

The rounds of Pula: Sites of memory in the city – analysis of the student project

- In my paper I shall analyse the Project *The Rounds of Pula – Sites of Memory in the City* which I designed, as mentor, with the students of the Culture and Tourism course at the *Juraj Dobrila* University in Pula. Going out is an important segment of student life. By using ethnographic methods we wanted to explore the city, the hangouts of the young people, sites of memory in Pula. We recorded the memories of known and unknown participants at urban musical and cultural events. The records include many untold stories, emotions and memories of the generations between the nineteen-fifties and the present day. This is a story about young people who had their own rituals and places where they sought and found amusement. The exhibition and the accompanying publication, the results of the mentioned project, will be used for the analysis of possible research and museum presentation of everyday life.

Key words: hangouts, youth population, city anthropology, korzo [promenade; paseo], Pula

INTRODUCTION

During the Museum Collection and Protection elective subject course at the interdisciplinary Culture and Tourism course at the *Dr. Mijo Mirković* Faculty of Economics and Tourism, fourth year graduate students were assigned the task of answering in practical terms the question of how to process/create/document a collection of contemporary culture. Among the many themes which turned up I suggested¹ the exploration and presentation of going out, more specifically the hangouts of young people in Pula between the nineteen-fifties and the present day. I thought the students as project authors and visitors would find the theme interesting.

1 As an assistant at the Faculty I was the mentor of the whole project.

As we grew up we were all asked the questions “what’s your favourite music?” and “what’s your favourite hangout?”; that way one could very easily determine “where you belong”. We did not want to limit ourselves by division into one or another sub-culture; we just wanted to hear the individual stories of different generations about their hangouts which, in a way, defined and formed them in their youth. By recording the narratives of known and unknown *Poležani*, collecting photographs and objects from their youth preserved until now, we wanted to stress that their hangouts were extremely important not only for us but also for many generations and as such become sites of memory in the city.

Very often in informal discussions one can hear the view that “the feeling of the city” or “the identity of the city” were lost, disappeared. This project is an incentive for bringing the link between Pula and its citizens back “to centre stage”, for discussing them.

In this paper I shall discuss the results of the Project and analyse the good and bad points of its practical implementation. The theoretical background of this analysis is based on the cultural-anthropological assumption that people change/transform physical space into symbolic places with an identity discussed by Valentina Gulin Zrnić (2006, 2009, 2011). Through the everyday practices of living, growing up and using space it becomes a meaningful place for an individual or a group of citizens. In the name of the Project we used Nora’s concept sites of memory primarily in the context of creating such memories “bottom-up” – by the individual – by creating “informal” meaningful places for generations of Pula’s citizens.

RESEARCH OF CITIES IN CROATIAN ETHNOLOGY

At the turn of the 20th century Croatian ethnologists and folklorists did not deal exclusively with rural areas. Thus, Lang wrote an extraordinary monograph of Samobor (1911). In 1904 Rudolf Strohal described Rijeka and Karlovac; in 1890 Valjevac wrote about the students in Varaždin (Rihtman-Auguštin, 1988: 73). However, as an anthropological sub-discipline urban anthropology is still in its infancy. Urban sociology concerned itself somewhat more with the theme in the nineteen-seventies and – eighties, but there is also progress in Croatian ethnology especially with regard to the research projects dealing with the transformation of traditional culture in modern urban life currently under way at the Institute of Ethnology and Folkloristics in Zagreb.

As a relevant research category the city entered ethnology in the early nineteen-seventies thanks to Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin (Gulin Zrnić, 2006b: 8). She changed the erstwhile orientation on the countryside and rural people, and offered new opportunities which placed the focus on the exploration of relations, processes and structures in smaller groups, i.e., gave the ethnologists an opportunity to move away from the former countryside/city opposition (Ibid. 8, 9). Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin introduced two opportunities for the ethnological exploration of the city: the study of migration processes from the countryside to the city and the adaptation of the newly-arrived population, and the exploration of the relations in the urban population in terms of “classic ethnological themes” (customs, clothing, diet, family relationships...)

in the new urban context (Ibid.). Under the influence of ethnologist Ina-Maria Greverus, Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin studied the importance of the type of settlement for the individual, the citizen, i.e., its identity (Gulin Zrnić, 2011: 85).

