

UNIVERSITY OF TARTU
EuroCollege
European Union-Russian Studies (EURUS)

Ginevra Gadioli

SHAPING IDENTITIES THROUGH THE *SPATIO-TEMPORAL* FUSION
THE CASE STUDY OF KALININGRAD

Master's Thesis

Supervisor: Heiko Pääbo

Co-supervisor: Anu Masso

Tartu 2012

I have written the Master's thesis independently.

All works and major viewpoints of the other authors, data from other sources of literature

and elsewhere used for writing this paper have been referenced.

..... (Signature of the author and date)

Student's code

Non-exclusive licence to reproduce thesis and make thesis public

I, Ginevra Gadioli

(author's name)

(personal identification code / date of birth 01.09.1985),

1. herewith grant the University of Tartu a free permit (non-exclusive licence) to:
 - 1.1. reproduce, for the purpose of preservation and making available to the public, including for addition to the DSpace digital archives until expiry of the term of validity of the copyright, and
 - 1.2. make available to the public via the web environment of the University of Tartu, including via the DSpace digital archives until expiry of the term of validity of the copyright,

SHAPING IDENTITIES THROUGH THE *SPATIO-TEMPORAL* FUSION

THE CASE STUDY OF KALININGRAD (title of thesis)

supervised by Heiko Pääbo, Anu Masso (supervisor's name)

2. I am aware of the fact that the author retains these rights.

3. I certify that granting the non-exclusive licence does not infringe the intellectual property rights or rights arising from the Personal Data Protection Act.

Tartu, _____ *(date)*

(signature)

Contents

ABSTRACT.....	1
1. INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW.....	2
2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	9
2.1 The time-space unity in some philosophical and physical theories.....	9
2.2 Time and space fusion	12
<i>The bakhtinian's theory of the chronotope</i>	
2.3 The construction of space.....	19
The Lefebvre's social space of human activities	
2.4 Effects of the temporal power on the space.....	25
The domination of space over time	
2.5 The space as representation of power.....	31
Lotman's negation and repetition of the past	
2.6 Space and time in the fusion of the mnemonic perception.....	33
Henry Bergson's persistence of memory	
2.7 Time compression.....	35
The closed space of the Nations	
2.8 Other studies on the particular case of Kaliningrad Oblast.....	41
3. EMPIRICAL FRAMEWORK.....	46
3.1 A brief socio-historical background.....	46
3.1.1 From Konigsberg to Kaliningrad	46
3.1.2 The inhabitants of Kaliningrad	49

3.1.3 Recent development: EU/Kaliningrad Oblast (before 2004).....	52
3.1.4 After 2004.....	53
4. THESIS ASSERTION AND KEYWORDS.....	55
5. METHODOLOGY.....	56
5.1 Interviews.....	60
5.1.1 Structure.....	60
5.1.2 Limitations	64
5.2 Data Analysis.....	65
5.2.1 Time.....	66
5.2.2 Space.....	67
5.2.3 Identity	68
6. EMPIRICAL FINDINGS.....	69
6.1 Time.....	69
THE PAST (the memory of Russia), THE PRESENT (Kaliningrad) and THE FUTURE (European time)	
6.2 Space Identity.....	77
6.2.1 The Influence of Distance.....	80
6.2.2 Kaliningrad’s Space identity	83
6.3 Identity	89
7. DISCUSSION.....	100
8. CONCLUSION.....	114
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	120
APPENDIX 1.....	124

Older, Middle, Younger generation

APPENDIX 2.....130

Key concepts and categories

APPENDIX 3.....132

Interview Structure: English and Russian

ABSTRACT:

This thesis aims to prove whether a specific sense of identity might be altered due to the change in time or space, and to which extent. The study takes advantage of a theoretical framework, combining Bakhtin's *chronotope* concept with Lefebvre's concept of the production of a social space, and with Kapralsky's landscape relating to the importance of the memories retained in each and every space. The combination of these theories is essential to reply to the main research question. The empirical part uses semi-structured qualitative interviews of a selection of people living in the Oblast of Kaliningrad and divided into three different age groups. This diachronic study is important since these three examined generations are the ones who underwent a double break in their *spatio-temporal* fusion (*chronotope*). Moreover, the Oblast of Kaliningrad represents a perfect example due to its distance from the motherland, its sharing of the European borders and its peculiar history. The results highlight the fundamental role played by not only the new cultural borders, but also by sharing a common space after a time and the importance of the synchronic net of relations with other people. The people interviewed express a deep affinity with Kaliningrad and a feeling of a lack of identification with the Russians from other regions. On an empirical level, these results might shed light on a possible greater independence in the future of the Oblast from the motherland. While on a theoretical level, they prove how a group of people can achieve a greater power of identity by increasing their own strength and potential independence and their idea to share a common future.

Acknowledgement:

I wish to thank my supervisors for the help and constant support. I wish to thank my parents Paolo and Rossana, my relatives and my friends from all over the world for being 'next' to me always, it doesn't matter what. I wish to thank the amazing people I met in Kaliningrad during my stay there. I wish to thank who criticized this research, because he/she gave me even more the courage to dare. I wish to thank Estonia and the people living here which for more than three years have 'hosted' me as a member of their amazing community. Thank to all.

1. INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW:

Considering the controversial issue and ambiguous concept of identity, this research tries to identify some of the possible reasons in the changes and in the evolutions of the belonging's perceptions.

Both, the space occupied by individuals in a given moment of their existence as much as the interaction with others who share that particular condition during that time are here considered as indispensable variants in shaping a particular type of identity.

The aim is to determine the importance of the theoretical notion of space and time in the formation of a specific identity and also to show the process of this creation among different temporal arches. Based on qualitative semi-structured interviews on some sample of Kaliningrad's inhabitants, the empirical part will investigate to what extent the change of one of the two factors can alter a specific sense of identity.

The concept of identity it has been studied by many innumerable authors, just to make few examples: Maurice Barres, Karl Deutsch, Benedict Anderson, Richard Sennet and so on. But those authors have investigated on identities understanding them as something given *a priori*. The concept of national identity and nationalism in this research is less relevant and less useful when trying to answer to the main research question.

In arguing this, I made instead use of the fundamental contributions of some authors who identified as one of the focuses of their studies the problem of the *spatio-temporal* connection in the relationship between the individuals and their perception about their existence. The theoretical part represents a fundamental aspect of my research. It is based on the analysis of various literatures written by authors interested in the concepts of space-time and in their contribution to create a sense of identity.

The common environment in which individuals interact is central in the *bakhtianian* concept of *chronotope*¹ described as the *spatio-temporal* fusion. Mikhail

¹ Bemong Nele, Borghart Pieter, De Dobbeleer Michel, Demoen Kristoffel, De Tennerman Koen & Keunen Bart (eds.) *Bakhtin's Theory of the Literary Chronotope. Reflections, Applications, Perspectives*, Academia Press, Gent, 2010.

M. Bakhtin was a Russian constructivist, writer and philosopher and through the *chronotope's theory* he explored the importance of the individual's existence matching with the importance of living in a certain time in a given space. The constant interaction between the individual and the environment during the time of human actions fuses with everything. It is this fusion that leads to the perception of a sense of belonging. Along with his concept of *chronotope*, another major contribution to my research that derives from Bakhtin's philosophy is that in the individuals, responsibility for others should constantly develop in order to see yourself in them. This process should take place in the present in order to give meaning to existence. ²

The importance of the spatial element in the perception of membership opens the debate of Lefebvre about the importance of a social space. The French sociologist and historian Henri Lefebvre investigated the problem of social space as the natural scenario in the human life of events as growth and death. This space is the container of the social activities. For Lefebvre, a space with the capital "S" is the one that has been *thought, perceived* and *experienced*.³ His research examines the importance of the stratification of the European-Russian space from which the sediments of indelible memories transpires. But in the *chronotopical* social space are hidden the memories of other histories which interact constantly also in the present. As argued by Lefebvre the social space must necessarily take into account the human 'material' that is not flushable into structured grids by projects of economic growth or political-ideological control. In regard to the design of new bureaucratic boundaries:

"The state apparatus set boundaries that often hinder movements and limit the perceptions of the people in their unique living spaces, altering their perception of the relationship with nature."⁴

Kapralski addressed the theme of the space as one manipulated by the power, deleted and camouflaged by the authorities in order to create new collective memories or to hide those uncomfortable for a *viable past*. Slawomir Kapralski explained the

² Ibid.

³ Lefebvre Henri , *La produzione dello spazio*, Casa Editrice Moizzi, Milano 1976, p.58.

⁴ Ibid. , p. 216.

silenced spaces' history, covered by symbols of new and stronger powers. In his essay *Battlefields of Memory*⁵ Kapralski describes violated memories of spaces occupied by different ethnic groups whose culture, symbols and histories have been deleted or mystified by more dominant groups.

The English geographer, sociologist and political scientist David Harvey has also explored the problem of the desire to dominate a space or to cyclically destroy and reconstruct it. This quote is emblematic in order to explain some historical vicissitudes:

"We will never know if the desire to conquer space and time nature is a universal instinct of all human beings (...) but what we can say with certainty is that the conquest of space and time, along with the relentless attempt to dominate nature, takes since long a prominent place in the collective psyche of capitalist society."⁶

Harvey as well does not fail to include in his citations the connection between time and space, which is also present in the definitions of Bakhtin, Lefebvre and Kapralski. The domain of space-time-nature is evidently related to the domain of humanity itself; human beings in fact have self-awareness just into a *spatio-temporal* unit. Harvey says something important in my view about this topic:

"To create a new urban geography from the rubble of the old, it is often necessary to resort to violence. (...) The deeper meaning that people attribute to their relationship with the territory, the place, the house, the practice of living clashes constantly with the laws of the market. (...) The social solidarity is built around values completely different from those of the market and concern history, culture, memory, religion and language."⁷

Nevertheless, his interest was mainly directed to the problem of the flow of capitals in the different worldwide regions. This aspect has been considered less interesting for the purposes of my research which has a more humanistic approach.

⁵ Kapralski Slawomir. *Battlefields of Memory: Landscape and Identity in Polish-Jewish Relations*, published in "History and Memory" Volume 13, number 2, Fall/Winter 2001.

⁶Harvey David. *L'enigma del capitale il prezzo della sua sopravvivenza*, Gangiacomo Feltrinelli editore Milano, 2010 p.163.

⁷ Ibid., Pp. 181- 197.

In this research, in order to answer to the research question the author chose the theories of Bakhtin, Lefebvre, and Kapralski, in the use of the time-space notions for the understanding of the theme of identity.

I will shortly explain why the choices of Kaliningrad as the case study of this research. The inhabitants of the Kaliningrad Oblast have suffered in the course of three generations of a double break in the *spatio-temporal* fusion (*chronotope*). The first experienced by the older generation at the time of migration after 1945, the second break experienced even by the middle as a result of the EU enlargement in 2004 facing new European borders. This double change of boundaries, this spatial change made by history, has made Kaliningrad and its inhabitant an essential starting point in order to verify the correctness of the theoretical framework.

The city of Kaliningrad is the result of the transplantation of the Russian culture and Soviet ideology in a Germanic territory which never belonged to Russia before. In fact, it is possible to state that Kaliningrad is an emblematic case. No theory about the concept of nationalism, from the oldest to the most modern, is able to explain with clarity how the inhabitants of this Russian exclave express their sentiment of national identity.

The Russian semiotician and historian Jury Lotman indicates in his study that the essence of the Russian culture lies in the cyclical nature of the repeating in the Russian history of total destruction and rebuilding of ideologies and spaces and memories that constantly turns over the centuries and millennia replacing each other now with negative, later with positive sign.⁸ Each of them has examined differently the deep bond that unifies the two: space and time concepts. Lotman explains carefully the concept of Russian duality.⁹ This is a crucial definition in order to interpret the fluctuating positions taken by the central Russian authorities, concerning the destruction

⁸ Lotman Jury Michajlovic and Uspenskij Boris Andrievic. *Il ruolo dei modelli duali nella dinamica della cultura Russa*. In Veselovskij A. N., Potebnja A., Trubeckoj N. S., Bachtin M., Lichacev D. S., Lotman J. M., Uspenskij B. A., Toporov, Meletinskij E.M. *Saggio la cultura nella tradizione russa del XIX e XX secolo*, in Nicolai, Giorgio M., *Russia Bifronte. Da Pietro I a Caterina II attraverso la «Corruzione dei costumi in Russia» di Scerbátov e il viaggio da Pietroburgo a Mosca di Radiscev*, Bulzoni, 1990, pp. 275-276.

⁹ Ibid.

or restructuration of the Germanic architectures in Königsberg and reflecting the alternating phases of Soviet opening or closing towards Europe.

Despite its geographical separation from the mainland and its German-soviet dual culture, the uniqueness of Kaliningrad is more connected to the strange fate of its inhabitants, who were displaced by the Soviet authorities from their native soil in order to repopulate that area after the war.

Already from this introduction about the case study of Kaliningrad, it is clear that the terms space and time are the cornerstones of this research: the space of former Königsberg which has been transformed into modern Kaliningrad, and the time of the life in Russia interrupted by the uprooting. The aim of the empirical part is to verify if the inhabitants of the exclave may have developed over time a different perception of belonging to their nation as a consequence of their particular past and special geographical position: "People do not plan to have an identity as long as their fate becomes a destiny of belonging."¹⁰

A destiny of "removal" was handed to the inhabitants of the new Russian region. They were a symbol of the Russian presence in Europe; a role that, in itself, has contained the concept of "other" Russia. Living in a completely new environment can compel people to reconstruct their social networks varying in degrees of affinity in each relationship. In fact, the history of Kaliningrad is a universal example of these aspects: it explores the impossibility of human beings or of communities of individuals to be forced into accepting pre-defined socio-political patterns established explicitly for them. "Senses of place are therefore products of the creative imagination of the individual and of society, while place identities are not passively received but ascribed to place by people."¹¹ Human beings are the unpredictable variables of a project of power and control and this is what I strove to confirm through my research.

A short section on the socio-historical panorama of the city before and after annexing to the URSS and about the history of its first Russian inhabitants precedes the empirical part which consists of a series of interviews on 30 samples of citizens,

¹⁰ Bauman Zygmunt. *Intervista sull'identità*. Gius Laterza & Figli S.p.A., Roma-Bari, 2010, p.8.

¹¹ Ashworth G.J. Graham Brian & Tunbridge J.E. *Pluralizing Past*. Pluto Press, London 2007, p. 5.

previously anticipated by the explanation of the adopted methodological approach. The choice of interviewing three members of the same families taken into consideration, rigorously belonging of three different generation, it's grounded on the fact that this procedure could facilitate the analysis in the diachronic shift between the components of a same nuclear family. In the conclusive part, sustained by the result of the interviews and by the truths expressed by the theoretical framework, I will demonstrate that: the geographical and consequently cultural distance of the exclave from the motherland, the modalities of repopulation and, above all, the close proximity to Europe are all factors that have determined in the inhabitants of Kaliningrad a weak attachment to the motherland.

During the data analysis I found it easier to interpret the different answers also thanks to the Bauman's theory on the choice of a convenient identity and in the one of Bergson about the necessity of forgetting during the instrumental construction of a better present.

The contribution of the French philosopher Henri Bergson was important for my study in the analyses of data collection in which come to light, especially in the interviews of the older generation, the will to forget the motherland and the memories of migration and origins. The theme of memory, investigated by Bergson it was also essential to for the analysis connected with the theory of memory preserved in the spaces abused by power. Been a state of consciousness, memory is therefore capable of deciding when and how the past has ceased to exist or instead, has simply ceased to be useful.¹²

Other authors such as Michel de Certeau¹³ and Alfred Shutz¹⁴ have been investigated by the author of this research thesis for the importance of their studies about the individual's perceptions of cyclical repetitions in the daily actions. They intuit

¹² Bergson Henri. *Opere 1889-1896: Saggi su dati immediati della coscienza. Materia e Memoria. L'idea di Luogo in Aristotole. Lettere*, Arnoldo Mondadori Editore S.p.A., Milano, 1986, p. 189.

¹³ De Certeau Michel. *The Practice of evryday Life*. University of California Press, Berkley, Los Angeles, London. pp. 91- 222.
http://mediaarchaeologyofplace.org/downloads/readings/DeCerteau_WalkingInTheCity.pdf

¹⁴ Shutz Alfred. *La fenomenologia del mondo sociale*. Società Editrice Mulino, Bologna 1974.

that the individual perception of time and space is provided by a stream of consciousness that makes a sort of bonding between the inner and outer world. Shutz puts the emphasis on the universe of intentionality that lies behind the simple accomplishment of an action, while de Certeau locates his interest on the way in which individuals live the passing of days in a sort of unconscious navigation on things of everyday life. These two different attitudes, they both probe actions, gestures, rituals of the individual whose motivations lie in the deeper layers of consciousness. But unlike Bergson, which treats the subject in a more universal and philosophical way, they both focus on the sphere of everyday life, on the repetitive sequence of actions on which we don't even think. My research doesn't want to turn into psychoanalytic paths although recognizing that these are essential issues in decoding the individual behaviors, I have not considered essential a deeper analysis on that level.

Looking at the time evolution of the concept of historical identity, the Polish sociologist naturalized English Zygmunt Bauman has focused many of his essays on the ambivalence of the concept of identity. In a post-modern society, which he defined as "liquid,"¹⁵ the political and ideological changes, the financial constraints create difficulties in finding a social role. These provoke a sense of uncertainty and insecurity about their existence, leading to the need to "consume" quickly rather than to preserve the values and institutions. Nowadays the State is not living up to its premises and is turning away from responsibilities that were established for the satisfaction and survival of the group. Therefore in Bauman's interpretation, the identity could take the attractive and more convenient form of a "reborn" in a warm and safe home like a family. Moreover, the identity could be expressed rather than in the belonging to a nation, to an idea of a "fundamentalist community" based not much on the diachronicity¹⁶ of a common past but rather on the simultaneity of sharing something today. The Polish sociologist describes his concept of "liquid"¹⁷ society emphasizing the urgency among human beings of building a common present, more than the preservation of a past in

¹⁵ Bauman Zygmunt. *Modernità Liquida*. Gius. Laterza & Figli S.p.A., Roma-Bari, June 2011.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 224.

¹⁷ Ibid.

which the identity fluctuates and changes depending on the more convenient solution for the individual.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 The time-space unity in some philosophical and physical theories

The space and time categories have always been the root of wide philosophical studies since ancient times. Historians and philosophers analyze them from time to time separately or together. Lefebvre focuses primarily on the concept of social space. In his essay *The Production of Space* he proceeds from a deep philosophical excursus between the different meanings attributed to the word space and, from these, tries its hypothetical fusions with three different types of spaces: *thought-perceived-experienced*. The concept of a single spatial unit physical space, mental and social, the one advocated by Lefebvre,¹⁸ affranchises in recent decades but the problem of its definition has been there since ancient times as subjects of philosophical, mathematical, physical and theological studies. Lefebvre in his book gives an important historical background about the creation of this term among different thinkers and philosophers of the past. He mentions Cartesio¹⁹ which already placed the space and time in the group of categories, entities superior to sensory data, because both contained those others categories. Kant,²⁰ later on, resumed the concept of categories and he defined space and time as superiors than the others (quantity, quality and relation) and as the path through which individuals perceive and structure the world around them. Space, therefore detached from the empirical and became transcendental, therefore elusive. According to Hegel,²¹ however, it is the historical time that creates a space in which develops and reigns the State. The

¹⁸ Lefebvre Henri , *La produzione dello spazio*, Casa Editrice Moizzi, Milano 1976, p 59

¹⁹ Cartesio, *La Linguistique Cartesienne*, Trad. franc., Seuil, 1969. Cited in Bakhtin M. Michail. *Estetica e romanzo*, (first ed. 1975) Izdatel Stvo, *Chudozestvennaja literature*, Einaudi Giulio Editore, S.p.A. Torino, 1997, p. 30.

²⁰ Cited in Lefebvre Henri , *La produzione dello spazio*, Casa Editrice Moizzi, Milano 1976, p 27.

²¹ Lefebvre Henri. *La fin de l'histoire*. Ed. Minut, 1970, and the study of A. Kojeve about *Hegel and Hegelism*. Cited in *Ibid.*, p.44.

history does not build a single individual but a series of institutions, of groups (the law, the family, the city and trades) which together occupy a territory dominated by a State.²² The end of history does not determine the end of what history has produced. This product, the Space is powered by knowledge and driven by conscience and is therefore self-sustaining. What is actually disappearing is the history that turns from action into memory, from production to contemplation. It follows, that the time has no meaning when dominated by the repetition, by the circularity, by the foundation of a frozen area, which is the realm of Reason.²³

The history of Königsberg is delimited. The city has been half destroyed by the bombing and its space, won by Russia was covered by a new space, the one of the winners, but from the buried Prussian space emerge memories of its history. Although the history ends, the space remains and contains the time of human history. Nietzsche's²⁴ perception of space²⁵ has nothing to do with the space of Hegel, which is instead the mere residue of historical time. It becomes a path of absolute space from forces and energies, a cosmic and physical space that has neither origin nor end. The time, in the pessimistic point of view of the German thinker, is the theater of the universal tragedy of death and life, cyclical and repetitive. For Marx,²⁶ every reality given in a certain space is explained through a genesis in the time²⁷ but an activity that occurs in the historical time generates a space. Only in that space will assume a concrete existence. As Lefebvre explained in his book, Marx develops this pattern starting from Hegel.²⁸ Despite being neither a subject nor an object, it is a social reality, i.e. a set of relations and forms. Marx argues that the space is the place of communication between material goods that is the place of exchange.²⁹ A social space in which human beings, social beings, produce their life is a revolution that doesn't produce space. He claimed that is not fully happening. Time is pushed forward by the productive forces of society,

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid., p. 45.

²⁴ Nietzsche, *Le Livre du philosophe*, fragment, p.120. Cited in Lefebvre Henri, *La produzione dello spazio*, Casa Editrice Moizzi, Milano 1976, p.185.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 59.

²⁶ Lefebvre Henri. *Le pensee marxiste et la ville*, Catserman, 1972. Cited in Lefebvre Henri, *La produzione dello spazio*, Casa Editrice Moizzi, Milano 1976, citato da Lefebvre pag.114-115.

²⁷ Ibid., Lefebvre Henri, *La produzione dello spazio*, Casa Editrice Moizzi, Milano 1976, pp. 127-129.

²⁸ Ibid., p.129.

²⁹ Ibid.

those are also strength and energy but not the physical ones set out by Nietzsche. Here the professor Joseph Rauch gives some comments during an interview:

“The theory of relativity by Einstein, seals the two concepts of space-time into something physically interconnected. The space is not uniform; it is crossed by the path of forces and bounded by the matter. Its curvature varies according to the gravitational forces which undergo it; the scan of the time depends on a certain position in space and on the curvature which has at that point. And if at that point passes certain number of minutes, in another point of the space can pass different one, therefore space and time are linked.”³⁰

This interconnection it varies depending on the forces that pass through the point and that produce gravitational waves, ruts and craters. The time does not pass uniformly in space but it expands or abates depending on the point in which it is calculated and on the position of that point in a certain space.

With regard to Kant, Bakhtin has been inspired in particular by the famous Kantian *a priori* way of thinking. When we see something, what we perceive are mere constructed representations through a system *a priori* already in our minds before the experience and of priori intuitions that come to us thanks the outside world. For Kant, the perceiving subject is defined by an individual activity that he is discussing grammatically, as a name: the *thinking I*. From the *thinking I* derives the concept of *apperception*, which is not a unitary subject. The transcendental *I* sees a house, in the psychological, the *I* exercises an *apperception* (perception of conscious type) to see himself/herself that sees a house. This theory seeks to affirm that every act of perception is a synthesis. An individual able to accomplish this synthesis and capable to draw an assessment is what Kant will call an action of understanding.³¹ Bakhtin, supporting the Kantian theory based on splitting of the individual into "agent" and *thinking I*, goes to the translation of this concept from the transcendental point to the natural one. He identifies his philosophy on the perception of the other, knowing the other, even same

³⁰I interviewed the Professor Rauch Joseph Graduated in Physic, now works like researcher at the CNR (international center for research) of Genoa and teach physic at the University of Savona, March 2012.

³¹ Kant Immanuel. *Critique of Pure Reason*. Ads. And Trans. Paul Guyer and Allen wood. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. Cited in Bemong Nele, Borghart Pieter, De Dobbeleer Michel, Demoen Kristoffel, De Tennerman Koen & Keunen Bart (eds.) *Bakhtin's Theory of the Literary Chronotope. Reflections, Applications, Perspectives*, Academia Press, Gent, 2010, p.21.

parts that himself/herself cannot comprehend. In this report, in the background of a certain place and time, the human being assimilates the meaning of its existence. This feeling of unification and identification in the other creates a sense of belonging, the same that I think matured in the citizens of Kaliningrad, in the space they share, and in the flow of their lives.

2.2 TIME AND SPACE FUSION

The *bakhtinian*'s theory of the *chronotope*

It is the beginning of a new concept both mathematical as well as philosophical from which the interest of many thinkers will emerge. These thinkers for various reasons will make it the starting point of their researches. The Russian thinker Michail Bakhtin (1895-1975),³² whose ideas were greatly influenced by the German philosophy in the 18th 19th century, was one of the first who starting from Kant's and Einstein's theories on the concept of space-time realized the importance of their application in the literature. The transformation in the concept of the representation of time and space leads to a radical change in the habits and cultural experiences in the course of the history of literature. The theory of *chronotope*, both directs the perception of the world of literary fiction and at the same time enhances it to a better understanding of the observed human beings' actions in a given space-time context. This creates a vital connection between *chronotope* and action.³³ For Bakhtin, the time (narrative one) and space (of the narration) are combined into a fundamental unity called *chronotope*. This is an intrinsic connection of temporal and spatial data where time becomes visible and the space charges of the time's meanings, tracking and weaving plots and histories. Though he worked on literary texts, and he applied this concept literary. He further noted that *chronotope* is characterized non-literary texts and contexts as well: "Every

³² Azar Hosseini Fatemi, Pishghadam Reza, Hashemi Mohammad Reza, Adel Reza Mohammad Seyyed. *The Chronotopical nature of identity construction: Case Studies of Narrative Identities of EFL teachers*. Internation Journal of Research Studies in Language Learning, 2012.

³³ Bemong Nele, Borghart Pieter, De Dobbeleer Michel, Demoen Kristoffel, De Tennerman Koen & Keunen Bart (eds.) *Bakhtin's Theory of the Literary Chronotope. Reflections, Applications, Perspectives*, Academia Press, Gent, 2010, p.3.

time you enter into the sphere of meaning, it is accomplished only through the gate of *chronotope*.”³⁴

The epistemological origins of Bakhtin’s thinking are on the one hand, the Kantian philosophy and, on the other, that of Einstein. From Kant, Bakhtin adopts the idea that space and time are two categories above, two measuring instruments with which the human beings perceive the world around. From Einstein, he considered the fact that time is the fourth dimension of space and hence he understood the impossibility of separation the two concepts. For Einstein time has local characteristics, in the universe and does not flows the same way everywhere, but it is faster or slower depending on the presence of different masses that curve space due to gravity. Also Kant’s theories about the space and the time and the concept of apperceptions as not a unitary subject inspired Bakhtin’s conviction about *chronotope*.³⁵

Bakhtin on the one side insisted on the uniqueness of the individual. The individual is the one and only who is occupying particular sets of circumstances in definite place and in a particular time. On the other side, he also considered genial the Kant's destruction of an objective unity. Bakhtin used the concept of duality to describe the dysphasia of two human beings who contemplate themselves and that, regardless of location or distance, do not share the same horizons.

“I want to see the “other” from the place that I am occupying alone, seeing him/her, thinking him/her, not forgetting him/her; that he/she is for me the same. This is the only thing I can do for them, at this moment and in all the existence, that is an act that completes his/her being, an act of enrichment, a new act that only I can do.”³⁶

The high point of the *bakhtianian* philosophy indicates that the need of the ethic *I* side to constitute an *I* for the other can only be expressed in a *chronotopical* fusion. It is in this place, at this very moment when the self, the subject, sees more and while seeing

³⁴ Azar Hosseini Fatemi, Pishghadam Reza, Hashemi Mohammad Reza, Adel Reza Mohammad Seyyed. *The Chronotopical nature of identity construction: Case Studies of Narrative Identities of EFL teachers*. Internation Journal of Research Studies in Language Learning, 2012. p.3.

³⁵ Bemong Nele, Borghart Pieter, De Dobbeleer Michel, Demoen Kristoffel, De Tennerman Koen & Keunen Bart (eds.) *Bakhtin’s Theory of the Literary Chronotope. Reflections, Applications, Perspectives*, Academia Press, Gent, 2010,p.22.

³⁶ Bakhtin M. Michail. *Per una filosofia dell’azione responsabile*. Piero Manni, Lecce, 1998, p.6.

the knowledge of him/her it enriches, it gives a real sense of existence. Each will see of the other what the other can never see of himself/herself. And this depends on the point that we occupy in a space in that time (Einstein): "When we look at ourselves, two different worlds are reflected in our eyes."³⁷ But a phenomenon is embedded not only while intersecting the space-time coordinates but also the semantics one.

Alfred Schutz developed a similar concept and highlights a clear parallel with the thought of Bakhtin on the importance of sharing with the "other" the *spatio-temporal* relation.

"The environment of the *I* and that of *You*, therefore our environment, is a common one: the world of *Us*, is not a private mine or yours but it's our world, one intersubjective world that is common and that is given to us (...) so much for me as for you, our attention to the ways is shaped by facing each other."³⁸

This concept is in line with the idea of Bakhtin about the need to know the existence of the other, for the orientation in the social action. The juxtaposition of the individual at the meeting point of these two axes will allow them to measure their own perceptions, the aspects of its existence, the first of which is their own identity. The individual perceives to occupy a certain place in a certain moment and he/her tries to establish a link with the other who sees and knows things that he or she cannot know of her/himself. This determines the start of self-awareness, even for the relationship between interest and responsibility of the other. It's exactly what the empirical part will try to verify among the inhabitants of Kaliningrad: if the perception of one own identity lies in the relation to the links established with the members of the same community, in that space, in its present.

For Bakhtin, the analysis of a text adopting the theory of the *chronotope* makes possible the identification by a person or a group of a thought, experienced and imagined reality. A reality elevated to a social-historical dimension, based on the overtaking of the abstract and objective time and of the *chronotopic* reality, the time of

³⁷ Ibid., p.22.

³⁸ Shutz Alfred. *La fenomenologia del mondo sociale*. Società Editrice Mulino, Bologna 1974, pp.242-243.

the individual psyche. The result is an interaction of the inner-boundary of human being on a threshold-border with the environment and the background.

The border is also a very important concept for Bakhtin: divides, but at the same time connects each organism with the external reality. It allows overcoming the rigid barrier between living matter and inert matter, creating a sort of continuous and osmotic exchange between human beings and environment. This was made arguable with the theory of the Russian physicist Vernadski³⁹ who was among the first that has linked natural things, both terrestrial and biological, with space and time. He hasn't considered them as absolute categories (Kant), but he reconnected them to properties of living organisms. Bakhtin sustained this thought, although the organism is distinct from the ambient, although is inevitable and undeniable between them the presence of a strict boundary, they are inextricably linked.⁴⁰

Uchtomski⁴¹ in his essay on the environmental physiology of perception argued that the receipt of the outside world is an orientation towards the depth in the *chronotope*.⁴² Therefore, in order to stimulate in the individual a relationship with the reality, it must be present in him/her a system of space-temporal coordinates through which the external perception is possible.

Bakhtin's insight is to establish that it's in both the physical world and in the one of the literary invention, where time-space connection is continuous. In both the two realities, the time where the events occur cannot be divorced from the facts itself. Bakhtin meant the time, as an origination and continuous anticipation of future events, consequently the real time itself becomes an event. The ability to analyze the time by giving to it the value of the entirety it gives at the same time a way of understanding the space seen not as a frozen scenario but as an event that emerges in that moment, related

³⁹ V.Vernadskij. *Prostranstvo i vremena v nez"ivoj i zivoj prirode*, in Id. *Filosofskie mysli naturalista*, Moskva 1988, pp. 210-381. Cited in Diddi Cristiano. *Sulla Genesi e il Significato del Cronotopo in Bakhtin*, in *Ricerche Slavistiche* 7 (53), La Sapienza University, Roma, 2009, p.p. 143-156.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 144.

⁴¹ A. Uchtomskij. *Dominanta. Stat'i raznyh let (1887-1939)*. S.-Peterburg 2002, pp. 67-72 (*Ochronotope*). Cited in Diddi Cristiano. *Sulla Genesi e il Significato del Cronotopo in Bakhtin*, in *Ricerche Slavistiche* 7 (53), La Sapienza University, Roma, 2009, p.p. 143-156.

