

**“New localism” in Slovenia –
Management of Cultural Diversity
or Fear of Globalisation?**

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This batch of papers has been presented at the Fifth Conference “Dynamics of diversity in the globalisation era”.

“New localism” in Slovenia – Management of Cultural Diversity or Fear of Globalisation?

Summary

The paper tries to give an insight into the processes of socio-spatial transformation in the post-socialist city and shows how specific “common” i.e. prevalent values form structures of resistance to globalisation trends that try to insert elements of heterogeneity in the city. In this sense, the processes of renovation which started in Slovenian cities after the change of political system and introduction of free-market economy helped the inner parts of the city to raise the level of consumption and to get some vibrancy back, but have not really succeeded in integrating alternative and diversified urban cultures. A lot of attention is given to the wider socio-cultural context in which are embedded alternative, non-standardised spaces in the city centre i.e. what is the perception of Slovenian population towards such places. Due to this fact a series of NIMBY cases in Ljubljana were recorded and the population still displays considerable resistance to various characteristics of “urban way of life”. The presence of “anti-urban sentiment” which is linked to new localism trends is particularly noticeable in confront to places, which distinctly differ from spaces dominated by common (traditional) culture. The text includes empirical evidence collected from various research projects that were performed at the Centre for Spatial Sociology, University of Ljubljana. (e.g. “Diversity of contents, cultural, tourist, functional and social revitalisation of the city centre of Ljubljana” (2007); “Spatial values in Slovenia” (2004) etc).

Keywords: Localism, New Localism, Globalisation, Urban Renovation, Consumption, NIMBY

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Title of the paper:

“NEW LOCALISM” IN SLOVENIA – MANAGEMENT OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY OR FEAR OF GLOBALISATION?

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1 Introduction - common culture and resistance to globalisation trends

All communities in today’s Europe are in some or other ways connected with the process of globalisation and form their spatial identity in relation to the “power of flows” (Castells, 1989) i.e. circulation of information, goods, people and capital. Each single community responds to the challenges of globalisation in different ways. Some communities are more open towards the acceptance of globalisation trends and try to make greater use from them whilst others are less open and try to have a higher degree of control over circulation of information, goods and people in order to protect their “culture”, represented in the form of habits, rituals, rules, values, artefacts, which are of special importance for the community.

In this sense urban environments are in a state of continuous struggle and discourse between various groups, which try to either defend or penetrate the symbolic representations that are present in a specific locale. Especially the members of prevalent, dominating socio-cultural structure or “common culture” (Featherstone 1991: 129) put a lot of effort to differentiate in relation to “cultural minorities” or subcultures, defined as groups of people with sets of behaviours and beliefs that differentiate them from the larger culture to which they belong.

The thesis of common culture, which is found in sociology and anthropology assumes that a: “coherent culture, or dominant ideology, plays a crucial role in sustaining social order and integration” (ibid.). Many authors (Williams 1976; Parsons 1964; Featherstone 1991) discuss in what form exist a common, shared understanding of what is expected to be “normal” in a specific environment. In our case, we shall limit the understanding of common culture to a power balance between different groups that produce new or preserve the symbolic materials that already exist in a specific locale.

At a first glance it seems that the spaces of common culture, due to the influences of new transport and virtual technologies, are gradually losing its function as an important generator of social interactions. In this sense, it seems that the processes of globalisation diminish the importance of old territorial, local communities, which are embedded in traditional culture. Globalisation should in this case favour the emergence of “transnational – global communities”, which try to dissolve the old cultural hierarchies in space. In contrast to this thesis of “vanishing territorial determinism” it is also legitimate to be sceptic and more careful when predicting the future development of traditional socio-spatial communities. New technologies and globally oriented economic and political conditions surely diminish the role of physical space, which may on the other side simultaneously acquire new values and qualities. In fact, the information technologies that enable us to overcome physical barriers work in two directions. First, we may assume that the processes of globalisation surmount the socio-spatial characteristics of localities involved and have direct influence on the organization of everyday life in the community. In consequence, we may speculate that the society is broadening and spatially becoming less distinctive. Second, the processes of globalisation also gives possibilities for the pluralisation of spatial identities. Even in technologically most advanced societies cultural specifics do not cease to exist but represent an important and intensive socio-psychological linkage between the individual and its (micro) environment.