As Gulin Zrnić pointed out, in Croatian ethnology there were few texts on the systematic exploration of the city or discussion of the issue in theoretical terms (Gulin Zrnić 2006a: 160). Although some ethnologists explored and interpreted phenomena or social groups in the city (see Rajković, 1978; Vodopija, 1976; Povržanović, 1989; Prica, 1990; Kalapoš, 1996; 1996; acc. to Gulin Zrnić, 2006b), they cannot be fully included into the anthropological study of the city, as emphasised by the author (Gulin Zrnić 200b): in other words, these are studies covering the themes of contemporary life in which the city is the locus (site) and not the focus of research (Gulin Zrnić 2006a: 160).

The research of the city was systematically (theoretically and practically) continued by Valentina Gulin Zrnić who has studied the city as a construction and transformation of physical space into a symbolic place, and the multiple meaning of that place (Low 2006a, Rodman 1992 acc. to Gulin Zrnić 2006a: 165). She highlighted in particular Ulf Hannertz's (1980) monograph *Exploring the City* as one of the most significant theoretical contributions to the anthropology of the city. Hannertz analysed the city through the categories of variability, undeterminability and fluidity, and such a perspective implies an expressly active reciprocal relationship between the individual and the city (Gulin Zrnić 2009). Additionally the author referred to the view of the British essayist Jonathan Raban, who pointed out that is precisely the individual that constructs the city: thus, Raban spoke about a "hard city" than can be found on the map and a "soft city" – the city that awaits the registration of identity..." Raban 1998: 3-4; acc. to Gulin Zrnić 2006a: 162).

A NEW VIEW OF THE CITY OR PLACE-MAKING

One of the thematic frameworks in which Gulin Zrnić explored the city, specifically New Zagreb, was also place-making which would be most appropriate for this short analysis of the student project. For this kind of interpretation the author was inspired by critical considerations of space within the so-called spatial turn in the liberal arts of the 20th century, Thus, focus is placed on exploring the construction of urban space, on how it is transformed in terms of the built-up environment, physical and material space, into a symbolic place with an identity, and on the multiple meanings of the place (Low 2006a, Rodman 1992; acc. to Gulin Zrnić 2006a : 165). In her book *Neighbourhood Lingo* Gulin Zrnić analysed the symbolic relationship between the individual and the settlement in which individuals "register their experience" in the place to the greatest extent; as her research has shown, this process takes place during growing up in space, participation in its physical formation and – the most essential point for this analysis – through the daily use of space (Gulin Zrnić 2009). It is during this relationship of the individual with space that an intensive feeling develops of belonging to the settlement and the community that becomes part of the individual's identity which is,

of course, fluid, variable just like the other identities explored by modern references on identity (Ibid.).

Gulin Zrnić argued that the city, in its ethnological and anthropological perspective, needs to be regarded from the constructivist angle, meaning that the city needs to be explored bearing in mind the manifold meanings of the city and its interaction with the citizens, the experience and memory of individuals who live actively in the city, register that experience and thereby construct the city (Gulin Zrnić 2006a: 166).

Gulin Zrnić argued that (paraphrasing Clifford Geertz and following up on Marc Augé) that nobody generally lives in the city and that the inhabitants live in specific sites, neighbourhoods or streets, and know only the parts on the city in which they live or work, i.e., parts in which they move. On that basis we may conclude that the experience of the city is subjective, fragmentary, individual (Gulin Zrnić 209: 7,8). In other words it is these “known” parts of the city that have a specific meaning for the individual (or group) (Ibid. 15). The author wondered what is taking place during the interaction of the inhabitants and the space in which they live, asked herself whether there were local urban identities, and which were the (cultural and social) processes taking place in that relationship. In order to try to answer these questions, the author suggested the cultural anthropology approach and methodology which will describe the city through individual or family stories (Ibid. 16). It is in this way, through individual stories, that we set out to explore the popular hangouts of the young *Poležani*.