⁴² Ibid., p. 146.

to time.⁴³ In this regard, Bakhtin also quotes Michael Holquist who argues that given a place, a time and a history, there is always a correlation between the occurrence of a fact and something else. This perception of correlation is the ability itself to capture the signals when the time is fully unfolding in that particular moment.⁴⁴

Bakhtin on the one side sustained the Kantian assumption that defines space and time as essential forms for any human perception but on the other side dissociates from their transcendental meaning and places those in the immediate reality, in the experimental laboratory in which the knowledge is produced: the Nature.⁴⁵ The nature is a unifying element, in which the interaction produces a sentiment of common belonging and it is witness of interaction between human beings and the environment. Bakhtin's time definition: it's the concept in which he entrusts the key for the understanding of the human experience. Therefore, the Bergson's research on the real duration of time interpreted as our authentic conscience for Bakhtin could not assume a particular significance. Bergson, the teacher of Lefebvre admits the existence of two worlds: the natural one, Space, and the spiritual one, Time. Bergson claims that every change, from the standpoint of the observation, happens for a mutation in the consciousness. Each situation is colored by the experienced time and when it is involved in the space it is modify by a flow of changes to which the observers belong.⁴⁶

Bakhtin's theory seems to be dominated by a sense of destiny that each individual inherently carry in themselves. Bakhtin defines the concept of *elsewhere*, by accepting the natural consequences of Kant's doctrine on the separation between perception and self-awareness. If we look at the place where we are, in a given time and where others are in that moment, we could never be anywhere else than at that one place

⁴³ Bemong Nele, Borghart Pieter, De Dobbeleer Michel, Demoen Kristoffel, De Tennerman Koen & Keunen Bart (eds.) *Bakhtin's Theory of the Literary Chronotope. Reflections, Applications, Perspectives*, Academia Press, Gent, 2010, p.38.

⁴⁴ K. Clark, M. Holquist, *Michail Bachtin*, Bologna 1991. Cited in Bemong Nele, Borghart Pieter, De Dobbeleer Michel, Demoen Kristoffel, De Tennerman Koen & Keunen Bart (eds.) *Bakhtin's Theory of the Literary Chronotope. Reflections, Applications, Perspectives*, Academia Press, Gent, 2010, p. 19.

⁴⁵ Kant Immanuel. *Critique of Pure Reason*. Ads. And Trans. Paul Guyer and Allen wood. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. Cited in *Ibid.*, p.28.

⁴⁶ Bergson Henri. *Opere 1889-1896: Saggi su dati immediati della coscienza. Materia e Memoria. L'idea di Luogo in Aristotole. Lettere*, Arnoldo Mondadori Editore S.p.A., Milano, 1986, p. 223.

of existence.⁴⁷ To the inhabitants of Kaliningrad was given this life opportunity, and this only one: the occupation of a space close to Europe, the reconstruction of a city. It is possible to recognize in the other an individual with the same story, in your own place in the very moment of your life. There could be no excuse for them not to take care of the other, in the foundation of a community characterized by common affinity and purpose. The space-time relation is thus central to our sense of continuity. It is the space that defines the primordial distinction between the ego and the others. They are the two poles of each dialogue: "I enter into a world where others have already resided, and the boundaries of my area have not been assigned to me but to divide what others had in its entirety."⁴⁸

The philosophical theory of Bakhtin on the 'I for the other' is a source of inspiration for the Polish sociologist Bauman Zygmunt. Bauman interprets it as the only opportunity on this earth to give meaning to our lives by orienting towards the other and interacting in the simultaneity of the present, in a shared space. In his research on the "liquid" post-modern society, Bauman identifies the only chance of survival for an individual or a group, by interacting within an ideal community based on:

"To live for the other, weaving the web of human commitments, tighten and cultivate interpersonal ties, translate the rights in obligations, in share responsibility for the welfare of all."⁴⁹

Bauman supports the thought of the Danish philosopher and theologian Knud Ejler Logstrup and claims:

"It is in the immediateness (here and now) that are generated expressions of life, and is in the immediateness and in the vicinity of "other" that a common morality can have roots"⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Bemong Nele, Borghart Pieter, De Dobbeleer Michel, Demoen Kristoffel, De Tennerman Koen & Keunen Bart (eds.) *Bakhtin's Theory of the Literary Chronotope. Reflections, Applications, Perspectives*, Academia Press, Gent, 2010, p. 25.

⁴⁸ Bakhtin, Mikhail M. *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*. Eds. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Trans. Vern W. McGee. 1986. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002a. Cited in *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁴⁹ Logstrup Knud Ejler, *After the Ethical Demand*. Arhus University. Aruhs. 2002, p.26. Cited in Bauman Zygmunt. *Amore liquido*. Gius. Laterza & Figli Spa, Roma-Bari, Giugno 2009, p.103.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.

It is in this postmodern society of uncertainty, of insecurity of any ideal, once given as "absolute" and "immutable", in which there are no more dogmatic truth, and no more universal laws, the only possible moral can be just to deliver oneself "from the ego to the Other," an individual act that creates the society. The idea of belonging to a community is generated, for Bauman, by sharing a present, more than an original historical past, in doing what does the man who lives next to me, more than hand down what the ancestors did. Both the studies of these authors, Bakhtin and Bauman, seem to agree and converge while affirming that it is in the spatio-temporal unity of the present, it is in the simultaneity and not in the diachronicity of history that human beings have the unique opportunity to feel scanned the time of the existence and see the meaning of it interacting with the others.

This thought is shared and underlined by the assumption of Simone Weil's essay *Reflexions sur les causes de la liberté et de l'oppression sociale* which identifies one possible way out for the survival of the modern society, to turn from the compulsive production of material objects to the production of works that are "creations" of the "spirit" and, therefore capable of generating unity and brotherhood:

"As the stimulus needed to overcome fatigue and pain and danger, each would find it in the desire to obtain the esteem of their fellows in the creation of those jobs that are creations of the spirit in which the exterior constrain become not useful and dangerous and will substitute by an interior compulsion. (...) Human beings would be tidied in collective but exclusively in their capacity as' men. Each would see each other a fellow worker himself placed in another place."⁵¹

It is in the concept of here and now that is defined the perception of one's time, that blends with the space that is occupy in a world that was previously someone else's world, but in which now they have the chance to exist and to share with others an idea of together belonging. As argued by Certau: "We are more inclined to feel more secure if we know that we're only doing what others are doing."⁵²

⁵¹ Weil, Simone. *Riflessioni. Suelle cause sulle cause della libertà e dell'oppressione sociale*. RCS Quotidiani S.p.A., grafica veneta Trabaseleghe Padova , 2011 (1955) pp. 84-85.

⁵² De Certau Michel. *L'invention du quotidien*. Paris, 1980. Cited in Bauman Zygmunt. *Mortalità, immortalità e altre strategie di vita*. Società editricie Il Mulino di Bologna, 2012. p.56.

It's essential to have the certainty that we are sharing the same destiny and building a shared project. And it is on the affinity that builds a possible requirement of belonging and identification with the other. When Bakhtin says: "I enter within a space that was previously belonged to other"⁵³ he intended to emphasize the indivisible thread that binds us to the Other and that makes of what we are given (space-time) something valuable, non-negotiable, but sharable. The problem of a shared space, not only setting of the action, but active in itself in the lives of individuals who live, perceive, and leave the imprint of their own lives, it was one of the most loved issues and investigated in the studies of the French thinker and philosopher Henri Lefebvre.

2.3 THE CONSTRUCTION OF SPACE

The Lefebvre's social space of human activities

In studies of the socio-historical French philosopher Henri Lefebvre, the space becomes a cohesive and representative element of existence of a group, drawn by memory, by symbols and textures of the network of social relations. He first considered the locking on a space generated by history, where in the layers is kept the memory of the time, on the basis of Hegelian philosophy. Later in his assumption it will emerge the indissolubility of the space-time concept. He made of the space one of the nodal subjects of his research, tying it always more to the history and to the destiny of the mankind. Many of the topics treated in his book *The Production of Space* brings us back to the Bakhtin's ideas about the space-time relation and assumptions of their indefeasibility.

Like Bakhtin also Lefebvre is distancing from the transcendent. A key sentence to understand the thought of Lefebvre about the concept space is:

"The space is a product of human being that is part of nature and changes over time because it is the result of a layering of the time itself and, since people have different

⁵³Bemong Nele, Borghart Pieter, De Dobbeleer Michel, Demoen Kristoffel, De Tennerman Koen & Keunen Bart (eds.) *Bakhtin's Theory of the Literary Chronotope. Reflections, Applications, Perspectives*, Academia Press, Gent, 2010, p.28.

thoughts and ideologies, we can also say that their different ideologies have produced this space.”⁵⁴

But if Bakhtin in order to endorse the theory of the *chronotope* is inspired by Kant and Einstein, Lefebvre refer to Hegel. The space is the product of history, i.e. of the time, but the end of history doesn't necessarily mean the end of what was produced, i.e. of the space and to Marx. The space is for Marx the place of communications, of the material goods, i.e. exchanges. Both the thinkers put alongside the concept of space the notion of time, but also the one of history. They also attempt to create a bridge between the physical, mental and social space:

"The time is not seen, you do not read it, cannot be built but is consumed, and it leaves no traces but is hidden in the space and becomes part of space turning it into living space.”⁵⁵

Lefebvre takes distances both from the transcendent space of Kant and from the mental space of the mathematicians because both dig up a gulf between themselves and the social space. As one cannot separate the concepts of energy-space-time in physics, it's necessary to find a possible reunification of the three dimensions of space *thought, perceived, experienced* in an idea which alone will represent and metaphorically display all the three.⁵⁶ The representation of space is the thought space, designed by planners, urbanizes technocrats who tend to identify the experienced space together with one perceived and the thought.⁵⁷ It was the same for the Germanic space of the old Königsberg, handled and covered by a new space designed by the technocrats for the new Russian in Kaliningrad. The space of Kaliningrad was designed by technocrats of USSR, forced to emigrate in the old Königsberg in order to rebuild it, according to a Soviet project, adapting also the history expressed by the previous visual symbols.

The Experienced space is that of the inhabitants. It is the space that has been underwent, the dominated space, which imagination tries to occupy and modify using its symbolic objects (images, monuments). The Perceived space is the space of social

⁵⁴ Lefebvre Henri , *La produzione dello spazio*, Casa Editrice Moizzi, Milano 1976, p.12.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 18.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p.28.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p58.

practice and is closely linked to everyday and urban life, to the use of time and to the private life. The spaces of representation have as origin the history, the one of a population, the one that contains the locations of the "passion"⁵⁸ and the places of the action. Immediately comes to the mind the implications with the concept of time referring to the definition of *landscape*.

The *landscape* described by Kapralski in his essay *Battlefields of memory* is: "not only a well-defined territory with clear boundaries, but a space imbued with a common history that needs to be remembered."⁵⁹ The dominated space, the space has been manipulated by various authorities and sealed by the silence of users, such as instrumental handlings implemented by the Communists in some small towns in Poland after the war in order to erase the memory of Jewish minorities and the sacrifice of the Holocaust⁶⁰. Despite this, surprisingly, this denial of the place's history, this negation of what it was, contains the propulsion of the new. Here it emerges the concept of dualism quoted by Lotman in his essay.⁶¹

The affirmation of an idea, a culture, an ideology needs for self-assertion, to have, inside, the exact opposite to which is assigned a negative value. The dissolution of pre-existing social relations, the cancellation of a space, and new relationships will produce a new space, by Lefebvre called "differential."⁶² Hence Lefebvre throws his criticism to socialism that, in every revolution has never been able to produce a new space: "where is today an architecture that can be called Socialist? Is it in East Berlin? In the Former Stalinallè renamed Marxallè? In Cuba? In Moscow? In Beijing?"⁶³ A revolution that does not produce a new space (the experiences-thought-perceived) is not

⁵⁸ Ibid., 58.

⁵⁹ Kapralski Slawomir. *Battlefields of Memory: Landscape and Identity in Polish-Jewish Relations*, published in "History and Memory" Volume 13, number 2, Fall/Winter 2001, p.2.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p.4.

⁶¹ Lotman Jury Michajlovic and Uspenskij Boris Andrievic. *Il ruolo dei modelli duali nella dinamica della cultura Russa*. In Veselovskij A. N., Potebnja A., Trubeckoj N. S., Bachtin M., Lichacev D. S., Lotman J. M., Uspenskij B. A., Toporov, Meletinskij E.M. *Saggio la cultura nella tradizione russa del XIX e XX secolo*, in Nicolai, Giorgio M., *Russia bifronte. Da Pietro I a Caterina II attraverso la «Corruzione dei costumi in Russia» di Scerbátov e il viaggio da Pietroburgo a Mosca di Radiscev*, Bulzoni Editor S.r.l., Roma, 1990.pp-240-286.

⁶² Lefebvre Henri, *La produzione dello spazio*, Casa Editrice Moizzi, Milano 1976, p.73.

⁶³ Ibid., p.74.

a complete revolution, not done to the end, it fails, doesn't change your life but only its semblance, changes only the ideological superstructures, the institutions, the political apparatus but the revolutionary transformation is other.

“(…) If individuals create places identities, then obviously different people, at different times, for different reasons, create different narratives of belonging. Sense and images of place, which are thus user-determined, polysemic and unstable, must also, be related to senses of time if only because places are in continuous state of becoming.”⁶⁴

The change in the society and the individuals' life means nothing if there is any production of an appropriate space even through non-verbal symbols as theater, painting, music, dance (which is universal languages that aggregate and contribute to the formation of a sense of identity and belonging) which aim to create a lived space⁶⁵. But to do this it is necessary a strategy between power and knowledge, between autocrats and intellectuals. Utopian sodality since the *intelligencija* has always run away from the representations of power many of the inhabitants of Kaliningrad speak German and know well what is left of the symbol of the German history in the space of Kaliningrad. The history ends, but the space remains dynamic.

Lefebvre returns again to the other axis of his Cartesian assumption, the time, which never becomes detached from his research on the possible signified and signifiers of space. Each space, writes in his book, is previous to the appearance of the normal subject, each special frame contains a concatenation of social acts which are part of the life and death. So the space devours and consumes the living entity and it will survive to him.⁶⁶ An alignment with the Nietzschean thought with which Lefebvre shares the tragic inevitability of cyclical repetition of human events of which the space is mutual witness and container of invisible memories. "If you look at the space, what do you see? You see the time: you live it, and you are inside it. It is inside the space, in its heart"⁶⁷

Every place has its own age, the track of the time that it has generated, like the trunk of a tree that is invariably tied to its branches and to its own foliage. The parallelism with

⁶⁴ Ashworth G.J. Graham Brian & Tunbridge J.E. *Pluralizing Past*. Pluto Press, London 2007, p.6.

⁶⁵ Lefebvre Henri, *La produzione dello spazio*, Casa Editrice Moizzi, Milano 1976, p.77.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p.76.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p.76.

the theory of Bakhtin therefore is evident in the continuous admission of Lefebvre that history of the space does not dissociate from the history of Time⁶⁸. He insisted that the starting point of the research should not be placed in a geographical space, but in the history of the natural rhythms, of the changes produced in the cycles of human gestures and in particular of social practice.

Lefebvre, unlike Bakhtin that was specifically interested in the literary context of his research, always moves the focus on humans, on their activities, and on the places of their relationships with others. Bakhtin finds confirmation in the research and ideas of semioticians who claim that the social space is a marking of the landscape made by the presence of animals or signs. In this way, the space acquires a symbolic value, full of emotionalism and there is a deep relationship between a place and its own time as the aging, growth, maturation, phenomena related to the natural laws and to temporality but not disjoint from spatiality, that is abstraction.⁶⁹

Lefebvre often repeats the term *plots* it refers to that signs drawn by history and by the activities of the human beings. In its more intrinsic meaning it is also connected to its precarious fate of living and trying to leave a sign of its presence to those who will live the inheritance of that space. In the patterns, in the plot or textures of a landscape, space and time doesn't ever dissociate. Plot can also mean "sense:"⁷⁰ even the voids and the absences can have a meaning and are part of an experienced space, for example Kapralski speaks about not erected tombstones in his *Battlefields of Memory*, monuments that deliberately have been omitted, memories tactically buried by the Polish Communist in Zolynia or Rzeszow, underling that even while forgetting there is the presence of history.

The semioticians claim that each space is marked physically by visual processes or, abstractly, through speeches or signs.⁷¹ Space, therefore, is never a blank page on which someone writes its message; it contains a jumble of messages overloading both the urban space and the natural one: non-verbal signs at the same time intelligible, of knowledge, of the theoretical and of the social practice. In line with the ideas expressed

⁶⁸ Ibid., p.129.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p.180.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p.130.

⁷¹ Ibid., p.150.

in the *Battlefields of memory*, Lefebvre states an important fact for the purpose of this research: a perceived space, designed, in order to be read, is obviously faked, more tricked, to mask the strategies developed in order to look like a real "optical" effect.

The monuments, for example, are made to be seen and they are hiding much more of what they want to show: they will hide under signs and surfaces the strength and the arbitrariness of the power. Therefore, a manipulated space is hiding secrets and codes which, when deciphered, it reveals the designs of power and also architectures. When using their own materials (bricks, stones, steel or cement) a visual language will be articulated by creating spaces for the activities of human beings.⁷² The architecture produces living bodies with the distinctive feature of being animated by an invisible presence, and this secret life is reproduced in the one that makes use of the space in his/her experience. But the architecture depends on interests that sometimes shape it indirectly and unconsciously, since the space is not neutral, but in the service of the tactics and strategies of the power that dominates it: state, religion, market.

It is possible therefore to say that the architectural discourse too often imitates the discourse of power thinking in understanding the design of the "real."⁷³ The abstract space in the one "thought" by the architects, planners and by those who use, experience and live it. That is to say the "subjective" space, the one that belongs to subjects, not to calculations of the political power that reigns over the humans, dominates the space occupied by its "subjects" but does not dominate the causes and reasons that are interwoven in that space.⁷⁴

The *thought space* is the space of strategy, drawn by the power, which in reality is, in the space chaos, the existence of a certain order. It represents also the articulation of the market space, of the spatial planning, of the forces that occupy it, of the political projects and of the obstacles that are opposite forces to the strategic plan, and that sometimes settle within the space a counter space.⁷⁵ The architecture had always the intrinsic value of what it describes. It analyzes and exposes the persistence of memory

⁷² Ibid., p346

⁷³ Ibid., p.145.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p.347.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p.351.

of the space by those who are metaphorically defined as “sediments, layers and signs.”⁷⁶ But nature, as also recalled by Bakhtin as the zero degree perceptions of the experimental laboratory of excellence for knowledge, it is the natural space or the fiscal space on which to base the social space. The space theory has proved as no space disappears in the course of social process and how instead it persists in a matter which is not a matter, including natural space from the origins.⁷⁷

It is important the Lefebvre’s statement that any group of people won’t succeed in constituted themselves as subject of a space if they cannot create their own space. It will not be enough to provide the architectural symbols of the ideologies and of the folklore. The world of signs in this way can just be bound to fail. About the concept of nation states Lefebvre creates a further contact with Bakhtin defying the notion of *closure* that better than any other defines the concept of nation: a closed boundary.⁷⁸ Each space-envelope separates an inside from an outside, this break is very relative. It is a permeable membrane through which multiple exchanges occur and they become more complex: energy exchanges and information. It is the same membrane mentioned by Bakhtin referring to the border threshold of separation between human beings and environment. In the history of life the interaction between the inside and the outside never ceases to occur and to escalate.

2.4 EFFECTS OF THE TEMPORAL POWER ON THE SPACE

The domination of space over time

Kapralski talks about the *landscape* as a space container of memory. Also in this Polish author, the time-space fusion is evident in the description of the cancellation of history (time) in order to let the dominant group emerges. The new power is replaced, through the demolition, the alteration and the defacement of the space previously belonged to the weaker group. The stronger power is showing strength using new visual symbols, building on top of the old new layers and new histories.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p.229.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p.384.

⁷⁸ Bakhtin M. Michail. *Per una filosofia dell’azione responsabile*. Piero Manni, Lecce, 1998, p.181.

The study of the historical Polish Slavomir Kapralski it's important when referring to the area manipulated by the power quoted also by Lefebvre. He is an important author for this research thesis because of its particular interest for the erased memories, for the violated and misrepresented space for the purpose of a political and racial domination. He made studies on the historical memory of a nation in particular, Poland. His essay *Battlefields of memory* is almost a short treaty on the landscape and identity among the relations between Poles and Jews. The landscape, in the construction of a group, is needed to create or maintain the identity of that group. According to him, the construction of a landscape and the construction of an identity are inseparable. They constitute a part of a process which has, as a result, the incorporation of the landscape being a symbolic representation of the identity of a group living that landscape. In order to approach the question of national identity Kapralski refers to a classic definition of the nineteenth century. The term "nation" for Kapralski consists of a large and homogeneous population that coexists and grows permanently a territory with its own name and a well-defined border.

Even Lefebvre ⁷⁹ expressed himself about the meaning of "nation" and controversially for him it refers to the concept of closure, a closed space. But as the threshold-border of Bakhtin represent the membrane through which, for a sort of osmotic process, there is an incessant exchange and an ongoing interaction between human beings and environment, the membrane-border of Lefebvre is the schism that separates the inside from the outside of the nation-space, that is a simple trapping. Also the bound membrane is the place where exchanges of energy and communications take place.⁸⁰

Kapralski insists on the concept of identity of a nation and of its members stating that it is not just sharing a territory delimited by sharp boundaries and with a specific name. A territory should not just define its collective identity but in addition should also express symbolically the intellectual values. These are embedded in the space of the social activities: the cultivation of the earth, the work of the human beings. But one element is missing in order for all these requirements to be said enough to develop,

⁷⁹ Lefebvre Henri , *La produzione dello spazio*, Casa Editrice Moizzi, Milano 1976, p. 181.

⁸⁰ Kapralski Slawomir. *Battlefields of Memory: Landscape and Identity in Polish-Jewish Relations*, published in "History and Memory" Volume 13, number 2, Fall/Winter 2001, p.1-2-

inside the people, a sense of belonging to a nation: the history. It must be an area with a common history to be remembered. The temporal process of the landscape is for Kapralski⁸¹ essential in the process of acquiring identity. In this case it is the missing link in the construction of the Russian project of the repopulation of Kaliningrad. Kapralski emphasizes the importance of remembering:

"The deep and common feeling to many identity groups is that sense of equality in a certain time and space and supported by the memory and what is remembered is supported by the assumption of the identity."⁸²

Kapralski ventures a syllogism claiming that we are what we remember that they were, and the content that we remember of our memory is determined by what we think we are. From here he keeps on claiming that the recollection of a shared memory of the history of a group is never identical to the history that really happened. If so ourselves remind of us just the useful amount necessary to have a certain image that we want for ourselves, making a sort of unwitting (perhaps) selection and of censorship about what is memory in its entirety. Even a group, about its historical past tends to select the memory of a "viable" past,⁸³ a practicable past, considered useful for the construction of an identity. The states or any community make choices about what is affordable and socially useful to remember. This is for the purpose a correct symbolic national narrative. Even a universal historical memory with a strong popular impact, such as the one of the Holocaust has been reduced in its importance. An example lies in the "viable past" of the Estonian Republic in which there have been also political and cultural choices and needs. Eva Clarita Pettai in one of her articles investigates on the different historical relevancies that Estonia and Lithuania give to the Holocaust. She also underlines the possible motivations in the different kind of attitudes towards the topic. Pettai explains how each community decides what is convenient or not to remember in order to construct a functioning collective past.

⁸¹ Ibid., p.2.

⁸² Gillis John R. *Memory and Identity. The History of a Relationship*. 1994, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. Cited in Kapralski Slawomir. *Battlefields of Memory: Landscape and Identity in Polish-Jewish Relations*, published in "History and Memory" Volume 13, number 2, Fall/Winter 2001, p.2.

⁸³ Kapralski Slawomir. *Battlefields of Memory: Landscape and Identity in Polish-Jewish Relations*, published in "History and Memory" Volume 13, number 2, Fall/Winter, 2001, p.2.

“The historical and political context in which the Holocaust took place in the respective country is crucial for determining the extent to which this part of a broader public consciousness.”⁸⁴

According to Pettai, one of the reasons to this attitude could lie in the fact that inside the Estonian community was not present a lobby interested in including the memory of the Holocaust inside the educational program. Apparently, that memory has been classified as not essential to be inscribed in the collective memory for the creation of their viable past.

Kapralski also relies on the concept of *chronotope* for its ability to synthesize in itself the time (past memory) and space (territory, container of cultural meanings). Mikhail Bakhtin’s concept of *chronotope* meant the intrinsic connection between space-time expressed in literature, in the field of collective identity. Therefore, the *chronotope* is the "locus" where time has been condensed inside the space: a real place, mythological and symbolic in which events are important for the construction of identity of a group. Here real events in agreement with a collective vision of viable past are symbolically represented through monuments and different arrangements of space and social functions.⁸⁵

The landscape, however, doesn’t consist only of what should be remembered, but also what should be forgotten: it is not possible for a system to remember everything that has been thought. In this case, there would be such a massive piece of data to make impractical the realization of coordination, of a connection and it will generate chaos.⁸⁶ No individuals neither whole community is able to remember everything, and just forgetting and selecting let you create an order:

⁸⁴ Pettai Eva-Clarita. *Establishing “Holocaust memory”- A comparison of Estonia and Latvia*. In Oliver Rathkolb / Imbi Sooman, eds., *Historical Memory Culture in the Enlarged Baltic Sea Region and its Symptoms Today* V&R unipress/University of Vienna Press, 2011, 159-74, p.173.

⁸⁵ Kapralski Slawomir. *Battlefields of Memory: Landscape and Identity in Polish-Jewish Relations*, published in “History and Memory” Volume 13, number 2, Fall/Winter 2001, p.2.

⁸⁶ Lowenthal David. *The Past is a Foreign Country*. 1985, Cambridge: Cambridge University press. Cited 1985, 204-205. In Kapralski Slawomir. *Battlefields of Memory: Landscape and Identity in Polish-Jewish Relations*, published in “History and Memory” Volume 13, number 2, Fall/Winter 2001, p.2.

“Unfortunately forgetting it's never an entirely innocent process. The entire communities forget what is against their interest, and this removal (often denied by those who perpetrate it) has a moral dimension.”⁸⁷

A collective memory is the social memory that is different from the individual one.

“Only human beings are able to remember through highly selective and scattered neuronal processes: much of the individual remembering only take place because we actually attach our memory to memories of other. The dividing line between individual and social memory is most difficult to detect. In social memory individuals can share historical perceptions with people they have never met, either because they were born into a specific religious culture or because they belong to same age cohort within a similar social political and cultural context.”⁸⁸

The study of Kapralski chiefly concerned the reality of an area where two communities contend the same area trying to assert their own identity and trying each to mark their presence in a physical space. Certain observations are still comparable to the reality of Kaliningrad in fact there we assisted to an attempt to erase the memory before that space and of its users. In this particular case, the landscape becomes a place of forgetting and remembering of the survived group. The memory of the deleted group and its material representations will be handled by the new inhabitants, or rather by the instruments of power of those who remain to occupy that space. The landscape will conserve just what the new dominant group wants to remember and what the group wants to forget is destroyed, denied, or stored in a distorted way.⁸⁹

Kapralski widely speaks about of the tools used by the Communists after the Second World War used to deny, forget and distort the memory of the Jewish presence (often substantial) in some centers of southeastern Poland. The strategy employed by the Communists was to substitute somehow into the tradition of the polish aristocracy in through a sort of continuation of the important elements of their tradition. The aim was

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 2.

⁸⁸ Onken Eva-Clarita. *Memory and Democratic Pluralism in the Baltic States- Rethinking the Relationship*. Journal of Baltic Studies, Vol.41, No.3, Routledge, September 2001, pp. 277.294, p.278.

⁸⁹ Kapralski Slawomir. *Battlefields of Memory: Landscape and Identity in Polish-Jewish Relations*, published in “History and Memory” Volume 13, number 2, Fall/Winter 2001, p.2.

to present the communist authorities as genuinely Polish and also to ignore the multinational composition of the Polish society omitting the Jewish presence. This demonstrates that when a dominant group is substituted with another (who is deported or succumbing) it will deny all those aspects that could relate to the desire to return to the traditions of the past.

This attitude is still decisive and evident when it comes the moment to choose where and which to erect a monument, which building should be restored and which must go to ruin. In this regard Kapralski cites the example of Lancut.⁹⁰ When the Communists decided to restore the aristocrat palace of Lancut they did not make a random choice in this way they showed an intention of making access to the culture also for the working classes to which was first banned the use of that area, reserved just for nobles. Always deliberately was performed the restoration of the synagogue until 1980, becoming itself a part of the museum. In earlier times the restoration of the synagogue would have been a visual indication of the ancient Jewish presence in the city. Only after the fall of the Berlin Wall many efforts have been made to reclaim the true history of Poland from communist distortions. Only now the tourist guides have begun to talk about the history of Jews in some Polish regions, with visits to synagogues and to desecrated cemeteries. The time also changes the effects of the domain.⁹¹

As Kapralski sustains, it still very difficult to change the scenery, which has been created over the years, especially the one created to consolidate the idea of a single nationalist culture.⁹² In the space of the city of Kaliningrad the memory of the Russian history has been kept alive thanks to the inhabitants, at least those of the first generation, while the German memory remains alive out of that space, deleted by the destruction of its place. The history is brought just temporally by curious tourists who are there to investigate the two-faced appearance of the place. A memory removed by the official and a monumentalized view of history, denied by the communist symbolism. Neglect and exclusion are the activities through which these *chronotopes* were created. The manipulation of history by the communists in the south-east of Poland as much as in Kaliningrad was another important factor that largely contributed

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 3.

⁹¹ Ibid., p.8.

⁹² Ibid., p. 8.

to the creation of the current landscape of those places. In the acceptance of Lefebvre, the creation of a "thought" space in order not to forget that everything that was visible was the result of the war won by the great Stalinist Russia.

2.5 THE SPACE AS REPRESENTATION OF POWER

Lotman's negation and repetition of the past

In the theoretical studies of this author is common the concept of the close link between the space of the representation of the power of one nation, Russia, and the cyclic alternation over time in its history. In Lotman opinion, Russia experienced alternation between moments of Westernization and openness to the new and moments of return to strict fundamentalism of their Orthodox roots. The topic was considered interesting for my research, because this dualism has been expressed by the Russian authority, in choosing between destroy and forget, rather than restructure the remains of the Prussian Konigsberg during the time.

Yuri Lotman explained well the historical Russian solution to delete in order to forget and to deny the past and after that rebuild with a new and different sign in the pages of his research about the roles of the dualistic models in the Russian culture. The main concept put forward by Lotman is that the essence of the Russian culture is the duality. The past is never broken, do not disappear but is presented as a cyclical succession of oppositions such as: Antiques - New, Christianity-Paganism, Russia - Europe, down social- top social, right faith- false faith, and knowledge-ignorance. In this way each new period is oriented towards a separation with respect to the previous one. These repetitions of the new as opposed and overlapping to the old are regular and always include the mechanisms that reproduce the culture of the past, including those of memory. The main cultural values are always disposed in a range of bipolar values, without neutral zone i.e. in the Orthodoxy there was the heaven the hell but no purgatory.⁹³ Throughout the history of Russia every change appears for Lotman as a

⁹³ Lotman Jury Michajlovic and Uspenskij Boris Andrievic. *Il ruolo dei modelli duali nella dinamica della cultura Russa*. In Veselovskij A. N., Potebnja A., Trubeckoj N. S., Bachtin M., Lichacev D. S., Lotman J. M., Uspenskij B. A., Toporov, Meletinskij E.M. *Saggio la cultura nella tradizione*

clear break from the stage before, but the old remains in the new hiring a negative sign. That's because the recurrent changes are often resolved with the regeneration of archaic forms coming to the negation of the negation.

This explains the peculiar character of immutability that characterizes the Russian culture, cohesive from one unit own due to the changes. The various periods of Russian history are characterized by non-conservative tendencies. Therefore a replacement of visual symbols and not a cancellation, but a radical change from top to bottom. A reversal of the previous system, which changes from negative to positive and that puts even the old inside the new albeit giving a negative sign.

A new culture arises as a total annihilation of the old one. It is actually a powerful tool in preserving just what it intends to deny. For example Orthodoxy, in particular, was an invaluable source for the reconstruction of pagan cult because it contained within all the overturned dogmas. Likewise, the great revolution of Peter the Great during the 18th century tended to see an Europeanization of Russia. It was celebrating the culture of the great capitals of the West, imitating customs and habits and forbade any reference to the Russian tradition branded as ignorance. To be innovative was necessary to forget the past and to don't dip into it modifying it.

