

The Use of Drawings and Sketch Maps to Identify Spatial Attitudes of the Inhabitants of Urban Enclaves


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Summary Based on the results of the author's research conducted in 2014-2016 with the participation of the inhabitants of two urban enclaves of poverty in Poland, the article focuses on mobility and various spatial attitudes which have been identified on the basis of the participants' drawings and sketch maps related to their place of residence: the yard, the nearest neighbourhood and the city. When constructing the model of attitudes, the author was inspired by Stomma's ethnological description of world and anti-world, and the levels of existential space distinguished by Norberg-Schulz. The model includes: imaginations and feelings towards specified spaces, by some seen as their own and tamed (*orbis interior*), while by others as foreign and wild (*orbis exterior*); and spatial mobility, determined on the basis of spatial orientation (implosive, explosive) and spatial behaviour of the subjects (exploratory, escapist, inertial). A typology of spatial attitudes is proposed based on these variables.

Keywords: enclaves of poverty, mobility, urban space, attitudes, drawings and sketch maps

INTRODUCTION

Enclaves of poverty are spaces of social stigmatization yet, at the same time, a milieu in the lives of concrete human beings who co-inhabit and co-create these spaces. Social stigma attached to a place can become stigma of its inhabitants, and be associated with the transfer of a negative opinion about a place onto its inhabitants. Circumstances constituting and distinguishing these specific areas were the impetus for the research to identify the ways of valuing and mental mapping performed by people living there. Mental maps are a rich source of spatial knowledge, that allows understanding of the process of perception and of social relationships related to being and functioning in certain areas. Thanks to exploration of these, knowledge about the processes of mapping of space was deepened, with respect to, among other things, the mobility of people and their spatial attitudes, as well as – crucial for the research – the sense of inclusion or exclusion. As the results from my research carried out in 2014–2016, in urban enclaves of poverty in Poland show, people living there have varied attitudes towards these places, they are aware of negative opinions about these areas, but they do not necessarily share them. What, then, are their perceptions about the spaces they inhabit? What are their feelings about them? What is their spatial mobility like in the context of these imaginings and feelings? I will try to answer these questions in this article, referring to the drawings and sketch maps created by the participants, their statements and the results from photo-walks.

At the outset, I would like to point out that using mapping in the study of areas of poverty – e.g. inhabitant mobility – is not a new idea. For example, in the 19th century, Charles Booth used mapping – cartographic maps – to visualize the extent and severity of poverty (Vaughan, 2008). Representatives of the Chicago school of social ecology (e.g. Burgess, 1925) also relied on mapping. Today, too, in research into exclusion and poverty, mapping is considered to be an extremely useful tool. Cartographic maps related to particular problems are prepared on the basis of official data (e.g. Czekaj, 2001) as well as maps using satellite data (e.g. Steele et al., 2017). Mental maps and slum dweller's imaginings have also been explored in the study of their travel behaviour (Karan et. al, 1980). However I consider my approach to be innovative, firstly, by incorporation in my studies preferential, structural and sensory approaches to the study of mental maps, secondly, by the use of drawings and sketch maps, which – thanks to the simultaneous appeal to the statements of the inhabitants of the enclaves of poverty about the spaces they inhabited and the spaces (un)crossed by them every day – allowed me to determine the variables that differentiate their spatial attitudes. The article discusses six spatial attitudes based on a model inspired by the results of empirical research, on Ludwik Stomma's (2000) ethnological description of the world and anti-world, and on

the levels of existential space distinguished by Christian Norberg-Schulz (1971). The discussion is preceded by a description of theoretical assumptions, sources of empirical data, and the presentation and discussion of the collected material taking into account imagination and valorization of the enclaves of poverty, and the mobility of their inhabitants. I conclude with a discussion of the spatial attitudes revealed by the research results presented. I recognise that the value of the research undertaken and analyses conducted is the clarification of potential differences in assessing the life situation of the inhabitants of poverty enclaves, which, although seemingly similar, vary in individual experience. Additionally, the aim of the article is to disseminate the results of the research. The paper discusses these and elaborates the methodological considerations published in the journal *Etnografia Polska*, entitled: „Postawy wobec zamieszkiwanej przestrzeni i mobilność mieszkańców miejskich enklaw biedy w Polsce” (LXIV, 2020, 1–2, pp. 61–83).

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Enclaves of poverty have their own social, cultural and geopolitical nature. This is reflected in the multiplicity of perspectives from which they are analysed and the diverse subject matter of the studies that have been devoted to them (np. Dupont et al., 2016; Sandhu, 1987; Warzywoda-Kruszyńska & Grotowska-Leder, 1997). What appears to link descriptions of enclaves of poverty is the accumulation of various kinds of deficiencies, deviations and pathologies within their area, where the problems of unemployment and crime are more acute. However, according to Mario L. Small (2015), focus on the deficiencies of the enclaves takes place only when the view of the enclaves is narrow. Such perception is favoured by the fact that many myths and simplified narratives have grown around these spaces. For example, they are widely recognized as places of intensified criminal activity, despite the fact that the strong system of social control that distinguishes them leads there to low crime rates. Besides, the concept of a norm used by external observers is strongly influenced by what falls within their system of values and the main social stream, leaving aside the context in which the observed activities are implemented. In addition the potential of these areas is not always recognised, especially in terms of the appearance of social movements and manifestations of solidarity unknown in richer areas of the city or in the suburbs (*The Challenge...*, 2003) The definition of poverty enclaves was narrowed down for the purpose of my own research to just a few of the variables that distinguish them: segregation, overpopulation, poverty of residents, negligence and social isolation. These are areas that are rarely entered and that are difficult to leave. As such, enclaves of poverty are considered to be pockets of intense deprivation (e.g. Davis, 2009; Lupton