In this way, it seems that elements of tradition and locality remain an important ingredient in the construction of someone’s identity and still plays a crucial role in its everyday life. A great number of present localities try to reinforce the feeling of community and use different spatial techniques to obtain these objectives. Some of these spatial techniques are much disputable as they are exclusive towards globalisation trends, which try to insert new elements i.e. groups of people, traditions, symbolic representations in space. In contrast to common

culture, subcultural practices and artefacts brought by globalisation process are often recognized as foreign, non-indigenous and important only for a minority, which wants to differ from prevalent cultural norms and expectations. These “non-standardised” groups in the city immediately trigger the process of dialogisation and negotiation with the dominating culture. In some cases the confrontation between subcultures and dominating socio-cultural spheres is so tense that produces negative effects in the society but on many occasions subcultures seem to represent an important part of heterogeneity that stimulates the development of the city. Nevertheless, in majority of cases subcultures are not recognized as an important part of national culture and tend to be stigmatised in the public by representatives of common culture.

The paper will try to give an insight into the processes of socio-spatial transformation in the post-socialist city and show how common i.e. prevalent values form structures of resistance to globalisation trends that try to insert elements of heterogeneity in the city. In this sense, the processes of renovation which started in Slovenian cities after the change of political system and introduction of free-market economy helped the inner parts of the city to raise the level of consumption and to get some vibrancy back, but have not really succeeded in integrating alternative and diversified urban cultures. The text explains what attempts have been made to economically renovate city centre of Ljubljana according to standards of common culture and what are the consequences i.e. “collateral damage” of this process. A lot of attention will be given to the wider socio-cultural context in which are embedded alternative, non-standardised spaces in the city centre i.e. what is the perception of Slovenian population towards such places.

2 The need for renovation and diminishment of heterogeneity in the city

After the change of political system and introduction of global i.e. free-market economy, many cities in post-transition countries witnessed vast spatial restructuring, renovations and fast changes of spatial planning procedures in a relatively short period. Majority of this renovation and revitalisation projects were prepared in order to set up a clear frame for the economic growth of the city centre. Heterogeneity was in terms of globalisation process often misinterpreted as diversity in the offer of shops, standardized products, services and other

regulated spaces for consumption in the city.¹ Additionally, in many cases, during the course of redevelopment, a certain degree of standardisation, i.e. diminishment of cultural diversity in the inner-city, has been witnessed. Unique small establishments, services and urban settings, which in part contributed to “urbanity” or so-called “urbanism as a way of life” (Wirth 1938) by ensuring vibrancy to particular locales cannot any more compete with more profitable i.e. economic oriented services and are gradually being driven out of the city centre.

Wirth (1938) describes urban way of life as composed from three characteristics, which include the size of population aggregate, density and heterogeneity. He indicates that all three characteristics contribute to the development of the urban way of life and distinct “urban personality”. If any of the three enlisted characteristics is missing than the level of urbanity diminishes and the city loses one of the basic i.e. constitutive elements of its social structure. In this sense, not paying attention or diminishing heterogeneity by excluding various small establishments, services and urban settings that were not perceived as profitable subjects by economic interests groups after the introduction of market-economy may also result in the diminishment of urbanity in the city.

Economic interest groups which seek for short-term profits are often unaware of the long-term consequences that their business strategy brings to the quality of life in the city. The level of heterogeneity or cultural diversity may very well be an important aspect of urban diversity with consequences on local production and consumption. For example, Jacobs (1994) sees economic diversity as the key factor of a city’s success. In a different way, Sassen (1994) studies “global cities” (e.g. London, Paris, New York, Tokyo) and looks for their strategic role in the development of global economic activities. A key feature of these cities is the cultural diversity of their populations. Similarly, Bairoch (1998) sees cities and their diversity as the engine of economic growth. Florida (2002) argues that culturally diverse and tolerant cities, are more likely to attract creative people and industries such as high tech and research. Heterogeneity is thus a vital part of the city socio-economic structure as it enables social interaction among a variety of personality types, permits “heightened mobility of the individual and brings him within the range of stimulation by a great number of diverse

¹ Standardised or “sanitised” consumption spaces cannot fully reproduce the sensations of heterogeneity in the full meaning of word. In fact, these spaces can reproduce impulses of planned excitement i.e. adrenaline and amusement (e.g. branded shopping streets, multifunctional shopping malls, thematic parks) but cannot give the opportunity to experience any sensations of real confrontation, stress, dirtiness or embarrassment that a person needs to experience in order to construct a socio-critical view of society.

individuals and subjects him to fluctuating status in the differentiated social groups” (Wirth 2000: 98-100).