We observed the hangouts through the anthropological prism as places which are part of the “local and urban generational identity of a specific group of people” (Čapo, Gulin Zrnić, 2011:54).

The place can be defined as a culturally meaningful space which “... contains an empirical, emotional, value, interactive and relational, cognitive and sensorial, historical and memory dimension. But, does our time create such places?” (Čapo, Gulin Zrnić 2011: 35). It is such an anthropological place that needs to be analysed because it is a part of the identity of the individual and of the community” (Augé 2001: 50-53, acc. to Čapo, Gulin Zrnić 2012: 28).

Pierre Nora’s sites of memory (*lieux de mémoire*) are meaningfully formed “top-down”, meaning that these are places marked by official policy as being essential, e.g., monuments, museums, sanctuaries, cemeteries. With this project we wanted to indicate specifically the sites of memory formed “bottom-up”, and that means that they were formed by individuals in interaction with the city who thus created alternative meanings of places (Čapo, Gulin Zrnić 2011: 34).

Pierre Nora noted that we need to distinguish two concepts: memory and history. Memory can be collective or individual, but it is always fragmentary. Memory is under the influence of remembering and oblivion, but it is related to what we have experienced and with the present. History is an official construction opposed to memory (Nora 2007: 137). Sites of memory, noted Nora, appeared in France at the moment when (official) history prevailed over collective memory in the early 20th century, and as such sites of memory are oases in overall oblivion (Nora 2007: 139). A specific site

of memory is also an archive, especially when Nora notes that modern memory is actually archival, meaning that material remnants, recordings, photographs are of great significance especially if the memory is not experienced within (Nora 2007: 143). Nora referred to institutional archives (such as archives of private or public companies) but, as Mucko points out, we can also talk about an archive of oral history.²

One of the long-term objectives of this project has also been the creation of an archive, but one that “many future archivists will supplement, change and use as source of information, ideas and inspiration” (Mucko 2011: 143), that is, a virtual variant which will thus be accessible to a greater number of individuals who will be able to supplement it or just use as a source of information.

It needs to be noted that the hangouts of young people between the nineteen-fifties and the present day have undergone meaningful transformations. In specific periods they were as hangouts part of the identity of the young *Poležani*, and in time became non-places “...not in the Augéan context of oversaturation with hypermodernity (Augé 2005: 75), but rather in the context of the void of post-socialist transition” (Mucko 2011: 198). In other words, over time certain hangouts become less popular or close down and thus (although only apparently) lose their significance. By actualising the theme of the *Poležani* identity in a broader context, i.e., by specifically dealing with sites of memory as hangouts we wanted to encourage public discussion on these topics.³

ANALYSIS OF THE PROJECT

Having determined the theme and having agreed to limit it geographically to the area of the city of Pula,⁴ and having limited the time to the last sixty-years – that is, between the nineteen-fifties and 2012 – we had to assign the tasks. Since more than twenty students took part in the project we had to appoint a project coordinator and form several smaller groups in charge for specific stages of project implementation. The students agreed on a project coordinator whose task was to coordinate the work of the group leaders, and contact the designer and printer in agreement with the project mentor. We formed groups in charge for funding whose members were responsible for finding the financial resources for project implementation. Through involvement in the project the students were supposed to apply practically the knowledge acquired during their course of studies. That is why the group in charge of funding and the group in charge of project marketing and promotion embarked on seeking financial and media sponsors. Three additional groups were supposed to lay out the exhibition, organise its opening, and explore the students’ journal *Five* and write the text for the catalogue related to the young people’s hangouts in Pula.

2 Although Nora considers them to be legitimate, he saw certain methodological problems related to such archives because, for example, they cannot be used partly but only integrally, as a whole (Nora 2007: 143).

3 Which, in a way, also developed through a catalogue in the part entitled “Personal view”. In addition to the catalogue, discussion also developed at the exhibition where visitors could participate actively by marking their hangouts or recording their memories or, finally, by commenting in the visitors book or on the project facebook page.