& Power, 2002; Warzywoda-Kruszyńska & Jankowski, 2013). The communities living in poverty enclaves are sometimes described in the context of ethnic and/or class characteristics that distinguish them from other residents of the city (e.g. Walks & Bourne, 2006). At the same time, I would like to emphasize that the urban enclaves of poverty in Poland – which are the focus of this study – are much less often associated with multiculturalism and ethnic diversity of their inhabitants. Apart from the enclaves inhabited by the Roma community, they are most often settled by people belonging to the same ethnic group as the other residents of the city. Such urban neighbourhoods are characterised by: old buildings in poor technical condition; insufficient space and bad infrastructure; the concentration of poorly educated, unemployed and poor residents; overcrowded housing; the accumulation of deviant behaviours; and the variability of the meanings attributed to these neighbourhoods: from sentiment and attachment, through ambivalence, indifference, to open dislike. In Polish cities, these spaces are sometimes located peripherally, seamlessly merging with other parts of the city or are separated from them by parks, railway lines or wide roadways (Szczepański & Ślęzak-Tazbir, 2007; Warzywoda-Kruszyńska & Jankowski, 2013). It is worth emphasising that they are also inhabited by the non-poor population (Grotowska-Leder, 2006), while their poor tenants especially do not have the economic opportunity to change their place of residence. The spatial mobility of the poor population usually takes place between dwellings within the same degraded area or between different, similarly degraded areas (cf. Warzywoda-Kruszyńska & Jankowski, 2013).

Enclaves of poverty thus understood may be conducive to the creation of a closed-type of culture, supported by negative stereotypes and the lack of a sense of integration of their inhabitants with the external environment (Łotman & Uspienski, 1975). A high level of mental isolation is associated with this. This intellectual construction is not very susceptible to empirical verification (Stomma, 2000). It is distinguished by distrust and dominance of superstition in thinking about the world, the belief that beyond the borders of one's own familiar world, there is an unknown and dreadful world of strangers (cf. Eliade, 1999). It finds expression in seeing the world in opposing categories: *orbis interior* (our world) – *orbis exterior* (world outside – anti-world). The image of the *orbis interior* is a full inversion of the vision of the *orbis exterior*, what is stupid in the first, becomes wise in the second and vice versa. The *Orbis interior* is a known and useful sphere, a region of tamed topography. Attributes of the *orbis exterior* will therefore be uselessness and strangeness, with an increased possibility of losing one's way and straying. This dichotomous way of perceiving reality affects attitudes and choices in real life, and is reflected in aesthetic preferences. The *Orbis exterior* is not only not worth knowing, wild and useless, but also ugly (Stomma, 2000).

Ludwik Stomma's concept of the world and anti-world outlined above, which was developed out of the study of a rural, isolated environment from the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, is not limited in the author's opinion to any time, space or social strata. We find elements of mental isolation both in the culture of the nineteenth-century village as well as in contemporary urbanized communities. Stomma, paying attention to factors conducive to overcoming mental isolation, emphasized the importance in this process of broadly understood mobility: cognitive, intellectual and spatial.

Mobility is connected with wider accessibility to specific places, people and activities (Stanley et al., 2011). There are at least six dimensions of accessibility: physical, financial, organizational, temporal, technological, and competence based (Cass et.al, 2005; Jirón et. al., 2010). In this study, I focus on the dimension that I refer to as cognitive-affective. When writing about the cognitive-affective dimension of accessibility, I mean the ideas and ways of valorizing space that condition mobility. Depending on the knowledge and experience possessed, the same components of space can be seen in a different ways by different people who construct different visions of the same space. The same space that in the convictions and feelings of some people may be familiar and safe, willingly inhabited or visited, will for others be foreign, hostile, and thus usually avoided, reluctantly crossed or explored (cf. Nęcki, 2004).

METHODS AND DATA

Aiming at recognition of spatial attitudes and mobility of the inhabitants of the enclaves of poverty, I will refer to the results of my own research carried out in 2014-2016 in Polish enclaves located near the city centre, in two cities (population over 700,000)¹. The purpose of the project was to identify socially shared knowledge, organized in cognitive patterns and common-sense theories. This is knowledge about the network of places, buildings and premises, their mutual relationships, informal meeting places, shortcuts etc. The images of these places preserved in individual and social memory are records of emotions, values of meanings, and social practice. The research area was established based on reports from local research, reports of municipal social assistance centres and nationwide on-line negative rankings of neighbourhoods (surveys carried out by developers and online real estate services), in which these areas were called enclaves of poverty and were listed as examples of degraded and dangerous areas, hostile neighbourhoods, with over representation of social housing and poor and unemployed clients of social services. The names of these places were anonymized for ethical reasons. It was considered that their disclosure is of no importance to the research results, but may strengthen the stigmatization of their residents.