The men of the Peter revolution envisioned Russia as a new being, a new born. It's once again through visual symbols that a change is implemented or denied. So it's not a new culture but a see-saw repetition of the past with no real original production that is really an evolution of the old and not only its mimesis. Going back to Lefebvre's words, he stated: “(...) a revolution that does not produce a new space, it does not occur fully.”⁹⁴

rusa del XIX e XX secolo, in Nicolai, Giorgio M., *Russia bifronte. Da Pietro I a Caterina II attraverso la «Corruzione dei costumi in Russia» di Scerbátov e il viaggio da Pietroburgo a Mosca di Radiscev*, Bulzoni Editor S.r.l., Roma, 1990, pp-240-286, p.244.

⁹⁴ Lefebvre Henri, *La produzione dello spazio*, Casa Editrice Moizzi, Milano, 1976, p.73.

2.6 SPACE AND TIME IN THE FUSION OF THE MNEMONIC PERCEPTION

Henry Bergson's persistence of memory

The concept of memory can have a psychological or historical meaning, a definition limited to an objective temporality or to a perception linked to the sphere of the individual, of the sensible. This operation depends on subjective data considering the individuals in that place, at that moment. About this, the research of Henri Bergson's theories is about the perception of time somewhat similar to that of Einstein on the relativity. It surely influenced his thinking on the connection of space-time. In his publication *Durée et simultanéité, à propos de la théorie d'Einstein (1922)*⁹⁵ and *Opere 1889-1896*⁹⁶ he underlines the sharp contrast between the external world (space) and the inner world (time). According to his theory the various scientific concepts tend to cut the reality in a rigorous way, by applying modes which may be applicable only to the outside world: just what fits in the space may be divided in strictly separated parts.⁹⁷ For the time (i.e. the interiority of consciousness) this is not possible.

To explain the concept of the unity of memory, Bergson likens it to a skein of wool or an avalanche of snow: in both, the small initial particle (a wire or the snow), from which the accumulation is generated that has led to the final product, is not distinguishable anymore. It is an integral and immovable part of the whole product and the ending part, going back, brings back to that beginning one. Memory is the real time, is the real duration like the ball, and there is nothing that is getting lost and the start is tied to the end. In the passage of time, that is a continuation of the past and it is constantly accumulated. Thereafter, if the different spaces are mutually exclusive, the next times do not exclude the previous ones, but they carry them and go on to form the skein of memory. It is important in this regard to point out that for Bergson the memory, it is exploited by the mind, for utilitarian purposes, because of the urgency to build the present. Therefore, it is made a sort of selection of useful memories and let inert those

⁹⁵ Bergson Henri. *Durata e simultaneita*, Cortina Raffaello, Milano 2004.

⁹⁶ Bergson Henri. *Opere 1889-1896: Saggi su dati immediati della coscienza. Materia e Memoria. L'idea di Luogo in Aristotole. Lettere*, Arnoldo Mondadori Editore S.p.A., Milano, 1986.

⁹⁷ Bakhtin M. Michail. *Estetica e romanzo*, (first ed. 1975) Izdatel Stvo, *Chudozestvennaja literature*, Einaudi Giulio Editore, s.p.a. Torino, 1997, p.37.

negligible or harmful for a "viable present". Memory is therefore tense towards action, fixed in the present and facing the future. It doesn't mean to represent the past, but it "plays it and selects it."⁹⁸

"Individuals, consciously or unconsciously construct, redirect and adjust their personal memories to create meaning for themselves. Individual memory is characterized by immediate, interpersonal contacts and spatial closeness. (...) Everything, in collective memory, is lost."⁹⁹

It seems clear that the interest of Bergson is the essential link between the past and present, and to this he adds the concept that each phase of the time drives at a later stage. It seems that each previous time unit tried to get into that later, and this natural movement forward is called "spontaneity," and is closely linked to the concept of freedom, a life force. It is a sort of creative force, always able to produce something new. Like Bakhtin, Bergson believes in the idea that time creates the illusion that the past determines always the present and therefore that the present moment is just a virtual rearrangement of the past.¹⁰⁰ Bakhtin in fact believes in the abstract concept that the time creates the illusion in which the past determines always the present, and that the present moment is nothing but a virtual rearrangement of the past.¹⁰¹ Instead different from Bakhtin and Lefebvre, whose thoughts coincide in the space-time solution made possible in the ideal fusion of the *chronotope*, Bergson is more oriented to the Cartesian principle. He admits the existence of two worlds: the material space and the spiritual one, whose memory is seen as an access key.

Bergson locates in memory, both individual and collective driving forces like the push able to create dynamic and viable spontaneity and freedom. He seems to argue that the production of something genuinely new depends on the bonds of a group with its past, with its historical memory. The socialist revolutions have not been able to create a

⁹⁸ Bergson Henri. *Opere 1889-1896: Saggi su dati immediati della coscienza. Materia e Memoria. L'idea di Luogo in Aristotele. Lettere*, Arnoldo Mondadori Editore S.p.A., Milano, 1986, p.203.

⁹⁹ Onken Eva-Clarita. *Memory and Democratic Pluralism in the Baltic States- Rethinking the Relationship*. Journal of Baltic Studies, Vol.41, No.3, Routledge, September 2001, pp. 277.294, p.280.

¹⁰⁰ Bemong Nele, Borghart Pieter, De Dobbeleer Michel, Demoen Kristoffel, De Tennerman Koen & Keunen Bart (eds.) *Bakhtin's Theory of the Literary Chronotope. Reflections, Applications, Perspectives*, Academia Press, Gent, 2010, p.39.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

new space without which the wire breaks and the stages of time cease to give their driving force. The interruption of the mnemonic flow, consequently, would alter the space-time fusion that is responsible for the persistence of the sense of belonging.

2.7 TIME COMPRESSION

The closed space of the Nations

To those who came after the migration to Kaliningrad was assigned a new space that it was not a blank page. According to the theories displayed by Lefebvre, in that place was impossible to read the history of the Russian victory but also the one of an ex-German space. Preserved in the ruins of Königsberg there were popular memories and symbols of the previous culture and lately stamped by the over stratification of the Soviet space. The task and dogmatic duty assigned by Russia to the newly formed community of Kaliningrad was: "to have to continue to feel Russians." Bakhtin sustained that the "have to be" is the highest antagonistic duty of the "unique I." The "unique I" has to express the essence of its existence in the action of the present, in the action of "being there for the other." "No theological duty may prevail on this."¹⁰²

The individuals of the Oblast have reoriented their time, the flow of their present in relation to the space of the new natural, urban, social environment that would welcome the cyclical repetition of human actions giving rise to a new symbiotic exchange between themselves and the "outside" of themselves. The Estonian researcher Anu Masso in her article *The Structure of Personal Spatialities in Estonia and Sweden*¹⁰³ underlines the importance that lies in an individual representation of a certain space into a personal "imaginary geography." Starting from a zero point, the point from which an individual self orientates is the place that each concrete person occupies in space. The article explores people's perceptions of neighboring countries according to the unconventional borders. The relations are based more on the cultural influences which

¹⁰²Bakhtin M. Michail. *Per una filosofia dell'azione responsabile*. Piero Manni, Lecce, 1998, p. 53 .

¹⁰³ Masso Anu. *The Structure of Personal Spatialities in Estonia and Sweden*. *Journal of the Baltic Studies*, (38) 3, 349-372. In Masso Anu. *Constitution of Personal Social Space in a Transitory Society*, Tartu Ullikooli Kirjastus, Tartu, 2008, pp. 349-350.

occur among different regions/countries. Lately these interconnections will be selected and assimilated through the spatial perception. The spatial perception bases on what is close and what is far away from us:

“(...) A symbolic division of the world into East and West shapes the imagined Nordic and Baltic space and people’s thinking patterns about ‘others’.”¹⁰⁴

Their personal spatiality is seen as a state of mind and it is:

“(...) informed by the two opposing condition of “Near” and “Distant”: near is a known environment where familiarities, similarities, routines, and ordered self-development ensure a sense of safety and security, whereas “distant” is an unknown and risky environment characterized by dissimilarities, disparities and alien ethics, moral and values.”¹⁰⁵

The symbolic image of the Kaliningrad’s space is closed by an imaginary border that moves the oblast towards east. Its natural geographical configuration is Europe. It is rather the history of the occupation of this territory closer to the Russian motherland. According to the Hegel’s concept about the creation of the space through history and the dissolution of the latter and the persistence of the space, inside this space will be contained the memory of the disappeared history.¹⁰⁶ The Königsberg/ Kaliningrad space is in the west, far from Russia. Understanding the dichotomy between the Russian space, far and the European space, close, is essential in order to comprehend the *spatio-temporal* dissolution.

If this concrete *chronotopic* change can in fact have brought as a result an emotional detachment from their nation, this is what the research intends to verify. At this point it seems only right to try to define the meaning of the concept of "nation" and "national identity" through the possible interpretation tried by some scholars and historians. In a general, the classical definition of the term could be summed up by this

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 349.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 350.

¹⁰⁶ Lefebvre Henri. *La fin de l’histoire*. Ed. Minut, 1970, and the study of A. Kojève about *Hegel and Hegelism*. Cited in Lefebvre Henri, *La produzione dello spazio*, Casa Editrice Moizzi, Milano 1976, p.45.

sentence. A symbolic space marked by signs of history that went across it, witness of the speeches and actions that make a place emotionally charged, from which can sprout, with time, a social fabric made up of individuals sharing the same feeling of identity to that place.

This part refers to some theories, by different authors, which have as their central theme, the one of nation identity. The space designed by bureaucrats, shaped by history and finally compressed within the geo-political boundaries, not always corresponds to the perceived space, by those who live there, where they were born, transplanted or deported.

The space identify as Nation should be a symbolic space marked by signs of history which have gone through it, witnesses of its speeches and actions that make a place an emotionally charged one from which can sprout, with time, a social fabric made up of individuals sharing the same feeling of identity to that place. The concept of National identity therefore is a central aspect of my research: understanding the limits, verify their presence, is what to which I have referred more to the choice of the criterion on which to base the interviews on the sample of residents of Kaliningrad city.

Throughout history, since the organization of the first societies, the elite, busy to preserve the social order, put in place a strategy to ensure the collective survival of all the members of a group in order to ensure their immortality. Nationalism in the last century and in the present has been a theme studied and discussed by many thinkers and philosophers. Bauman is himself a successful expression of this spectacular strategy practiced in the modern times, born in Poland, but naturalized citizen of the United Kingdom.¹⁰⁷ The salvation of the nation had to have a supreme value and had to correspond to the guarantee of the immortality of the group, there were always enemies that threatened it. According to Bauman, there are no surprises in the fact that the nations of the nationalists are always fighting, engaged in continuous self-defense of their territories, the continuous search to identify enemies or strangers, ceaselessly striving to exclude someone, somewhere, somehow.

¹⁰⁷ Shnapper Dominique. *Diversités et permanences*. In "Le Debat", 63 (1991), p.90. Cited in Bauman Zygmunt. *Mortalità, immortalità e altre strategie di vita*. Società editricie Il Mulino di Bologna, 2012, p. 40 .

The French historian Maurice Barres¹⁰⁸ tried his definition of the concept of homeland with the merger of the two words: the Earth and the Dead. According to him, both cannot be chosen. No one can choose where to be born, people can move and travel from one place to another but they cannot bring along their soil of origins. Human beings can choose their friends but not their dead. The coincidence of these two points will establish the only point of belonging but will be a point fixed in advance, even before the start of his or her time. If it does not represent a free choice, look for it for the whole life will be the task and, together, the denial of the free will.¹⁰⁹

As quoted in Bauman's in exchange of the impossibility of arbitrarily been able to choose one's own homeland, the Nationalism, according to the German historian Karl Deutsch, should provide in the majority of its members, a stronger sense of safety and affiliation and even of national identity more than any other large alternative group:

“In its name will be possible to sacrifice any number of human beings, a fair price to pay, for the very idea of the survival of the group. History is littered with examples of immense sacrifices made under the redundant name of Revolution in order to ensure the protection of groups and of the banner under which were instituted these bloody offers of human lives, was that of nationalism.”¹¹⁰

This idea of sacrifices needed to be made in the name of Nationalisms stands in front of our eyes visible in different, but basically similar, images of the revolutions that have occurred in the last years of history. Since the Second World War, every subsequent revolution self-defined itself within a national term like the Popular Republic of China or the Popular Republic of Vietnam and so on firmly anchoring in this way to a social territory and in a social space inherited from the past. The terms nation, nationality and nationalism are for Anderson commonly recognized as difficult to define.¹¹¹ Like him also other historians have expressed their puzzlement over the term of Nation.

¹⁰⁸ Barres Maurice, *Scenes et doctrines du Nationalisme*. Paris, Emile Paul, 1902. Cited in *Ibid.*, p.141.

¹⁰⁹ Barres Maurice. *Scenes et doctrines du Nationalism*. Paris, 1902. Cited in Bauman Zygmunt. *Mortalità, immortalità e altre strategie di vita*. Società editricie Il Mulino di Bologna, 2012, p.141.

¹¹⁰ Deutsch W. Karl. *Contemporary Political Science: towards Empirical Theory*. New York, 1967. Cited in *Ibid.*, p.150.

¹¹¹ Anderson Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, London, 1983, p. 49.

Anderson attempts a definition of the concept by stating that the nationalism or nationality or nation are in fact cultural artifacts of a particular nature: "the result of a complex intersection of historical forces that, maybe towards the end of the eighteenth century, have distilled spontaneously the principle. Once created the concept, could be transplanted to different levels of awareness. A great variety of social territories to be incorporated with equally varied constellations of ideologies and political beliefs."¹¹²

The same theorists of nationalism, according to Anderson, are the first to find at least three apparent paradoxes in the concept itself, such as the objective modernity of nations in the eyes of the critic and the subjective antiquity in the eyes of the nationalist. The universal concept of nationality, everyone can, must and will have the right, but also the irremediable particularity with which the concept is realized. Nationality is in fact a definition *sui generis*, the political power of nationalism against its philosophical poverty.¹¹³

Tom Nairn, quoted in Anderson's book *Imagined Communities*, compares nationalism to a true pathology of the development of modern history, inexorable as a neurosis, similar to what which is the childishness in the social sphere, and largely untreatable.¹¹⁴ Anderson is more favorable to a definition of nation that can summarize its limits: an imagined political community is, by its nature, limited and sovereign.¹¹⁵ He motivates the term "imagined" by claiming that all members don't know each other, they do not know about the existence of others, but in their minds dwells the idea of being a Community.

The imagined nation is "limited": the term nation defines the notion of *closure*¹¹⁶ because even the most extended to them, while containing billions of human beings, has a certain, predefined boundary, although elastic, beyond which extends another country.

¹¹² Ibid. p. 49.

¹¹³ Ibid., p.50.

¹¹⁴ Nairn Tom. *Break-up of Britain*. P.359. Cited in Anderson Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, London, 1983, p.49.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 50.

¹¹⁶ Lefebvre Henri , *La produzione dello spazio*, Casa Editrice Moizzi, Milano 1976, p.180.

The nation imagined and limited is also "sovereign" because the concept itself was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the divine order of the royal family. The "new" nation hoped to be free and independent, albeit under the judgment of God, and the extent of its freedom was its sovereign state. It also imagined as a community because, despite the inequalities and exploitation that occurred in each of them, the nation is always conceived as a society crossed horizontally by a deep spirit of comradeship.

In fact, over the past two centuries, this feeling of brotherhood has made possible for millions of people not only to kill but even to die voluntarily for such limited imaginings. The 'why' of this colossal sacrifice could be found in the roots of cultural nationalism.¹¹⁷ Considering the cultural stimulation from outside Europe, the lack in a sense of the national identity perceived among the people of the Kaliningrad oblast was generically expected. Nevertheless, in other Russian territories populated by different ethnic minorities there is a heightened sense of assimilation and belonging.

This is well represented by the case of the region of the North Caucasus, a region straddling Asia and Europe, which includes ten federal regions that form the Caucasus Federal District depending on the central government of Moscow.¹¹⁸ They are: Adygeia, Chechnya, Dagestan, Ingushetia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Karachay-Cherkessia, Krasnodar, Rostov, Stavropol, and north Ossetia. They belonged to Russia before the 1989. With the dissolution of the USSR some regions won their independence like: Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, the other six former Soviet republics called Caucasian remained within the Russian Federation albeit the status of autonomous regions. The ethnic groups of the northern Caucasus were deported by Stalin, and initially only in the Khrushchev era have been granted to return to their land. The names of these regions correspond to the dominant ethnic group (or the name of the two ethnic groups) but within them there is always the presence of a certain percentage, which varies from case to case, of Russian population. Although in some of these regions is often present a violent fierce, both between different ethnic groups, both with

¹¹⁷ Bakke, Cao, O' Loughlin, Cao Xun, Ward D. Micheal. *Social Distance in Bosnia and the North Caucasus Region of Russia*. May 2007. <http://www.duke.edu/web/methods/pdfs/socialdistance4web.pdf>, p.7.

¹¹⁸ Ibidem.

regard to Russia, right here in these places, directly ruled by the military establishment, we are witnessing a phenomenon of resurgence of nationalist sentiments. The *great Russia* is probably seen as a great umbrella, a guarantee of economic and military assistance.¹¹⁹

Probably, despite the fact that the post-Soviet history has created differences in these regions between the Russians, by far dominant and the ethnic minority groups, the fact that the ethnic core group is composed by Russians, facilitates the collective image that the central state is present and around. The geographical location of the northern Caucasus, between Europe and Asia, far away from European influences, and perhaps most traveled by the breath of Islam,¹²⁰ the peculiarities of its populations, fighting each other but united by culture not as dissimilar and by a common history, staying in boundaries which does not filter an input to detachment but rather an invitation to stay in the Russian orbit, can explain in part the greater attachment of these regions to their membership of the secular matrix. It seems very different the situation in the Kaliningrad region in which the culture of the population, undivided by multiple ethnic traditions, seems to have distanced itself from the Earth core of origin, Russia. From its European borders come new influences, new information, new artistic languages that even together with the memories of a Russian past nonetheless might have weakened the sense of belonging directly to Russia, or at least diverted the attention of the community from the obligation of the assumption of a Russian identity.

2.8 OTHER STUDIES ON THE PARTICULAR CASE OF KALININGRAD OBLAST

Of course the uniqueness of the history of the Oblast and of its strategic position in the political relations between Russia and Europe, involved a number of historians and social scientists of different nations who, concerning the fate of the region, have suggested some theories.

¹¹⁹ Ibidem.

¹²⁰ Kuchins C. Andrew, Malarkey Matthew, Markedonov. *The North Caucasus. Russia's Volatile Frontier*. Russia and Eurasia Program, Center for Strategic & International Studies, March, 2011. p.7)

Christopher Browning and Joenniemi Pertti for example talk about an evolution of the role of Kaliningrad within the relationships of Russia and Europe, developing a theory of the historian Noel Parker. As Browning and Pertti explain, Parker in his publication *Integrated Europe and its 'Margins': Action and Reaction*¹²¹ Parker identifies in the dichotomy of the terms "margin" and "periphery" the possible reading key of the development of certain border territories. Parker explains that "margins" and "periphery" are nothing but the reflection of a complex problem and not just a product of an outside power, defined as centers, against which they have much more complicated relations than towards the concept of "border edge or border". The definition of space / peripheral region indicates an implicit subordination to the center, while the "margin" region has greater autonomy and potentially more power. After the end of the Cold War, the debate about who was in and who was out, with the subsequent globalization and regionalization, seemed anachronistic. With the decline of the territorial state, because of the fragmentation of the kingdoms and the overlap of the authority, have emerged, with the virtual networks, new ideas and new concepts, not only in relation to the geographic locations that certain places occupy, but on the importance and the power that they can express in the context of the international relations. Since the boundaries have appeared unstable and vulnerable, continues Parker, the loss of control perceived by EU and Russia has made these powers aware of the new strategic importance that the "margins" and "borders" might have while building their own identity and influencing in this way the consistency of the two centers. Based on this theory, the two authors Christopher Browning and Pertti Joenniemi, in their paper on *The identity of Kaliningrad: Russian, European or of a third space*¹²², they explore the different conditions under which a periphery can

¹²¹ Parker Noel. *Integrated Europe and its 'Margins': Action and Reaction*. In Noel Parker, and Bill Armstrong (eds.): *Margins in European Integration*, London, 2000. Cited in Browning S. Christopher and Pertti Joenniemi. *The identity of Kaliningrad: Russian, European or a Third Space?* In Tassinari Fabrizio (ed.) *The Baltic Sea Region in the European Union: Reflections on Identity, Soft-Security and Marginality*, Gdansk-Berlin, 2003, pp. 27-58.

¹²² Browning S. Christopher and Pertti Joenniemi, *The identity of Kaliningrad: Russian, European or a Third Space?* In Tassinari Fabrizio (ed.) *The Baltic Sea Region in the European Union: Reflections on Identity, Soft-Security and Marginality*, Gdansk-Berlin, 2003, pp. 27-58. http://www2.hu-berlin.de/ostseekolleg/virtual/online_pdf/paper8.pdf

become margin and analyze in detail the condition of Kaliningrad that, despite its peripheral location in the boundaries between the EU and the main part of Russia, has more power than it is recognized. Despite that, its inhabitants seem to be treated as bargaining goods in political and economic plans of others. The Oblast is trying to gain more subjectivity, and in part has already done it but the process of marginalization by a border region; it's never an easy feat, according to these authors. You have to see if a "margin" has the power to convince a center of its uniqueness and its difference and if is able to capitalize on its role of marginality, which could be a benefit to the Centre itself. If this is successful, the Centre could consider the idea of promoting the further development of the region, otherwise the candidate marginal state can be denied and must be re-entered in a peripheral system. Kaliningrad would be playing a marginality "in-between" and not just in reference to a state, Russia, but to a plurality of states, in fact European Union more than a single state is combination of different number of Member States, which may wish to interact in a relationship with the Oblast for several reasons. Margin Regions, as Kaliningrad, can in fact count on a certain power due not to the wealth of resources that can compete with those of the centers but rather to the role they may have in the formation of new identities. These perspectives described by Browning and Joenniemi also evolve from theory on the new regionalism explained by Bjorn Hettne in "*globalism and new regionalism*"¹²³ in which the author sees these recent phenomenon in a multidimensional form of integration which includes economic, political, social and cultural aspects that focuses on a type of region in which the state does not play a central role in the co-operation and integration. These regions are generally designed to become a subject of international politics. Hettne emphasizes that regionalism has in common with globalization the same effect of homogenizing the regional areas but contains some more variables. This phenomenon has the effect of reducing the power of sovereignty of the nation-state of these areas, far enough to be frozen in the role of military blockades or checkpoints fixed and immutable, they evolve through a bottom-up process and define thanks to the completion of the process itself.

¹²³ Hettne Bjorn. *Globalism and New Regionalism: The Second Great Transformation*. ed. Osvaldo, 1999. Cited in Karpenko Anna. *Regionalization and identity: The subjectivity of Kaliningrad*. Immanuel Kant State University, Kaliningrad, 2010, p.278.

One of the most significant examples of the construction of these new regions is the Baltic Sea region "a dynamic third of Europe"¹²⁴ in which countries belonging to this geographical and geopolitical unit are joined by a network of cooperation that goes beyond their borders. The aim of this network connection is to create a competitive economy and a political stability that might encourage the cultural, social, political and educational exchange. The region of Kaliningrad seems aimed to a development project in the Baltic Sea region and this could let suppose a future regionalization of the Oblast in this area ruled by a center other than the Russian one. The success of this hypothesis depends not only on a new material power but on the creative and innovative capacity that could enhance the influence of the Oblast in the area of the international relations. The problem of the future of Kaliningrad raised by Browning and Joenniemi, stress the authors, seems to lie in the extent to which Kaliningrad will be able to take advantage of its role as a "margin" in evolution in order to reap the benefits or how much will it be capable to capitalize on its influence to the negotiation for the exchanges that would bring benefits to its center, Russia. Since the end of the Cold War the borders of the EU and Russia have shown their vulnerability and instability in defining who was inside and who outside. In the perception of loss of control, the two countries have realized the power that "margins" and "periphery" can have in establishing their identity and influencing the constitution of the sovereign states as well. Kaliningrad, which is moving from a peripheral position to a more marginal, for this reason now is more important than in the past. From peripheral region, subjected and silent as it was before during the Soviet period, has now, in its marginalization, the power to make an impact back to the center, and this boomerang effect, the power to reconfigure the unit and the political aspect of the center as a whole. The inhabitants of the Oblast today, thanks to the awareness of this new force, rather than a distinct identity to the rest of Russia or a large momentum towards Europe, seem pretty way to the challenge of taking one's own identity, that is the expression of a desire of a new objectivity and a new assumption of responsibility for their own development. It seems interesting in this regard the definition of Kaliningrad given by the researcher Ingmar Oldeberg. Oldeberg describes the region as an enclave separated from Russia, still of Russian nationalities,

¹²⁴Kivikari, Urpo and Antola, Esko (2004): *Baltic Sea Region-A Dynamic Third Europa*. Turku, City of Turku. Cited in Karpenko Anna. Ibid. pag.278.

but more open to the West, a Russian exclave, and together, a European enclave.¹²⁵ The new subjectivity of Kaliningrad puts more and more at the center of the political relations between Russia and Europe, powers that have different approaches to it. By the EU Kaliningrad is perceived as a source of concern and instability because of economic underdevelopment, occurred as a result of the EU enlargement in 2004, and the living standards that differentiate it from the neighboring countries. Russia, which fails to support the development of the Oblast, sees in this special place and in the distance from the main territory, the threat of a final result of the region to the west, with the risk of a domino effect that could give impetus to a further disintegration of the Russian control over the borders of a exterminated territory.¹²⁶

As effects of the already existing regionalization process described by Hettle, seems to emerge from all of these theories that the future will depend on the Oblast largely based on how much it will be able to "sell" an image of success and reputation to the inside of the European community. In other words, the promotion of the role of Kaliningrad from suburb to margin depend on the interest in maintaining a certain type of exchange: therefore as much as will keep on being attractive in its role as "margin" for European countries and as much as Europe will continue to constitute a convenient destination, an attractive reference for the construction of a new identity. If this exchange of intentions and coincidences of interest actually exists and has possibility of maintenance and development, it could be an interesting topic for future research and analysis.

¹²⁵ Oldberg Ingmar. *Kaliningrad: Russian exclave, European enclave*. Scientific report of the Swedish Defense Research Agency, June 2001, p. 10-14.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

3. EMPIRICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 A brief socio-historical background

3.1.1 from Konigsberg to Kaliningrad

The Germanic era of Konigsberg (ancient name of today's Kaliningrad) date back to 1255 when the Teutonic knights in their mission of Christianizing the pagan tribes in the conquered territories, called German-speaking settlers from all parts of the Holy Roman Empire in order to populate these places. The first city of Konigsberg was originated by the union of these villages and in 1525 came under the control of Albert I of Prussia, who made it the capital of his duchy. In 1945 the city (birthplace of Immanuel Kant of which remain today only the grave and an incision engraved on what probably was his house) with its great strategic harbor overlooking the Baltic Sea, was won by the Russians as booty of war, becoming the only Russian harbor overlooking a non- frozen sea. The city was supposed to be called Baltiysk but was eventually called Kaliningrad in honor of Kalinin, Stalin's right-hand man, who proved his loyalty by never objecting to the will of the party although his wife was imprisoned for crimes against the Soviet policy. His statue is still standing near the main station. During the Second World War Kaliningrad was almost completely destroyed by British bombing and was rebuilt by the Soviets who left intact just a small part of the survived Prussian architecture including the medieval cathedral on Kneiphof island on the river Pregolja (once called Kriegel) and some other buildings whose use was changed accordingly to the traditional Soviet imprinting (interview with the tourist guide). Even with respect to those destroyed monuments and the one survived and those that changed place or meaning, there are significant examples that recall the essay Kapralski "Battlefields of memory". Ninety percent of old Konigsberg was destroyed and what remained was altered by the Russians for the purpose of exercising control over what has to be perceived by people about the new urban look of that European Russia. The last church built in ancient Konigsberg was the one called Vagonka, Christos Church (1937) that during the war was not badly damaged and later became a cultural center named Vagonka Zavode, currently a very popular club.¹²⁷

¹²⁷ From the Interviews with the Tourist guide, Kaliningrad, February-March, 2012.

As Kapralski claims about the symbolic substitutions in place by the Russians in several cities in eastern Poland with a Jewish minority, even in this case, was not taken into account the restructuring of a church because the fact itself would constitute the acceptance of a previous culture before the Soviet era. As the synagogue in Lancut, cited by Kapralski,¹²⁸ was transformed into a museum, to show the new access to culture, from that moment, the Russians made it possible for the Polish people after the war, in similar way, the old Königsberg cemetery was destroyed by the war, the headstones of the graves of the previous citizens were wiped out by the Red Army when entered in the town.

Now the guides who accompany tourists in the place where once stood the cemetery tell the grotesque story of the request by the German Chancellor Eisenhower to at the time Prime Minister Khrushchev, of the corpse of his mother, buried there and not be found. They were difficult sixties, during the Cold War, and Khrushchev found no other better answer than to give to Eisenhower a female corpse with the claim to say that it was for sure the one request by the German chancellor. The Polish Jewish cemetery Przeworks¹²⁹ was desecrated by the Germans who used the headstones to pave the floor of a sugar refinery and then amputee in many parts by different roads and buildings (including a station for buses and a library) that, in addition to scramble that place, also denied its memory and its historical importance.

In 1928, the famous German architect Lars Friedrich, also known for having restored the grave of Kant, completed the design of a building that once was used as a public employment office and who now plays the role of "school of military police." A phenomenon of functional shift: from an apparatus of social control to a more social, more in line with the thinking type of the Soviet government. The placement and replacement of monuments is a significant factor in the choices made by the Russians about what an urban space should evoke. An example is also that of the statue of Lenin, it has been erected in the square of the Orthodox Church called Ploshad Pobedy,

¹²⁸ Kapralski Slawomir. *Battlefields of Memory: Landscape and Identity in Polish-Jewish Relations*, published in "History and Memory" Volume 13, number 2, Fall/Winter 2001, p.7.

¹²⁹ Kapralski Slawomir. *Battlefields of Memory: Landscape and Identity in Polish-Jewish Relations*, published in "History and Memory" Volume 13, number 2, Fall/Winter 2001, p.11

Victory square, Lenin was standing giving his back; the people found it very indelicate and asked it to be removed from there, but the Communists harshly denied any movement of the sculpture.¹³⁰

Only after a popular referendum, the statue was moved near the October Theater. Immediately after the war to make monuments was a problem, it was difficult to find the metal to build the new symbols of the Soviet city. Near the castle of Königsberg (later destroyed), there was a statue of Otto Bismarck, the Russian decided to melt it down in order to make the statue of Lenin. Nowadays happen that when young people are sitting next to that place and see some communist meetings around the Lenin's sculpture they scream "what are you doing here? That's Bismarck, not Lenin! "

At Königsberg there were a total of eighteen churches, 14 Lutheran, 3 Calvinist and a Catholic. Those that were not destroyed were used as warehouses or theaters during the soviet period. There were also five synagogues, all destroyed during the war and never rebuilt. Only now there is the project to reconstruct one with the money of a cultural fund. It's curious that in the site where rose the oldest and most valuable synagogue, in front of the island of Kneiphof, (popularly called the island of Kant), is now parked a stable brightly colored circus tent.

Still the relapsed Russian bipolarity in the process of overlapping the new over the old, not just its radical negation, but in this case, replacement of the sacred with the profane, that inside still contains the opposing principles.¹³¹ During the Soviet period, the KGB was not inclined to allow the use of an existing church neither towards the opening of new, even for the request of the citizens: it was not in line with communist thinking. A German church built by the architect Fritz Heitmann Kon in 1907 and still exists, was used as a warehouse until 1980, then after the purchase of a beautiful organ from the Czech Republic, became a place of welcome for the major concerts of the city.

¹³⁰ From the Interviews with the Tourist guide, Kaliningrad, February-March, 2012.

¹³¹ Lotman Jury Michajlovic and Uspenskij Boris Andrievic. *Il ruolo dei modelli duali nella dinamica della cultura Russa*. In Veselovskij A. N., Potebnja A., Trubeckoj N. S., Bachtin M., Lichacev D. S., Lotman J. M., Uspenskij B. A., Toporov, Meletinskij E.M. *Saggio la cultura nella tradizione russa del XIX e XX secolo*, in Nicolai, Giorgio M., *Russia bifronte. Da Pietro I a Caterina II attraverso la «Corruzione dei costumi in Russia» di Scerbátov e il viaggio da Pietroburgo a Mosca di Radiscev*, Bulzoni Editor S.r.l., Roma, 1990, pp-240-286.