4 There are some other hangouts that formally do not belong to the city of Pula and were therefore omitted from the project.

Whatever group they belonged to, the students were supposed to talk with the narrators (informants) on the ground and, on the basis of collected data, write an ethnographic text on the explored period and on hangouts of their narrators. A group was responsible for drafting the catalogue and edit the contributions of their colleagues into an integrated text. They were also supposed to edit the other texts in the catalogue. Since this was the students' first encounter with ethnographic methods of field exploration and with the writing of ethnographic texts, this part might have been the most demanding, but most of them were very much up to the task. Every student could choose four interlocutors for the theme, and write his/her own experience on the theme of popular hangouts. The students talked with their parents, grandparents, friends and neighbours, and thus collected valuable data, photographs and objects for the exhibition.

Expectedly, the greatest problem was the "transformation" of field data into ethnographic text. After additional consultations about the theme and use of additional references, most of the students overcame that "obstacle", too. Another negative side of the project surfaced at the very end and was confirmed by subsequent evaluation carried out through written essays. Since the course within which we prepared the project was a single-semester one, there was extremely little time for exploration and preparing the exhibition and the catalogue.

Since quite a few photographs were borrowed, problem arose of documentation, i.e., of collecting data on who took the photographs and when, and on the persons on them. Similarly, at regular weekly meetings we discussed and analysed the collected data, and agreed how to systematise them as well as possible. At the same time we also agreed the concept of the exhibition. An actually unexpected problem turned up in the analysis of the data collected on the ground. In view of the prevalent opinion that there are today few, if any, good hangouts, we were surprised by the quantity of information about many hangouts, especially in the nineteen-seventies and – eighties. This is why we had to limit our work to the most popular places, for some periods, mentioned most frequently by our narrators. It is a fact that many coffee bars were opened in the nineteen-eighties and even in the nineteen-nineties; they became favourite hangouts for the young people, and we had to choose which were the most popular on at the time. The narrators were encouraged by the students to remember why they preferred certain places, their rituals before going out, the fashion of the period, why they liked to hear,⁵ what they drank and what were their "rounds", i.e. the places they visited on a typical evening in the city. Field research was carried out by using the semi-structured interview method.

THE KORZO – "THE REAL LIVING ROOM OF PULA"

Rihtman-Auguštin pointed out that tradition, an old city core or square, can give identity to a city, but she wondered whether the identity of city inhabitants comes into being in direct contact with the urban space or in an active relation with that space (Rihtman-Auguštin 1988: 97).

5 Music was clearly directly related to the hangout.

In suggesting many themes that could be explored in/about the city Rihtman-Auguštin gave a brief analysis of the Zagreb *korzo* which will serve as an introduction to the analysis of the *Pula korzo*, distinguished as a special phenomenon during the analysis of field material collected by the students in this project.

In the early 20th century the Zagreb *korzo*, i.e., the city promenade, stretched along the lower part of Zrinjevac. Before the Second World War it stretched from Praška Street to Zrinjevac; it should be noted that there were also other promenades frequented by people of different political affiliations. In the nineteen-fifties the *korzo* in Zagreb stretched from Praška Street to the Republic Square (as it was called at the time) and all the way to the “Dubrovnik” Hotel. The especially interesting fact – noted Rihtman-Auguštin - was the link of all these promenades with “one significant café or another”, i.e., citizens’ hangouts. In the nineteen-eighties young people gathered in the evening in front of the *Theatre (Kavkaz) Café* and, at the beginning of Masarykova Street by the *Zvečka (Rattle) Café*. All the meetings were agreed along the stretch from the passage from the *Balkan Cinema* (present-day *Europa*) to the *Kavkaz Café*; typically, young people did not walk, as their parents used to do when they walked along the *korzo*, but stood in groups. After the refurbishing of the former Republic Square in 1987, the route of movement changed somewhat because by day people gathered by the fountain and sat in cafés; in the afternoon mainly middle-age and elder Zagreb citizens of Dalmatian origin gathered there. Interestingly, the author noted that the *korzo* no longer returned to the Square (Rihtman-Auguštin 1988: 208).