By trying to increase the level of economic activities and at the same time diminish the heterogeneity of functions of the city, we may say that Slovenian communities are not so open/permeable in relation to new cultural “global” elements that are being introduced into their space and tend to be more reserved and minimize the influences of new symbolic materials. Globalisation process is accepted only up to a specific level, which suits the economic interests groups that try to develop specific economic services like tourism, shopping facilities or leisure industry but are less permeable to elements of cultural heterogeneity, which are the side effect of globalisation. Slovenian communities are in this sense not much different from other communities, which experience the so-called shift from “old localism” to “new localism” (Strassoldo, Tessarin, 1992).

3 The emergence of new localism

Localism can be best described as a relation between place (understood as a space, which is relatively small and limited) and social phenomena that occur in it. This relationship is valorised (ideologised) from the point of observer or actor and becomes a part of his state of conscience (Strassoldo, Tessarin, 1989). In this way locality becomes an important ingredient in the construction of someone’s identity and contrary to the theories of vanishing territorial determinism emphasize the importance of local communities in individual’s everyday life. Localism and rootedness have been for long considered backward and part of conservative pole of values as modernisation processes seemed to be directed towards cosmopolitanism, universalism, and mobility. Tönnies (1999) described territorial attachment as part of »Gemeinschaft«, which is slowly being transformed by a more functional »Gesellschaft«. Strassoldo (2004: 7) explains that Gemeinschaft was actually to some extent influenced/restrained by globalisation processes, but the trend could not be carried till the end: »It has found inner limits in some basic human needs, and has generated dialectically its own limiting contradictions and countervailing forces« (ibid.). The consequence of these processes

was the emergence of new localism where elements of old localism were fused with the processes of globalisation that brought new elements into locality.²

Mlinar (2001: 770) examines old localism in relation to new localism on the basis of analytical dimensions of »connectedness« and internal »characteristics«. Connectedness is analysed through the prism of autonomy, while internal characteristics are defined according to exclusion or integration of specialties. In this sense, it is possible to describe old localism as much more closed, traditionally less connected, openly exclusive in comparison to a more choice oriented and to a certain extent more integrative new localism.

New localism in many ways differs from old localism. According to Strassoldo (2004) there are two essential differences. The first is that while old localism was primordial, less reflective, the new one is the outcome of a more conscious choice. If old localism seemed to be “necessary and natural”, the second looks more »voluntary and intentional (rational)« (Strassoldo, 2004: 7). The second difference is: »that the old localism tended to minimize contacts with the exterior to maintain a strong closed boundary; while the new localism is quite aware of the rest of the world, and is quite open to interactions with it.» (Strassoldo 1992: 46-47). In order to make a general assumption, we may say that new localism is more open than old localism but still emphasizes the necessity of certain special values, which should be present on the locality. These special values may often include aspirations for the transformation of current localities or as in the Slovenian i.e. Ljubljana case where the majority of population clearly expressed wishes to adapt city centre of Ljubljana according to standards of traditional communities, which include not only wishes for a less densely populated locality but also specific, limited forms of exclusion of elements of cultural heterogeneity.

Due to this fact a series of NIMBY cases in Ljubljana were recorded and the population still displays considerable resistance to various characteristics of “urban way of life” (Wirth, 1938). The presence of “anti-urban sentiment” which is linked to new localism trends is

² New localism can be recognized in a number of phenomena that occurred since the 1960's. Strassoldo (1990: 1) enlists four phenomena that challenge the thesis of direct transition from local community to global society: 1. the growth of economic regions coupling small size, wide-dispersion and local rootedness of the plants with a distinctive global orientation, both in input (high technology) and output (market): e.g. Benetton in Veneto; 2. The end of big-city growth and the flourishing of small and medium-size towns in the name of “amenities”; 3. The revival of “ethnic regionalism” and reputedly unitarian European nation states; 4. The growth of ecological movements in defence of local environments.

particularly noticeable in confront to places, which distinctly differ from spaces dominated by common (traditional) culture. Based on various research projects that analysed spatial values in Slovenia we identified specific aspirations of individuals that want to eliminate any traces of chaos, disturbances generated by the “Other” but at the same time want to live in a high quality environment with comfortably accessible urban services. In the next paragraph are presented some NIMBY cases that are connected with the transition into market economy and consequently with the emergence of new localism trends in Slovenia.