The tallest church in the old Königsberg (77 meters) was topped by a huge golden angel. During the war was completely destroyed and that angel is now in the city of Tallinn. Seeing this angel and knowing its origin, it's strange history has been one of the reasons for my interest in this bipolar city. The interviews were made on samples of older people (sixty to seventy years) who were just born or very young at the time of their emigration, with samples of middle age (forty to sixty years) and with a younger group of twenty-thirties. The lowest common denominator, the file-Rouge, which binds and unites the interviews in different samples, different both as a profession, by birth and sex, are the lack of sense of belonging and identity to the motherland.

Kaliningrad in a past, that is not so remote, belonged to the Prussian army under the name of Königsberg and only in 1945 stepped into the USSR as war booty, as a result of the failure outcome of Hitler's army at the end of the Second World War II. It was first destroyed by the Red Army and then the few survivors of the old Austrian-German population were deported to the Russians Gulags; lately the Kaliningrad's territories they will be refilled with Russians immigrate. All Teutonic buildings were demolished and rebuild those of the Soviet era, according to the most pure Soviet axiom "delete and forget to rebuild."¹³²

Kaliningrad for Russia became an extraordinary point of observation and control on Europe as well as a large port, the only that could enjoy the fact of not being always iced. Kaliningrad has a unique history, a region amputated from the immense Russia and overlooking a wide stretch of the Baltic Sea, is like sandwiched between states that previously were sharing the same past and just recently become EU members in 2004.

3.1.2. The inhabitants of Kaliningrad

Once purged the territory from nearly all the Germanic inhabitants, partly migrated to other regions and partly deported in other German areas controlled by the Russians, a new urban space has to be rebuild, drew on Stalinist models and eventually needed to be repopulate. First of all were used the soldiers and the Russian officers who were prisoners in Germany or just veterans of war which agreed somehow, rather than going

¹³² Ibid.

back and then a large number of technicians, engineers, urbanist, planners from Russia, Belarus, but also from neighboring countries belonging to the territory of the Soviet Union, such as Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, etc. to which was set up a true and forced migration, to collect the largest number of people willing to go.

A real advertising campaign has been made, with posters in strategic places, which promised job, a house and money, for whom was available. A good fifty percent were workers forced to emigrate with the purpose of renovating the city of Kaliningrad, enticed by the offer of what was promised by those slogans, hoping for a better future, around Europe. The group was thus composed of three social groups: the military, not having had the merit to be fighters perished as heroes during the war, they had in some way to compensate for this “lack” and find redemption in going to the direct and control the new piece of Russian nation, perhaps to regain credibility and a new authority.

The cohort of technocrats, engineers, technicians, planners, was asked to "think" the new space. Bluntly forced to flee their country and, as workers driven by economic necessity and by the lure of a safe home. The migrants found themselves in a territory that was really strange. The climate, soil, territorial organization, land reclamation system, technology, everything was unknown, everything still undeveloped. “Probably a person felt himself or herself to be a type of explorer”¹³³ and the aim to colonize together an unknown and mysterious area surely united and linked them to that space. Today those people belongs to the old generation, each of them has a personal memory about the reasons of their migration in that place. For someone was an obligation, for someone else was an escape, for others was for a better and easier future. Nevertheless, any of them could ever imagine which meaning that place could acquire during the time. These reasons, per se is not very compatible with those that should bring forth, in a group, a sentiment similar to that of attachment to the motherland, nor to the will to plant in that land the roots of those traditions that they had left behind or were forced to abandon. Even the older respondents, those who should, more than all the others, have rooted the seeds of the Russian tradition, demonstrated weak patriotic feelings of attachment or at least largely indifferent to the question of whether to or not be called Russians. Both the old emigrants and the natives of Kaliningrad will never abandon

¹³³ Tsvetaeva Elana (editor.in.chief). *Art-Guide. Koenigsberg/Kaliningrad Now*. Agency for Support of Cultural Initiatives “Tranzit,” Kaliningrad, 2005 , p.37.

their city. They love its history, its fascinating architectures as much as its natural amber's beaches. They all feel Kaliningrad as a city with an amazing imposition of layers and meaning, connections and memories. Neither Europe, nor Russia but: "a school of endurance and comprehension for historian and culture."¹³⁴ They all are happy with this kind of particular condition but especially proud of its ambiguous beauty. Knowing and talking with them it's easy to start wondering if they just have been brought to this part of the world by fate's decree and if there are distinct traditions on this territory. A specific cultural unity has being formed by a sort of alloy between Prussian and Russian. The answer to the wonder evoked by this result lies in the utterances widely exposed in the theories both of Bakhtin and those of Lefebvre on the importance of memory or lived space for the construction of the individual identity (Bakhtin) among the users of a social space (Lefebvre). The older interviewees are closer chronologically to the experience of the Soviet history and culture. Therefore, the stories of the grandfathers first and of the fathers then are probably dissolved in the time and the colors of the tradition (dances, food, folklore festivals). They have gradually given their place to a more European tastes and habits. In the articles, interviews and statements collected by the Cultural Association of Kaliningrad "Trazit" many have been the inhabitants of the city claiming: "We are the highest quality population of the Country."¹³⁵ Compared to their fellow country people they feel more sensitive, morally stable, less inclined to depravity and drunkenness. They are settled in this westernmost outpost of Russia and they feel to be different. The memories of Russian origin, in the sense of attachment, belonging and identity, have softened over time. The inhabitants that actually were born in Kaliningrad often report that despite the fact that are Russian speakers their mind is not full "wooden nesting dolls and peasant's headscarves."¹³⁶ Instead are the castles' ruins and the dunes on the Baltic's beaches inside the beautiful nature of Kaliningrad which become important aspects for their landscape. The native Kaliningrad Citizen encounter later on new different kind emigrant from Belorussia, Ukraine, Lithuania but also many polish communities from Kazakhstan, Central Asia and other Russian regions. They have been attracted by the peculiar diversity of this Oblast, by the closeness to Europe, by the culture and the better opportunities. Someone

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 38.

¹³⁵ Ibid. p. 36.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p.37.

expresses some uncertainty about these new waves of immigration maybe due to the fact that during the last five years the law on the Special economic zone has been affected by many adventures from throughout.¹³⁷ What has changed from the neighboring European countries, exchanges of information and energies, took place across the borders (Lefebvre), which more than divide put in contact and allow a constant interaction between individuals and the environment (Bakhtin). These borders have created new *chronotopes* and stimulate new perceptions, contributing to the mutation of the subjects examined more than from the east, the mother country could do.

3.1.3 Recent development: EU/Kaliningrad Oblast (before 2004)

Before the 2004, just the prevision of the European Union's plans of enlargement arouses conflicting feelings amongst Kaliningrad residents. On the one hand, the prospect of being separated from “the mainland” looks alarming. On the other, becoming a part of Europe could possibly be an advantage for the region, so could also be tempting.

The “outsider” of the Schengen Agreement, in this case Kaliningrad, saw it as a kind of erection of a new Iron Curtain that move just a bit on the east side. This created a strong regional instability, cultural and political. It could be seen as a step against the *raison d'être* of EU instead to overcome the previous historical animosities with Russia it seemed that a step back was made.

EU slowly recognized that the future enlargement could result as a problem for the future relations with Russia. Kaliningrad was never in the agenda of Brussels' policy makers before the idealization of a future enlargement in Poland and Lithuania. The previous EU's policy concerning Russia were: Partnership and Co-operation Agreement, Common strategy and just later, with the promotion of EU's Northern Dimension in 1999, a separate attitude was taken distinguishing between North Russia and East Russia. The dilemma of EU has been always the one of making the

¹³⁷ See Appendix 1.

border more secure on one side and on the other to intensify the cooperation among neighbors.¹³⁸

The document of January 2001 from the Commission is the first one about the Brussels' concern on the Kaliningrad topic. It shows a new approach sending the message that the new enlargement it will have just positive consequences for the region, the tools used by the EU are Partnership and Co-operation Agreement, Technical Assistance and the Common Strategy on Russia and Northern Dimension.

A lot of curiosity emerge from the unusual geography of this strip of land, Kaliningrad is in fact only from sixty years part of the Russian territory, is caught between two European countries, Lithuania and Poland, facing the Baltic Sea and strategically amputated dramatically by the immense territory of the remaining motherland. What kinds of new traditions, social policy guidelines and institutions can be resulted from the grafting of a bullying culture that was soviet in a previous German social layer, of an Orthodox religion, neighbor of a Catholic Church country like Poland? Especially seems that the Russian tradition hasn't been a good waterproofing towards "The call" from the Western side, which in 2004 has definitely succeeded in Westernizing former satellite countries of USSR (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania ex.).

Between neighboring lands sand cultures contamination is possible, if not inevitable. History teaches us, and despite the strength with which Russia dogmatizes its domains, may have occurred within this exclave Soviet era, a sort of timid sweetening indirect Europeanization.

3.1.4 After 2004

In the case of the development of relations with Poland and Polish regions, nowadays Kaliningrad region is the most active among regions of Russian Federation, also the relations between Kaliningrad Region and Republic of Lithuania developed dynamically as well and have solid legal base, founded already on the Agreement on Economic, Social and Cultural Cooperation in the Development of the Kaliningrad Region signed in 1991 and the Intergovernmental Agreement on Cooperation between

¹³⁸ Huisman, Sander, *A new European Union policy for Kaliningrad*, 2002, p. 6.

Regions of the Republic of Lithuania and the Kaliningrad Region of the Russian Federation signed in 1999 and entered into force in 2000. Kaliningrad is also hosting the General Consulates of Germany, Sweden, the Chancellery of the Latvian General Consulate, the Department of the Belarusian Embassy, the offices of the Honorary Consuls of the Republic of Armenia, Republic of Greece, Kingdom of Denmark, Republic of Italia and Republic of Croatia. In September 2006 the Nordic Council of Ministers Information Office was opened in Kaliningrad. Russia is the member of the Council of the Baltic Sea States.¹³⁹ Kaliningrad region takes an important place on the agenda of these organizations and become essential also for Moscow international relations with the western part of the map. Representatives from Kaliningrad Region regularly participate in activities organized within CBSS framework and often CBSS meetings are organized in Kaliningrad region.

“The EU Commission underlines its willingness to pay a special attention to Kaliningrad the framework of the programming of financial cooperation with Russia for the period 2007-2013. The new Neighborhood Programs will support a large range of cross-border actions aimed at joint development of entrepreneurship and innovation, infrastructures in environment, transport, energy and communications, investments in economic and social cohesion, and cultural and educational exchanges.”¹⁴⁰

Therefore a great number of projects with significant investments could be described as influencing the so called “soft infrastructure” development in Kaliningrad region that are the result of the presence of EU in the neighbor countries.

¹³⁹ *Report prepared by experts G.Fedorov, T.Chekalina, Y.Zverev and D.Latnak*, EastWest Window, PROJECT WORKING GROUP 1 Russian integration in the Baltic Sea Region: Kaliningrad region case-study, 2008, p. 20.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 28.

4. THESIS ASSERTION AND KEYWORDS

To what extent the change of one of the two factors, time or space, theoretically considered as crucial in their fusion in order to understand the perception of the own existence, can alter a specific sense of identity.

The matter to which the thesis tries to give an answer, using the thoughts taken from theoretical framework, is if the distance from a country, living a new space, other than the one that you recognize like home and the time spent in this space can be elements responsible in having contributed to weaken or change the perception of belonging of a group to the nation of origin. The key words are SPACE and TIME and they refer to fundamental concepts whose analysis may lead to the answers on the definition and evaluation of the concept of IDENTITY in order to answer the question whether the identity of a group can be maintained even if the environmental conditions in which the group live and interact would change. Having started my research on the theories set by scholars such as Bakhtin and Lefebvre, who have identified in the key elements of space and time, (but also of authors like Kapralski that took into account the question of the "violated space" or Bergson and the "term of memory" or like Bauman with the "concept of identity in postmodern societies"), the key categories responsible for the identity of an individual. That is to say that the key words on which is planted the whole structure of the empirical part are: SPACE and TIME and IDENTITY. The analysis of the first two fundamental issues should allow the evaluation of the third, and therefore of the identity maintained or not by people if the space and the time change. The variation of these factors, as emerges from the theories of Bakhtin, on the importance of the *spatio-temporal* merger set forth by the concept of the *chronotope*, or of Lefebvre, on the importance of the production of social space, including the activities of the individual and its relations, will affect the formation of a sense of identity, preventing the process, or weakening the intensity or growing in parallel something similar but based on other principles, for example: "The survival of the community based on the ability of human to live, to live for others, weave the web of human challenges, share the responsibility for the fate and well-being of all"¹⁴¹

¹⁴¹ Bauman Zygmunt. *Amore liquido*. Gius. Laterza & Figli Spa, Roma-Bari, Giugno 2009, p. 103.

5. METHODOLOGY

I thought that the right approach to my research about the particular case study of Kaliningrad and its' inhabitants sense of belonging was the qualitative case study. This ensures that each issue is not explored through one lens but rather a variety of lens which allows multiple facets of the phenomenon to be revealed and understood.¹⁴² I chose a type of qualitative in-depth interview because the result of qualitative interviews is always a brief description of reality, and because the collection of qualitative data is able to embrace a wider spectrum of social and cultural artifacts.¹⁴³ Inside these interviews is possible to find some signals, even unexpected, which are indicators of possible changes in behavior and in thinking, thereby contributing to the possible measurement of qualitative levels of feelings.

The choice of using interviews in order to answer to the research question depends on the advantages offered by this modality. First of all what is offered by the interviews is flexibility: "the interviewers can probe for more specific answers and can repeat a question." Secondly because with the interviews it's easier to gather better responses rate than with mailed questionnaires. Third the interviewer is present and therefore observes also the non verbal behavior. Forth the control over environment, it means that is possible to chose the place where to conduct the interview, possibly a quite place. The spontaneity is also a common characteristic of the interviews because the respondent doesn't have time to think too much about the answers.¹⁴⁴

The Semi-structured interviews were conducted in the city of Kaliningrad in the period of February-march 2012. The choice of the semi-structured interview is motivated by wanting to give to the interviewees a chance to answer in a spontaneous and complete way, encouraging them to feel freer to express themselves especially with respect to broad topics such roots, origin or identity.

¹⁴² Baxter Pamela and Jacks Susan. *Qualitative Case Study methodology: study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers*. In *The Qualitative Report*, Mc Master University, West Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, December 2008, p. 544.

¹⁴³ Dey Ian. *Qualitative Data Analysis. A user-friendly guide for social scientists*. Routledge- Taylor & Francis Group, London and New York, 1993. p.13.

¹⁴⁴ Baily D. Kenneth. *Methods of Social Research*. The Free Press, A Divion of Macmillan, Inc., Third Avenue, New York, 1994. p 174-175.

My case study is an explanatory- descriptive one¹⁴⁵ because is investigating a phenomenon through the descriptions of the interviewees and their stories gathered by three main categories. Those categories derive from the previous definition of encore codes:

“Codes form a focus for thinking about the text and its interpretation. (...) Coding means recognizing that not only are there different examples of things in the text but that there are different types of things referred to.”¹⁴⁶

The semi-structured method is also based on the choice of a natural environment and allowed the observer to control each possible external variable able to influence who is observed, at least for the duration of the interview.¹⁴⁷ The type of interview I adopted doesn't want to be build upon the preexisted conceptual framework about theories but rather induces the respondent to provide free responses, sometimes even out of the mental structure implicitly suggested by the interviewer, not always following the reestablished order of the sequence of questions. The interviewer in fact, considering the case may satisfy the story and ask questions not covered in the original structure, or omits any of them, to follow the stories and thoughts of the interviewees.

The choice of this method also offers the possibility to collect data in a random order from which may emerge unexpectedly some elements in contrast to the conditions identified in the theoretical framework of this research and thus suggest the idea of building a new inductive theory. Another advantage provided by the semi structured interviews with open-ended questions is to let to the respondents the time they need to tell something without haste.

¹⁴⁵ Yin, R.K. Case study research: Design and methods (3rd ed.) Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. Theories. Cited in Baxter Pamela and Jacks Susan. *Qualitative Case Study methodology: study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers*. In The Qualitative Report, Mc Master University, West Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, December ,2008, p. 547.

¹⁴⁶Gibbs Graham. *Analyzing Qualitative Data*. SAGE Publications Ltd, London, 2007 P. 39-40

¹⁴⁷ Baxter Pamela and Jacks Susan. *Qualitative Case Study methodology: study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers*. In The Qualitative Report, Mc Master University, West Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, December , 2008 . 262-263.

"Even the evaluation of the time spent in answering to a given question, rather than another, resolved rather quickly or evens without response, has its own importance in the analysis aim."¹⁴⁸

To make easier both the interpretation of the data collected and the reading of the meanings of the terms used by the respondents taking into account that: "(...) the meaning of the term lies also in the sense attributed to it in everyday life (...)"¹⁴⁹, I chose a simple speech, kind of confidential one. This decision was motivated also by the fact that the samples, known and interviewed using the snowball technique, present different degrees of cultural formation and the use of simple terms and daily language makes it easier from respondents in order to total understand all the kind of concepts touched during the interview some of which require a precise definition and from the side of the interviewer an easier interpretation and translation of the replies from Russian to English.

Samples were 24 interviewees belonging to 8 families groups residing in the city of Kaliningrad. Of each family group were interviewed three representatives: old, middle and a young, chosen according to three specific age groups. Since is the focus of research assessing the persistence or not of an identity with the motherland Russia in the citizens of the Oblast, from the first Russian emigrants after the victory of Stalin, to their grandchildren, the choice of diachronic interviews was necessary. The purpose of this splitting criterion was whether, in the course of TIME, one of the two elements which, along with the SPACE, according to my theoretical assumptions is considered fundamental for the formation of identity in the individual (Lefebvre), something has changed in the persistence of their sense of belonging to the motherland. The older generation consists in a range of age from 69 to 78 years old people. They directly have experienced the migration from Russia; they remember that space and that time. They history of their nation is remembered and experienced individually through a temporal arch much wider compared to the other interviewees. They have been witnesses of the construction of the new space in Kaliningrad.

¹⁴⁸ Dey Ian. *Qualitative Data Analysis. A user-friendly guide for social scientists*. Routledge- Taylor & Francis Group, London and New York, 1993. p. 16.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p.12.

The Middle generation consists of respondents who have an age ranging from forty to fifty-three years. They are the ones who have lived more and more directly suffer, the great historical changes of modern Russian history: the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the EU's enlargement in 2004. They have tried two different ways of living in the Oblast and they have personally experienced the effects of those changes in terms of employment and economic development. They are those who have entered into deeper relations with neighboring countries, in the period of their lives when they could easier cross the border between Russia and Europe.

The young generation lies between the 16 and 31 years. About Russia they get to know through the stories of grandparents and parents, often they do not have direct experience of their own origins. Their space it has always been the one of Kaliningrad, for the whole arch of their time. Most of them did not have well defined memories in respect to the limits set by the authorities of the government after 2004. Inside them the merger of the space of the city with their own time is somehow continuous and complete. Contacts with European culture are facilitated and sped through the acceleration of information allowed by modern computer systems.

At the beginning I used the snowball sampling in order to don't deliberately predetermine the choice of the families that in fact was rather casually suggested by an interviewee or an acquaintance of a certain family. Later, after having meet at least one of the members of the family also the other generation took spontaneously part in the interview so this second gathering of samples was more a natural choice based on family typology. This choice on the one side intended to achieve a greater accuracy of the results and partly random, due to the fact that someone is no longer available for working reasons or other commitments or changes of decisions on the interview. I gave importance both to what is manifest, said, and to what is voluntarily or not omitted, silent. The snowball mode, adopted for the "random" search of samples to be interviewed was also justified by the fact that I found myself in a foreign city where it was difficult to know people available to my inquiry. Subsequently, choosing to turn to relatives of the first specimens found, following a diachronic order, responded to a need in order to find a strategy in the formulation of the interview. The samples, initially random, step by step have become strategic sample for the objectives that I had

proposed to my research. It has been provided, within the data collection, the confluence of homogeneous variables with regard to the shared experiences of the interviewees, especially within the same generation, and heterogeneous variables, due to individual personal stories or personal views expressed by the respondents.¹⁵⁰

The qualitative in-depth interviews were conducted in Russian, listening to people individually and in the presence of an acquaintance of mine, Russian speaker, who could verify the correctness of my interpretation for during and later for a faithful transcription. I appealed also to the use of an instrument, a small tape recorder, which I tried not to make too visible not to create a too investigative atmosphere. To the interviewees has been granted all the time which they felt they needed to express their ideas and to organize their own stories. In order not to interrupt the fluidity of their speeches, in which often coexisted more than an answer, I let them moving freely from one concept to another, not necessarily following the expected sequence of the questions, subverting sometimes the order in which the arguments were set.

5.1. Interviews¹⁵¹

5.1.1 Structure

The questions that make up the interview were made by the author of the research on the basis of the theories that support the statements previously introduced and which identify in *space - time - identity* the key categories fundamental in the research. The interviews have been divided in the analysis in three sections: A – B – C. On purpose here I underlined the questions that have more relevance for this research and next to them I reported the explanation why is it so.

Section A

Roots, travel, contacts:

The questions involved in this section include both the key-categories of space-time and they investigate the importance of Russian roots, family's histories and places of origins. The introductory question: "how long have you lived in Kaliningrad?" brings to

¹⁵⁰ See Appendix 1.

¹⁵¹ See Appendix 3.

memory the time frame experienced in the space of the Oblast and it will be connected (especially for the older generation) to the memory of migration from Russia.

General, various, open questions, will help the respondents during the process of acquiring knowledge of the samples roots and their relations with their relatives' country of origin, Russia. An overview of who they are will be given also while freely describing them. This part of interview will be also focused on their contacts with the previous cities of their or their relatives' origins and with other external places important for them nowadays. Some questions like: "Do you still have relatives who live in your country of origins? Would you like to go to meet them? Have you ever visited those places? How many times have you been there? How much do you about the history of those countries?" Those questions have the purpose to verify the knowledge of the roots and the degree of attachment to that past.

Other questions later return to the issue of TIME (in relation to the memory of Russian history) and SPACE referring to the changes after the annexation in Europe of the former satellite countries. "Does it change anything in your routine life after 1991? And after the EU enlargement in 2004?" Those questions intend to measure the knowledge of the most important political-historical events occurred in Russia in the last 50 years (such as the dissolution of the USSR, the annexation in Europe of some of the former Soviet satellites countries and about the subsequent restrictions adopted from Russia), if the inhabitants of Kaliningrad remembered them, how they have been informed by teachers or parents (considering the young generation in this case) and how important these facts have been in their lives.

These are questions that investigate the knowledge of pas time and its reflection on the present life of the inhabitants of the Oblast while other series of questions like: "Do you feel there are any differences between Russians in Kaliningrad and Russians in other cities /regions? I asked to describe if, living in the Oblast, they had the perception of being 'less Russians', especially in comparision to the Russians who live elsewhere, still trying to define whether the acquisition of a concept of identity can be related to the space occupied and lived . The importance of contacts with the neighboring European countries was assessed with questions that probed their real ability or their desire to travel across the border: "how much time do you spend abroad, how do you feel when

you travel in other countries?” Here in fact is possible to assess how strong is the attraction towards European space but also e.g. the European culture and the need to relate to people who live there.

The questions will also touch the importance that other languages may have, why they are speaking or learning them this will indirectly underline their future or actual contacts with the foreign-neighbor countries. The future time, the hope for a better life, or the satisfaction for the present, future plans, where they would like to study/live/work in the next future, in which country they see themselves is also an aspect included in this first section.

Section B

Identity

The inherent difficulty of the term identity and its definition has determined the choice of the author to present to the respondents, before proceeding with the questions in this section, a list of groups asking with which of these they felt more affinity: "the Russian Citizens, European citizen, Inhabitants of Russia, Inhabitants of Kaliningrad Oblast, see inhabitant of Baltic region, inhabitant of the European Nordic region etc. Who do you feel you are according to your nationality, roots, culture, country, and city?" Then it followed more specific questions about identity like: “on what do you think your identity is based?” And then more specifically, in respect of anything special share with the fellow citizens of the Oblast, investigating the concept of Kaliningrad’s identity: “what do you feel it might be the common characteristic or thing that you might share with people in Kaliningrad?”

The interview will focus more on their attachment to Russia, how the city where they study work and live might have affected their identification, the reasons why some respondents decided to stay in Kaliningrad for example for their studies or job instead of going to the European neighboring country. The questions that have been asked were: “does your university/working town influence your feelings of who you are?” or “why they never decided to move in other Russian cities: “do you think it would be different to work in another city in Russia? And when you are abroad?” Those questions, like the last of the Section B, are tiring to answer to the persistence of a

certain Russian identity and they are also trying to underline what are in their opinion the main differences or similarities of people from Kaliningrad, compared with other Russian cities and other countries: “are you proud to be a Russian from Kaliningrad Oblast? What makes you special? What makes you like anybody else?”

The invitation from the conductor of the interview to select a national point of reference for culture, country, culture, city, aims to verify if the choice was indicative for a new sense of belonging, "other" even respect to Kaliningrad or to Russia: "who do you feel you are according to your nationality, culture roots, country, and city. Here there is a list of general groups: Russian citizen, inhabitants of Russia, inhabitants of Kaliningrad Oblast, inhabitants of Kaliningrad city, inhabitants of the Baltic sea region, inhabitants of the Nordic European region, inhabitants of the north side of the world, inhabitants of the western side of Russia, inhabitants of the eastern side of Europe, central European group, Russian speakers, no one of this, just myself, citizen of the world. According to the answers of this section I might understand if they feel Russian themselves as much as their compatriots or instead belonging to a new identity.

Section C

Spatial Identity

The third section, Space-Identity is orientated on the key concept of SPACE OF KALININGRAD and features initially some planned questions in order to understand the perception of its citizens about the city and how much the city responds to their aesthetic and functional needs. If the map of the city has been internalized and inscribed in their perceptions of *lived space*, or if it is only one space allocated at once: "what do you know about your areas? Do you like to live here? Have you ever changed house? If you could change place where to live in the city where you will go? Where you will never go to live? What is *the center* of the city for you?" would address these issues while others subsequent questions ask the level of satisfaction with the services that the city offers to the public, such as transport market gardens and so on.

Some other questions would induce respondents to underline the historical changes that occurred in the city of Kaliningrad and measure their level of knowledge about these changes: "which main visible changes in the city you can list after and with

the EU enlargement? Are there any differences, similarities?” This question is preceded by the rather specific request to do a sort of virtual walk in the city during which the interviewees can point the most loved and popular places or most important historically. Subsequently, the respondent is asked to list the monuments, the most relevant according to him/her: “please make a list of the main monuments of Kaliningrad from the most important to the least.” The answers should indicate the attitude of the respondent in respect to the symbols of the German history and those of the Soviet stratification to understand if there is, and to what extent, any awareness of the history of the city and what this has meant for the lives of those people living there.

Few more questions were about the city itself, about the memory of the respondents, the physical changes they experienced in the city during the past years, thus including the concept of TIME that marked the SPACE in Kaliningrad, weaving together the threads of old Europe with the one of the Russians occupiers, this is the *historical time*, also tried on their direct lives, discoloring old borders and turning new interests, the *lived time*. Some important events which happened and might have affected the respondents and in general the memory they have / had about their city is also the focus of this last part of the interview here trying to determine whether the successful appropriation of space of Kaliningrad, not only *undergone* but also *experienced* and *perceived* as their space, together with the memory of the time spent in that space, could have produced a new sense of belonging giving value to the idea that the identity is far from being a unique concept and closed but rather consists of a plurality of individual mental forms.

5.1.2 Limitations

One of the most important limitation in the interview and therefore of this research thesis is that identity is a highly controversial issue. In fact, human beings have a great number of possible social identities and the text analytical approach should avoid considering one of these identities as the main one. In this type of research the

difficulty lies in the moment of the analysis. Important is to don't focus on answers that can be biased by prejudices and stereotypes.¹⁵²

Another limitation identified in the analysis was the finding of a significant majority of women in the sample interviewed. There were in fact mostly women willing to accept me and my assistant, native from Kaliningrad, in their homes for the duration of the interview. Except for the group of young people, men were often at work or outside the home or more shy and distrustful of this initiative or in relation to a foreign woman and interviewer. Another difficulty arose from the understanding the language, sometimes difficultly, according to the different levels of education of the respondents. While with the young generation, being students or young workers, the interface language was rather synthetic, the adopted terminology was quite simple and the pronunciation was clear in the other age groups, especially in the range of older samples, which revealed sometimes a certain cultural poverty, who had not been able to study, they spoke a more difficult Russian and they preferred to keep quiet during some answers maybe to the embarrassment of not being able to give the right answer, even if no right answer existed.

Further limitation of the interview is the small number of samples examined. However, although, in the confined form, in the choice of the family groups and in the identification within each family of one representative from each age group, the criterion laid down by the diachronic structure of the interview was respected.

5.2 Data Analysis

Considering that the main category by the research is the identity, it must be said that the analysis of this fundamental concept is in fact limited to groped to verify the peculiarities in the identity in a sample of inhabitants of the city of Kaliningrad: "(...) it

¹⁵² Bauer W. Martin And Gaskell George. *Qualitative researching. With text, Image and Sound.* SAGE Publications Ltd, London, 2007. P.202.

is important to limit a concept, set boundaries within which it is more likely to give the definitions and meanings assigned to the data collected." ¹⁵³

The key categories time, space and identity were the key concepts on which the whole structure of the interview has been built and are the terms of reference in order to analyze how the data relates and they are the fundamental parameters in the criterion of evaluation. These main categories are preceded by the definition of the encore codes analyzed while collecting the data. Time: memories of origins, relations, contacts, cultural traditions, historical events. Space: places of origins, travels, space of Kaliningrad-Konigsberg. Identity: affinity with other groups, own self perception compared with others, definition of "home". The previous codes were later collected in **bigger concepts** of: Time (past. Present. Future), Space (Russia, Kaliningrad, and Europe) and identity (Russian, Kaliningrad, Europe).

5.2.1 Time

Time and space and identity have been divided into subgroups to facilitate the analysis and to give a better result with the proposed questions that have sometimes undergone some changes according to the generations examined. The key issue of TIME has been divided in three time frames

The past, dealing with the memory of Russia, the *lived time* for the older generation - remembered and shared for all three categories, the knowledge of its history, important facts that have marked and changed the course of history of their ancestors, the migration to Kaliningrad.

The present time, regarding the time of Kaliningrad, the memory of the arrival in Kaliningrad Oblast and the 'why' turning away from the previous home, the gradual repopulation of the former German city (especially for the older people). It encodes also the knowledge of its history, of its European past, the time needed for adaptation to new job, to establish new social relations, the efforts, the same shared by everybody, to overcome the economic difficulties, in particular after 2004, and to improve their standard of living.

¹⁵³ Dey Ian. *Qualitative Data Analysis. A user-friendly guide for social scientists*. Routledge- Taylor & Francis Group, London and New York, 1993, pp. 18-28.

The future a temporal step in projection and regarding the verification of a common project to the collective, expressed by shared desires and common goals (for all respondents).

The comparative analysis of responses should indicate which of these time spans has a greater effect in the memory and perception of the experienced and existence of each respondent, and if it's Russia and the strong bond with it to drive the memories and to define the vision of the present, or if it is the Kaliningrad Oblast singularly to have affected more deeply their history as the scene of their existence.

5.2.2 Space

The Russian Space

The key category space has been divided into three concepts: Russian space, the space of Kaliningrad, the European space of the neighboring countries. Here is meant as a *lived space* according to the theory of Lefebvre¹⁵⁴ for the old generation, *experienced and remembered* for the other categories. The analysis of the answers, in order to assess the pre-eminence or not of this concept, aims to verify how important it is for the respondents to come from a place other than where he/she is living at the moment of the interview. This is in order to understand the importance that may have had the forced separation from their own country when there was (for the older) the vividness of the memory of those places, the desire to see them or not again.

The Space of Kaliningrad

The analysis attempts to answer the question if the city of Kaliningrad has replaced Russia in the concept of belonging of its inhabitants. From the idea of assigned space to them by the Soviet authorities (dominated space-Lefebvre) a lived space. It investigates the evolution of the perception of people towards their city and if their integration with it did or did not happened It. assesses their level of knowledge about

¹⁵⁴ Lefebvre Henri , *La produzione dello spazio*, Casa Editrice Moizzi, Milano 1976.

the manipulation of the space¹⁵⁵ of the former Königsberg in order to superimpose the symbols of the new Russian space and it attempts to recognize a possible orientation of the citizens about their preference to certain places or monuments or to perceive an unity of vision about the architectural space.

The European Space

The analysis will examine some answers, how much the proximity of the European borders has played a more or less determinative role for a new interaction with the environment and for the emergence of a new sense of self, of a weakened sense of belonging to Russia and growth of a new possible identification with Europe.