The selection of the sample was purposeful and based on the accessibility of the participants. Social workers familiar with the community took part in the recruitment process. They established the first contact with the residents, explained the purpose of the research and the manner of its implementation, and then verified the consent to meet the researcher. In this manner, the right of the participant to informed and voluntary participation in research was secured. To avoid skewing the results, the snowball technique was not used in recruitment, since individuals who had already participated might naturally share their knowledge of the research and their answers with potential participants, who would activate specific structures of knowledge of the district and mediate ways of mapping it from others. For the same reasons, research with residents of a particular district that is usually a hermetic neighbourhood was arranged for the same day and conducted simultaneously by several researchers.

In total, 32 people took part in the study carried out in urban enclaves of poverty – 16 residents from the “first” enclave of poverty (8 women, 8 men) and 16 residents from the “second” (8 women and 8 men) – who were also tenants of social housing and were social welfare clients for economic reasons. The participants were aged between 25 and 67 and had a Polish ethnic background. In the analyses I do not take into account the gender and age of the participants, but I do take into account the fact of previously having inhabited a different place, assuming that somebody from the outside will evaluate and imagine a given place in a different fashion from someone who is a permanent resident there (Tomaszewski, 1984). The subjects lived in a particular place from four years to several decades. Some had lived there all their lives, others had moved there in order to join their partner or because they obtained social housing in the area.

The interview, which lasted about an hour and a half, was carried out in the home of the subject and also involved taking a walk around the area. The research methods used in the project were inspired by the work of Peter Gould, Roger Downs and Kevin Lynch, who initiated the two main approaches in the study of spatial images: [1] *preferential* – used for an analysis of attitudes and spatial preferences obtained during an interview (cf. Downs, 1970; Gould, 1973); and [2] *structural* – consisting of interpreting respondents’ imaginary sketches in the form of drawings (cf. Lynch, 1960). In addition mobile visual methods were applied, recognizing that people collect and activate information about the environment through their senses and direct experience of space. Therefore, I refer to [3] *the sensory approach* – paying attention to sensory feedback remembered by the respondents (visual, auditory, kinaesthetic, olfactory) (cf. Pink, 2015). All the aforementioned approaches refer in fact to certain images, but are gained through other methods and require a confrontation with another kind of experience. Thus, various methods of extracting, externalizing and using people’s knowledge

contained in mental maps were employed. The first consists in recounting, the second – visualization, the third – visiting and experiencing.

The recounting process included answering questions contained in the interview questionnaire, description of drawings and sketches and free statements of the participants during the photo-walks. The interview questionnaire consisted of standardized questions that concerned issues related to the identification, valorisation and use of a given space, e.g. What would the participants call the inhabited area? How long had they lived there? Did they like to walk around the area? In this manner, additional information was obtained to determine the potential knowledge of the mapped space, and associated knowledge structures were activated. In addition, in order to establish positive and negative attitudes of the participants to the spaces inhabited and (un)crossed on daily basis, they were asked, among other things, about whether they thought the neighbourhood was good? Did they like it? Did they feel safe in it? (see Katz & Stotland, 1959)

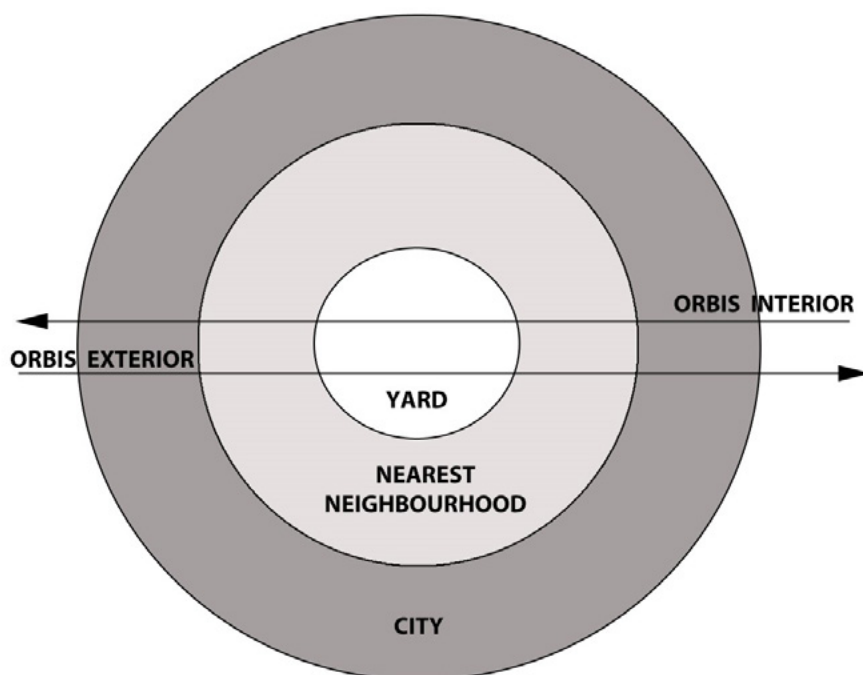
Visualization was related to the imaging of spatial knowledge by participants, which consisted of drawing or sketching. To this end, the following elements were used:

