surprising finding here is that a marked part of FPÖ supporters have a positive perception of socio-economic changes, that is, they consider themselves as the winners of these changes. At the same time, concerning social stratification, ideological and value-based division lines are not observable. According to the results of the regression analysis, although FPÖ is more popular among people with lower status indeed, and slightly more popular among the deprived, neither other socio-demographic variables, nor subjective wellbeing has an impact on FPÖ-affinity.

In Hungary the social background of right-wing extremist voters is remarkably different from those in Austria. The voters of Jobbik, the second largest Hungarian right-wing extremist party, can be found in all segments of society, and neither socio-demographic differences, nor political attitudes play an important part in who is attracted to or who rejects its right-wing extremist ideology. Those who are somewhat younger, welfare chauvinists, and politically disillusioned are attracted to Jobbik, but the explanatory power of the models is very weak.

However, when right-wing extremist politics gets into governmental position, which also means it is widely supported by voters, as in the case of Fidesz, sociological demarcation lines are clearly visible. First of all, those who strongly support Fidesz are also the winners of the right-wing extremist governance. This is reflected primarily by the positive effect of subjective well-being regardless of sex, age or social status. Those who consider themselves as winners are attached to Fidesz, and, considering the election results, this covers a significant social group in various segments of the social hierarchy. At the same time, political attitudes (SDO,

welfare chauvinism, authoritarianism, xenophobia and ethnocentrism) demonstrate that the ideological narrative of Fidesz finds its audience in the wider society, associated by political trust.

The path models partly prove and partly refine this picture, and open the door to answer our second and third research questions (about the links between status, socio-economic changes and RWEPA, as well as differences and similarities between the two countries). In Austria, the coherent system of social values that constitutes FPÖ's ideology is also confirmed by using a path model. Concerning structural effects, both a high SEC-index and a low status have a direct influence on FPÖ-affinity. However, the so-called loser and winner paths have very different attitude structures. The group with a lower status is characterised by being open to authoritarian political solutions complemented by supporting political attitudes, which results in an affinity towards FPÖ. On another loser path, for the deprived group of low status with a negative experience of the socio-economic changes only political powerlessness and welfare chauvinism leads to FPÖ. What makes the Austrian situation especially interesting though is the attachment of people of a higher status to right-wing extremism. They do not need (or they hide) the acceptance of the right-wing extremist ideology. This is hard to explain based on our results. It might be because of their dissatisfaction with the traditional party system and politics (political powerlessness), or they wish for a new style of political life for Austria and FPÖ makes them believe in this.

Path models refined the picture of course in Hungary, too. According to the complex explanatory model of people's social status, satisfaction, and system of values, the sympathizers of Jobbik also show extreme political attitudes. Political powerlessness, welfare chauvinism, and authoritarian attitudes are typical of their sympathizers, with indirect ethnocentrism, social intolerance, and xenophobia in the background. However, the social basis of Jobbik is narrower, it is mainly followed by people with a lower status, dissatisfied with their situation, who feel they are the losers of the economic and social changes. Among people with a higher status, the honoured and the winners, Jobbik can rely on a small, dissatisfied radical group that has either been originally authoritarian, or has become authoritarian or welfare chauvinistic through SDO, xenophobia and ethnocentrism.

However, the popularity of Fidesz's right-wing extremist rhetoric is significantly different. According to the results of the path model, xenophobia, ethnocentrism, and welfare chauvinism are the three political narratives directly determining its support and success. All of these have the same origin, namely the government's xenophobic campaign related to migration and the refugee issues, using the complete power-reservoir. However, this is only one element. Our model also shows the other factor behind the success of Fidesz, namely that they have managed to make everyone in the higher segments of the society whose situation has improved (or at least has not worsened) believe that this is due to the government (and share attitudes like SDO, ethnocentrism and welfare chauvinism). For those of a lower social status, and those who have been the losers of the past few years they were able to offer political ideological models like authoritarian power politics and the compensative attitude of social dominance, traditionally highly popular in Hungary. All this is paired by the image of the common national enemy, the migrant and refugee that only Fidesz can save the Hungarian nation from.

But what is most interesting concerning how and to what extent right-wing extremist ideology is becoming popular in Hungary is not the differences between the two groups of voters. The pools of supporters of the two parties are different indeed, but the main difference in comparison to Austria comes from the fact that direct connections exist between right-wing extremist affinity, social status and socio-economic changes in Austria, whereas there are only indirect/latent links in Hungary. This indicates that while right-wing extremist thinking and attitudes still characterize (at least characterized in 2017) clearly definable minority groups in Austria, there is a wide permeation of right-wing extremism among different social strata in Hungary, most probably due to the difficult experiences of the multiple socio-economic and political crises of 2008/2009 in the majority of the population and the collapse of the left-liberal political camp. As mentioned, people in all social strata have received enough right-wing extremist attitudinal and ideological – or, in the case of the higher strata, also financial – ammunition from Fidesz to believe that the recovery from the crisis is only due to their governance. The picture is even clearer if we take into consideration that the extreme right (Fidesz and Jobbik together) constitutes more than two-thirds of active voters in Hungary. Practically, right-wing extremist political ideology is common ground in Hungary today.
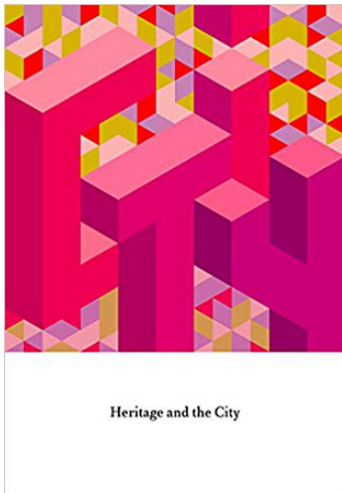
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Melinda Harlov-Csortán[1]