4 NIMBYism and alternative cultural spaces in Ljubljana

Various forms of subtle discrimination of “non-common” elements on the level of everyday life call attention to the fact that globalisation, cultural diversity (heterogeneity), social exclusion and NIMBYism may be inevitably linked. NIMBYisms on the surface show as an eminent spatial problem, which has roots in objective reasons. These space connected reasons have numerous forms and shapes and can be assembled into various categories that range from “*defensive* reasons (exclusion based on majority defending the authenticity, culture, genuine city sights) to *communal* (physical health related reasons that include unregulated sewer system, flood area, danger of epidemics, non-regulated traffic), *functional* reasons (non-compatible cultural and housing functions/uses in the area), *expert opinions* (exclusion based on insufficient expertise about the phenomenon) and *comparative-cultural gaps* (exclusion due to insurmountable cultural differences)” (Kos 2002: 22). Under the surface of those “arguments” lay stereotypes, values, beliefs and images about negative influences of “foreign” cultural elements on the living area of a majority group. NIMBYisms have origin in identification with one’s personal surroundings. Kiefer (2008: 3) suggests that »a sense of place« is basically not a bad thing, but it »spawns a deep-seated resistance to changes to those physical surroundings«. The resistance to change is sometimes so strong that the majority feels recalled to protect their arguments, even if this excludes the rights of others: »People not only place their own needs above the public interest but come close to reframing the public interest as a social organization that vindicates their personal needs. No individual wants to accept the incremental burden of meeting a broader societal need« (ibid.).

The majority of residents in Ljubljana use distancing to set physical borders from culturally un-acceptable spaces. In this context, various strategies of physical isolation and fencing, such

as blank facades, new buildings, walls, security controls, are put into place. On the other hand, it is important to mention that the residents use the mechanism of objectification in relation to subcultures and alternative cultural spaces. In this context, alternative cultural spaces are paradoxically often represented also as spaces of “desire and freedom” as they enable activities and services, which are officially forbidden but in reality secretly tolerated and accepted by the society through mechanisms of objectification and exoticisation. Beside the ordinary, mundane spaces that are regulated according to principles of common culture, each bigger city includes also pieces, small parts of less regulated spaces, which are considered as chaotic and dirty. The NIMBY effect activates when subcultures try to organise their spaces according to new rules, which resist to prevalent cultural norms set by majority. As long as subcultures do not bring any major changes into the living environment or do not visually, auditory or olfactory interfere with everyday activities of the majority, then NIMBYism effects do not take place.

NIMBYisms are in the case of alternative spaces in Ljubljana connected to the stereotypic images about groups that are supposed to have negative affect on the living standards of nearby residents. Spaces like Metelkova, Rog factory, K4, AC Molotov are/were all cases of alternative cultural spaces in the centre of Ljubljana that are due to their specific services and events stigmatised and distanced from a number of nearby residents. An example of those relations is the case of Kersnikova street and visitors of club K4 located in the same street. The activities of club K4 are based on a non-profitable programme of support to young, non-established, experimental, cultural groups. Club K4 has been since its establishment in 1989 one of the main locations of student culture in Slovenia. Due to constant complains about the level of noise from the nearby residents the club had to stop with activities on several occasions. Although the representatives of K4 complied to regulations set by authorities to diminish the level of noise and provided for sound barriers, arranged ventilation and tightened security in and outside the club, the residents of Kersnikova street still try in various ways to limit the functioning of the club (Mladina 2004).

The effect of NIMBYism is noticeable not only in the context of individual groups of residents, which try to prevent the functioning of specific establishments but can be found also in particular statements of some of the official institutions on the national level.³ It is

³ The statement of Market inspectorate of the Republic of Slovenia, which was written in the Report of Regional Coordinator of inspection services in September 2007, comments the presence of alternative spaces Metelkova

clear that NIMBYisms importantly influence the spatial development of Ljubljana. NIMBYisms not only influence the liveliness of the city but also shape the space according to norms and standards of residents that would like to live in a less populated or even rural area. The consequence of this affinity towards less densely populated areas result in drastic measures to regulate noise, functioning of shops, restaurants, traffic and other services in the city. Especially Metelkova and Rog factory are among the areas, which were most deeply affected by the attempts that tried to regulate their functioning during the period of last 15 years.