The third key category is *the identity*. The results of this part of the interview should already emerge from the analysis of the section dedicated to space and time and it should be the product of them two, but it will also be the feedback data to confirm this hypothesis based on theoretical assumptions. Even this category has been divided into three subcategories.

5.2.3 Identity

Russian Identity

The Russian identity, if maintained, should emerge from the importance of the roots, from the choice of the indicative groups of people proposed during the interview. For example, those people which use the adjective of Russian proclaiming the pride of being Russian or choosing to define 'home' a place faraway in Russia. The questions connected to this purpose are contained in section A¹⁵⁶ - roots, travel, contacts, because they were essential in order to confidentially let the respondent introduce him/her self with short, general, description, especially for the elderly, it was natural to introduce the basis of their story before migration.

¹⁵⁵ Kapralski Slawomir. *Battlefields of Memory: Landscape and Identity in Polish-Jewish Relations*, published in "History and Memory" Volume 13, number 2, Fall/Winter 2001.

¹⁵⁶ See Appendix 3.

Identity with the city of Kaliningrad

This identity will emerge from the self-definition by the respondent as "an inhabitant of Kaliningrad" and to share with them a sense of belonging. From saying that their home is their city because there they initiate the social relationships because they have contributed to the construction of the city (for the elderly and middle generation in particular) that has gradually transformed in front of their eyes and witnessed the passing of their time. The *chronotopical* bakhtinian merger would come true; space and time together have woven in them a new identity.

European Identity

If the feeling of belongings extends beyond the borders of Kaliningrad and it refers to a broader concept of identity, with another cultural climate expressing a wish for inclusion in a more liberal and tolerant socio-political, economical context where it can be easier to carry out projects. All these factors would reveal to the community the successful satisfaction of the need, primary among others, to choose an identity more convenient for the survival of the group. In the event of the emergence of such a result, will find reason of existence the theories of Bakhtin and Lefebvre about the importance of the new boundaries¹⁵⁷ (in the case of Kaliningrad, "other" than those originating from the Russian space) places of exchange and of transformation between individuals and the environment.

6. EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

In here have been reported some of the most significant responses, taken from all three generations, which have been compared and analyzed within the different categories of time, space and identity. In this way they can give an important contribution in the attempt to find the answers to the research questions.

6.1 Time

THE PAST (the memory of Russia) THE PRESENT (Kaliningrad) and THE FUTURE (European time)

¹⁵⁷ Diddi Cristiano. *Sulla Genesi e il Significato del Cronotopo in Bakhtin*, in *Ricerche Slavistiche* 7 (53), La Sapienza University, Roma, 2009, p.143.

The findings converge transversally across the data analysis and are reported without being deliberately divided into three subcategories (past-present-future) not to make fragmentary the tales of the interviewees who would otherwise lose meaning and continuity. The memory of migration from Russia to Kaliningrad brought out the memory of the past and revealed various aspects of the incident. Irina (journalist, 77 years old) was a kind of promotion in her career: "I live in Kaliningrad since 54 years, after graduating I was sent from Moscow to Kaliningrad University to direct the programs of a new television network."

In this case is a well educated woman that comes from a family of intellectuals and in her life has traveled extensively. Kaliningrad has not been seen as a forced exile then. The same applies to Albina (teacher, 71 years), she moved to Kaliningrad from her university to be a social worker in Kaliningrad Oblast and Alexandra (nurse, 72 years old) came from the region of Smolensk in 1956 to study. For these people, the separation from the homeland was not traumatic; however, none of them will reveal, as we shall see from the next answer, the desire to revise or come back to their places of origins. For others, the migration was imposed by the authorities or was a real escape. Nina (former economist chief, now retired, 69 years) answered:

In the region of Kaliningrad my family lives since 1947. We got there from Zhitomir, where my family lived before the war. They moved because during the war my mother helped the partisans, she was discovered and had to escape. When my parents returned there to visit, our house has been sacked by the Germans.

A manager in the construction industry, retired, 78 years old, born in a village in the region of Voronezh, central Russia, said that she had to follow her husband, who was a career military man destined to Kaliningrad by the authorities. For these respondents is more understandable the discomfort in the recall of these memories and the desire not to return in those places, nevertheless their responses are very similar to those of someone who has left Russia not forcibly.

The interviewees of the middle and young generation were born in Kaliningrad or they have come there very small, they know the stories of migration from their parents or grandparents. For them the time spent, the past time, is being investigated more by the questions on the importance of one's roots and knowledge of the history of

their families of origin.¹⁵⁸ Many of them answers of the elderly, who were born in Russia with a childhood and a youth, lived in the places of origin, did not show a greater nostalgia for that time and those places or a stronger desire to return to visit relatives or just to remember the past. It seems that their **Russian TIME** is abruptly interrupted during the migration, as many of the responses reveal that the older (regardless of profession or of the cultural level), confess they do not want to try to revise the sadness places where everything is now changed and where now, no one of one's own family, survived. "I do not want to go back to a place that is foreign to me now" (Nina, psychiatrist 76 years, native of Ukraine) "I would not like to go back in a village where nothing is as it was before; my home is now only here in Kaliningrad" (Albina, a teacher, 71 years old, from the region of Tula)

"I came back at the beginning during the holidays for some anniversary of my relatives, then less and less. I got used to be here, here I feel better "(Dmitriy, retired welder, 71 years)

One interviewee points out in the reply that the real memory is that of the relations and of the feelings and she appreciates that in her town there are the graves of her beloved who are the her past and the children, grandchildren, friends, who are the present.

"There is no one to go home, my parents are dead, and their graves are here in Kaliningrad and also all my friends are here. (Irina, journalist, 77 years old, originally from the region of the Caucasus)

The same appears in the response of Nina (psychiatrist):

"I do not feel the need to go back there, my real family lives here in Kaliningrad. I cannot consider that place as my home, because I have lived here for long time (...).I left Bashkortostan that I was only 16, for family reasons. "

Even for her the detachment from Russia was not painful, nor forced, there are no negative memories to be erased, but it's in the passing of one own time and in the bonds of the present that it has completed the process of interaction and identification with space of Kaliningrad.

¹⁵⁸ See Appendix 1.

In their responses, some of the middle generations expressed more coolness reporting the stories of their ancestry and a greater accuracy in remembering the places of origin. It might appear a lack in the visual memory experienced instead by the elderly generation and a lack also in the emphasized and mythical description of their Russian origins through the stories of their grandparents by the young generation. Emblematic is the response of Marina, forty years old, a teacher of Russian language for foreign students in Kaliningrad, who emigrated from Kyrgyzstan with her husband for political reasons.

I left the Kyrgyzstan for political reasons and cannot return there. I know all of that country, I was born there, and I would go back just to go to the cemetery where my mother lies. In Kaliningrad, however, I feel at home.

It should be noted that this interviewee, unlike the others, was not born in Kaliningrad and resides there for less time than the other. Forced migration and painful and to know that there is no chance of return, seems to express a more bitter regret of a naturally beautiful and loved place, even if it is once again an emotional track that leads to the bond with the land of origin in this case was “the mother's grave”. Samples of the young range have revealed an interest, about the places of their ancestors, greater than that expressed by the other two generations. Especially for interviewees with less economic possibilities, it is noticeable a kind of deification of the great Russia from which they descends, even if some answers have some contradictions. This is the case of Victoria, 23, housewife, who is growing her first child:

"My father is Chelyabinsk and was sent to Kaliningrad as a sailor. I went rarely in Russia; they are usually our relatives to visit us. Of those places I do not know almost anything. "

Ilya describes like this his place of origins:

“I know just a little bit Kamchatka, where my mother was born, is very far away from Kaliningrad. I know that there are volcanoes and that it is a very interesting place, but I don't feel it is so important for me.”

In their memory there is neither place for a memory of a detachment nor for anything tragic or painful. However, perhaps the stories of parents and grandparents about the

past, may have patched that hole in the memory, mending an artificial fabric of memories and references that were then tied again in one skein of individual memory¹⁵⁹ eventually creating a similar perception to a time really lived. But the collection of data also presented examples of responses that reveal, by some interviewees, a conscious knowledge of the history of his/her family and space of the ancestors which does not necessarily translate into a sense of attachment and belonging to the motherland. Now here is a short analyzes of the response of Ilya, thirty years old, graduate assistant in a notary's office, in his sentence combines the concepts of past and present time and Russian and Kaliningrad space:

"My mother is from Alma-Ata, now called Almaty, in the Republic of Kazakhstan and my grandmother was born in Bashkirsky ASSR that now is the republic of Bashkiria, in the Russian Federation. My father is a native of the Nizhegorodsky region and also his whole family is from there. He was sent to Lithuania when he was twenty years, serving in the Soviet Army. He arrived in Kaliningrad in 1983. I visited both Alma-Ata, which is beautiful, surrounded by high mountains, which Nizhegorodsky, founded by Peter the Great cause it might have became a large shipyard. Both places are important to me, but they are not my home. "

In this case, as in the older range, attachment to Kaliningrad does not seem to arise from not knowing anything other than their city. This interviewee had the opportunity to travel and study, to learn about other places and cultures, as will be clear from the next answers, but only in Kaliningrad she claims to feel at home. It is her hometown, her relatives are with her, and Kaliningrad represents the geography of her experienced life drawn by her memory, from the network of her affections. It seems that the **past time, the memory of the Russian** has been diachronically forgotten, even if for different reasons: the elderly generation for the sadness of see again changed places and tombs. The middle generation because they are too focused on the **present time** of all days, and young people cultivate the memory without really feels the need to know and to see again what it was. Another young woman, Tatiana, 29 years old, has had the

¹⁵⁹ Bergson Henri. *Opere 1889-1896: Saggi su dati immediati della coscienza. Materia e Memoria. L'idea di Luogo in Aristotole. Lettere*, Arnoldo Mondadori Editore S.p.A., Milano, 1986, pp. 205-206.

opportunity to travel in Russia and in Europe, but draws conclusions from these experiences that seem ideally to distance her from Russia:

"I traveled throughout Russia from Kamchatka to Orel and St. Petersburg. The inhabitants of Kaliningrad are more Europeanized as lifestyle and in the aspect. As vacation, I would choose to go to Europe because I like it, on the one hand is also a kind of comfortable holiday, with all adequate services, on the other hand, discover and see the history."

She seems to depict Europe as a charming and powerful attraction, which does not, sees in her country of origin. Other questions investigate the concept of **the past time**, asking to the interviewees to recall important facts, to speak of the great events of 1991 and 2004 to the extent to which they affected their lives. **The Russian and European time** are intertwined in historical memories and also **space (Russian and European)** unifies becoming the theater of the actions and of the thoughts of two different cultures and policies.¹⁶⁰

The answers about the memory of the most important historical events, which in part requires knowledge of them, were quite different depending on the degree of individual cultural background; among the range of the older the sentences have been meager or even silenced. It almost seems that the protagonists of the migration have agreed to a kind of *collective memory*¹⁶¹ made of what it is convenient to forget, for the community of what should be remembered, one of the historical facts more cited by the older was the death Stalin. Nina, retired 69 years old, recalls:

"About the time of my childhood (**past time**) of course I cannot forget the death of Stalin. They were crying and then as Khrushchev arrived, everything has changed"

And about the changes after the events of 1991 and 2004 she answers:

"In my life nothing has changed, the only thing is that now (**present time**) there are the passports to go abroad. As I worked before, I continued to work until the retirement in

¹⁶⁰ See Appendix 3.

¹⁶¹ Kapralski Slawomir. *Battlefields of Memory: Landscape and Identity in Polish-Jewish Relations*, published in "History and Memory" Volume 13, number 2, Fall/Winter 2001.

1998. The 2004 in general did not affect my life, but we just stopped going in the Baltic Republics."

The older interviewees, with higher education give varied responses and richest of cultural and historical details (past time): they well remember the Great Patriotic War and its aftermaths, the collapse of the USSR, of communism, *perestroika* and the subsequent development of the private property. Irina, 77, reports:

"I remember (**past time**) the flight of Gagarin in the space, the stories of my father about the old Königsberg and how was studying in the academy in Russia in the twenties. I have done many interviews with veterans of the war for my movies; I have also won some festivals. The year 2004 has changed many things. Before (**the past time**) there was so much enthusiasm, freedom, many German tourists began to arrive in Kaliningrad to visit the region. After (**the present time**), we become poor and the other rich. The television station I worked for was privatized, they sent away the old workers and the young have taken the places. The pension is meager. Everything has changed, except for the family. "

The most common historical reference in the responses of this generation is the one expressed by the word *war*. That's the historical fact immediately reminded among the important events that mark the history of their country, what determined the migration and the reason, justification for their presence in the Oblast. In the older generation (**present and future time**), especially among those who live in a certain economical and cultural restriction, there has been a tendency to give few importance to the great changes of 1991 and 2004 with regard to the effects they have had in their life habits. In more educated people, previously engaged in a profession of responsibilities, it seems increasingly clear the awareness of a worsening of the working conditions and the decreased possibility of having easy contacts with both parents, relatives in Russia or with the European friends. On the same subject, the responses of the middle generation (**present time**) were more focused on direct reflections that the history of Russia (**past time, Russian time**) has in the unfolding of the everyday life (**present time**). Viktoria, lawyer, 53 years old: "About the collapse of the USSR, before I could not go to Russia for many years and now I cannot go to Europe to visit my friends or to see and buy interesting things."

For Irina, 55, director of the family business, the 2004 was a much more critical turning point and had difficult consequences:

"In 2004 I lost my job which was based on international agreements between Russia and Poland, which ceased immediately. Three years had to pass so that between Russia and Europe things would stabilize again. "(**Present time**)

Some of them the young generation did not give much importance to the historical dates of 1991 and 2004, they were very young or not born yet, others have replied in an affirmative sense but without specifying how they had felt the change. Yuri, 19 years old, responds by summarizing shortly all the responses of the others of his age: "I was small; my parents told me something about what happened. I know they were more often in Lithuania by their friends, where they felt like home."

Four of the eight older generally simply stated that the city is even more beautiful now, mostly the elderly less well-educated, that summarize in a sentence the memory of Kaliningrad they found on their arrival to the city that they see in the **present time**. Several interviewees in the middle age range, referring to the changes after the EU enlargement (the question really meant to be about a change of the urban space of the city) respond by giving a temporal interpretation, historical: "The city has changed a lot; there is much more trade, more choices. Only the climate and nature are the same, and all the rest has changed "(Olga, 46 years old)."The buildings are new. The rest, including how people are treated, is old"(Larisa, 45 years old).

Larisa seems to judge the Russian State as something other than herself, considering it capable of fooling changing the appearance but not the substance of history (**present time**). Also Irina, 77 years old, condensed into a sentence the changes from 2004 onwards, but she doesn't refer to how the city looks like, but more to the restriction imposed by the Russian State:

"After the collapse of the USSR we have lost the right to education and to free holidays and after 2004 Europe looks like a Soviet ideal, but with the contradictions of the market economy and of the subdivisions in developed countries or not. This is unfair!"

These are interviewees able to describe the possible transformation of the city from a visual point of view of the space but, influenced by history, they immediately

connected what was the change in their lives, more than in the city, because in their daily lives, in the unfolding of their time, was the most incisive perception of change. **(Present time)** Aleksandra, retired, nearly eighty years old, underlines the urgent need to resolve the present, talking about the problematic nature of the social and economical life for an old person in Kaliningrad, with the meager pensions bestowed by the Russian state, and the sharing of these daily difficulties with her coetaneous citizens. The concerns for the present and for the tomorrow emerge in few sentences concerning the request, by the interviewer, to explain in what they felt to be like the other citizens. Marina 44 years old: I'm like the others for the problems of everyday life: children, debts, and try to construct a better future for my family. **(Future time)** In common with the other there is life. **(Future time,** Viktoria, 23 years old) I am equal to others in the liabilities, in not seeking to improve the lives of the inhabitants of Kaliningrad. **(Future time,** Larissa 45 years old)

From these answers seem to imply that the sharing part resides more in dealing with the present and in the thought of a better future than in belonging to a common ancestry descent.

6.2 SPACE IDENTITY

Also in this section, the findings are not divided but appear mixed in the stories of the interviewees. Some questions are attempting to verify in the interviewee the presence or absence of the desire to revise the places of the roots. Considering the concept of nostalgia towards the Russian space diachronically many interviewees admit that they do not wish to see again or return to their places of origin. For the elderly generation the response to this lack of interest can reside in the discomfort to visit uninhabited places of affections, perhaps related to a painful past, for the middle is perhaps a lack of curiosity for a space lived just approximately, perhaps never seen, for young people, despite the fascination emanates by the Russian space, the more attractive pole or them is Europe. Viktoria, fifty-three years old, a lawyer (she is the daughter of psychiatrist) says: "Those of my grandparents are remote places where there still a lot of ignorance and naiveté'. I have no interest in those places; the people here are more advanced."

Irina, director of a family business, 50 years old:

"My parents come from Ukraine and Central Russia. When I was little we went back there to see those places, but we were never there for a long period of time. Of those places do not know much and for me are not important."

This kind of response summarizes more or less all the other of the middle generation unless someone like this that seems to express nostalgia for a place that was loved and someone did not want to leave and also the pain of not being able to know more about it or to return there. An example is Marina (forty years old, a teacher of Russian language in Kaliningrad) had to leave her place of origin for political reasons: "I come from Frunze, in the region of Kyrgyzstan. It was such a beautiful place." In the young range is evident the contradiction between the myth of the place of origin and in any case do not plan any trip to visit it. It's an example the response of Juri, 18, who, with respect to the hypothesis of a perfect holiday, he replied: "I dream of going to Europe, in Italy or in Spain!" thus confirming the lack of interest, lack of curiosity in wanting to visit physic space of his ancestors. The majority of the young people do not seem to feel particularly the geographical distance from Russia as a country of origin, maybe because there never have lived those spaces. In their comparison, the outputs of the data reveal that although no respondent appears to deny the importance of their origins they ignore the concrete places of their origin's family, only a few have felt the need to return and to visit or remember.

The problem of the closing of the space Kaliningrad towards the European area after the EU enlargement, with the severe restrictions imposed by the Schengen visa to the Russian government, is strongly felt in all three age generations. There have been more synthetic responses and in a sense even more bitter, especially in interviewees with less economical possibility. Dmitriy, 71, a former welder, cynically says: "I did not go anywhere before, even now I do not go." Irina, 77 years old, refers:

"Before 2004, I had many friends in Poland. To be important, Europe should be available to everyone. The boundaries, they all are, obstacles hindering communication between young people, students, family and colleagues."

It is a response that reveals a lot of bitterness in remembering the best quality of life before the restrictions of 2004 and the aversion to the taxes imposed by the boundaries with the other European countries. The fact that is a journalist to say so it gives a great value to the importance of communication seen as information and free expression of thought and highlights in the border an important limit to the flow of ideas and relationships between peoples and cultures.¹⁶² Inna also regrets the lost contacts with the European space, 40 years, office worker omitting the answers on historical facts, she complains of what has changed for her after 2004:

"I no longer have the chance to go to my friends in the Baltic countries. I'm attracted by Europe especially for the climate, good food and fashion. I'm envious about my European friends because they can travel more often and without waiting in line on the border."

Especially this generation and that of the young seems to express a growing desire for consumerism born perhaps parallel with the development of the town and that its inhabitants have not yet fully experienced. During my staying in Kaliningrad I noticed, especially from the side of the female population, a strong curiosity for everything that came from the West. European goods (European space), especially in terms of styling and fashion, these inspire in them a strong attraction and the desire to own more sought articles than those offered by the Russian market, it seems to inscribe the community of Kaliningrad, with changing habits, in a range of post modernity.¹⁶³ The use of the internet makes immediate and visible the images of attractive products of the European Market, confesses Polina:

"It is when you know about the existence of certain things, goods, that makes them desirable. Before, during my travels in Europe for business, I could afford to buy something interesting, now I'm only aware of the fact that there are and which is the price more convenient price."

¹⁶² Lefebvre Henri, *La produzione dello spazio*, Casa Editrice Moizzi, Milano 1976, p.181.

¹⁶³ Notes from Bauman's conference about the *Relationship between Humans and Things*. Modena at the Philosophy Festival - September 2012.

Two responses revealed, as a direct effect of the Europe enlargement of 2004, a perceived distance from the Russian space: "My travels in Russia have become rarer and rarer and more complicated" (Polina, 30 years old) "We are surrounded by European borders, no more directly from Russia"(Ilya-28 years old, business manager)

6.2.1 The Influence of Distance

The theme of geographical distance from Russia revealed major signs of a feeling of isolation, perhaps to emphasize that the distance from the SPACE of their roots may have favored the weakening of a pre-existing sense of belonging:

"Yes, In particular because we, people from Kaliningrad, we have become a Russian enclave, with European borders, enclosed in a piece of Russian region, without having the possibility to go anywhere outside the region without a visa. This fact, more than connecting is isolating us."(Aleksandra, 78 years old, ex-manager - retired)

"We do not feel a great distance from the mainland, since even before our region was very isolated (Neftekamsk-ural). At least here is possible to have a cultural dialogue with other countries." (Tatiana, 39, office manager in a company town)

The question of the *insulation* seems to refer, in the previous answer, not only to a geographical distance from Russia (Moscow) but also to the difficulty to move beyond the boundaries of the region of Kaliningrad. Almost all the respondents, regardless of age, replied:

"It would better if there were no visas needed at all!" (Aleksandra-78 years) or "(...) since 2004, restrictions of movement with the Schengen visa have created problems not only for those who wanted to go out from the Oblast but also for those who wanted to come to Kaliningrad. It hurt everyone."(Viktoria-30 years) and also "(...) the visa regime is an important problem and also complicated that every day seems to get worse "(Ilya - 28 years).

These responses are representative of those collected from all the three generations and which identify in the difficulties of trades with other countries a huge limit to the cultural and economical development of the region of Kaliningrad but the answer of Victoria, 53 years old, is illuminating in respect to the problem of distance from Russia (Moscow). About a hypothetical comparison between Kaliningrad and another place in

Russia, she claims: "I cannot make a comparison with other parts of Russia, they are so far from each other to make it difficult to compare." The occupation of space, "other" than the Russian one, seems to have resulted in a sense of alienation in Victoria and of impossibility of joining ideally the space of Kaliningrad with another Russian one.

One of the parts of the interview devoted to the concept space is dealings with foreign countries and is an attempt to identify whether there is a clear preference for traveling in Europe rather than in other cities of Russia or vice versa. If these trips are occasional or repeated here is underlined which is the perception that the interviewee has when in Russia or in Europe, which place is felt feels or can be define as a second home and which other languages are interested in learning. The questions establish a comparison between the Russian and the European space in an attempt to measure the ability of attraction the latter exercised in the interviewees and why. Among the older range Irina, who has always traveled extensively and indiscriminately between Russia and Europe, is the one that gave the most cosmopolitan answer:

"I spend my holidays in my *dacha* in Pionersk, here I feel I'm at home, but often monasteries can make me feel at home. Also in many other cities I feel at home: like Moscow (to which I feel bounded cause I have studied there) St. Petersburg, Tallinn, Pskov. With regard to the Russians (space Kaliningrad), our way of life here in Kaliningrad is European, but as most Russians we are Orthodox. And if we look at the culture, some of us have some Westerners and Slavophil. We are attracted by Europe. I speak English 'cause I learned in school."

Irina feels like citizen of the world, she gives importance to the culture that has allowed a satisfactory career and recognizes in Moscow (Russian space) to have prepared her culturally. She knows the multiformity of the Russian identity that embraces inside duplicity and contradictions but admits attraction for Europe and for the new.

Aleksandra, 78 years old:

"I was going abroad at least a couple of times per year, usually for holidays. I was in Cyprus, in Italy, in Tunisia in Egypt but last year I did not move from Kaliningrad. It's interesting to spend the holidays abroad, but nowhere else, that is not Kaliningrad, I must say that is home. I don't travel to Russia since 1984."

About traveling abroad is different the attitude of Nina: (psychiatrist, 76 years old):

"I do not go abroad since the introduction of the Schengen visa for Poland and Lithuania. There are other places where I feel at home. I spend my holidays in my house for the holidays, close to the sea, in Kaliningrad. I like to travel in Europe; it would be interesting for me.

The issue of the visa has greatly reduced her possibilities of the moving although there is the desire to visit Europe. Kaliningrad is her home and the sea of Kaliningrad is all the scenarios of the moments of relaxation and rest. Analyzing the middle generation can be seen similar views with regard to difficulty to travel across the border and discordant about the differences or similarities between the Russian from Kaliningrad and the Russians from other regions.¹⁶⁴ Olga, 46 years old, housewife:

"I can travel a bit because sometimes I accompany sports teams in international competitions. I love Russia (other regions) but is not my second home. We from Kaliningrad (Kaliningrad space) are different because we are more neighbors to Europe (European space), but when we are in Russia, then we are all Russians."

Larisa 45 years, teacher: "I go more often in Europe than in Russia because it offers a higher level of service (European space). Viktoria, 53 years (European space):

"I travel less for the obligation of the Schengen visa to Poland and Lithuania. I have friends in Russia and Europe. We people from Kaliningrad we are more 'intelligent and evolved. I feel at home only here but I'd like to travel through Europe with an educated guide. I speak fluent German I learned in college and I want to improve it. "

Irina, 50 years old, is one of the most educated considering also the fact that she has always traveled a lot, and she says:

"Despite the fact that I don't go to Russia mainland since 15 years (Russian space), I feel good in St Petersburg and did not notice any particular difference between a Russian there and Russian from Kaliningrad, but as much as I love to travel, as much I love my home here, in Kaliningrad. I speak a bit of English, Polish which I had to learn to work."

¹⁶⁴ See Appendix 1 of this research thesis.

They are different positions, not due to different social rank, but while still covering geographical preferences express the perception of a different level of belonging to Russia. Viktoria could travel less to Europe (that was the destination she wanted) and perhaps intended to express her regret to this isolation to define her countrymen/women less intelligent and less developed, considering the Russia responsible for this reduction of freedom. Marina 44 years old, teacher: "I would like to travel more; I like St. Petersburg (Russian space). Russians are different depending on where they live. I want to know better German." Anatoly expresses a clear contradiction, 47 years old, has a small commercial activity: "I want to travel in Italy (European space), for the culture and the climate. I have friends in Moscow, but I don't go there (Russian space)."

The analysis of the young generation gave very similar results and, given the similarity of the data collected, could be summed up in this example of a response that has many elements in common with most of the other. Polina, 31 years old:

"I often travelled abroad, now a bit less, to visit my friends who are living in Europe (European space). I love St. Petersburg (Russian space) but I could not call it my second home. I feel good in Germany (European) and in Italy and I know the Italian, German and Polish. I have many Italian friends who I find social and fun."

An answer reveals a modern mentality, evolving because is shaping their own ideas on a comparison between many cultures and exchange, on the plurality of thoughts more than on the one-sidedness. The desires to speak other languages, especially European ones, put in relation the data obtained in the middle and in the young generation and would seem to reveal a strong attraction to Europe. The desire then to study in particular the German language would lead to think of a mature awareness of occupying a former German soil which guests have come to absorb, perhaps osmotically following the *bakhtianian* thought, history and culture.¹⁶⁵

6.2.2 Kaliningrad's space identity

Much of this issue is affecting specifically the space of the city of Kaliningrad. It will verify, while remaining faithful to the theoretical framework, if effectively and to

¹⁶⁵ Diddi Cristiano. *Sulla Genesi e il Significato del Cronotopo in Bakhtin*, in *Ricerche Slavistiche* 7 (53), La Sapienza University, Roma, 2009, p.146.

what extent the city of Kaliningrad is the locus for its inhabitants, container of memories and social activities, in which (experienced and perceived) space and time intersect giving life to the “shape” of belonging. Some interviewees do not feel a strong attraction to the center of the city and claim to be good in most of the external districts, but for the majority of respondents, the most central part Kaliningrad is the most sought after highlighting a strong attraction for the European and symbols of its history. Everybody highlighted the importance of the functionality of transports, the green areas that the district offers or not, everything that is needed for everyday living. From the responses (of all three generations) is considered to be the worst neighborhood of the city, the Baltic neighborhood, very peripheral, where tall houses stand out in grayish sad Muscovite style, considered to be like dormitories accommodation, sleeping-zones.

"I like my area because it's quiet and peaceful. I never changed my home; here there is everything that I need for me. I do not want to go downtown because there is too much noise."(Alexandra-72 years)

For her what is worth is the perception of the space included in the reality of the everyday life, that of the social practice.¹⁶⁶

"I live in the center of the city, in Tchaikovsky Street. It's the best part of town: a green place, quiet, where there is' everything I need. I moved house once with my family to go to a better apartment and if I would have to change again I'd move in an apartment even more central maybe in the Germanic part cities where you breathe a particular taste, really charming. "(Aleksandra-78 years)

Even Nina, 76, says more or less the same thing about her neighborhood that practically she defines as central, the Leningrad District. Irina, 77, a journalist underlines, in a even more marked way, the pride of living in the Central District, the most German side of the city, clearly indicating that the her own aesthetic taste is more referring to the architecture of Königsberg. She in fact loves its the history and elegance: "There are so many German villas and green, quiet areas, many shops, parks well-designed, small streets, beautiful monuments, churches."

¹⁶⁶ Lefebvre Henri , *La produzione dello spazio*, Casa Editrice Moizzi, Milano 1976.

The representation of space in which she lives, which is her living space, gratify her and seems to give the perception of an occurred condensation of history and time between the old and the new Königsberg and Kaliningrad "I would not live anywhere else but here."¹⁶⁷ Albina (71, teacher) instead is living in the suburbs, away from the district center, and tells not to be happy about it: "There are so many buildings, too high, those built by the Soviet Union, and there is little green" Seems common thought of attributing to the Russian urbanity (Russian space) a meaning of bad and to the German architecture (European space) an undeniable beauty, the perception of the existence of both and the very condition of experienced and imagined representation of the space of Kaliningrad. The same criterion of selection occurs in the young and middle range, here I will report only a few answers that for their singularity seem to emerge from the pack. Viktoria, 53 years old, moved to Kaliningrad in 1963:

"The first house here was in the Central Quarter, very nice. Then I lived in Siauliai , a city of Lithuanian SSR (now part of the Lithuanian Republic) from 79 to 82 and when I got home in Kaliningrad I found the house in Leningrad district, but I would like to change and return to the center of the city'."

Larisa, 45, tells a quite original story:

"At the time of Königsberg, in the place where I live there were no houses. My house is located where before there was a graveyard. By this time I'm used to it, but I would like to live in the area of the Superior Lake, a green and quiet place."

Comes to mind in theory Kapralski about the conflict that affects the " landscape", seen as the location of the melting point of space and time, *the locus*, with the violation of the space and erasing the memory by the dominant group on the group who succumbs.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ Bemong Nele, Borghart Pieter, De Dobbeleer Michel, Demoen Kristoffel, De Tennerman Koen & Keunen Bart (eds.) *Bakhtin's Theory of the Literary Chronotope. Reflections, Applications, Perspectives*, Academia Press, Gent, 2010, p. 25.

¹⁶⁸ Kapralski Slawomir. *Battlefields of Memory: Landscape and Identity in Polish-Jewish Relations*, published in "History and Memory" Volume 13, number 2, Fall/Winter 2001.

Polina expresses the pride of living in a neighborhood that she loves in many ways and that her grandparents / parents have helped to build and improve over time.

"The house where I live, like many other houses in the district, was built after the war. The people who received apartments in these buildings in the sixties contributed themselves to make pleasant the area with the creation of the lake, with indoor gardens, planting new trees and it's thanks to them that now this place is become so beautiful."

This statement demonstrates the commitment of the community of the inhabitants of Kaliningrad in making their "own" the space assigned to them by the Russian state, transforming it, in accordance with the thought of Lefebvre, from performance of the *designed/thought space* by Soviets technocrats in a *lived Space*,¹⁶⁹ which fantasy and imagination have changed to fit for the needs of social practice. When asked: "where would you like to live?" Two young people have responded: "In a location that is not Kaliningrad" excluding and *elsewhere*,¹⁷⁰ different from the one place where it is writing her/his own time and in which relations happen with their fellows. In assessing what are the places mostly loved or familiar or where they express their proud the common factor emerged for the three groups of age it was to name, firstly places in which is pre-eminent the German architecture of the old Konigsberg and monuments of its history; Hegel: "but the history ends and remains the space that it has been produced and in it is inscribed the memory of what has been."¹⁷¹ Often are mentioned the island of Kant, the ancient cathedral on the island of Kant, the statue of Schiller and of Chopin, the ancient gates (gates) of Konigsberg for the beauty of the monuments and for their cultural value. Following are cited as important museums in Kaliningrad as if they will assign to the past the merit of the beauty of the space of Kaliningrad and to the Present

¹⁶⁹ Lefebvre Henri, *La produzione dello spazio*, Casa Editrice Moizzi, Milano 1976.