Heritage and the City

One can hardly find two more broadly discussed – and somewhat related – expressions than heritage and the city, which also suggest numerous other major topics such as cultural value, sustainability, creative industry or social inclusion. Accordingly the book by its title assumes a very rich and multifarious reading that is also the expressed aim of the editors who writes in the introductory chapter *"we hope that the volume will inspire further reflection and broaden the scope of the discussions dedicated to the city among heritage experts and professionals [S]imultaneously, in the case of the city-loving non-professional readership"* (p. 11). This wish is truly fulfilled with the publication of this 2017 work, edited by Robert Kusek and Jacek Purchla. The book is the product of the International Cultural Centre in Krakow, Poland, one of the most prestigious research institutes of (among other disciplines heritage studies in Central Europe). It manages numerous innovative cultural projects, and supports specialists with its outstanding library, summer schools and conferences. The current publication also coincides with the biannual conferences on contemporarily relevant aspects of heritage with a focus on Central Europe and the V4 countries (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia), as stated on the book cover.

Based on this background information it seems justifiable that the majority of the discussed case studies are from this region (overwhelmingly from Poland and with only a few exceptions such as Switzerland). However there are no cross-national comparative studies which would have helped to emphasize the aim to focus on Central-Europe. The reason behind that can be found in the introductory paper (titled *The City: A Laboratory of Heritage),* which explains how Central European-ness is fundamentally characterized by the multicultural aspects of each city. Accordingly, comparative investigation can and should be realized within each settlement. This complexity of Central European cities poses multiple challenges for the connection of heritage and the settlement and hence these places provide valuable examples for such investigations.

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Similarly the authors are mainly from Central Europe in its widest understanding. The overreaching scope of the title *(Heritage and the City)* does appear in the multiplicity and variety of the authors' specializations as well: there are at least fifteen different professions named in the short biographies at the end of the publication. Most of the contributors are the single authors of each paper. Only the introductory piece by Jacek Purchla (the then head of the International Cultural Centre) and Robert Kusek, and the chapter about Poznan by Bogusz Modrzewski and Anna Szkołut are co-authored. The only project in this publication that has multiple authors (four) is a Hungarian pilot project funded by the Norway Grants and the Hungarian state, organized centrally from Budapest and realized by diverse actors and scholars on the site.

Half of the contributors added visuals to their texts not just to illustrate but to explain a specific issue too. Throughout the chapters there are colour and black-and-white images about the contemporary or former state of the locations under examination, maps and plans about the built heritage and also tables and graphs with data about specific methodological questions or research findings. The book itself is framed with two visuals. On the last page a bird's eye view of the International Cultural Centre on the main square of Krakow can be seen. This is a commonly used image, a kind of defining visual feature of almost all the publications by the Centre. The graphic design on the front cover presents the word 'city' in front of a checked, non-figurative background. The relationship between the content of the book and the visual on its cover is complex. On the one hand, the design of the letters ('city') is in line with the poster style of a previous conference organized by the Centre on the same topic. On the other hand these letters have a building block shape that can allude to the built heritage aspect of the cities. Similarly, the geometrical and colorful shapes in the background are as inseparable from each other as the topics named in the title of the publication.

The reader can find both theoretical investigations (like Gábor Sonkoly's chapter on the concept of historic urban landscape) and case study analysis (for instance Hanna Grzeszczuk-Brendel's investigation on the urban movements of Poznan), as well as a combination of them (for example Heike Oevermann's chapter, which looks at industrial heritage and its possible management practices in four different countries: Switzerland, Germany, Poland and Hungary). These diverse paper types are grouped into five bigger units with identical titles. Two units deal with specific categories: urban landscape and the creative heritage city, two are dedicated to practices such as narrating and revitalizing the city and one section is about risk (entitled *Heritage in Conflict*) within the scope of heritage and the city. Each of these sections contains three chapters (except the first, which has four). Interestingly the order of these sections shows a kind of framing format as the first two and the last one have exclusively or mostly theoretical investigations whereas the parts in between them provide almost solely case studies, analyzing one or more settlements.