4.1 Struggle for space - The case of Metelkova and Rog factory

Metelkova city and Rog factory represent the two biggest alternative cultural spaces in Ljubljana. Metelkova is located in the former Yugoslav army barracks and military prison complex in the centre of Ljubljana (limited by Masarykova, Maistrova, Tabor, and Metelkova Street) while Rog factory is a former bicycle factory Rog near Ljubljanica river in the centre of Ljubljana, closed in 1991 due to high logistic expenses connected with the manufacturing. Especially the area of Metelkova (picture 1) has a relatively long tradition of existence as it was squatted i.e. occupied by various subcultural groups already in September 1993, while the Rog factory is relatively new and was squatted by subcultural groups in 2006.

and Rog factory in the following fashion: "...The opinion of Market inspectorate is that City Municipality of Ljubljana (MOL) should find appropriate spaces on the edge city for the so-called 'alternative scene' and not stimulate the use of centres, which are inappropriate, dangerous, without necessary documentation and located in the centre of Ljubljana (e.g. Metelkova city and Rog factory)..." (Gačič 2007)

Picture 1: An edifice in Metelkova



Photography source: Matjaz Ursic 2005

Both areas are located in the centre of the city, which makes those locations extremely attractive for possible developers and investors. The strategic location of subcultural spaces in Ljubljana is both their advantage and curse, as they represent a place where unique cultural services can be offered to a large number of people but also a place that might be easily turned into a business, residential, state-institutionalised district. However, these locations play a very important social role in the city, which is not yet fully recognized as important by the authorities. For example, according to data from the researches *Free-time Activities of Ljubljana Youth* (1999, 2004) more than 20% of Ljubljana youth identifies themselves as being part of the so-called “alternative scene” i.e. users, supporters and visitors of alternative cultural spaces in Ljubljana. The researches also revealed that those groups of youth are not particularly engaged in sport activities but are in contrast to other youth groups the most engaged in voluntary activities, social services, educational and art associations, non-governmental organisations etc. In addition, the data also revealed that alternative spaces in the city do not function only as an entertainment hub but also as an important assembly point of information and a meeting point for alternative youth groups. Alternative cultural spaces for those groups of youth represent a form of “third space” (Oldenburg 1991) and could be treated as part of their socialisation processes.

However, the majority of residents of Ljubljana perceive alternative spaces like Metelkova as places which are part of the city but are on the other hand also too chaotic, untidy and should be turned into an institutionalised cultural area. When the interviewed were asked what kind of construction do they support on the site of Metelkova, the majority of respondents (69,4%) replied that they support the renovation of army barracks for the needs of ethnographic museum, but were not so enthusiastic about the renovation of barracks for the needs of so-called “Metelkova net”.⁴

Table 3: Do you support the following construction activities in the city?

	I support	I do not support	I do not know
the renovation of army barracks for the needs of ethnographic museum	69.4	15.7	14.9
the renovation of barracks for the needs of “Metelkova net”	44.4	33.3	22.3

Source: Kos, D. and N. Toš (1994) Ljubljana citizens about Ljubljana. FDV-CPS, Ljubljana.

Approximately 44% of interviewers supported the ideas of Metelkova net, 33,4% were against and 22,3% were undecided (see table 3). The area of Metelkova is due to its dissimilarity in relation to the standardised housing areas perceived as not being part of the common culture by the majority of Ljubljana residents. As such, Metelkova is not only highly stigmatised as a place of marginal groups but also underwent various phases of oppression performed by various political and economic interest groups.

The pressures to institutionalise or de-subculturalize Metelkova can be recognized in the way authorities try to transform the area. Appropriation of subcultural spaces by dominant culture is in many cases hidden behind the “logotype” of urban revitalisation with intense gentrification being the main part of this process. Understood in the most general way,

⁴ Metelkova net is an association of people with versatile profiles which try to preserve and protect the urban structure and (sub)cultural activities in area of Metelkova. The association organises various cultural events, manages specific buildings in the area and collaborates with local artists in the Urban Art Projects. The net is also fundraising for many other projects (e.g. Red Dawns festival, annual feminist and queer arts festival etc.) and maintains the AKC Metelkova city (Autonomous Cultural Zone Metelkova City) audio, video and print documentation archive.