In interaction with a space people give it a specific significance; thus, it is visible that the *korzo* moved to another location and gave new significance to certain streets or squares. “During history the *korzo* moves. Its migrations disclose the secret of the urban soul and the identity of urban inhabitants” (Rihtman-Auguštin 1988: 209).

Just as Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin noted the importance of the *korzo*, i.e., the mode (in earlier periods) in which people moved, and later on met, in our analysis of data collected on the ground we also noted some phenomena which stood out. The *korzo* in Pula⁶ was remarkable as an interesting phenomenon which we could follow over different historical periods covered by our exploration and watch the “extinction” of such gathering in the nineteen-nineties, i.e., a kind of relocation of the place where young people gathered to the promenade along the sea – the *lungomare*.

As a place of exceptional importance for the identity of the *Poležani*, as a spot where direct communication took place among the members of the younger generations, the *korzo* deserves a deeper analysis. In this text we shall provide only an outline of a possible future analysis.

If we look at the history of the space under consideration, we shall see that, in line with the name used, *giardini* (gardens) was the place where citizens tilled their gardens outside the city walls. Because of the accelerated growth of the city, which had become Austria’s naval port, in the late 19th century, the gardens were turned into a park with paths, a lawn, flowers and trees were planted, and it served as the city market-place.

6 Hereinafter *korzo*.

In the early 20th century European nettle trees (*Celtic australis*) were planted; most of them are still standing, and the market-place became a promenade. Giardini was also a tram stop during Austro-Hungarian rule, and that also certainly contributed to the significance of the place. In the first half of the 20th century book exhibitions and bargain sales were held there.⁷ After the Second World War the name *giardini* was changed into *korzo*, and that where our story about the sites of memory of the city really starts.

In the nineteen-fifties the *korzo* was an exceptionally popular place where young people met before going to the cinema or to pastry shops. On Saturday afternoon young people met on the *korzo* and then went to the cinema. According to narratives, the young walked in three lines. In the line along the wall were the youngest, called *fažolići* (little beans), the middle line was reserved for secondary school students, and the line along the street for older people. The *korzo* was the place where you could meet your peers but also “cast a look” at those of greater age. The narrators pointed out that “members” of the second and third line used to fall in love, i.e., in the words of L. V. (born 1942) “... we measured how many times somebody looked at you”. The older ones who managed to hook up walked away as a couple all the way to *lungomare* and back.

The extremely rigorous high school teachers would be “on duty” the *korzo* lest their students should stay out after 8 p.m., and many boys and girls would renounce the cinema if the projection lasted longer. The students caught on the *korzo* were penalised with poor behaviour marks or reports to the headmaster; as a result, they would not be invited to the school tea parties which, along with the *korzo*, were the only place where secondary school students could freely communicate (Piljan et. al. 2012: 17). That was the time of narrow waist dresses, nylon stockings and jeans, and Gina Lollobrigida and Sophia Loren hairdos. The boys wore shorts and jeans, and pointed shoes, and their hair styles imitated Clark Gable. That was the time of the Sanremo Festival which everybody watched and which determined the fashion and musical tastes (Ibid. 19).

In the nineteen-sixties, young people also met on the *korzo* after class and until 8.30 p.m., 10.30 p.m. on weekends. In that period meeting on the *korzo* was an everyday custom, and the time allowed longer than in the preceding decade. The *korzo* stretched from the FINA building to the Golden Gate (Arch of the Sergii). At the time Pula had four cinemas, and after the obligatory walk many attended one of them.

In 1964 the *Uljanik Club* was opened; it is still a favourite hangout of the young. It owes its longevity to the heterogeneous musical supply and demand, which changed with the time and adapted to the tastes of the young inhabitants of Pula. In addition to the *korzo* and *Uljanik*, in the nineteen-sixties there were several other places frequented by the young;⁸ interestingly, the first “fast food” stand where the young could get a hot dog appeared in the same period (Ibid. 19-21).

7 <http://www.pulainfo.hr/hr/kamo-ici/pulski-parkovi/35/giardini/390/> accessed 12 Sept. 2013.