¹⁷⁰ Bemong Nele, Borghart Pieter, De Dobbeleer Michel, Demoen Kristoffel, De Tennerman Koen & Keunen Bart (eds.) *Bakhtin's Theory of the Literary Chronotope. Reflections, Applications, Perspectives*, Academia Press, Gent, 2010, p.25.

¹⁷¹ Lefebvre Henri. *La fin de l'histoire*. Ed. Minut, 1970, and the study of A. Kojeveabout *Hegel and Hegelism*. Cited in Lefebvre Henri. *La produzione dello spazio*, Casa Editrice Moizzi, Milano 1976, p.40.

value¹⁷², given to the culture and to the knowledge of its cosmopolitan citizens. The example lies in the response of Irina, journalist, 77years:

"The Amber Museum, the museum of astronautic, the art-historical museum, the museum of the Ocean World, the science library, the main theater (...) I love to read books and magazines and study and search the archives of the film. People in Kaliningrad became more educated. But unfortunately, since 1991 we have lost access to free education. "

Irina is a well educated woman and emphasizes the openness and curiosity to knowledge that resides in the character of her countrymen/women.

"During the creation of a new space of representation of the power is important the strategy between knowledge and power in order to create non-verbal symbols that are intended to create a cultural experience. "¹⁷³

In the responses of the young category the places of the representation of space as the Russian Rodin-mat (motherland-statue), Prospect Mira, Moskovskij Prospect, Visotsky, the monument of the 1200 Guardians (of which only few know the inscriptions and their significance) more often are mixed with symbols of Konigsberg, and this would seem to indicate that in their perception of space, in their city results a kind of space-time continuum that could have led to a sense of "other" than for Russia. Asking them a short summary about the historical part of the city, here is possible to determine whether in the interviewees there is the perception of the stratification of the space of Kaliningrad. If during the restructuring that took place, or not, have identified more the 'will' of the Russian state, to unify the story of Kaliningrad with the German city of Konigsberg or was more obvious the attempt to erase and cover what it was. Nina (the psychiatrist) replied briefly: "The city has been almost entirely rebuilt after the bombing. Statues and buildings have been restored but the Royal Castle was totally

¹⁷² Bauman Zygmunt. *Mortalità, immortalità e altre strategie di vita*. Società editrice Il Mulino di Bologna, 2012, p. 224.

¹⁷³ Lefebvre Henri , *La produzione dello spazio*, Casa Editrice Moizzi, Milano 1976, p.87.

destroyed.” She omits the answers related to changes about the urban planning from 1991 and from 2004. Aleksandra (the manager):

"During the 50s the city was demolished by bombing. Slowly the ruins were rebuilt and since the 70's - 80's, the city brings inside the testimony of an active recovery and reconstruction of the ruins. (...) The Great Cathedral was destroyed during the war and its ruins were there for a long time. During Perestroika, thanks to an enthusiastic Igor, the cathedral was rebuilt. "

They both allude to the fact that the various critical moments in Russian history of the last fifty years have in fact determined, from time to time, the decision by the state to rebuild (if it was an opening to the west) or to forget to rebuild (if it was the dominant Russia having to appear from the reading representation of the space).¹⁷⁴ The younger generation overlaps the idea of the area of Kaliningrad and the European space, they know something of the changes of the city through the stories of parents and they feel to respond that now is “more beautiful and modern”. Significant is the response of Victoria: "It's all changed, it is almost Europe." An obvious association of the concept of modernity and news to the western culture and space is the answer of Yuri 19:

Of Russia I only like St. Petersburg, its architecture and its culture. I will define Kaliningrad as the highest western point Russia, an occupied city, an island in Europe. "

Yuri is a designer, he studies, and his interests are oriented to the aesthetic perception. About the space of Kaliningrad says that he only appreciates the architecture and the major remaining monuments of the old Königsberg. Its cultural inclinations make him appreciate Europe. Diachronically the interviewees, while appreciating their city, the beauty of the recent restructuring, merged with the natural side of the region, overlooking the sea seem to express the pride of living in a European space, marked by a great history, which makes them the "special" Russians, a bit far from the nation to

¹⁷⁴ Lotman Jury Michajlovic and Uspenskij Boris Andrievic. *Il ruolo dei modelli duali nella dinamica della cultura Russa*. In Veselovskij A. N., Potebnja A., Trubeckoj N. S., Bachtin M., Lichacev D. S., Lotman J. M., Uspenskij B. A., Toporov, Meletinskij E.M. *Saggio la cultura nella tradizione russa del XIX e XX secolo*, in Nicolai, Giorgio M., *Russia bifronte. Da Pietro I a Caterina II attraverso la «Corruzione dei costumi in Russia» di Scerbátov e il viaggio da Pietroburgo a Mosca di Radiscev*, Bulzoni Editor S.r.l., Roma, 1990, pp-240-286.

which they belong, inside an "island" in Europe, in an space open to cultural exchange, and therefore evolving constantly.

6.3. IDENTITY

As for the other two fundamental categories, **SPACE and TIME**, in this section dedicated to the **IDENTITY** the more significant data emerged from the interviews of the three bands: older, middle and young, with respect to the central theme of the sense of belonging, include references to the three subcategories of identity **Russian identity**, with the **city of Kaliningrad**, and the **identity with Europe**, often mixed, overlapping or even disguised within another topic not strictly relevant.

In order to bring out as freely as possible the perception of identity by the sentences of those interviewed, I preferred to keep the conversation without restraint, in fact the topic is difficult to be focus verbally, and often significant data are bouncing between a response and the other, almost casually. If the acceptance of a certain identity, as stated by Kapralski, is supported by what is commonly remembered of the **TIME** and the sharing of a **SPACE** that includes along with the time also the plots of the social practice of the community, what should emerge from this empirical section it is if the synthesis between these two conditions, space and time, might have caused in the inhabitants of Kaliningrad, a form of identity other than Russian. In dealing with the controversial issue of belonging to a nation, to an ideal, to a place, to an ethnic-group of people and so on, a considerable number of respondents showed a tendency to move the concept of identity before on the individual perception of oneself and just later on an identification which refers to a community. It was a colloquial interview, so many of the respondents have often converged together more concepts in a single answer, which maybe could have been more pertinent in previous questions. Nina, 69, retired, economist, regarding a possible self definition, replied: "All human values belong to me , European values are perhaps a bit different from those in Asia. Without wishing to call herself "Asian", Nina seems rather trying to highlight the cultural diversity which is distancing the two geographical identities.

Irina, 77years old:

I will call myself Muscovite, because is there where it took place my cultural background, but first and foremost I'm a journalist and a poet. I feel inhabitant of the Baltic region 'cause I love this place and the nature and its sea. I would then describe myself as an emeritus worker of the Russian Federation, but I identify myself also with the European culture, I'm a person belonging to the culture of the 21st century.

The definition of oneself seems prominent in this statement that points out the plurality inherent in every individual and seems to confirm the possible existence of more and different zones of belonging. Aleksandra, 78 years old: "I feel I am a resident of the city of Kaliningrad and also a retired Russian but I would call myself more European than Asian." In the phrase she is highlighting the status of pensioner and the economic difficulty that an elderly is facing even if maintained by the Russian government. She continues:

"I do not think there are differences between a Russian of other cities or regions and a Russian from Kaliningrad, though perhaps here we are more open and in a sense more advanced. I speak German not just Russian, if I was younger I would have speak English too."

Aleksandra, which until a few years ago was always going on holiday abroad, she travel around many European countries, seems to regret those moments of a greatest facilitates movements from one border to another. She is not visiting Russia motherland from '84, and she reports that in no other place you feel at home if not in Kaliningrad. Nina, 76 years old, psychiatrist: "I am a resident of Kaliningrad, a Russian and a European citizen. I feel part of the European community because it's a long time since I live in the European territory." The time and space of Nina merge together in this sentence revealing that for her, according to Bakhtin's theory¹⁷⁵ there could not be an "*elsewhere*" if not the *locus* represented by Kaliningrad, and referring to the possible diversity "between a Russian from Kaliningrad and another Russian" she adds:

¹⁷⁵ Bemong Nele, Borghart Pieter, De Dobbeleer Michel, Demoen Kristoffel, De Tennerman Koen & Keunen Bart (eds.) *Bakhtin's Theory of the Literary Chronotope. Reflections, Applications, Perspectives*, Academia Press, Gent, 2010, p.25.

"(...) surely the Russian of Kaliningrad is more civilized. Difficulty here you can find people who speak only Russian: I also speak German and Latin that I learned during my studies"

Nina seems to express the pride of a cosmopolitan culture that feels rarer among her countrymen at home. Albina, 71 years old, (identity of Kaliningrad):

"I am a citizen of the Russian Federation but above all I'm a citizen of the city of Kaliningrad. I have seen the city changing and becoming more and more beautiful in front of my eyes. I'm among those who, regardless of their nationality, helped to rebuild the city after the war and those who love her."

Here it seems express the thought of Certau about the unifying power of contributing to a shared project in the **present time**, the only opportunity to express the awareness of existence.¹⁷⁶ Marina, 44 years old, and Anatoly, 47, husband and wife who live in Kaliningrad since just 10 years, they share a particular opinion on the identity of the Russian people, even if they feel the concept of belonging in different ways. Marina:

"I am a citizen of the world, but more close to Europe. The roots are important but it's also important the place where you feel at home. I loved Frunze (in Kyrgyzstan, place of origin), but now is Kaliningrad my Home. Russians are different depending on where they live."

Anatoly:

"I am a Russian citizen, I don't feel myself European, but we are similar in mentality and features. It's different to live in Kaliningrad than to live in another Russian city; the Russians are not all the same, here there is more culture. I feel I have affinity with the inhabitants of Kaliningrad, abroad I am a foreigner, even in Poland or Lithuania."

Then, to the question about the pride of being Russian Anatoli and also Yuri (19 years old) answer to be proud to belong to the Great Russia, while highlighting the contradictions. It would seem that their fusion of space-time with Kaliningrad is still

¹⁷⁶ De Certau Michel. *L'invention du quotidien*, Paris 1980, Cited in Bauman Zygmunt. *Mortalità, immortalità e altre strategie di vita*. Società editrice Il Mulino di Bologna, 2012, p. 56.

young, both are still tied to Russia, but they are already able to perceive the distance, not only geographically, between Kaliningrad and the rest of their nation. Viktoria, 53 years old, is identified in a variety of forms:

"I am a person of Kaliningrad, a resident of the region Kaliningrad and even Russian. I consider myself an inhabitant of Europe, but I do not feel I belong entirely to a European identity, 'European' is a term that I do not understand, and I cannot describe it in this way. I am a resident of Kaliningrad because I have lived in this region for almost all my life, and I'm Russian because I love my country, and also I'm an inhabitant of the Baltic region because we live side by side with the republics of the Baltic countries."

This answer is a close examination of the feeling herself more senses of belonging, due to different space-time situations. But to the next question that asks to indicate which place they feel like home she answers: "My home city and country is mostly represented by Kaliningrad region, I love both the city and the people who live here." In her response emerge both factors *chronotopical bakhtinian*: the time spent in Kaliningrad and spatial proximity with Europe and the concept of identity is nuanced and oscillates between being resident of Europe, person of Kaliningrad, and Russian for the sake of her country. Similarly Irina, 50 years old, from a multiple choice regarding the choice of a group:

"I feel both a resident of Russia as well as a resident of the Oblast of Kaliningrad, a Russian-speaking person, and especially a citizen of the world. Another definition that belongs to me is inhabitant of the Kaliningrad Region. I feel I share some affinity and a sense of belonging especially with my fellow citizens. We are calmer and more tolerant than other Russians."

This fact to attribute quality of calm and tolerance, the respect for each other, and to the people of Kaliningrad emerged as a common factor in many of the interviews (especially in the middle and Older) Irina, like Viktoria, expresses a plurality of perceptions about her identification: the resident of Russia and of the Oblast, spatially hybrid, but in interaction with the city of Kaliningrad and with their fellow citizens, with whom they feel to share cohesive affinities. This seems to say that in the city of

Kaliningrad, as in every other instance of modern societies: "The relations of probabilities of any future state depend exclusively on the present situation and not on the history (the Russian one) that leads to it."¹⁷⁷

Other three middle (Inna, Olga, Iona) agree claiming that the chosen group is the one of the inhabitants of Kaliningrad, which sometimes feels like the Russians and sometimes completely different. Says Olga: "We communicate more easily, we are more open there are a lot of people who come to us, when I go to Russia I feel a foreigner that comes from Europe." This last sentence would seem to indicate an evolving identity, driven by the strong push from the European edge, a new sensibility grown in the space-time of Kaliningrad. Larisa 45 years provides one of the more unusual and contradictory answers:

"I'm an inhabitant of western Russia, resident of Kaliningrad. I love the sea of Kaliningrad. I feel indifferent to my countrymen at home. Here's a better standard of living but the local government has little influence. In Kaliningrad I feel like an island in the ocean of who they remember only in the day of collection."

A severe phrase that makes a lasting judgment against a country defined as disinterested but exploitative. During the interview Larisa will often refer to liabilities of her fellow citizens who do not seem to realize the controls to which they are subject and the limits within which they live, and even if they are aware, in her opinion they do nothing in order to change the situation. About the perception of whether or not the diversity between a Russian living elsewhere and the Russians from Kaliningrad exists, she says: "In general the inhabitants of Kaliningrad they don't have just an opinion on the subject of equality or not with the Russians living elsewhere." She is alluding to the possible existence, in the citizens, of a bipolar perception of their identity or of a different sense of belonging. However with this type of response seems to take a certain distance from her fellow citizens. Always in the middle generation, Olga admits another uncommon feeling of ambiguity of belonging: "When I'm in Russia, I have the feeling to come from another province, I feel a foreigner that comes from Europe."

¹⁷⁷ Claude Levi Strauss cited in Bauman Zygmunt. *Mortalità, immortalità e altre strategie di vita*. Società editrice Il Mulino di Bologna, 2012, p. 224.

Olga seems to report a double vision herself: the space-time merger with Kaliningrad, the distance from Russia, seems to have produced inside her a change in the perception about the self-definition of herself. Some positions emerged from the young range are diverse and contradictory as much as in the others categories. For example, it is symbolic the response of Victoria, 23 years old:

"I feel that I can identify myself first as inhabitant of the region of Kaliningrad and then as a Russian and European Union citizen, together. With respect to the adjectives proposed, I choose first "European" but then I had some doubts."

Maybe self identification with the EU could play as a form of betrayal of their nationalistic education; perhaps it could signify the total admission of a new identity, and it felt too large as a concept, which you can confess to yourself. Equally ambiguous is the position taken by Jury, 19 years old, on the perception of himself:

"I'm a Russian, a resident of Kaliningrad. It does not attract me anything about the *Big Russia* but I am proud to belong to a great country. We, here in Kaliningrad, are different."

He proclaims the pride of being Russian, but at the same time says they are not attracted to his land of origins, if not from the city of St. Petersburg, in fact the most European one, between Russian's cities, strongly supported the project for the Europeanization of Peter the Great. In the words of Jury is also strong the pride of knowing to be descendant of a strong and feared country. Especially among young people, perhaps because of the sense of insecurity shared by the society nowadays that offers no more certainty for the future. It's a substitute and an examples of absolute values, shows the pride of being children of the great Russia, protected under the wings of its power. This idea of protection seems to produce in them a sense of security. It feels like adopted children (citizens of Kaliningrad) by a parent (Russia) far away but influential. In fact, with the question "are you proud to be a Russian from Kaliningrad Oblast" there were answers that have expressed two different feelings: the older and middle generation expressed more pride of being Russian from Kaliningrad, the younger, as in Jury, the pride of being Russian in general is stronger. Tatiana, 29 years:

"I'm proud to be Russian 'cause my Country has great history, important heroes, and a strong charisma." Ilya, 28 years old: "I am proud to come from a great country, where there is so much to see, and that is so endless, inhabited by interesting people, which has an interesting and dramatic history."

Almost a sort of myth of the place of origin but it does not necessarily translate into a real interest in visiting it, nor a commitment to the cultural dictates that come from there. A couple of young respondents however have to be distinguished from other peers; they declare their pride in being born in Kaliningrad. It's the case of Polina, 31 years old: "Yes I'm proud because Kaliningrad is such a particular region which is culturally rich and it has interesting natural surroundings."

Indicating, as stated by Bahktin, how much nature is the laboratory¹⁷⁸ in which is the process of interaction between man and environment take place, even in the beautiful natural landscape of the region, one of the reasons of the pride and attachment. The older generation, more than all the others, have often referred to the pride of being born in Kaliningrad. Maybe because they contributed actively to the rebuilding part of their city, they saw the city changes and the growth in front of their eyes as much as they have seen their children grow. This seems to confirm that, through the space-time interaction, occurred over a longer period of time, the perception of identity with Kaliningrad had the opportunity to germinate consciously and more firmly. Here is the typical response of the elderly range, Albina, 71 years: "We built this city together after the war. It s 'part of me" Nina, 76 years "Of course! Each person is proud of its Home."

Aleksanda, 78:

"I am proud to be part of the heroic characteristics of the city of Kaliningrad, which was part of the victory of the World War II and which has its own historical cultural past"

The middle range is less idealized, has not mythologized Russia, did not experience the separation of migration, many did not return to their places of origin neither has built Kaliningrad. It is the category mostly aimed at the narrow present. It manifests more

¹⁷⁸ Bemong Nele, Borghart Pieter, De Dobbeleer Michel, Demoen Kristoffel, De Tennerman Koen & Keunen Bart (eds.) *Bakhtin's Theory of the Literary Chronotope. Reflections, Applications, Perspectives*, Academia Press, Gent, 2010, p.38.

clearly the contradictions inherent in the concept of feel pride for a country that limits, restricts, regress economically and culturally a part of its nation. A response that can sum up the attitude of the middle generation towards this particular point of the interview is that of Irina, 50 years old: "I relate to this rather as a fact, as given, not necessarily something to be proud of."

The entirety of the present and the future should guide towards the choice of: "a cheaper identity, more suitable for the survival of the group."¹⁷⁹ Surprisingly a young respondent is aligned in this sense: Queen, 16 years old: "I'm not proud of this; you have to be proud of your quality and not your own nationality."

The identity with the city of Kaliningrad seems, however, clearly expressed by the young range of people in many of the responses at the various stages of the interviews. In the request to indicate the place that the most would represents their "home. Despite the contradictions revealed in the concepts of Russian pride, they have unanimously indicated in Kaliningrad the only place where you feel at home, meaning home to the place of their daily passage of time, place of relationship with others, the construction of their daily life. Here the response of three young women:

Victoria, 23 years: "I love my city. It's my fortress."

Regina, 16 years: "You can feel good abroad, but nothing can replace your 'hometown.'"

Tatiana, 29 years: "My city is my home,"

These responses seem to show that despite the strong idealization of the homeland, the young do not hesitate to coincide in Kaliningrad the place of their existence. Always trying to make more easily approachable to identify them, it has been suggested to the interviewees the personal characteristics that could somehow correspond to a group, a nation, a region. The responses were mixed, but in large numbers, have described the inhabitants of Kaliningrad as different from other Russians. Irina, 50 years:

Identity is a sense of belonging to a group. I am part of this city. The people are very tolerant here in Kaliningrad, vis-à-vis other person from any nationality. We are calmer in respect to the people of the great Russia,"

¹⁷⁹ Bauman Zygmunt. From the Interview in Modena Phylosohy Festival September 2012.

The last sentence points out that Irina does not identify as a Russian but with her fellow citizens. The same concept, even more explicitly, is expressed in the following sentences by Viktoria, 53 and Larisa 45 years old: "Identities are similarities and differences between social groups. I am a resident of Kaliningrad."

"I feel I have common interests with the people of my city and I share with them the love of the sea, indifference to other Russians and their living conditions, the fact that they perceive the circularity of vicious cycle of life."

Larisa seems to identify in the fate of being there, in that place, in that time, the only opportunity for her and for others and it is the present time, with the projects and the sharing of every daily life that creates the membership with those who are living exactly what you are living. Expressing indifference to the Russians that are not from Kaliningrad seems to exclude Russia from the sense of belonging. Irina, 77 years:

"I feel I belong to more groups (multiple identities). I think I share some characteristics with all the groups mentioned but in the people of my city there are differences with respect to other Russians: we are more independent from Moscow, we are more confident and we have easy-going manners, more technology and industrious. Our sailors are always where there is need for help"

Attributing all these qualities to all the citizens of Kaliningrad, feeling part of it, implies the pride of Irina to her city is, despite the fact that she underlines a sense of 'multiple identity, partly due to her cultural background and the possibility of a number of trips made during her career as a journalist, she seems to identify fully with Kaliningrad and its inhabitants. Alexandra and Nina (older) both give the same response:

"I can share the main characteristics of my fellow citizens: tolerance, hospitality, sociable, open-mindedness. Quality due to the particular history of the Oblast and the fact that people living in the region belongs to more than 100 nationalities."

They emphasize the uniqueness of the space occupied¹⁸⁰ by the region in which they live: a space that Russia will try to close from Europe but in reality is a borderland through which smuggle unifying cultural exchange between Asia and Europe, between the Old and New. During the interviews the interviewees are invited to distinguish between what characterizes them most and what instead unites them to the other citizens. The data seem to indicate that for some of them especially the urgency of the problems of the present, of the life of every day, for others is the necessity to feel a unique person in the original personal history of life. Tatiana, who had said in the previous answer that Kaliningrad is her country, claims:

"The love for my country makes me special, what makes me like everyone else is the desire of comfort and nationalities."

Perhaps she is giving a different meaning to the term homeland, more 'intimate and exclusive than that of the nation, more collective. Viktoria, 53 years old: "My personality traits are what make me unique. Like everyone else, I have to adapt to the rules of life." Marina, 44 years old: "What makes me different is culture, love of literature, my work, the way they carry on my job." Irina, 77 years:

"What makes me special is the love for people, of all nationalities, and Christianity. It makes me like the others the food, the sleep, bathing in the sea, love for children, for the heroes, the history of our civilization, the desire to discover the secrets of space. "

Olga, 46 years old: "It makes me special closeness to Europe. Same as all the other the open soul, the hospitality" Strangely Olga refers to the uniqueness of being part of a Russian Oblast in Europe only to herself, not sharing it with others. In her the European identity seems to stand out firmly.

Victoria 23 years old: "I am proud to be a citizen from Kaliningrad, it makes me special." Queen, 16 years old:

"I'm everywhere a person. The place where I'm does not affect this. What is that differentiates me is my appearance, my character."

¹⁸⁰ Bakhtin M. Michail. *Per una filosofia dell'azione responsabile*. Piero Manni, Lecce, 1998, p.68.

The interest is turned to herself. Nationalist sentiments do not seem to be a dominant topic at this moment in the evolution of her adolescence. L., 45 years: "My sociability makes me different, special." The figures emerged across the responses was the reference connected more to the idea of identity, that refereeing to a universal concept, the aim was also to identify special features that make a person something unique and unrepeatable, to whom is given the opportunity to express the meaning and the value of their lives interacting with others with whom he/she feels to share intentions and affinity, to occupy the same space and the same time to live.

7. DISCUSSION

From the results it is possible to argue that in particular in the older and middle generation a greater detachment took place in the interest towards their mother land. Therefore, the fact that both these two generations underwent border changes will indicate the rightness of the chronotopical theory. For them, the two chronotopical interruptions occurred during the migration first and later in the 2004's EU enlargement have resulted both in the detachment from an already imposed identity as much as in the necessity to have the opportunity to construct a new sense of belonging in the "here and now." This last tendency emerges also in the younger generation. They never experienced a chronotopical break; this created a perfect fusion between their existences with the Kaliningrad's place.

Crosswise, the most unifying result among the three generations is that instead of the will to identify with a place and a history they rather have the urgency of the present, the immediacy of living the "here and now." This common concept of identity that seems to emerge from the analysis of the collected data is that of versatile feelings. It is ever-changing, and even similar to the idea of a process of mutation in the sense of a form that changes and transforms into another. In reality, the identity of the Kaliningrad's inhabitants with Russia as their country of origin seems to be more of an imagined identity¹⁸¹ instead of an experienced or perceived one.¹⁸² The concept of imagined identity is investigated and expressed by many historians and sociologists. The following is an emblematic statement by Michel de Certeau:

"On behalf of others, others who are unknown to me and seem remote and faceless to me, but like me they live in the present and strive to, and succeed in, obtaining the most possible. Most of them are not aware of my existence, and they will never be probably, except in the form in which I am, myself, aware of them: as a number in a statistics table."¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ Anderson Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, London, 1983, pp. 37- 59.

¹⁸² Lefebvre Henri , *La produzione dello spazio*, Casa Editrice Moizzi, Milano 1976, p.77.

¹⁸³ De Certeau Michel. *L'invention du Quotidien*. Paris, 1980. Cited in Bauman Zygmunt. *Mortalità, immortalità e altre strategie di vita*. Società editrice Il Mulino di Bologna, 2012, p.151.

A thought that seems to reflect the synthesis of the theoretical assumption of Benedict Anderson can be described by this sentence:

"Men and women had to be constructed as members of a community, which could be revealed to them only through the ability of the imagination, a community which they didn't realize even knowing it, and of that they did not have direct experience, and certainly not all-encompassing, made credible and supported by the constant goad of the imagination."¹⁸⁴

Therefore, the nourishment for a sense of belonging to the Oblast had to be through the persistence of the memory of Russia and of the imagination of the Russian identity. Though living in a space called "Russia" only for denomination, but in reality is *differential, artificial and thought*,¹⁸⁵ in order to become symbolically credible by the Soviet standards, immigrants would have to perceive it as "authentic". This space, in its new guise, is capable of maintaining within its inhabitants a strong bond with the homeland. The memory, according to the Henri Bergson's theories, does not use a past which has ceased to exist or to be useful: "The present is what interests me, what is living for me, what causes in me the action, while my past is essentially powerless."¹⁸⁶

For the older generation while the past was losing power, entering in a new space signed the beginning of a new life. The past was suddenly powerless, space was an alien space, with new boundaries, and the time, interrupted by migration, started to flow into the new *chronotope* of the inhabitants. This *chronotope* consists of the city that was assigned to them and of their present time, the time of the "here and now." From now on, thanks to the direct reconstruction of the city a new interaction was born with the growing space by which the older generation absorbed the beauty and the culture starting to experience it, day by day. In particular, an interviewee of one of the members of the older generation has justified her love for Kaliningrad also for having the graves of her loved ones there, an important thing for many, as if the burial sites

¹⁸⁴ Anderson Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, London, 1983, pp. 37.46/ 48- 59.

¹⁸⁵ Lefebvre Henri , *La produzione dello spazio*, Casa Editrice Moizzi, Milano 1976, p.72.

¹⁸⁶ Bergson Henri. *Opere 1889-1896: Saggi su dati immediati della coscienza. Materia e Memoria. L'idea di Luogo in Aristotole. Lettere*, Arnoldo Mondadori Editore S.p.A., Milano, 1986, p.247.

represent a North to seek on a journey of uncertain outcome. Another answer from the middle generation, in fact, expresses the desire to return to Kirgizstan, especially to go back to her mother's grave. Maurice Barres's concept about the impossibility to choose one's own country seems to take shape in these answers. When he asked himself: "What is the Nation," he answered: "The Earth and the Dead."¹⁸⁷ Both have one thing in common: they are not elements of choice. Kaliningrad has not been a choice for the older generation, although the victory of Stalin by law, has inscribed it within Russian domain. It was a land given to them and over time it became their land. Now their memory of their dead is as present as the memory of the land's European past.

The history of Great Russia with its most important events is not rooted nor deemed important for the older generation, with the exception of the persons who have made of their own culture their profession like teachers or tourist guides. Their responses are poor, fragmented and often missing which would seem to confirm Bergson's theory on the selection of memory in utilitarian terms, with respect to the construction of the present:

"It cannot be explained how the perception of remembering was born, but as it is in fact limited to what we are interested in, as a matter of fact; it should be the image of the whole."¹⁸⁸

Memory is tense towards actions, fixed in the present and facing the future. It doesn't represent our past, but instead "plays" with it. Memory relates to the past, and if it still deserves to be called a memory, it isn't because it keeps old images but because it prolongs the useful effects into the present.¹⁸⁹

The synergy of human and individual life experiences shapes a collective consciousness unified by the daily interactions. When the Soviet bureaucrats realized

¹⁸⁷ Bauman Zygmunt. *Mortalità, immortalità e altre strategie di vita*. Società editrice Il Mulino di Bologna, 2012, p. 141.

¹⁸⁸ Bergson Henri. *Opere 1889-1896: Saggi su dati immediati della coscienza. Materia e Memoria. L'idea di Luogo in Aristotole. Lettere*, Arnoldo Mondadori Editore S.p.A., Milano, 1986, p. 169.

¹⁸⁹ Bergson Henri. *Opere 1889-1896: Saggi su dati immediati della coscienza. Materia e Memoria. L'idea di Luogo in Aristotole. Lettere*, Arnoldo Mondadori Editore S.p.A., Milano, 1986, p.203.

their project to repopulate the Oblast, carefully selecting the group of individuals intended to be the new population, they conceived a conscious plan, an action of real social engineering with well monitored measures. However, they neglected not only the human factor but also the possible variables of the dynamics in the change of identity. These dynamics were already made unsafe as a result of the migration. Among the possible opportunities to create a new identity, the new group chose for survival and chose to give meaning to an existence together, right there, in that space, to recognize themselves in the "others."¹⁹⁰

The elders found themselves united by undergoing a pioneer fate to turn in a European space into a Russian one, something akin to a mission. The interviewees of the middle generation have never had an image of that Russia, no image of that space, and of that time. They know the country from their parents' stories, and if someone had ever returned to the place of origin, they were very young. In these rare episodes, memories are hazy and vague. It would seem that their generation is the one which suffered the majority of the profound changes that have altered the historical-political structure of Russia in the last 50 years. What they seem to denounce is the unpleasant feeling of having to pay for their privilege to live near Europe in a former European territory. In the analysis of the middle generation, there is a more notable lack of interest in the places of their ancestors. Those places do not seem so important to them, although they do know their geography and, in part, their history. No one expressed a desire to return there. As for the younger generation, their space-time fusion process has not been interrupted. Since the migration, this fusion has taken place in Kaliningrad but they all lived the changes of the EU enlargement in 2004 which strengthen the distance from motherland and shorten the one to Europe. According to Anu Masso's theory on the structure of personal spatialities¹⁹¹ it seems realistic that a place far away can be perceived as an enemy, dangerous while a near one will symbolize familiarity generating a sense of certainties. They did not have to forget because they neither have memories of

¹⁹⁰ Bakhtin M. Michail. *Per una filosofia dell'azione responsabile*. Piero Manni, Lecce, 1998, p.57.

¹⁹¹ Masso Anu. *The Structure of Personal Spatialities in Estonia and Sweden*. Journal of the Baltic Studies, (38) 3, 349-372. In Masso Anu. *Constitution of Personal Social Space in a Transitory Society*, Tartu Ullikooli Kirjastus, Tartu, 2008.

detachments from Russia nor idealized memories of this distant country. They are very focused on the present of their lives and, like the older, they feel very different from their Russian counterparts in that they feel more tolerant and culturally advanced than them. Nearer to Europe and more similar to Europeans, this is what emerges clearly from their self understanding in the older and middle generation. They are working people, beset by the pressures of everyday life. They are a bit inclined to celebrate the past; however, they are also very careful to point out the limits and the difficulties created by the Russian central government, as a result of the restrictions imposed after the EU enlargement. Rather than promoting the economic growth of Oblast, these restrictions hinder by making travelling to Europe difficult. As a result, the bitterest criticisms towards the homeland come from this middle generation.

Everyone complains that they had to give up travelling. In the past, there was frequent travel to Poland and Lithuania in order to develop both personal and professional relationships. Now these restrictions have, if it's possible, created an even stronger attraction to Europe and intensified the desire to travel once again. As claimed by Lefebvre, in the "abstract" and "differential" space designed by autocrats, the reproduction of social relations occurs through the dissolution of the existing relationship. But ironically, from these dissolutions new relationships arise which rejoin what that space has separated, accentuating the differences.¹⁹² The break from Europe has produced the paradoxical effect of desiring more of it and of loving the different influences more. Almost all the interviewees belonging to the middle generation know, apart from German, at least a couple of other European languages. Very few of them indicate Russia as a travel destination while, instead, Europe represents for them a popular holiday plan. Some said that their attraction is due to the preferable climate of the Mediterranean countries; whereas, others are interested in the cultural riches of the great European metropolis. Moreover, the tempting offers of the markets and the sophisticated goods are strong incentives for this generation to visit Europe, revealing their new desire for consumerism. Bauman said "I consume, therefore I am,"¹⁹³ in reference to the need of post-modern societies for instant gratification in order to justify

¹⁹² Lefebvre Henri , *La produzione dello spazio*, Casa Editrice Moizzi, Milano 1976, p.71.