- Schematic drawing of a fence – this served to identify the spatial imaginations, feelings and mobility of the subjects at the micro level. The participant made a drawing of the preferred type of fencing around a drawing of a house on a sheet of paper, symbolising the building the participant inhabited. Then, the participant was asked to indicate the height of the fence, the material from which it would be made, what its function would be.
- Sketch maps of the closest area – these served to identify the spatial imaginations, feelings and mobility of the subjects at the meso level. The participant received a sheet of paper, in the middle of which the point symbolizing the place of the research was marked. Then, s/he was asked to sketch the streets, buildings and other objects in the immediate area. S/he was asked to draw what s/he remembered and what would fit on a piece of paper, and to describe what s/he was drawing. Questions were asked about the drawing, including: Does the subject like the area? Is this a good neighbourhood? Is it safe? Does it feel like home?
- Schematic drawing of the boundary of the area – this served to identify the spatial imaginations, feelings and mobility of the subjects at the macro level. The task was to draw the boundary of the immediate area on a sheet of paper, the edges of which symbolised the administrative boundaries of the city. The following questions were asked about the drawings: (a) returning from a journey, how would the participants know, that they are already in the area they inhabit (that which is inside)? (b) how would they know, that they had left the neighbourhood they inhabit (what is outside)?

Visiting and experiencing was associated with the implementation of photo-walks. The places depicted earlier by the participants on the sketch map and described during the interview were visited and photographed. The taking of photographs was to encourage the participants to focus their attention on the elements of the space being walked through, and its descriptions were used to verify their opinions on spatial mobility. The collected material complemented and enriched the data on the ways of imagining and valorizing the area inhabited by the participants.

In an attempt to establish spatial attitudes when analysing empirical material, the three components of attitudes towards their object – cognitive, affective and behavioural – were taken into account. Assuming that the attitude is the tendency of people to assess the object of the attitude in a certain way, and that the assessment includes cognitive and affective elements (see Aronson, 2009; Katz & Stotland, 1959; Smith, 1947), seeking answers to questions “how do people imagine the space they inhabit?” and “what are their feelings about it?” the author refers to the category of existential space, which is structured by meanings, intentions and values attributed to it (see Pallasmaa, 2009). People have a relatively stable system of cognitive patterns constituting their existential space. These patterns are developed in an interaction with the environment, in everyday experience, so that a person may orientate themselves in it and function in a satisfactory manner. They are constructed on several levels: geography and landscape, city, home and things, and possible movement (Norberg-Schulz, 1971). Inspired by the findings of Norberg-Schulz and the results of pilot studies, I distinguished three levels of existential space analysis, and three spaces of mobility, i.e. potential movement of participants - symbolically depicted in the concentric system in Figure 1 – including: the *yard*, an area immediately adjacent to the building inhabited by the participant (micro level); the *immediate neighbourhood*, the space outside the yard, with variable extent, sometimes defined by the participants as a quarter of streets, a housing estate, or a district (meso level); the *city*, an area that is outside the immediate area defined by the participant and consisting of a wider socio-geographical context (macro level). In the project, mobility was considered as an emanation of the behavioural component of the attitudes, which was analysed in relation to each of the highlighted spaces, including declared (un)willingness of a participant to stay in their area; preferred and /or in the opinion of the participant possible direction of movement, i.e. inside vs. outside of the given space.

Figure 1. Levels of analysis of existential space and potential movement.



Source: Own study (Nóżka, 2020).

Although the spaces shown in Figure 1 are contained within each other, they can be isolated from each other in human imagination and experience. A place has its boundary or a limit, so it can be experienced as something “internal”, in contrast to the surrounding “outside” (Norberg-Schulz, 1971). Due to the fact that cognitive schemes constituting the existential space are developed in interaction with the environment, depending on the level of knowledge, acceptance and activities undertaken, each of the identified spaces can potentially be considered as a home territory or foreign turf. A foreign world can theoretically be right on the doorstep of one’s apartment, and a space in another neighbourhood of the city be considered one’s own.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Imagination and valorization of enclaves of poverty

Through the knowledge encoded in mental maps one can discover what is individual and unique, as well as what is socially shared, appropriate for a given

population or certain categories of people, taking into account, for example, ways of identifying the inhabited space. Recounting about the immediate area, the participants rarely explicitly referred to poverty as its distinctive feature. More commonly social deficits (e.g. loud, aggressive behaviour, alcoholism of people from the neighbourhood), poor quality of space, dirt and devastation, neglect of the area and its tenants by the administration, investors and local authorities were mentioned. Pointing to the worse character of the area, some participants referred to the opinions of people from the outside, exposing the negative social image of the area: *Slums, so they sometimes say* (23.2.R)². At the same time, some of them disagreed with this kind of opinion, using different techniques of reconstruction and correction of the image of the area they lived in. These consisted of, among others, emphasizing the uniqueness of the place, evoking positive associations with it, whitewashing or distancing oneself from what was negative. There was no lack of voices that the area is green, nice and calm, and people friendly. Although only five participants found the neighbourhood safe, and 16 would like to move out of it, the majority declared that they liked it (25 people), perceived it as good (21 people) and felt at home there (27 people). Similarly, only five participants felt that they did not like the inhabited area and two felt that they did not belong there.