The content of the publication can also be structured by the type of heritage the different texts deal with. Industrial heritage, cultural landscape and historic urban landscape have already been named but chapters are also dedicated to shared (with the title *Central European Cities and Their Stories of Shared Memories),* forgotten (by the author Julia Sowińska-Heim), unwanted (with examples from the Balkan Peninsula) and many other types of heritage. Similarly, the cities under discussion show significant variations in terms of size (from a small settlement in Hungary, Balatoncsicsó with a population of 220 inhabitants according to the official town

website to a case study analysis of the German capital), location (such as coastal [for instance Piran in Slovenia or Frombork in Poland] or mountainous [such as Banská Štiavnica in Slovakia]) and character (a touristic city [like Izola in Slovenia] a creative industry-focused settlement [for instance Łódź in Poland] and a cultural capital [Pilsen in the Czech Republic]).

After reviewing all these different varieties, one might ask the question how coherently the seventeen papers can be connected to each other. The answer is the title of the book: *Heritage and the City,* as the connection of those two nouns is addressed in every case. Sergiu Nistor for instance focuses on the different heritages within the city, while in similar vein Riin Alatalu discusses the diverse oppressors' heritage within Tallinn. However, she describes an opposite relation in which these heritage examples are contested. Also to this category one can group those papers that focus on solely one aspect (such as built heritage or practice, involved or dismissed social group, expressed or denied historical period) within the integrity of the city. The only case study from Hungary can be included in this category, as the pilot project is about one single parish house within the settlement. Similarly one street in Poznan is in the focus of Hanna Grzeszczuk-Brendel's paper, while the role and possibility of grassroots organizations are the main subject of Alexandra Bitušíková, when she examines two Slovakian cities, Banská Bystrica and Banská Štiavnica, which have gone through major economic, social and urban transformations that were partially modified by the activities of these communities. Małgorzata Nieszczerzewska's contribution, meanwhile, is a good example of papers centered around a single event. She investigates the process, intentions and influences of ruin porn, photography focusing on the decline of architectures. Gábor Sonkoly's chapter can also be grouped here looking at the top-down management recommendations for historic heritage examples in the cities. These papers pay significant attention to the relation of heritage and its surrounding which is managed, supported or challenged by the city administration.

Other authors investigate the situation when heritage that defines the city is the "result" of a historically formed relation. For instance in the case of the oriental cities on the Balkan Peninsula analyzed by Tobias Strahl, the built heritage remnants of a former period define not just the cityscape, but influence the related tourism and often the perception of contemporary society as well. However, often more recent processes structure the relation of heritage and the city to an extend when the perception 'heritage is the city' is formulated This is discussed by Stsiapan Stureika regarding the harvest festival in Belarus, which is always connected to a kind of urban redevelopment at each location. Accordingly the intangible heritage defines the cityscape after the event as well. As a starting phase of such a relationship Łukasz Musiaka investigates the touristic potential of the tangible heritage in the former State of the Teutonic Order and suggests the advantages of the heritage impact on these settlements.

Many chapters target the issue of cities without heritage. Such a lack of relation can be seen as a natural result of transformation over time when the former industrial and military areas and their remains are not in use any more, as discussed by Bogusz Modrzewski and Anna Szkołut. However this disconnectedness can also be a consciously chosen path when a community forms a new image for its settlement and creates a new narrative as well as a physical surrounding as a set of representational tools. Julia Sowińska-Heim describes such a dismantling and creating process in Łódź in part 4 of this publication. A similar transformation is evaluated

through three examples from Slovenia (Koper, Izola and Piran) in Daniela Tomšič's paper, which focuses on the inductive and deductive components of cultural heritage in urban development projects. A city can also be in danger of losing its heritage if the "authentic owner" is missing. This well-known scenario is also described with a focus on the city without heritage in Tobias Strahl's paper about oriental cities.

Some papers are centered around the diverse interpretations of heritage and the city. These examples includes literary analysis (such as Csaba G. Kiss' writing about Banská Štiavnica) that looks at the myth of towns which formulate their heritage as well. Other authors look at more administrative texts and analyze the adapted narration about the given city and its heritage. This is the methodology Anne Karwińska used in analyzing the tale of Gliwice as well as in Heike Oevermann's paper (entitled *Urban Transformations: Reuses of Industrial Heritage Sites),* which examines the industrial heritage discourses of three cities in post industrial time. As can be seen, the above proposed understanding of the papers leads to a typography in which the examples can be categorized into more than one group. This exemplifies well how complex and interconnected the topic 'heritage and the city' is.

This book, which is dedicated to both professional and non-professional city enthusiasts, offers a wide range of city and heritage types and analyzes their possible relations. The authors of the papers provide unique and interesting case studies and introduce numerous methodologies that allow both target groups to look at these topics (heritage and the city) from new perspectives. By providing information from Tallinn to the Balkan Peninsula, with investigations that are participatory, empirical, comparative or theoretical, the volume fulfills its mission to explore the relation of heritage and the city in a perfectly structured publication, which will surely widen the knowledge and the perspective of its readers.