¹⁹³ Notes from Bauman's conference about the *Relationship between Humans and Things*. Modena at the Philosophy Festival - September 2012.

the quick consumption of objects. This is a quick and guaranteed satisfaction through which we express our "being there" in a present full of insecurities, uncertainties and non-durable relationships.

The middle generation compares living in Kaliningrad to living in a "window" looking into Europe. From this window, looking to the West, they feel they get all the excitement and innovative spirit of its liberal culture. From those borders, the exchange is continuous, osmotic and incessant. The "membrane," first quoted by Vernadski and later by Bakhtin and Uchtomski,¹⁹⁴ is that which separates but relates Kaliningrad with the West, with Europe. The nourishment that comes from that border-membrane, over time, may have resulted in a change in the perception of the incessant exchange between living organisms and the environment. Some of the interviewees define the Oblast as "almost Europe." They love its nature, its seaside and beaches of amber; also descriptively differentiating its landscape from the typical Russian one implies a complete *spatio-temporal* fusion with it. Even if they are aware of the fact that the region of Kaliningrad is geopolitically Russia, all the representatives of the three generations talk about their travels 'in Russia' and how they feel when they are 'in Russia.' This highlights their own thoughts about an already ideal separation that has occurred between the different senses of belonging. Many show themselves openly indifferent about the problems and living conditions of their countrymen/countrywomen in the mainland. They are focused on the present, on the problems concerning their professions on maintaining their families and on their children's futures. Even more than the older, the middle generation uses bitter phrases about the impoverishment of the Oblast after 2004. This is particularly reflected through an interviewee, Larisa as she highlights the perceived sense of exploitation: "I feel like an island in the ocean, which they remember only in the day of collection." This reference to Kaliningrad as an island identifies the problem of the detachment from Russia. In its entirety then, her perception conveys that Kaliningrad is seen by Russia not only as an 'eye into Europe,' like a control tower, but also as a rich catchment area, propulsive of energy, culture,

¹⁹⁴ Diddi Cristiano. *Sulla Genesi e il Significato del Cronotopo in Bakhtin*, in *Ricerche Slavistiche* 7 (53), La Sapienza University, Roma, 2009, p.p. 143-156.

productive work. Furthermore, its profitable fruits do not improve the expectations of the people, but instead, they enrich the central government.

The middle generation confesses the widespread passivity of their fellow citizens. In their opinion they are submissive, resigned and unable to react to the harassment and bullying. They are almost accustomed to the difficult situations provoked by the national scheme. The older generation has a mythological view of the city of Kaliningrad due to the fact that they had renovated and participated in its reconstruction. The middle generation instead, knows about its history but they refer to a finished and already made product. This product is not charged by excessive emotionalism for them. Moreover, the older generation refers constantly to the charm of the Germanic architecture, to the privilege of living in a space with a dual and original history. The middle generation emphasizes the hardships and oddities of the city; they also explain how the fact of the distraction of Königsberg has touched their lives:

"At the time of Königsberg my house didn't exist yet, they built it on the ground of an ancient graveyard, I grew up on the ruins of the German Cathedral (...) the future awaits us, or the end of the world or a united Europe."

This sentence does not allow misunderstandings and it is a report of the impossibility to accept the limits of boundaries. It underlines the persistence of a nonsense control. "The buildings are now new, but everything else, including how to treat people, is old." Here the criticism towards Russian policy's choices is more than obvious. It is criticized the apparent wish to recover and restore Kaliningrad opening more contacts to the West but it appears clear the persistence of a Soviet mentality. The interviewees express the pride of living in some cultural areas of the city where many cultural activities take place for example next to the main theater, to some museums, to the island of Kant. Many of them have also confessed that this is something particular of the city of Kaliningrad and not so common in the other part of Russia. They are proud of the tourism in the Oblast. Many visitors in fact come to Kaliningrad because of the nature and the singular peculiarities of this Oblast. The constant and incessant cultural exchanges have created a fertile nutritional ground even through complicated borders. In here new ideas, thoughts, projects germinate outside of every nationalist heritage.

All the interviewees seem aware that in that special space they had and have now the best opportunities for their personal development and responsibilities for the community. This awareness grows regardless of age or of their personal and professional experiences. These are strongly cohesive data results from the analysis. The younger generation is not fully adhering to the idea of been proud of the cultural modernity of Kaliningrad, of the old Königsberg's monuments or of the beauty of their houses. Unlike the others, they confess the pride of being descendants of the Great Russia and they see it as a feared and powerful nation with a great history. They neither express the desire to visit the places of their ancestors' origin nor seem to feel the geographical distance from Russia, which instead they idealized. They underwent a *spatio-temporal* continuum with a mythologized space. The stories of their grandparents or parents about the past might have filled that mnemonic void or sewn an artificial plot of memories and references. Later, these memories have been expanded, woven into reality producing a single skein, eventually creating an emotional attachment with an imaginary place. "If you put the memory in a pattern of conservation and survival of the images, these will all mix constantly to our perception of the present."¹⁹⁵

In the young generation, it turns out to be more nuanced and contradictory the weakening of a Russian identity. During the interviews, they alternate expressions of a lack of interest for their country, also claiming that they will never live there, with the pride of belong to it. Above all, inside them seems to dominate the tension of living the present with the constant search for a better future, open to innovations, technologies, and modernity. Many declared to love Saint Petersburg describing it as: "The most European city of Russia." In the same way they are not interested in living there or in any other place different from Kaliningrad. Inside their answers more than in the one of the other generations, it manifests an ambiguous position in relation to the nation to which they belong. In their sentences it emerges frequently, the dual combination quoted by Lotman. In young generation the opposite terms Russia and Europe, that in this particular case they seem to underline a moral antagonism between "imagined model" and "soul" and not only the opposition between new and old. It shines Europe,

¹⁹⁵ Bergson Henri. *Opere 1889-1896: Saggi su dati immediati della coscienza. Materia e Memoria. L'idea di Luogo in Aristotole. Lettere*, Arnoldo Mondadori Editore S.p.A., Milano, 1986, p.189.

in their fluid speeches and statements, with an enthusiasm for all the cultural events that circulate in the city, with the desire to get out from the borders. Their tendency is to mingle with the young Europeans with whom they established relationships and networks of exchange. Notwithstanding it, without denying their present as citizens of Kaliningrad, there is in them the need to reaffirm the importance of the past celebrating the pride of being Russians.

The central authorities exercised without coercion a strong control over the older and middle generations which with great discomfort had to conform to many orders on how to live, what to know or visit. These facts paradoxically don't seem a limit in the eyes of the young generation. This is due to the fact that probably they have not experienced a greater freedom and autonomy before. Contradictorily, the young generation expresses any interests neither for the eastern part of Europe, nor for its history.

As Bauman has stated, this is an historical moment of social "fluidity" in which individuals make effort in order to feel engaged in safe projects constructing a future. The young people in Kaliningrad seem to find a shelter in the idea of being protected by a home as distant as looming. The historical and political size of the mainland seems to cast a large shadow on the Oblast. Russia gives to them the idea of being as a reassuring distant observer while in reality is obscuring and limiting Kaliningrad.

Nevertheless, it would be risky to talk about the rebirth of a sense of nationalism, although it would find in this time of strong economical crisis a response to the distorted chaos of globalization. The idealization of Russia is definitely emerging in the responses of the younger generation though continually alternating with a total adherence with the more European Kaliningrad.

They have described with passion and pride the beauty of the ancient part of the Prussian city and the famous people who were born in their city. As appear from their stories sounds clear the acknowledgment to be assigned to a special role: to live in a special place never stopped or altered and in its *chronotopical spatio-temporal* connection. As Bakhtin would add: "In the highest point of western Russia, an occupied city, an island in Europe."

Kaliningrad and its inhabitants are guardians of a fascinating, stimulating and evolutionary diverse dual culture. This ascribes them to the role of experimental population in movement, a sort of presumably new *Mittel-European* intelligentsia. Unlike the young, the older and middle generation consciously give up to the concept of collective identity in order to better wear the one Kaliningrad's' citizens. Russia is no more considered as the natural custodian of trust and it is more evident in them a sense of disappointment towards it. They do not feel to engage in an exchange that doesn't promises certainties and that was just long time ago a principle of recruitment of national identity. They don't feel satisfied and guaranteed anymore by a nation that does not ensure to them a productive role or which promotes cultural and economic growth for their community: "I belong to you, but you Nation, you will take care of me, and you will ensure to me the gratification to feel part of a whole, to feel useful for a final picture."¹⁹⁶ The establishment of the Schengen visa regime has emphasized the exclusion of the Oblast from EU, so for a while the idealized complicity ceased to exist and the disappointment of the citizens of Kaliningrad got bigger. In their opinion, Russia has sought to perpetuate the peripheral location of the region fearing perhaps that a greater freedom within the confines of Kaliningrad could bring the whole nation to a possible disintegration. Russia attempted to secure it in the role of "dumb" and subject entity as it was at the time of the Soviet period rather than promote its development as a "margin."¹⁹⁷

In general the inhabitants of Kaliningrad don't recognizing any longer in Russian a reliable Nation that could be the recipient for their future projects. Their community has in fact opted for the choice of a "*puzzle identity*"¹⁹⁸ especially the older and middle generation and, albeit less consciously, also the younger one.

¹⁹⁶ Marshall Thomas. Cited in Bauman Zygmunt. *Intervista sull'identità*. Gius Laterza & Figli S.p.A., Roma-Bari, 2010. p. 46.

¹⁹⁷ Browning S. Christopher and Pertti Joenniemi, *The identity of Kaliningrad: Russian, European or a Third Space?* In Tassinari Fabrizio (ed.) *The Baltic Sea Region in the European Union: Reflections on Identity, Soft-Security and Marginality*, Gdansk-Berlin, 2003, pp. 10-27. http://www2.hu-berlin.de/ostseekolleg/virtual/online_pdf/paper8.pdf

¹⁹⁸ Bauman Zygmunt. *Intervista sull'identità*. Gius Laterza & Figli S.p.A., Roma-Bari, 2010, p. 56.

Fragments of ideals of belonging are all necessary parts for the reproduction of an ideal image that will be as close as possible to the identification of one's self. Their idea of belonging is clearly emerging from some answers in which many give different definitions of self: Russian citizen, citizen of Kaliningrad, inhabitant of Europe, native Russian speaker, Russian with European culture and so on. In a kaleidoscope of polyvalent images, the samples examined recognize more fragments of ideals belonging. Depending on certain needs, people create the best way to reach their purposes: "The logic of construction follows a process of final rationality."¹⁹⁹

From the three generations examined, the outcome of a particular form of identity is different from the one connected to their nation. This change seems therefore due to a rejection to an imposed identity as much to the distance from the Russian Space. Both, the time spent in Kaliningrad and the geographical proximity to Europe influence the Oblast's inhabitants as a stream that cannot be contained even by border's visas and controls.

The *spatio-temporal* indicators in fact, intertwine continually in the stories of the interviewees and they constitute an important characteristic in the history of the Oblast. European and Soviet symbols coexist and maintain memories of histories and of cultures far from each other, eventually merging into a unique visual language. Therefore, the space of the city is charged by strong and emotional values.

In accordance with Bakhtin's and Lefebvre's ideologies, the empirical part of this research seems to support the idea that identity and the sense of belonging can be shaped only through networks of interactions. The only possible way to give dignity to the individual existences and meaning to a certain social space is through collective achievements and common actions. These are the expression of duty "for the other": "Only in the exchange, in the interactions between human beings and with human beings is expressed *the human being in the human being* for self as much as for other's interests."²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 57.

²⁰⁰ Bakhtin M. Michail. *Per una filosofia dell'azione responsabile*. Piero Manni, Lecce, 1998. p.11.

In a common space the interaction with others acquires meaning and generates membership while sharing the present. In the modern society, the synchronic network of relations is completely enclosed to the present. The present is not tied to past as much as it is not responsible for the future.²⁰¹ The real life is for the interviewees the life of Kaliningrad, these people act in the only way they could give uniqueness to their existence in this place created based on the wish of Russia's rule over the ruins of the old Königsberg. Their "must be" is to belong to that city and to its inhabitants: "(...) I have to get my 'ought be' in relation to everything and whatever it will be and in whatever condition it was given to me , I have to act from my unique place."²⁰²

As Bakhtin would claim, it is the subject who, with the use of his/her morality has to recognize the "need to be;" ethical rules or content cannot impose it.²⁰³ In this particular place, the citizens of Kaliningrad got the opportunity to give a sense to their destiny away from their home country. They have the feeling of being special breaking to their "have to feel Russians." They know they are Russians but not like the others, people with common affinities and projects. The condition of belonging cannot be something given or imposed. It would not make any sense if the freedom to choose an identity was imposed by the authorities.²⁰⁴ The opportunity they have now is to improve their life's conditions and expectations. They cannot have alibis for not playing this game entirely mixing their own traditions and habits to those of the new and modern cultural patterns, to which they already feel of being members.

The importance to share the same present and the love for the same city it is what emerged the most in the interviews. The space of Kaliningrad is the theater of these exchanges and vital processes, an area that is mainly *experienced* and just secondarily *thought* or *perceived*. Here, the natural phenomena of aging, growing and maturing are reproducing and physically marking the space.²⁰⁵ This slow transition will create a unique non-negotiable space for which there could not be an *elsewhere*.

²⁰¹ Claude Levi-Strauss. Cited in Bauman, Zygmunt, Bauman. *Moralità, immortalità e altre strategie di vita*. Società editrice Il Mulino di Bologna, 2012.p. 224.

²⁰² Bakhtin M. Michail. *Per una filosofia dell'azione responsabile*. Piero Manni, Lecce, 1998 , p.53

²⁰³ Ibid., p.55-58.

²⁰⁴ Bauman Zygmunt. *Intervista sull'identità*. Gius Laterza & Figli S.p.A., Roma-Bari, 2010, pp. 18-19.

²⁰⁵ Lefebvre Henri , *La produzione dello spazio*, Casa Editrice Moizzi, Milano 1976, p. 158.

Bakhtin's Latin definition of *elsewhere* is *alibi*: "(...) I can't even for a moment not to be part of the real life, from the unique place that I occupy; I have no *alibi* for this."²⁰⁶ That is to say one space other than that definable as "home."

The weakening of a Russian identity and the birth of a new form of membership has emerged sometimes clearly, sometimes blurred. The analysis of the collected data was made up articulating them into three main categories of time- space-identity. Especially the older generation expresses intensely in all three categories the identification with their city. Therefore, a sort of identification with Kaliningrad is gained by the older generation over the time of an entire lifetime: from the migration to their present. Albeit with different modality, almost everybody has reported not an emphasized or nostalgic memory but rather an historical one towards the detachment from Russia. In the answers, some people reveal the idea of an interruption of their life and almost all of them have confessed the lack of the desire to return to their places of origins. This could possibly highlight the will to remove more than the will to remember. "When talking about memory we are in the Spirit's sphere, in the floor of the consciousness. The past is perceived only if it is played in the action of the present."²⁰⁷

Many of them related to Russia as the land of origins and as a place "now extraneous." A sad place where nothing more is as it was before, where there's just no one to return to. Frequent were the answers that have limited the importance of the roots mostly because they all spent long time away from those places, recognizing in Kaliningrad the representation of its life's cycle. "By now too much time has passed" was the more repeated phrase in this section of the interview's.

The interaction between man and environment described by Bakhtin has fully occurred in the natural laboratory of Kaliningrad. Here, living organisms and matter that on the one hand are separated by the borders, on the other hand across that border are able to go beyond the rigid opposition of space and time categories. These will bind

²⁰⁶ Bakhtin M. Michail. *Per una filosofia dell'azione responsabile*. Piero Manni, Lecce, 1998, p. 53.

²⁰⁷ Bergson Henri. *Opere 1889-1896: Saggi su dati immediati della coscienza. Materia e Memoria. L'idea di Luogo in Aristotele. Lettere*, Arnoldo Mondadori Editore S.p.A., Milano, 1986, p.327.

indissolubly through a continuous metabolism which merges them into a superior unit, *chronotopical*,²⁰⁸ favoring the formation of a new process of identity.

These pieces all indiscriminately coexist inside the identity of the interviewees among the different age ranges. They are experienced and perceived by different intensity and strengths, highlighted in a different way depending on the heterogeneous variables that is to say on the individual life experiences and individual aspirations for a better future.

In certain sentences most of the people express, not always explicitly, the perceptions of a new type of identity, not specifically European neither Russian, but more intrinsically the one of Kaliningrad. Their European "soul" is the best way to get to that desire of cultural emancipation and economic independence that each of them, without exception, clearly hopes for himself/herself and for the good of their children and of the community as a whole.

“You can feel uncomfortable trying at all costs to find a dream of belonging, but you can also pull out a vocation or a mission from your own destiny of *not to choose*. Such a decision can bring likely benefits to those which adopt that decision and for the other around them as well. Carry it until the end.”²⁰⁹

²⁰⁸ Bemong Nele, Borghart Pieter, De Dobbeleer Michel, Demoen Kristoffel, De Tennerman Koen & Keunen Bart (eds.) *Bakhtin's Theory of the Literary Chronotope. Reflections, Applications, Perspectives*, Academia Press, Gent, 2010.

²⁰⁹ Bauman Zygmunt. *Intervista sull'identità*. Gius Laterza & Figli S.p.A., Roma-Bari, 2010, p. 9.

8. CONCLUSION

Starting with the premise that identity is the product of the deep interaction of an individual with a particular place and a particular time, this research comes to the conclusion that the change of one of these two indicators, space or time, results in a change in the process of the formation of a specific identity. The concept of *spatio-temporal* fusion then resides in the coexistence and connection of several factors which together produce a sense of belonging. The spatial factors considered essential in the definition of space are the places of origin, the shared boundaries and the social space. Those factors related to the definition of time have been identified as history, memory, daily relations with the others and shared projects. The interaction of these elements produces in people not only a feeling of affinity with a group, but also the identification of a "home", the perception of self in relation to others, the pride of belonging and the importance of the present. It is in the present in which the sense of identity is perceived.

Moreover, what emerges from this study is that the change of even one of these *spatio-temporal* factors leads to a consequent change in the orientation in the formation of a specific identity. The presence of a hierarchy in the various factors which make up the definition of space and time has also emerged. In particular, it can be said that the most relevant change is in the borders, or membranes, within the category of space. As evidenced by the theories of Bakhtin and Lefebvre, these boundaries are understood as places of exchange rather than places of division and correspond to the replacement of an old "feeding membrane". The influences of new cultures and of "other" habits and mentalities pass naturally from these new frontiers. These influences are used to scaffold the new perception of the existence. The dynamic flow of the present begins in the new space which is surrounded by the new boundaries. It marks the beginning of a new *chronotope* which will be a decisive one for the construction and interaction with a social space. The relationships with others and for others will involve the creation of a new identity.

In addition, it has also appeared during this research that the identity expressed in the new formation process turns out to be smoother when, in the *chronotopical* fusion, those who have contributed to the realization of that social space, experienced it directly. Therefore, the identity gap in this case is sharper.

The perception to share a unique destiny with others was a strong element of cohesion for the older generation which increased by both the awareness that they have contributed to reconstruction of the city and by the direct vision of unification.

According to the prediction of the ideal space of Lefebvre, the recognition of the same hopes and projects reflected in others through the construction of a perceived and experienced social space, created, in the older generation, the identification that has made Kaliningrad their home. They are proud of the cultural ferment as well as for the peculiar diversity of the people who populated it.

They share similarities with other groups of people and also define themselves as Russian inhabitants of either, the Baltic, Kaliningrad or the Eastern European region. Despite this, it is only in Kaliningrad where they claim a sense of belonging and pride.

The middle generation, who lived the *chronotopical* detachment due to the change of borders as a result of the EU enlargement in 2004, experienced the consequent tightening of controls and limitations in crossing into neighboring countries. This forced inaction in the area of Kaliningrad and the resulting perception of isolation, caused a more defined separation from the memory of the origins. It also heightened the suspicion of being exploited as bargaining goods by the central authority, rather than being a necessary part of the country where development and growth are promoted. Those facts, therefore, have emphasized the importance of the social space in particular for the middle generation. In the social space, they weave everyday relationships with others whom they feel they share problems of the daily life, thereby, fulfilling the real needs for their community. On one hand, if the distance from the rest of Russia has shaped, in particular in the middle generation, a collective feeling of disappointment and alienation from their own country, then on the other hand, the greater closeness with Europe has collaborated to bring out the feeling of sharing more similarities than differences with those countries. The history and culture of Europe, therefore transformed from the connotation of "other" to one of familiar and friendly. In the case of the middle generation in addition to the lack of the direct construction of a social space, there is also the lack of the direct choice of a collective memory based on the cancellation of an uncomfortable past. They underwent the obligation to live and

interact in a given space, which was already designed. Despite this, they saw a unique opportunity to create their own reason to exist in the “here and now”.

The new process of identification has as temporal collocation the present and is justified through the reflection in the “other”. The primary necessity here is the urgent need “to be” for the other in contrast to the previous preconceived “must be”.

The middle generation has invested in the importance of a synchronous network of relations, based more on the uniqueness offered by the present than the one based on the diachronicity of the past history. The memory of the past, provided by the stories of the elders, has produced in the middle generation the necessity to choose to interact in the daily life. They recognize a sense of belonging to that space given by neither the history nor the memories of others but instead, by sharing the present and new boundaries with all the members of their community. The middle generation, more than the others, seems convey a “puzzled identity”, which is multi-purpose and made up of many different pieces. Each of these pieces is useful in the construction of the final identity that will be more similar to the ideal image of self. **For the construction of a new, stronger and more conscious identity, it is therefore possible to claim that the direct cooperation is necessary for the development of a collective and representative space for that community. That space will have in any case the signs of the previous history in itself, which will be inscribed in the memory of its inhabitants and it will blend into one.**

The younger generation expresses the same detachment from the past admitted also by the other generations. Nevertheless, they clearly express no desire to visit the place of their relatives’ origin. They confess, unlike the others, the pride to descend from such a “feared and powerful” nation like Russia. This could be due to a continuity of their mnemonic textile built from the stories of parents and grandparents which, emphasizing a distance in time and space from the motherland, have produced a mythological image of it. They, too, are more focused on the present and on building a shared future with the other members of the community, instead of the neighboring European countries. They are attracted to Europe and, like the middle generation, are fascinated by refined European goods, transmitting a new desire for consumption. According to Bauman’s the theory of “I consume, therefore I am,” this desire will

motivate the constant need to possess new things in the search for the perception of one's own existence. They feel they are Russians but “more evolved,” identifying more closely to the aspirations and the cultural education of the young people in the neighboring European countries. In short, the younger generation combines the memory of the past, without *chronotopical* separation. Nothing has ever changed in their *spatio-temporal* fusion, neither in the everyday relationships nor in their future projects. Their place of origin is the same as their grandparents'. Their history and memories coincide with Kaliningrad. Their memory of Russia is increasingly distant now, not real or concrete but instead idealized, mythologized and deprived of any relevance to the present. Via osmosis, the younger generation is projected towards the European borders, aware of the affinity that they share with the neighboring countries and of the particularity of their region. They recognize similarities and shared intentions in the inhabitants of the Oblast. Their home is Kaliningrad and they perceive themselves as its inhabitants, but different from their countrymen and countrywomen in that they are proud to be protected by a huge country like Russia. **In short, this diachronic study on the young generation represents the perfect combination of the spatial and temporal factors. From this emerges a nearly complete absence of change in their perception of belonging. Thus, it appears that the constant chronotopical fusion of the two indicators, space and time, leads to the perception of a roughly homogeneous identity.**

The choice of the Kaliningrad Oblast as a case study was motivated by the dual change of boundaries that people have experienced in its history: the first as a result of migration from the motherland to repopulate the region, the second after the EU enlargement in 2004. As a result of these facts, the division according to the three generations taken into account has shown that different outcomes in their identities have been observed over the three generations. The older generation, who has lived both the *chronotopical* breaks, has revealed through their stories a greater separation from the memory and places of origin. Forgetting seems to be a necessary reaction by the emigrants from the motherland, in order to build a collective memory that responds to the more urgent need to establish a relationship in the present and in the space assigned to them where they develop relations with others. According to Kapralski, a community needs to reduce the past to a *viable past* in order to create a foundation for the

development of the present. Both in the old and in the middle generations, the *chronotopical* interruption has resulted in a separation from the homeland and in the need to take advantage of the opportunity to build a sense of belonging in the "here and now". The younger generation has not suffered any *chronotopical* interruptions. Their time has always been fused with the space of Kaliningrad. They express pride of feeling Russian, which derives from the memories of others. This attachment could match Bauman's theory of the liquid society in which the sense of insecurity leads to the selection of a more affordable identity. Despite these differences, those interviewed from the younger generation express the concept of a homogeneous identification with Kaliningrad. They indicate Kaliningrad as their only possible home and their pride to belong to it.

This specific study on the case of Kaliningrad has given a sort of updated "window" into the current situation of a small sample of its inhabitants. Despite this small sample set, this result could help reinforce the idea of the marginalization process already in place in this peculiar community of the Kaliningrad Oblast. This concept has already been explicated in the article of Browning and Joenniemi.²¹⁰ Even if the inhabitants' tendency to strongly identify with the region of Kaliningrad is almost impossible to predict on the base of a qualitative study, it's possible to argue that it could be seen in future generations. The future of the region could depend on how much this sense of regional identity with the Oblast will be strengthened.

Even considering the categories and concepts chosen to analyze these interviews have been grounded in the particular case of Kaliningrad thereby strictly connecting the consequent results to the situation there, the contribution of this study may be important to determine whether the combination of the main theoretical framework, provided by Bakhtin, Lefebvre, Kapralski, with a diachronic study of a given regional or local identity, could assist in determining the formation of a specific identity of other similar cases and help depict the process through which this happens.

²¹⁰ Browning S. Christopher and Pertti Joenniemi, *The identity of Kaliningrad: Russian, European or a Third Space?* In Tassinari Fabrizio (ed.) *The Baltic Sea Region in the European Union: Reflections on Identity, Soft-Security and Marginality*, Gdansk-Berlin, 2003, pp. 27-58.

In conclusion, this result highlights the fact that no pre-established identity assigned by a power using a top-down modality can be unconditionally accepted. It holds that no power will be successful in the attempt to completely dominate a space. Every space, emotionally and symbolically charged by memories, will interact with the time of the men and women who inhabit it either by choice or by force. In that space, they instinctively build the framework of new perceptions "other" than those designated for them by that initial pre-established project.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anderson Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, London, 1983, pp. 37.46/ 48- 59.
- *Art-Guide. Koenigsberg/Kaliningrad Now*. Agency for Support of Cultural Initiatives “Tranzit,” Kaliningrad, 2005.
- Ashworth G.J. Graham Brian & Tunbridge J.E. *Pluralizing Past*. Pluto Press, London 2007.
- Azar Hosseini Fatemi, Pishghadam Reza, Hashemi Mohammad Reza, Adel Reza Mohammad Seyyed. *The Chronotopical nature of identity construction: Case Studies of Narrative Identities of EFL teachers*. *International Journal of Research Studies in Language Learning*, 2012.
<http://www.consortiacademia.org/index.php/ijrsl/article/view/223/172>
- Baily D. Kenneth. *Methods of Social Research*. The Free Press, A Division of Macmillan, Inc., Third Avenue, New York, 1994.
- Bakhtin M. Michail. *Estetica e romanzo*, (first ed. 1975) Izdatel Stvo, *Chudozestvennaja literature*, Einaudi Giulio Editore, s.p.a. Torino, 1997.
- Bakhtin M. Michail. *Per una filosofia dell'azione responsabile*. Piero Manni, Lecce, 1998.
- Bakke, Cao, O' Loughlin, Cao Xun, Ward D. Micheal. *Social Distance in Bosnia and the North Caucasus Region of Russia*. May 2007.
<http://www.duke.edu/web/methods/pdfs/socialdistance4web.pdf>
- Bauer W. Martin And Gaskell George. *Qualitative researching. With text, Image and Sound*. SAGE Publications Ltd, London, 2007. P.202.
- Bauman Zygmunt. *Amore liquido*. Gius. Laterza & Figli Spa, Roma-Bari, Giugno 2009
- Bauman Zygmunt. *Intervista sull'identità*. Gius. Laterza & Figli S.p.A., Roma-Bari, 2010.
- Bauman Zygmunt. *Modernità Liquida*. Gius. Laterza & Figli S.p.A., Roma-Bari, June 2011.
- Bauman Zygmunt. *Mortalità, immortalità e altre strategie di vita*. Società editricie Il Mulino di Bologna, 2012.
- Baxter Pamela and Jacks Susan. *Qualitative Case Study methodology: study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers*. In *The Qualitative Report*, Mc Master University, West Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, December 2008. <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR13-4/baxter.pdf>

- Bemong Nele, Borghart Pieter, De Dobbeleer Michel, Demoen Kristoffel, De Tennerman Koen & Keunen Bart (eds.) *Bakhtin's Theory of the Literary Chronotope. Reflections, Applications, Perspectives*, Academia Press, Gent, 2010.
- Bergson Henri. *Durata e simultaneita*, Cortina Raffaello, Milano 2004.
- Bergson Henri. *Opere 1889-1896: Saggi su dati immediati della coscienza. Materia e Memoria. L'idea di Luogo in Aristotole. Lettere*, Arnoldo Mondadori Editore S.p.A., Milano, 1986.
- Browning S. Christopher and Pertti Joenniemi, *The identity of Kaliningrad: Russian, European or a Third Space?* In Tassinari Fabrizio (ed.) *The Baltic Sea Region in the European Union: Reflections on Identity, Soft-Security and Marginality*, Gdansk-Berlin, 2003, pp. 27-58.
http://www2.hu-berlin.de/ostseekolleg/virtual/online_pdf/paper8.pdf
- Chaim Noy. *Sampling Knowledge: The Hermeneutics of Snowball Sampling in Qualitative Research*. International Journal of Social Research Methodology, Vol.11, No. 4, October 2008. pp. 327-344.
http://www.academia.edu/214608/Sampling_Knowledge_The_Hermeneutics_of_Snowball_Sampling_in_Qualitative_Research
- De Certau Michel. *The Practice of evryday Life*. University of California Press, Berkley, Los Angeles, London. pp. 91- 222.
http://mediaarchaeologyofplace.org/downloads/readings/DeCerteau_WalkingInTheCity.pdf
- Dey Ian. *Qualitative Data Analysis. A user-friendly guide for social scientists*. Routledge-Taylor & Francis Group, London and New York, 1993.
http://www.drapuig.info/files/Qualitative_data_analysis.pdf
- Diddi Cristiano. *Sulla Genesi e il Significato del Cronotopo in Bakhtin*, in Ricerche Slavistiche 7 (53), La Sapienza University, Roma , 2009, p.p. 143-156.
http://www.academia.edu/680772/Sulla_genesi_e_il_significato_del_cronotopo_in_Bachtin
- Gibbs Graham. *Analyzing Qualitative Data*. SAGE Publications Ltd, London.
- Groth Niels Boje (ed.) and Grundfelder Julien. A report on the EastWest Window Project, Working Group 1. *Regional Integration. Russia in the Baltic Sea Region*, Danish Centre for Forest, Landscape and Planning, University of Copenhagen, 2008.
http://www.vasab.org/download/documents/other/WG1_Synthesis_Report_final.pdf
- Harvey David. *L'enigma del capitale ed il prezzo della sua sopravvivenza*. G. Feltrinelli Editore, Milano, 2010.