8 Foir dancing the young went to the *Circolo* and stayed there until 11 p.m. On Friday there was dancing at the JNA Hall between 8 and 10 p.m.

In the nineteen-seventies the initial point where all the generations met when going out in the evening was still the *korzo*. Every day, after class and, on weekends, youth met there before going to a club or a cinema. After going out started to be agreed by telephone, the *korzo* was still the meeting place where one could meet friends and agree what to do next. Every group had its own meeting points, "... the dressers in front of *Jadran Café*, the drug addicts in front of the *Zagreb Cinema*, sportsmen below *Jadran*" (M. S., born 1953). One still walked along the *korzo* and that is where all the communication started among young people. After that, on weekends they would proceed to *Uljanik* or the *Marelica Clubs*, at the time one of the extremely popular youth hangouts. The favourite fashion combination consisted of flare-legged trousers (known popularly as "trapeze" or "bell" trousers), narrow t-shirts and long coats. Young people under eighteen could not visit clubs like *Uljanik*; if they nevertheless managed to get in, older visitors would not allow them to approach the bar and order drinks (Ibid. 22-24).

In the nineteen-eighties youth started to meet on the *korzo* every day between 12.30 and 2 p.m., and 6.30 and 8.30 p.m. The narrators compared the getting together and communication at the time with present-day Facebook.

"On the *korzo* you either walked up and down or stood by your tree or habitual spot, depending on the group to which you belonged. The dressers usually met round the *Jadran Café* and opposite the coffee and pastry shop; the stretch from the *Partizan* cinema and along the Generalist travel agency to the Kluz shop was the place for all kinds of 'alternatives': rockers, hippies, punks. By the middle stand, where you could buy cigarettes piecemeal, were the bikers. Newcomers met at the far end of the *korzo*, across the *Mate Parlov Café*" (S. B., born 1966) (Ibid. 24).

Interestingly, on Sunday young people did not like meeting on the *korzo* or go to the cinema, because that was the time when soldiers had a pass and were like "dogs off the leash" in the words of one female narrator.

After the *korzo* young people went to one of the clubs, and Pula had plenty of them at the time; one chose the favourite spot according to the music and the crowd. In the late nineteen-eighties some clubs were closed, and espresso bars took over primacy as hangouts. The most popular drinks were *čiket* (brandy and coca-cola), *banana* (pear brandy and coca cola) or *bambus* (red wine with coca-cola).

Between the nineteen-nineties and today there have been many changes with regard to the places and times young people met, and the *korzo* "disappeared" as the traditional meeting point. Young people met in neighbourhood coffee bars, parks or playgrounds and proceed from there to one club or another. The *Uljanik Club* is still popular, but it loses its "rock flavour" because of "commercial" music: "... In the beginning it still attracted the old crowd who experienced *Uljanik* very personally, and the music was a kind of transition, from underground to light thematic commercial stuff..." (I. K., born 1985) (Ibid. 29).

Because of the need to meet before going to a coffee bar, after the *korzo* a new place had to be found where the young could meet, see and be seen, depending on what music or hangout they liked. *Korzo/giardini* are no longer suitable for such purposes.

The many tables in the coffee bars and pastry shops at *giardini* make the free passing of larger groups difficult. Because of these obstacles one could not meet at specific points in the *giardini* area. However, today the young *Poležani* meet depending on the part of the city in which they live, and that is in keeping with the fact that twenty to thirty years ago Pula did not have so many inhabitants, and it was therefore logical that youth should meet in a spot like the *korzo*. Moreover, today young people meet much later and consume a lot of alcohol, and such amusement would not be advisable before the parents, neighbours or the police. The third possible reason why the *korzo* “disappeared” is the need for new spots, like the *lungomare* promenade where you could walk but also and first of all drive. Considering the kind of music preferred by the young, they assemble at points where you can hear music from the cars and dance, drink and have fun before going on.

Maybe one of the most essential reasons why the *korzo* was “abandoned” was the fact that the young prefer to communicate in private. Modern communication via social networks has replaced direct communication and the “living room of the *Poležani* has moved into virtual space.”