gentrification does not mean only “restructuring of housing space” (Smith 1996: 87) or “a housing component of urban redevelopment” (Deutsche 1996: 16) but also “commercial gentrification” (Sassen 1994: 113) that includes the whole scale of urban restructuring of urban economy and services that were once present on the location. In the broad sense gentrification thus includes both the components of private (housing), and public (commercial and non-commercial) urban spaces. It has become an inseparable part of restructuring of contemporary urban economies that are inevitably linked with globalisation and the formation of global markets and economies. Gentrification can be in this sense understood as the fluctuation/transfer of dominant capital sectors that in the final stance influence on uneven development on the national and local (city) level (see Zukin 1988; Sassen 1994; Gottdiener 1994; Smith 1996).

4.2 NIMBYism and new localism

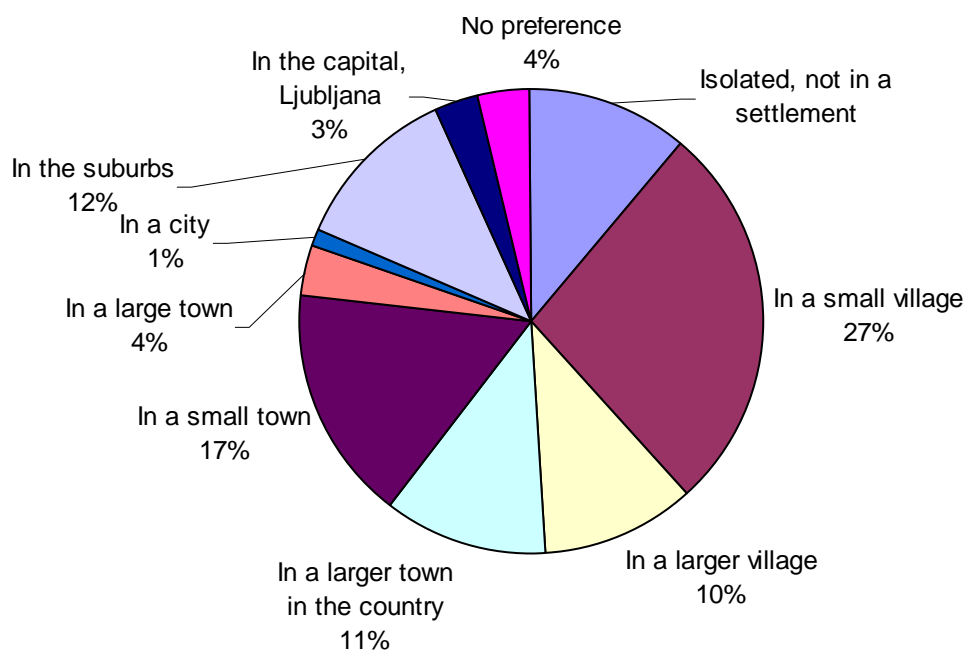
In order to fully understand the NIMBY cases and attempts that have been made to economically renovate city centre of Ljubljana according to standards of common culture it is important to show the wider socio-cultural context in which are embedded alternative, non-standardised spaces in the city centre. Despite the relatively intense process of urbanisation of Slovenia in the period after the Second World War, the newly urbanised population did not fully accept the social and behavioural characteristics of urban living. Due to this fact a series of NIMBY cases in Ljubljana were recorded and the population still displays considerable resistance to various characteristics of urban way of life.

In this context Slovenia represents a special case, which could be best described by a high degree of domiciliation (home-centered value orientation), strong orientation towards housing units with low density of population and good access to both natural environments and urban services. These facts could be a representation of new localism trend, which shows that people are aware and accept the transport improvements in their daily life but would also like to live in a local, small settlement that supports a strongly connected community.

As such, new localism in Slovenia is best described by the data that represents the living preferences of Slovenian people (graph 2). The graph shows that the largest number of people

would prefer to live outside of the big cities - in the countryside (predominantly rural areas) (31,3 %), in a small settlement (22,2 %), in a larger settlement or small town with up to 20.000 inhabitants (10,9 %) and suburbs of a larger city (13,9 %). A relatively big proportion of the people (10,1 %) don't occupy themselves too much with the location of their home as long as there exist good transport connections to the places that are important for their everyday life (work, leisure etc.).