Referring to the statements of the participants, three types of relationships with the inhabited area can be distinguished: objective, subjective and emotional. The objective relationships were related to the possession of certain goods (such as a flat or adjacent garden) and the possibility of using them, as well as knowledge of the area in the topographical sense and ease of navigation in this space. The mere fact of living in the area was not enough for the participant to like it or consider it as their own. The conviction about its poor quality and low attractiveness of tenants created an ambivalence:

I like this area because thanks to it I have a place to live; but I do not like it, because you cannot like it: the noise, robberies, lack of central heating ... (29.2.S)

Subject relationships were identified based on the relations with other people declared by the participants: closeness of family and acquaintances. These included being liked and recognised, which in the opinion of the participants facilitated a feeling of belonging, safety and ease. From the statements of the participants, it can be concluded that life among friends can give a sense of security also in a situation where the neighbourhood and people living in it are perceived as dangerous. A female participant who declared that she did not like to walk around the area because she was afraid, added:

Here I have friends, family. I have safety. And if something happened, everyone will stand by me, I have everyone's protection (01.1.R)

Emotional relationships with the neighbourhood consisted of pleasant memories and identification with the place. Usually this was related to declared residence in the area from birth. The leading theme that appeared in the statements of the long-term residents of the enclaves was that of being used to the area and a feeling of being a part of it. Some participants declared, however, that the inhabited area has no value for them in an economic, social or emotional sense. Two female participants not only did not identify with the area, but also felt alienated and oppressed by the place. They declared that they would like to move out, but had nowhere to go. Among the participants there were also people who, on the one hand, did not feel at home in their current neighbourhood, but on the other declared that they had their own space somewhere else – usually it was a former place of residence.

The participants who were permanent residents of the enclaves, as well as those with a shorter tenancy, also paid attention to the existence of a special type of connection/bond that hinders or prevents mobility: the attachment, which results from perceiving it as a space without alternative affiliation, a space where one has to be out of necessity:

People live here because they have to. A habit. They live here from the very beginning, they were born and brought up here (05.1.S).

The mobility of participants, including the sense of freedom of movement, was influenced as well by their subjective beliefs about the choice of place of residence:

We could have moved to my husband's place near Plock [a city in Poland], but I decided that we should stay here. (...) I feel safe here. You can say that I know people, I know the area (31.2.R).

With referenc to the opinions of the participants, the ideas about the inhabited area and its valorization were conditioned by a series of subjectivised and relativised circumstances. What made the space unfriendly to some people was not perceived so by others, for example because of good knowledge of the area and people living in it, and the internalization of specific patterns of behaviour and standards of living. In the enclaves of poverty what is one's own and alien, safe and dangerous, pretty and ugly permeate each other. Therefore, those experienced as the *orbis interior* were not always seen as attractive places. The fact alone of inhabiting an enclave of poverty did not have to mean that it was familiar. Sometimes one's own world was somewhere outside, and the current place of residence was considered alien and dangerous. In extreme situations, the enclave as *orbis exterior* remained a tolerated, though invariably unacceptable reality of everyday life, not worth knowing.

Areas inhabited and (un)crossed by the participants – analysis at the micro, meso and macro level

The notions of inhabited spaces and their valorization were reflected in the participants' statements as well as in the drawings and sketch maps they made. Analysis of these also allowed determination of the preferred areas and directions of mobility. In the process of identification of spatial imaginations, feelings and mobility of the participants at *the micro level*, I used the task of drawing and describing a fence around the house, a fence that was placed in the centre of the page and that symbolized the house inhabited by the participant. High, enclosed and durable fences (of metal, concrete, titanium mesh) were drawn by people who claimed that there are potential vandals and hooligans in the area, nosy and intrusive people, somehow unpredictable or dangerous.

The fence should be made of concrete slabs. It could be a mesh, as if the area was quieter (05.1.S)

Concrete or steel, it's harder to wreck (...). So that strangers would not enter and drink alcohol in the area (09.1.S)

These people spoke about the need for a greater sense of privacy and control over what is happening outside and inside the gated space. But only some of them decided that they did not like to walk around it and would most likely move out of it if they had a chance. Several of the participants emphasized that they did not like the idea of putting a fence around themselves, they want to be seen and see what is happening outside, have freedom of movement and give such freedom to others.

I would not like to have a fence, I have negative associations with fences: isolation, being closed in. If I had to install a fence, it would be a low, colourful fence, for decoration (26.2.R)

By taking into account how the participants made a drawing of a house on a piece of paper, one can better understand how they perceived their inhabited space. Some of them viewed the surroundings of the building as hostile, others as friendly, accompanied by appropriately closed or open (Fig. 2 and Fig. 3), high or low fences. However, people living in the building were usually included in the *orbis interior*. Most of the participants enclosed the whole tenement house together with its tenants. However several participants who at the same time declared that they did not like to walk around the area and would most likely move out of it, defined the house drawn on the sheet as their own apartment. For them, *orbis exterior* started at the threshold of the inhabited premises.