Regardless of the place where you physically meet, the feelings and memories, and the link with people at given moments and in given spots will not disappear. We are linked with specific parts (places) of the city in which we grew up and exchanged our first kiss (Gulić Zrnić 2000). Such places are full of meanings calling us to come back or at least remember them.

The hangouts, the places where you communicate directly (in this case over a given period of time) are part of the meaningful wealth of a determined site deserving attention (cf. Čapo, Gulin Zrnić 2011).

THE EXHIBITION AND THE CATALOGUE

The many collected data had to be reduced and selected in order to determine how and in which way to present them at the exhibition where we wanted to display the results of our project. However, before embarking on that voluminous effort we had to decide where to hold the exhibition because the space would influence its concept. We did not want to have it in one of the customary places⁹ primarily because we were presenting the hangouts of young people, and we focused precisely on such possible venues. We thought of choosing some of the former popular haunts of the young *Poležani*,¹⁰ but because of a variety of technical shortcomings of such places, no longer in use, we finally chose the *Circolo Coffee Bar* of the Italian Union where one used to go dancing in the nineteen-sixties. The good sides of this decision was the extreme kindness of the present-day owners who accepted our ideas with enthusiasm,¹¹ and it was the place

9 Such as a museum or art gallery.

10 Such as the *Marellica* Club in the former JNA Hall (present-day Veterans' Hall), or the *Piramida* disco in the Verudela district.

11 We even had some preliminary meetings there in order to become familiar with the facility.

which many *Poležani* remembered as a favourite hangout and which still endeavoured to attract youth with a variety of programmes and concerts. On the other hand, because of the fact that somewhat older people, mainly belonging to the Italian minority, were daily “using” the facility,¹² it was not so interesting to the younger public.

In view of the available space, we conceived the exhibition so that it would show the main features of specific periods of public life in Pula in terms of decades. We highlighted the personal values, customs, habits and fashion trends of the citizens who influenced the identity of the city. We focused on generation-wise interesting places. Among the many photographs we selected those that best described a specific period, i.e., those associated with given hangouts. In displaying every decade we also included certain objects which best illustrated a given period, i.e., periods related to specific hangouts. The presentation of every decade included items which invoked best the fashions of the time; thus, we exhibited an old radio, a tape recorder, a woman’s ensemble from the nineteen-fifties, a leather and jeans jacket from the nineteen-seventies and –eighties, gramophone records, posters, entrance tickets from the nineteen-nineties and the early 21st century. Moreover, the visitors were offered to opportunity to hear hits from every period, specially prepared and recorded on an MP3 installed at the exhibition. The interactive effect was also achieved by a large map of Pula on which visitors stuck small piece of yellow paper with the names of their hangouts and thus “recorded their Pula rounds”. Moreover, they could record their impressions and stories on equipment prepared for the purpose¹³ or write them down in the visitors book.

Since we covered the period from the nineteen-fifties to the early 21st century, we addressed audiences belonging to different generations. Younger visitor generations could not remember the hangouts of the nineteen-fifties, -sixties, -seventies and even –eighties, and a construction of memory (Mucko 2011: 196) was actually offered them by means of photographs, objects and maps with marked hangout sites. Interestingly, the very researchers and authors of the exhibition were mainly from the generation whose parents or grandparents were precisely the “youth” presented at the exhibition.

The students planned the opening of the exhibition as a collage of different periods and thus, through a press conference and guest appearances on radio shows, invited visitors to come to the opening dressed in “their favourite period”. The students and the university vice-chancellor came to the opening in cars of the “oldtimer club” typical of the periods(s) presented at the exhibition. After the formal opening, the programme included interviews with the popular DJs who played the music in the most popular hangouts, lectures and past musical hits. The exhibition attracted exceptionally many visitors, including fellow students, professors and the public at large interested in the theme, and the press and electronic media.

12 Except during the Pula Film Festival, when the coffee bar was the official hangout of film people and of the Festival audiences, meaning that it was a very busy place.