Graph 2: Residential preferences of respondents (in percent) - Where would you most like to live?



Source: Hočevar, M. et al. (2004).

The numbers show a high degree of local attachment or at least express people's strong wish for intensive community interweaving (involvement in the local community). The orientation, aspiration toward increasing the number of small settlements, residential areas in the vicinities of larger cities is not a negative aspect of community building as long as it supports the heterogeneity and urban structure of the territory. New localism, which expresses a form of identification resistance to globalisation processes, could be a positive trend when carefully combined and followed by a strategic spatial development activity that is based on the development of the region. In other case, new localism could act as a supporter of NIMBY syndromes and suburbanisation trends and consequently increase the dispersion of small

settlements across the whole region. In this sense, new localism would be described as a negative trend, which has extremely unfavourable effects on the socio-spatial development.

5 Conclusion - new localism in post-transition societies

By analysing some of the elements of the relationship between different social, economic, political and (sub)cultural groups in the urban (public) environment of Ljubljana I may state that the processes of empowerment in an urban space i.e. the question who actually dominates over different Ljubljana's spaces is still limited to the debate between the members of prevalent cultural sphere. These members still try to eliminate any trace of chaos, disorder or dissimilarity and are linked with traditional, locally oriented values. In this context, the possibilities of participation and implementation of a more inclusive planning strategy are still in doubt. Although the diversification of lifestyles that occurred after the period of transition had effect on the transformation of symbolic hierarchies and helped to include part of heterogeneity into the fabric of present city, the majority still relies on ideologies of common culture which directs the process of urban development in Ljubljana. In this sense, some spaces are not fully recognized as important elements of city urbanity and tend to be stigmatised.

To conclude, socio-economic development of a city is certainly a product of factors that include not only formal (legal procedures and adopted laws, acts, documents) but also informal aspects (socially and culturally defined characteristics that direct the everyday life). Although formal procedures seem to have the primary role in confront to social and cultural processes, the relation is not so clear as the latter shape/adapt formal procedures via spatial values. According to Ronald Inglehart (1997), who analysed the impact of cultural values on national socio-economic systems in the EU countries (World Values Survey, 1995, 1996, 1997), the globalisation trends and economic development play an important role in the transformation of existing/accepted social values. In discussing the different pace of values shift in West European countries, Inglehart (1977) emphasizes the conjunction between globalisation, economic growth and social development. The improvement of economic, social security and educational, occupational opportunity may prompt a shift towards postmaterialist values (indicated through a greater emphasis on such goals as self-expression,

quality of life and belonging), which should in return result in greater concern for heterogeneity and less empowered social groups.

Inglehart (1990) admits that the shift from materialist to postmaterialist values is not a uniquely western phenomenon. Rather is found in societies with widely different institutions and cultural traditions. The value change from materialism to postmaterialism is thus not a direct consequence of greater wealth but depends from the very different societal and environmental characteristic of societies – extensiveness of welfare provision, expansion of education, growth of employment in third and fourth employment sector etc. For example, the data from 1995, 1997 show that many developed middle European countries (e.g. Slovenia, Czech republic, Slovakia), probably due to influences from transition period, still have a materialistic orientation that affects the economic and political systems of these societies, but many authors (Deth, Scarbrough, 1998; Turnšek, Uhan et al. 2000) at the same time assert that after 1995 changes in the direction of postmaterialistic value orientation have been noticed. If this is correct, the current system of values in Slovenia, although it still bases on materialistic values, in the overall scheme also includes elements of post-materialistic values.

Currently, the combination of post-materialistic and prevalent materialistic value orientations results in strong new localism trends in the region, which at the moment works as an intensifier of traditional, locally oriented sentiments. The balance on the weighting machine is momentarily more inclined towards “gemeninshaft” and defence of common culture. However, on the long run this trend sprawl could be reversed as the values of new localism partly also include post-materialistic orientations. In conclusion, we may say that according to gradual development of post-materialistic values, the process of dissolution of traditional hierarchies is already on the way in Slovenia. The effects of global exchange of information, goods, people are present and are changing the everyday life of individuals, which are at a great extent still unaware of those processes. In a limited sense the global processes are already unconsciously affecting their lives. Although it seems that globalisation does not have a direct impact on the physical environment we may say that on the subliminal level already “works” from the inside of people and deeply affects the socio-spatial development of Slovenia.

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