Figure 2 An example of an open fence [26.2.R]
fence [09.1.S]

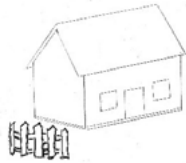
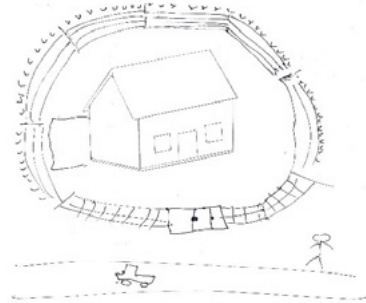


Figure 3 An example of a closed fence



The spatial images, feelings and mobility of the subjects at the *meso level* were established on the basis of sketch maps of the immediate area. Taking into account the elements of building and road infrastructure shown in the drawings and the manner of their deployment on the sheet, six types of maps were distinguished: 1) Road networks with objects – the sketches contained roads and objects connected together, resembling cartographic maps (Fig. 4); 2) A road with objects – they included one path and various objects located in relation to it: residential buildings, offices, parks, etc. (Fig. 5); 3) A road network without objects – only connected paths were placed on the sketches (Fig. 6); 4) Domicile-centric maps – drawn in a radial (Fig. 7) or circumscribed (Figure 8) layout. The first presented lines (paths) running between the home of the participant and other places located inside the area, while on the second type of maps the participant's place of residence was surrounded by elements of road and construction infrastructure; 5) objects without roads – only elements of building infrastructure were present on the map (Fig. 9); 6) fragmentary systems – the sketches contained unconnected objects and fragments of paths (Fig. 10) (Nóžka, 2016).

Figure 4 [17.2.R]

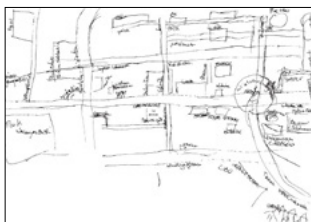


Figure 5 [02.1.S]

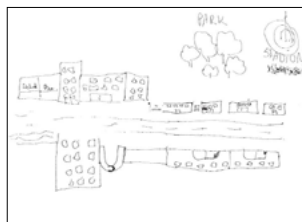
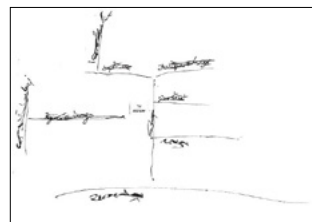


Figure 6 [09.1.S]



Here it is ugly, gloomy, there are no green areas. Here you breathe fumes. Young people drink and look for a fight, there is no respect at all. Where I lived it is nicely wooded, I grew up there, I know every nook and cranny (09.1.S).

The way the participants represented the area on their sketch maps was also reflected during the photo-walks. People whose sketch-maps were poor in detail, also described the route they chose for their photo-walk sparingly, despite the researcher's encouragement to speak about what was in the area and what distinguished it:

I do not like to walk around, it does not make sense, it is full of social pathology (13.1.R)

During the photo-walks some participants reacted more vigorously to places and objects perceived in the space. They mentioned their activities in the given places, they remembered stories connected with them. Sometimes they pointed in the direction of dangerous areas or of frequented and liked places invisible from the route of the walk. Their sketch maps contained more details and descriptions were more elaborate.

[a fragment of the free expression of a participant during the photo-walk] (...) *they have moved the refuse container, wait, no, there it is! Earlier it stood inside. Cooler areas are in the city centre. Here is the second intersection, there is a bad neighbourhood on the right, more poverty ... This building was renovated 4 years ago. This whole region is a call centre employing about 1,000 people... (10.1.R).*

Spatial ideas, feelings and mobility of participants at *the macro level* were established on the basis of the manner of locating the area inhabited by them in the city. Asked to draw the boundary of the immediate area on a sheet of paper, the edges of which symbolised the administrative boundaries of the city, the participants depicted this area in four dominant ways. First, the most frequently inhabited area was located centrally or peripherally as a separate area of the city, with clearly marked borders (Fig. 11). Secondly, what constitutes the city was reduced to the participant's own area, then the edges of the page became its borders (Fig. 12). Thirdly, the inhabited area did not have marked boundaries, and communicated with the city by means of paths connecting these spaces (Fig. 13). Fourthly, in one drawing the block of flats inhabited by the participant was imagined as something independent of the city and existing next to it (Fig. 14).

Figure 11 [15.1.R]

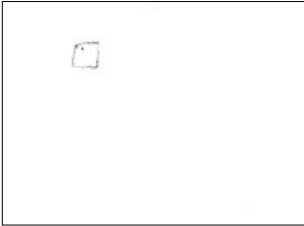


Figure 12 [30.2.S]

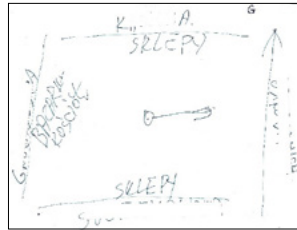


Figure 13 [18.2.R]

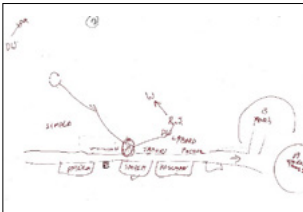
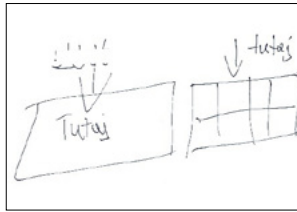


Figure 14 [01.1.R]



With reference to the sketches made by the participants, I would like to point out that some of the participants regarded the entire city as their inhabited space. When asked how they would know that they are outside their area of residence, they indicated signposts and /or information boards signalling the end of the city, dirt roads, urban infrastructure changing into suburban / rural. For others, the indicators of being out of the place of residence were roads, exit bridges or walking paths from the immediate area, or bus stops outside its borders. In general, according to the participants, a place that is not one's own is distinguished by different: (a) architecture; (b) landscape; (c) sensory experiences: sound, fragrance, kinaesthetic; (d) people: their appearance, language, behaviour; (e) traffic: human or automobile; (f) road and/or communication infrastructure. The space not only changes but becomes unknown:

Everything is different, different smells, different surroundings, houses, this is something that is behind me, something new, other people, buildings set differently (22.2.S)

The participants also pointed to the feeling of alienation, internal feelings signalling that they are leaving the familiar place: *Consciousness tells me that this it is no longer my city (29.2.R)*. The participants paid attention to their inner feelings also when speaking about how they would recognize that they are returning to their home territory. Although the experience of being outside – more often in the case of permanent residents – was associated with a feeling of alienation, the returns

were usually accompanied by pleasant feelings, related to, *inter alia*, recognizing others and being recognized, e.g.:

I would feel very good here, here is my home. People would say good morning to me, hello, and after that I would feel that I am at home (11.1.R).

Apart from that, the indicators of being in one's home territory were, according to the participants, distinctive objects and the familiar layout of streets and buildings.

Spatial attitudes of the inhabitants of the enclaves of poverty – proposed classification

That the ways in which the material was collected – using a variety of methods – complement each other is best shown by its collective analysis. This made it possible to establish a set of different imaginations, feelings and behaviours of the participants, and, on the basis of these, to recognise several types of spatial attitudes. First, referring to the participants' imaginations and feelings it was possible to find out whether and at which level of existential space analysis they identify the *orbis interior*, and where and whether they place the *orbis exterior* within the framework of specified spaces of the city. Secondly, mobility indicators of the participants, related to the cognitive-affective factor, were established: spatial orientation (implosive and explosive) and spatial behaviour (exploratory, escapist, inertial).

When creating and describing sketch drawings and maps, as well as during the photo-walks, the participants concentrated to a greater or lesser extent on presenting what was inside and outside the inhabited area – this was the basis for determining their spatial orientation. Implosive spatial orientation meant an inward orientation and describing what was “here.” The participants declared that they did not want or could not spend time outside the inhabited enclave. For some, the imaginary boundaries between different areas of the city (the backyard, the nearest neighbourhood and the city) were used to make the urban space legible, separating what was known and familiar from what was foreign and uncertain. For others, borders meant being enclosed in undesirable social relations, unacceptable and dangerous spaces. On the other hand explosive orientation referred to orientation towards the outside, focused on either what is “here” and “there”, or only on what is “there”, what is outside the inhabited area. Being open to what was outside the inhabited enclave was variously justified. Some of the participants declared curiosity about what was outside and located their daily activities there (e.g. they visited their families there, they did their shopping). These people described the entire city in terms of the *orbis interior*. Explosiveness characterised people who

perceived their inhabited area as *orbis exterior*, and located their activities in their old place of residence, where they spent their daily lives, surrounded by familiar spaces and people. Persons who were unable to identify any space that would be their *orbis interior* were also categorized as explosive. These people did not feel at home anywhere in the city, and perceived the entire city as *orbis exterior*. Usually these persons remained indifferent to the inhabited and traversed spaces, on the principle: *I live here and I walk around the area because I have to*.

The participants showed a varied interest in what surrounded them, what was available and what took place in the inhabited area and its surroundings. On this basis exploratory, escapist and inertial spatial behaviours were identified. The first meant better knowledge of the area and the tendency to penetrate it, the second, its avoidance and reluctance to travel, the third, an indifferent attitude to the inhabited area, using it and walking in it in a non-reflective way. Taking into account the above variables, six spatial attitudes were distinguished (Table 1).

Table 1 Types of spatial attitudes

	Exploration	Escapism	Inertia
Explosivity	An open exploratory attitude	An open escapist attitude	An open inertial attitude
Implosivity	A closed exploratory attitude	A closed escapist attitude	A closed inertial attitude

Source: Own study (Nózka, 2020).

The attitudes highlighted in the table were discussed in detail in a paper that appeared in *Etnografia Polska* (Nózka 2020). Below, I will only indicate the complementarity of the data collected through various research methods and techniques, the combined analysis of which has contributed to the conceptualisation of these attitudes. The attitude most often identified was the **closed exploratory attitude**, typical of people who have tamed the space they live in and would not want to move out of it – it is their *orbis interior*. They like to walk around the area, they feel at home there, but rarely or never leave it, outside is the *orbis exterior*. These subjects were usually unable to determine what is on the border of their area. They recognized their surroundings by referring to pleasant internal feelings or on the basis of objects located there (shop signs, playgrounds, etc.) – things they drew, described, photographed and pointed to during the walk. The sketch maps of these subjects contain a number of details, street names and objects, usually maps of the road network with objects or domicile-centric maps in a radial layout. Fences around the house – defined as tenement house inhabited by the participant

– were usually open, relatively low, with transparent materials, they had decorative or regulatory functions.

The second of the identified attitudes is the **open exploratory attitude**. It was characteristic of the participants oriented both to the interior and exterior of the inhabited area. They described their own yard, neighbourhood and city in terms of the *orbis interior*. Speaking of the border of the inhabited area, they usually meant the city limits. The sketch maps of these participants are road networks with objects, with extensive road and construction infrastructure, their creation was accompanied by a dense description of what is in and outside the area. During the photo-walks they were eager to speak about the subject of the space being crossed, they indicated the directions of the places where they visit and described the activities undertaken there. As one, they indicated reluctance to put up fences. The fences drawn were usually open.