13 We prepared a computer and a microphone, and visitors could record their stories in a simple way (by pressing a pushbutton on the keyboard).

At the opening we also launched the catalogue, printed in 400 copies and distributed the same evening to interested visitors.

The catalogue and the exhibition were designed by the young designer Oleg Šuran, and the catalogue editorial board included the students Boris Bogunović, Nataša Piljan, Sandra Svitich and Tanja Kocković Zaborski, M.S..

The catalogue was divided into three parts: “The Pula rounds over time”, covering the results of the students’ explorations of the hangouts, “The Pula rounds in *Five*” on the texts published in the Pula students’ journal *Five* between 1979 and 1989, and the third, most extensive part, “Personal view”. The last part included texts by professors, journalists, students, participants in the institutional and independent cultural scene in Pula who responded to our plea to describe the meaning of the “Pula rounds” for them. Thus, once again, now through “public narratives”, we obtained worthwhile data on the influence of Pula and of its citizens on the formation of the identity of the city and its citizens.

CONCLUSION

The culture of everyday life must be recorded and interpreted. Through our exhibition we indicated or marked popular hangouts, drew on the map of Pula the network of informal communication among young people in the past and today and recorded the memories of the hangouts of the *Poležani*. I believe that these places are modern meaningful spaces because they contain empirical, emotional, value, interactive and reactive, cognitive and sensorial, and historical and memory dimensions (Čapo, Gulin Zrnić 2011: 35).

When we raise the question of what the city is, Gulin Zrnić offers three answers: 1. the city is a process, meaning that the city is the relationship between its inhabitants and space (actually place, because in this case space already gained its own significance) but also the inter-relationship among the different people that live in it; the city is the simultaneity of the differences between cultures, times and social qualities; 3. the city is multilayered, meaning that the different parts of the city have different meanings for diverse systems and visions (political, economic, cultural, ethnic...) which is why we inscribe our individual experience on certain parts of the city, and these parts of the city become characteristic parts of the city for us. 4. In summing up these meanings of the city, we again need to point out the city has multiple meanings, and therefore we cannot say that the city has only one story or one meaning (Gulin Zrnić 2009: 225). Each of the mentioned stories is a story about the city, because the city is open and closed, it provides amusement but also limits it, depending, of course, on “which story we are telling” and on the time.

The museum presentation or filing (archiving) of memories is also a political act. It is the “... writing of collective memory” and then also of individual “memory” encouraging the citizens to embark on a new self-appreciation and making them more ... citizens” (Koroman 2012: 111). Therefore, we do not think that this project has

been completed by our presentation and, following that, by its “taking out” of space. Considering the many themes we can and need to cover about the city, we believe that this is only the beginning of research the results of which will be presented in cooperation with new student generations.

Finally, allow me to present an explanation why this project what so significant for me personally.

In order to “have the feeling of the place” the individual needs blending with that place or, as we usually say, put down roots in it. Čapo and Gulin Zrnić (2011: 40) draw attention to the fact that, according to a metaphor, people no longer take root but (only) cast anchor, meaning that they only stay in one place for a time, then leave and cast anchor elsewhere. The mobility of people as a feature of modern times gives people the opportunity to contact different communities, cultures and identities, and to us, anthropologists, the opportunity to study and examine both symbolic places and places with an identity (ibid.- 41). Along with this fact, one has to point out that “... the author must discover himself subjectively, explain his own even intimate starting points. That will, I hope, help him to critically approach his work” (Rihtman-Auguštin 11988: 208).

This project is a specific follow-up of the exhibition “(Un)known Pula” with I did with third year undergraduate students of the Culture and Tourism Course in 2010, in which we explored the tramway route and Austro-Hungarian villas as a possible cultural&tourist route in the city of Pula. That was a singular quest for the “Austro-Hungarian” identity of the city and of the citizens of Pula, almost “invisible” in the current tourist presentation of the city as an exclusively “ancient Pula”. With such projects I shall continue my search for the identity of the city and of its inhabitants, a point of outstanding significance for me as a newcomer (Kocković 2012: 16).

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