The **open escapist attitude**, was identified in one participant who did not accept the place of current residence. Escapism in this case meant spending time and locating activities outside the inhabited area. What was inside was disliked, hostile and unknown. The participant decided that there was nothing characteristic on the border of the inhabited area, but he was able to identify the objects by which he knew he was leaving it. His sketch map consisted of paths leading out of the area, and the reinforced concrete fence he drew – which as he himself pointed out – was to separate him from the alien neighbourhood and the dangerous area.

Several permanent residents of the enclave had the fourth, **closed escapist attitude**. They divided the space of the enclave into “me and my nearest neighbourhood” and “they, the remaining inhabitants of the enclave”. The *Orbis interior* was primarily their own backyard. Escapism in this case was rather linked to avoiding walking around the area or outside it, and cutting oneself off from what was considered unacceptable in the area. The fences drawn around the houses were always closed and had a protective function. Their sketch maps – although diverse – indicated a poorer knowledge of the area, and they could not indicate what was beyond it. They recognized the immediate area by identifying its negative markers (e.g. stench, dirt, traffic jams) or on the basis of something that was in their immediate vicinity (e.g. a bench in the yard).

The fifth attitude is **the open inertial attitude**. It was characteristic of people who felt a necessity of living in an alien and negatively perceived neighbourhood, which included both the yard, the nearest neighbourhood and the city. The perceived inability to leave these spaces – constituting *orbis exterior* – was conditioned by at least two factors: on the one hand it resulted from a lack of financial resources, on the other, lack of a potential place to which the participants would like to move and consider their own. Hegemony of strangeness in this case influenced the spatial mobility of the participants, feeling alien everywhere,

they did not experience borders blocking free movement between what is “here” and “there”. The boundaries of the area were identified on the city’s outskirts, while on sketch maps poor in details, there were mainly objects of everyday use (shop, children’s school, etc.). The participants would preferably like to protect themselves from the unknown neighbourhood with a tall, closed fence.

The last of the identified attitudes, **the inertial closed attitude** was characteristic of people who placed their *orbis interior* outside the inhabited enclave and perceived it as inaccessible space, due amongst other things to distance, broken family ties, unresolved conflicts. All these people declared that they do not like to walk around the area because they are afraid, they feel alien, they do not like people who live in it. They declared little knowledge of the area and reluctance to explore. They did not place paths that led out of the area on their sketch maps. These were mainly maps with objects and without roads, and domicile-centric maps in a circumscribed layout. The fences drawn around the flats of the participants included amongst other things concrete slabs and steel fencing.

CONCLUSION

The applied methodology is based on the assumptions of humanistic sociology, constructivism and social cognition, in which human behaviour stems from expectations, schemes of knowledge and common-sense theories, through the prism of which reality is interpreted. The study of mental maps with the use of different research approaches (preferential, structural and sensory) enabled exploration of complex spatial experiences and capture of various manifestations of these experiences. When using drawings and sketch maps in the research, it should be noted that the participants had different drawing skills and variable language competence. Linguistic competence does not only translate into the ability to name what one can see or feel, but also into the capability to perceive what one can name and what one is aware of through naming it. The research enabled insight into differences of sensitivity, perspectives and the multiplicity of specifically variable and at the same time parallel – worlds which were constructed within seemingly the same physical space. Those different worlds were illustrated and spoken of by the participants during the execution of the tasks. The sketch maps developed by the participants, *inter alia*, turned out to be an interesting diagnostic tool, allowing understanding of the different ways of organising spatial knowledge, human relationship with the place, mobility inside and through the space. For example, from the collected data, it follows that being a permanent resident of a given area is not a condition of freedom of movement in the area, something which is related to living in and taming the stigmatising and stigmatized area, where the *orbis interior* is a negatively valorised space. In turn, the lack of any spatial identifications that

could direct mobility, turned out not to be a blocking factor of movement, in some circumstances it even triggered it, as reflected in an open inertial attitude.

Opening and closing of the relationships between people and space could variably mean the feeling of being included or excluded. These were also differently marked on the drawings and sketch maps indicating their possible and at the same time specific forms of manifestation. Spatial closing on the one hand was signalled by the lack of paths, another time – by streets as if suspended in vacuum (see Nózka, 2016). Incorporation in the studies of structural, preferential and sensory approaches and subsequent, cross-cutting analysis of the accumulated material allowed important differences and similarities in the spatial attitudes and mobility of the participants of the research to be revealed. Nevertheless, due to the local nature of the research and the small sample size, the collected material does not allow universal claims to be made about identified variables that differentiate mobility and spatial attitudes, but it draws attention to the intra-categorical diversity of the inhabitants of the enclaves of poverty and encourages reflection on the dynamics of people's lives in these spaces, revealing their different ways of describing, valorising and experiencing inhabited areas.

NOTES

- 1 The project financed by the National Center of Science allocated on the basis of the decision number DEC-2012/05/B/HS6/03876.
- 2 The abbreviation includes the ordinal number of the subject (1–32), the enclave's order number (1–2), information on whether the subject has lived in a given area since birth (R) or previously lived somewhere else (S)

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