- Kapralski Slawomir. *Battlefields of Memory: Landscape and Identity in Polish-Jewish Relations*, published in "History and Memory" Volume 13, number 2, Fall/Winter 2001.
- Karpenko Anna. *Regionalization and identity: The subjectivity of Kaliningrad*. Immanuel Kant State University, Kaliningrad, 2010.
<http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:http://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/UNIS/article/download/UNIS0606130277A/28145>
- Kuchins C. Andrew, Malarkey Matthew, Markedonov. *The North Caucasus. Russia's Volatile Frontier*. Russia and Eurasia Program, Center for Strategic & International Studies, March, 2011. http://csis.org/files/publication/110321_Kuchins_NorthCaucasus_WEB.pdf
- Lefebvre Henri, *La produzione dello spazio*, Casa Editrice Moizzi, Milano 1976.
- Lotman Jury Michajlovic and Uspenskij Boris Andrievic. *Il ruolo dei modelli duali nella dinamica della cultura Russa*. In Veselovskij A. N., Potebnja A., Trubeckoj N. S., Bachtin M., Lichacev D. S., Lotman J. M., Uspenskij B. A., Toporov, Meletinskij E.M. *Saggio la cultura nella tradizione russa del XIX e XX secolo*, in Nicolai, Giorgio M., *Russia bifronte. Da Pietro I a Caterina II attraverso la «Corruzione dei costumi in Russia» di Scerbátov e il viaggio da Pietroburgo a Mosca di Radiscev*, Bulzoni Editor S.r.l., Roma, 1990.pp-240-286.
- Masso Anu. *Constitution of Personal Social Space in a Transitory Society*, Tartu Ullikooli Kirjastus, Tartu, 2008.
- Oldberg Ingmar. *Kaliningrad: Russian exclave, European enclave*. Scientific report of the Swedish defence Research Agency, June 2001.
- Onken Eva-Clarita. *Memory and Democratic Pluralism in the Baltic States- Rethinking the Relationship*. Journal of Baltic Studies, Vol.41, No.3, Routledge, September 2001, pp. 277.294.
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01629778.2010.498186>
- Pettai Eva-Clarita. *The Convergence of Two Worlds: Historians and Emerging Histories in the Baltic States*. Published in Housden Martyn, and Smith David J.(eds) *Forgotten Pages in Baltic History. Inclusion and Exclusion in History*. A Festschrift for John Hiden, Amsterdam/Ney York: Rodopi, 2011.
http://www.academia.edu/539405/The_Convergence_of_Two_Worlds_Historians_and_Emerging_Histories_in_the_Baltic_States
- Pettai Eva-Clarita. *Establishing "Holocaust memory"- A comparison of Estonia and Latvia*. In Oliver Rathkolb / Imbi Sooman, eds., *Historical Memory Culture in the Enlarged Baltic Sea Region and its Symptoms Today* V&R unipress/University of Vienna Press, 2011, 159-74.

- Sander Huisman. *A new European Union policy for Kaliningrad*, European Union Institute for Security Studies, Paris, March 2002. <http://www.peacepalacelibrary.nl/ebooks/files/occ33.pdf>
- Shutz Alfred. *La fenomenologia del mondo sociale*. Società Editrice Mulino, Bologna 1974.
- Weil Simone. *Riflessioni sulle cause della libertà e dell'oppressione sociale*. RCS Quotidiani S.p.A., Milano,
- Wilson T.D. *Alfred Schuts, phenomenology and research methodology for information behavior research*. University of Sheffield, United Kingdom, Fourth International Conference on Information Seeking in Context, Universidade Lusiada, Lisbon, Portugal, 2002.
<http://informationr.net/tdw/publ/papers/schutz02.html>

APPENDIX 1

Older Generation

INTERVIEWEES	PLACE OF BIRTH	STATUS	ORIGINS and CONTACTS	CONTACTS with other places in Russia	FOREIGN LANGUAGES SPOKEN	CONTACTS WITH EUROPE	DEFINITION OF THEMSEVES
I.V. (F) 77 years old	Baku	journalist	From Caucasus and Baku. She came to Kaliningrad 54 years ago. Sometimes at the beginning she visited those places. Now not anymore.	Sometimes in Moscow for job.	German French English	Often travel to Poland and Lithuania.	-Inhabitant of the Baltic Region -a person belonging to the 21th century.
D.A. (M) 71 years old	Bashkortostan	Retired welder	Lives in Kaliningrad since 1964, parents are also from Bashkortostan. He goes there just for some special occasion.	Almost never.	-----	Almost never	-A Russia citizen -Inhabitant of Kaliningrad -a Russia mother tongue
A.F. (F) 72 years old	Smolensk	Retired nurse	She came to Kaliningrad in 1956; in Smolensk there is none of her relatives anymore so she never goes there.	Never	A bit of German	Sometimes on the Baltic Sea everywhere.	-a Russian inhabitant of Kaliningrad.
N.A. (F) 69 years old	Ukraine	economist	Mather from Orlov, father from Voroshilovg	Recently never.	Ukrainian German	Often to the Baltic States	-A Russian citizen

			rad (now Luhansk). They moved to Kaliningrad in 1947. She had relatives in Ukraine and Crimea and during the Soviet Union they used to go there but it's since 30 years that she never visits those places.				- a European citizen -inhabitant of the Kaliningrad Oblast -a Russian speaker
A. (F) 78 years old	Voronezh region	Retired Manager in the construction sector	She moved to Kaliningrad with her husband in 1954, for military service. In 50 years she went to her village twice. Her house it's not there anymore.	Last time was in 1984.	German	Not so often, just on holidays.	-inhabitants of Kaliningrad city and Oblast -Russian speakers -More European than Asian
N. (F) 76 years old	Bashkortostan	psychiatrist	She is living in Kaliningrad since 1963. Mother is from Chernigov and father also from Ukraine. She doesn't feel the need to go there and she has never been there. She goes back to	Since long time not being in other cities.	Ukrainian German Latin	Since 2004 not spend time abroad in Lithuania and Poland, before much more.	-Inhabitant of the Kaliningrad region -European -Russian Citizen

			Bashkortost an rarely.				
A.I. (F) 71 years old	Tula Region	Retired Teacher and social assistant	Her relatives also were from Tula region, they moved to Kaliningrad in 1965. She doesn't want to go back because there is anything anymore.	She doesn't go anywhere.	-----	She doesn't go anywhere.	-citizen of Kaliningrad

Middle generation

INTER VIEWE ES	PLACE OF BIRTH	STATUS	ORIGINS and CONTACT S	CONTACTS with other places in Russia	FOREIGN LANGUAGES SPOKEN	CONTACTS WITH EUROPE	DEFINITIO N OF THEMSELV ES
I. I. (F) 50 years old	Kamcha tka	Director of a family business	Father was a military engineer from Ukraine, mother from central russia; in 1954 they moved to Kaliningrad .	She doesn't travel to the east but to the west side. She likes Saint Petersburg.	Polish German English	A couple of shorts trip per year.	-Inhabitants of Kaliningrad Oblast -citizen of the world - Russia citizen -member of the European Community
A. (M) 47 years old	Ukraine, Yalta	Small commerci al activity	He is in Kaliningrad since 9 years, great part of his family lives in Kyrgyzstan. He cannot go back for political problems.	He has some friends in Moscow.	-----	Often Poland and Lithuania	-Russian citizen -but European in mentality and physical traits.

M. (F) 44 years old	Kyrgyzstan, Bishkek	Teacher of Russian language	She is Kaliningrad since 9 years, part of her relatives are still in Kyrgyzstan. She doesn't need to go back there just to go to the grave yard to her mother.	She like Saint Petersburg. Some friends in other cities.	-German -English	She doesn't go abroad.	-citizen of the world -close to Europe
O.V (F) 46 years old	Kaliningrad	Housewife	Mother from Baku, father from Novosibirsk and they moved to Kaliningrad for job reasons. She has never been there, because is not interesting economically.	Before, during the Soviet Union, they used to go often to Russia now not anymore.	-----	She goes more often to Europe because it's much closer to them (inhabitants of Kaliningrad).	-like a person from the periphery <i>And at the same time</i> -like a foreign in Europe
L.A. (F) 45 years old	Kaliningrad	Teacher at elementary school	Parents from Tula and Blagoveschensk. She has been there but long time ago.	Not anymore	-----	She goes more often in Europe, Gdansk.	-inhabitant of western Europe
F.I. (F) 40 years old	Kaliningrad	employee	Parents from Smolensk and she has never been there, she is not interested.	No contacts or travel	-----	Not really because she doesn't speak foreign languages	-inhabitant of the Baltic Region
V. (F) 53 years old	Alma-Ata, Kazakhstan	lawyer	Father from Shchuchinsk (Kazakhstan)	Not been in other Russian cities for long time	German	She often went to Lithuania and Poland,	-person from Kaliningrad -inhabitant of

			n) and mother from Alma-Ata. She has been living in Kaliningrad for 49 years. She never came back and she doesn't want.		English	but after the 2004 a bit less.	the Kaliningrad region -Russian -inhabitant of Europe
--	--	--	---	--	---------	--------------------------------	---

Young Generation

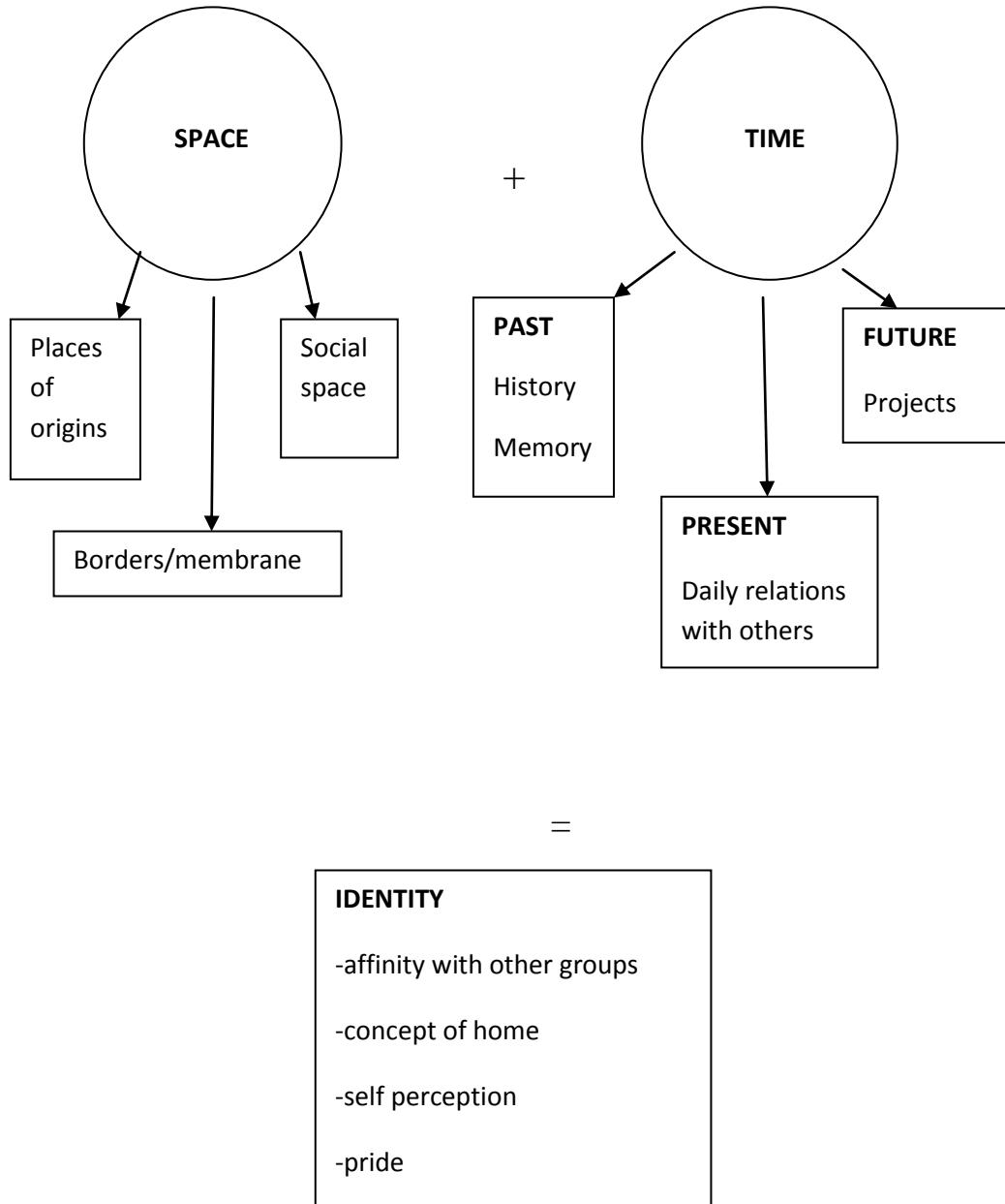
INTERVIEWEES	PLACE OF BIRTH	STATUS	ORIGINS	CONTACTS with other places in Russia	FOREIGN LANGUAGES SPOKEN	CONTACTS WITH EUROPE	DEFINITION OF THEMSELVES
F.A. 20 years old (F)	Kaliningrad	Employees	Kaliningrad	seldom	German French English	Often	-Inhabitant of Kaliningrad Oblast - Russian - Inhabitant of Kaliningrad
I. (M) 28 years old	Kaliningrad	Business manager	Kaliningrad (father) and Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky (mother)	Never been to the origins places. Rarely	German English	Often, every month.	- A citizen of Russia - a person from Kaliningrad - a citizen of the world
T. K. (F) 29 years old	Kaliningrad	office manager in a public company	Father from Neftekamsk (Uralic) and mother Skomorohi (Ukraine)	She went once when she was little in the origins places. She went to San Petersburg few times.	German English	Usually yes, once a year.	-European Citizen of Russia. -Inhabitant of the Kaliningrad region -Inhabitant of

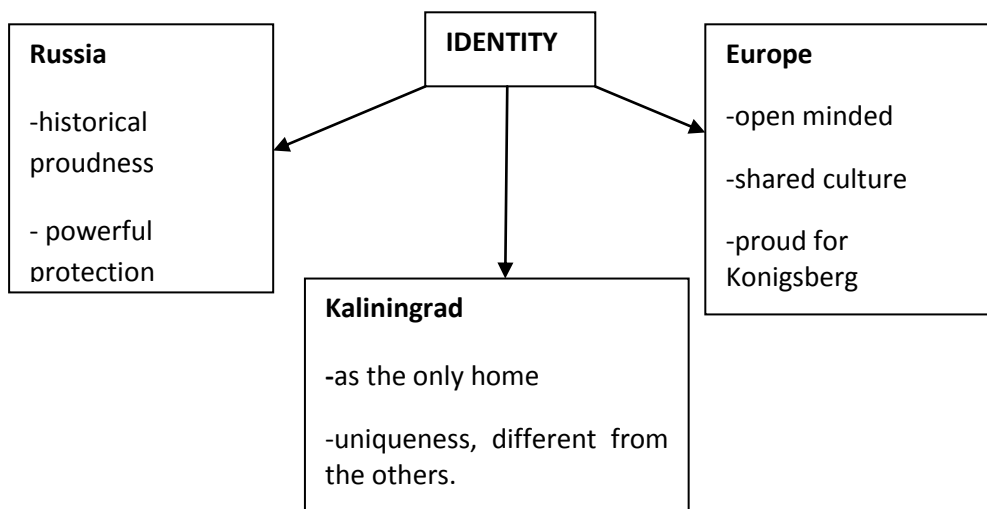
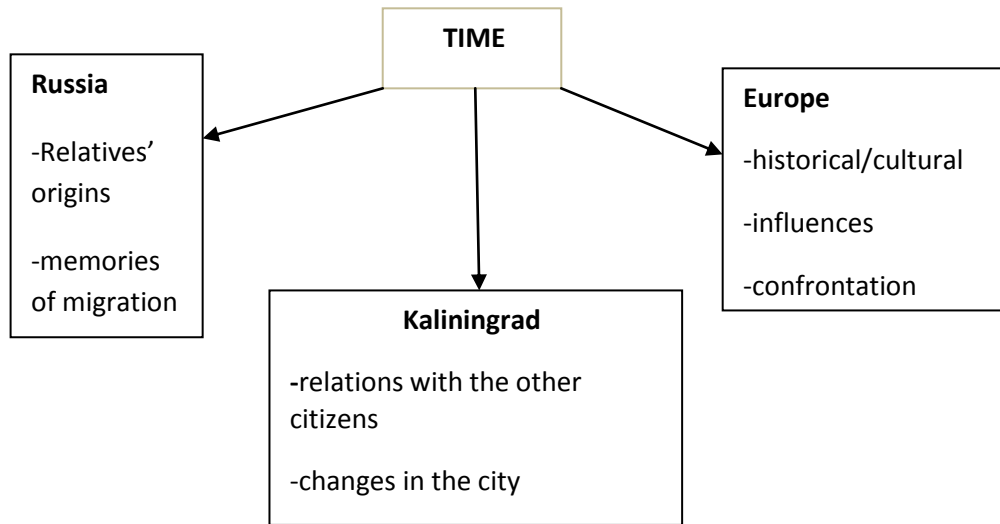
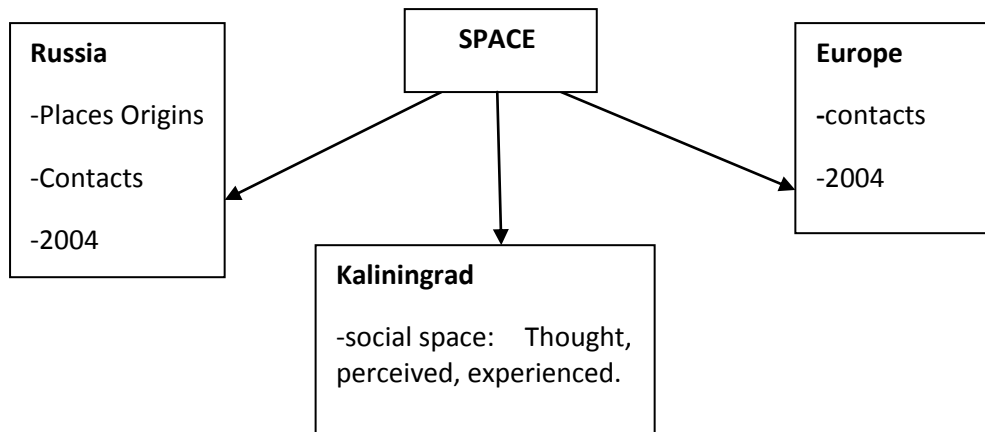
							the Baltic region
R. K. (F) 16 years old	Kaliningrad	Student in high school	Mother from Svetly (Kaliningrad Oblast) and father from Sakhalin island.	Never went to Sakhalin. Every week she goes to Svetly.	Lithuanian English German	Often on holidays.	-Inhabitant of Kaliningrad.
I.J. (M) 19 years old	Kyrgyzstan	Designer	Mother from Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan and the father from Yalta.	He doesn't go there anymore. Never been to Yalta. He likes to go to Saint Petersburg.	English French	He often travels to Poland,	-Russian citizen -inhabitant of Kaliningrad, a Russian.
V.I. (F) 23 years old	Kaliningrad	Housewife	Mother from Kaliningrad and father from Chelyabinsk.	Rarely, more often the relatives come to Kaliningrad.	English	She often travels to Europe but she feels more secure in Russia	-Russian -inhabitant of Kaliningrad and of the western Russia.
P. (F) 31 years old	Kaliningrad	Notary assistant	Mother from Alma-Ata (Kazakhstan) and father from Nizhegorodsky	She went to Alma-Ata once and to Nizhegorodsky she goes every seven years. Less frequently she goes to	German Italian Polish	Often she travels abroad in Lithuania, Poland, Italy,	-A person from Kaliningrad -inhabitants of Kaliningrad region -Russian citizen -Russian

			region.	Russia,			-European
--	--	--	----------------	----------------	--	--	------------------

APPENDIX 2

Key concepts and categories





APPENDIX 3

INTERVIEW STRUCTURE

I would like to ask you some questions about yourself and your family roots. First of all you can tell me in general who you are, what you do or what have you been doing. Some other questions will be more specific about your feelings towards your city, Kaliningrad, your perception about it and I'll ask to give me a general description of: how you remember was in the past, now and how do you think it could possibly change in the future.

Part A

Roots, travel, contacts:

1. Please, can you shortly introduce yourself saying your name, how old you are, what you do/study? (older generations) What you have been doing?

2. Please describe your family background and their place of origins, do you always have been living in Kaliningrad? Are your parents from Kaliningrad?
 - a) (older generation) For a person not born in Kaliningrad:
 - a.2.1. How many years have you lived here?

 - a.2.2. Where is your home town/country?
 - Do you remember when you moved to Kaliningrad and why?

 - a.2.3 Do you still have relatives living in your town/country?
 - Do you go back sometimes to your hometown/country?
 - Would you like to go back there? Why? Why not?
 - Do you feel it is a place that is important for you and where you feel at home?

 - a.2.4 Where are your parents/relatives from?
 - Have you ever been to the place where your parents/relatives come from?

b) (middle/younger generation) For a person born in Kaliningrad and relatives from another country/city:

b2.1 Where are your parents/relatives from exactly?

- Do you remember when they moved to Kaliningrad and why?

b.2.2. Do you still have relatives living in your parents' home town/country?

- If yes: Have you ever been there? Did/do you visit them? How often? Would you like to go back there? Why? Why not?

- If no: Would you like to go back there? Why? Why not? Have you ever been there?

b.2.3 What do you know about the place where your relatives were from?

b.2.4 Do you feel it is a place that is important for you and where you feel at home?

3. If you think about your childhood or teenager hood, could you mention some cultural or political events that you recall better?

a) Any historical event which has been important in your life or that you read/heard about at school or from your parents/relatives?

b) (middle/younger generation) What do your parents or grandmother and grandfather tell/told you about Kaliningrad?

b.4.1 What do you think has changed?

4. Did/does the geographical distance to Russia influence your life?

a) Did/does it change anything in your routine/life after 1991?

a.5.1 If yes: what in particular?

a.5.2 If not: why?

b) Did it change anything in your routine/life since the EU enlargement (2004)?

b.5.1 Do you think it is important, in the case of Kaliningrad oblast, to have facilitated access with visa to the neighbor countries?

b.5.2 Do you consider it as an advantage, disadvantage, you're not concerned with it?

6. How much time do you spend abroad?

a) If you study/work abroad:

a.1. Do you prefer spending your weekends in your university/working town or do you go back to Kaliningrad every weekend? Or as soon as you can?

b) When you travel among Russia:

b.6.1. Do you feel/can you say that other places are your second home? Do you recognize yourself within those cities? Where in particular?

b.6.2 Do you have friends or acquaintances in other cities of Russia?

c) Do you think there is any difference between Russians in Kaliningrad and Russians in others cities/regions?

d) When you travel in other countries:

d.6.1. Do you feel/can you say that other places are your second home? Do you recognize yourself within those cities? Where in particular?

e) Where do you go when is holiday usually?

e.61. Where you would like to go?

- Why?

7. Which other languages do you speak?

a) Why?

b) Which other languages you would like to know? Why?

Part B

Identity:

1. Identity can be connected with groups of people, e.g. Estonians, Italians, Polish, Brazilians, population of Moscow, students of St Petersburg University, and workers at Fiat. Do you feel you belong to a group, more?

a) Who do you feel you are according to your nationality, roots, culture, country, City. Here is a list of general groups:

Russian citizen, European citizen, inhabitants of Russia, inhabitants of Kaliningrad oblast, inhabitants of Kaliningrad city, inhabitants of the Baltic sea region, inhabitants of the Nordic European region, inhabitants of the North side of the world, inhabitants of the Western side of Russia, inhabitants of the Eastern side of Europe, central European group, Russian Speakers, no one of this just myself, citizen of the world.

a.3.1 Could please show me among the list which is the most important group for you? Choose one.

a.3.2. Can you choose or tell me some other groups important for you, to describe yourself?

b) Do you feel you are a citizen of the European community?

b.3.1. Do you feel part of this European group/identity?

b.3.2. Do you feel it belongs to you the adjective of European; it is one of your personal characteristics? Why? Why not?

2. What do you think is identity?

a) On what you think your identity is based?

3. Do you think roots/origins are important for people? And for you?

a) Do you think they influence/influenced who you are/make you feel different from others?

b) For all generations, if some relatives are still living in the parents' place of origin, being it in Russia or outside the country:

b.2.1. Do you feel that it is a place important for you and where you feel or could feel at home?

4. Do you feel you share any common characteristic or behaviors with people:

a) In Kaliningrad? Other Russian regions? Inhabitant of Baltic region? Others?

b) Which are these characteristics? Why you think so? How this happened?

c) Do you feel you are different when you are abroad than when you are in Kaliningrad?

d) (for a person studying/working abroad) What are the characteristic or common things that you might share with people of those cities if you lived/studied/worked abroad:

d.4.1. May I ask you what the common things and the differences are?

d.4.2. It's always like that or there are other situations?

d.4.3. Instead what do you feel there might be the characteristic or common thing that you might share with people in Kaliningrad? What are the differences? It's always like this or there are other situations?

d.4.4. Does your university/working town influence your feeling of who you are? How? Do you think you have changed somehow since you have been studying/working abroad? In what have you changed?

d.4.5. What did you think about that country before going to study/work there?

d.4.6. What did you know about the place? Have you changed your mind about anything now?

5. Do you think it would be different to work in another city in Russia? Why and in what would it be/would it not be different?

6. Who/ how do you feel you are when:

a) in Kaliningrad? And when in Moscow/St Petersburg or other Russian regions?

b) And when abroad? (specify a place where he/she has been abroad)

c) What is your city for you, the city where you belong? Other important places/city/country for you?

7. Are you proud to be a Russian from Kaliningrad oblast?

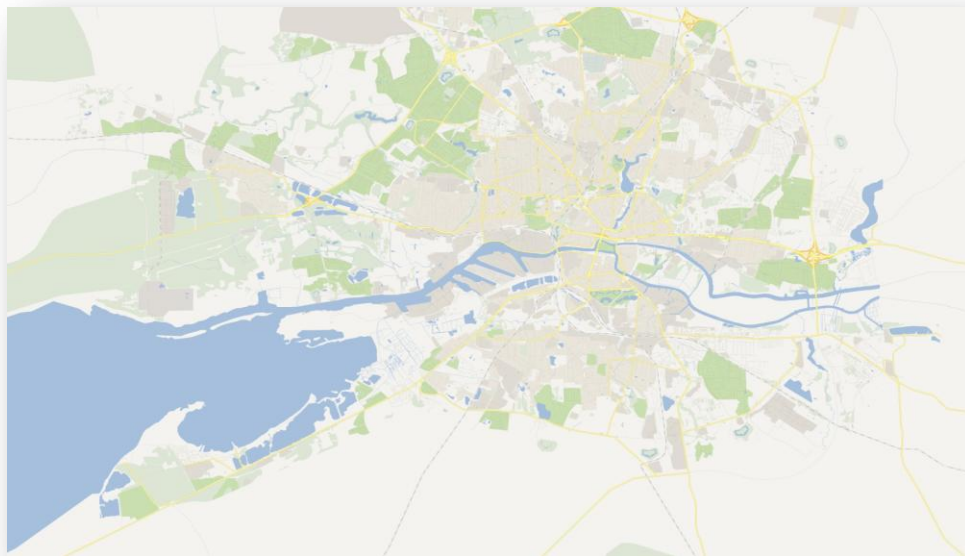
a) Why? Why not?

b) What makes you special?

c) What makes you like anybody else?

Part C

Time and Space Identity:



1. This is the map of your city.
 - a) Where do you leave in Kaliningrad.
 - a.1.1 what do u know about your zone.
 - a.1.2 Do you like to live here?
 - a.1.3 Why? Why not?
 - b) Have you ever changed house? Why?
 - b.1.1 If you could change place where to leave in the city where you will go? Why?
 - b.1.2 Where you will never go to leave? Why?

2. I will ask you to imagine to bring me around Kaliningrad and to show me the most important places.
 - a) Then I will ask you to motivate your answers.

 - b) Point the center and the periphery.
 - b.4.1 What is “center of the city” for you?
 - b.4.2. (if leaving in the periphery) How often do you go to the center? Why?
 - b.4.3 (if leaving in the center) How often you go in the periphery? Why?

3. What do you know about the history of your city?
 - a) If you think about time travel:
 - a.2.1 (older generation) Which main visible changes in the city you can list from the Soviet Union time? Differences, similarities?
 - a.2.2. (middle/younger generation) Which main visible changes in the city you can list after and with the EU enlargement? Differences, similarities?
 - b) (just for people working or studying abroad) What are the main differences between your university/working town and Kaliningrad?

4. Please make a list of the main monuments of Kaliningrad from the most important to the least:

a) On what basis are you choosing them? Motivate please.

b) What do you know about those monuments?

b.4.1. You know what is written under this monument?

b.4.2. Where did you learn it?

5. Talk about some more of your habits; monitor the places where you usually go more often.

Describe your routine day, a day of the week when is not holiday.

a) Which places are you visiting the most? Which the least? Why?

b) It happens sometimes to find yourself in a place that you don't know? That is not familiar?

c) Are there some places where you never will go? Why? Have you ever been there or you just avoid?

6. Do you know some stories connected to the city, to the region or to same places? Some anecdotes? Some proverbs about the city or some superstition?

7. Which holiday/celebration you have here in Kaliningrad? Is it something typical of this region?

a) Does the holiday's celebration take place in the city? Where?

b) If I you want to go out and eat well, where will you go?

b.7.1. Which is the main dish of Kaliningrad oblast?

c) If you want to go out and enjoy your time where will go?

8. Do you think Kaliningrad is famous and important?

a.14.1 Why is this in your opinion?

a.14.2. Why not?

Thank you for your time and the precious information I hope you enjoyed our long conversation, if you have something more to add or something that you think I should have asked please feel free, I will be glad to improve my research.

Thank you!

In Russian

Введение

ПЛАН:

Я хотела бы задать несколько вопросов о Вас и о Вашей семье. Сначала я попрошу Вас рассказать мне в общих чертах, кто Вы, чем Вы занимаетесь или чем занимались. Потом задам вопросы о Вашем отношении к городу Калининграду, о том, как Вы его воспринимаете. Я также попрошу Вас в общем описать, что было раньше, что есть сейчас и какие перемены, по Вашему мнению, ждут Вас в будущем.

Часть А

Корни, путешествия, контакты

1. Пожалуйста, коротко представьтесь, скажите, как Вас зовут, сколько Вам лет, чем Вы занимаетесь/что изучаете? Чем Вы занимались (для старшего поколения) ?
2. Пожалуйста, расскажите о своей семье, откуда она происходит, всегда ли Вы жили в Калининграде? Ваши родители из Калининграда?
 - а) (для старшего поколения) для тех, кто родился не в Калининграде:
 - а.2.1. Сколько лет Вы здесь живёте?
 - а.2.2. Откуда Вы родом?
 - і. помните ли Вы, когда Вы переехали в Калининград и по каким причинам?

а.2.3. Ваши родственники всё ещё живут в Вашем родном городе/стране?

ii. возвращаетесь ли Вы иногда в свой родной город/страну?

iii. Вы хотели бы вернуться обратно? Почему? Почему нет?

iiii. считаете ли Вы это место важным для Вас, местом, где Вы чувствуете себя как дома?

а.2.4. Откуда родом Ваши родители/родственники?

i. Бывали ли Вы когда-нибудь там, откуда родом Ваши родители/родственники?

б) (для среднего и молодого поколения) Для тех, кто родился в Калининграде, чьи родители/родственники при этом из других мест:

б.2.1. Откуда именно родом Ваши родители/родственники?

i. знаете ли Вы когда они переехали в Калининград и почему?

б.2.2. Ваши родственники всё ещё живут в родном городе/стране Ваших родителей?

i. если да: Вы когда-нибудь бывали там? Посещали ли Вы Ваших родственников? Как часто? Собираетесь ли приезжать туда ещё? Почему? Почему нет?

ii. если нет: хотели бы Вы поехать туда? Почему? Почему нет? Вы когда-нибудь бывали там?

б.2.3. Что Вы знаете о месте, откуда родом Ваши родители?

б.2.4. Считаете ли Вы это место важным для Вас, местом, где Вы чувствуете себя как дома?

3. Если вспоминать Ваше детство или юность, могли бы Вы рассказать о тех культурных или политических событиях, которые запомнились Вам лучше всего?

- a. Какое-нибудь историческое событие, которые было важным в Вашей жизни, или о котором Вы прочитали/услышали от своих родителей/родственников, пока учились в школе?
- b. (для среднего и молодого поколения) Что Ваши родители или дедушки и бабушки рассказывали Вам о Калининграде?
 - b.4.1. По-вашему, что изменилось?

4. Оказывает ли влияние на Вашу жизнь географическая удалённость от России?

- a) изменила ли она что-нибудь в Вашей жизни после 1991?
 - a.4.1. Если да: что конкретно?
 - a.4.2. Если нет: почему?
- b) изменилось ли что-нибудь в Вашей жизни из-за расширения ЕС в 2004?
 - b.4.1. Считаете ли Вы важным, в случае с Калининградской областью, визовый режим для поездок в соседние страны?
 - b.4.2. Считаете ли Вы визовый режим преимуществом, недостатком или Вам всё равно?

5. Как много времени Вы проводите за границей?

- a) если Вы учитесь или работаете за границей:
 - a.1. Предпочитаете ли Вы проводить выходные там же, где учитесь/работаете или ездите на выходные в Калининград? Или так часто, насколько это возможно?
- b) когда путешествуете по России:
 - b.5.1. Кажется ли вам / можете ли вы сказать, что другие места – Ваш второй дом? Ассоциируете ли Вы себя с этими городами? С какими именно?
 - b.5.2. У Вас есть друзья или знакомые в других городах России?
- c) По Вашему мнению, есть ли разница между россиянами из Калининграда и россиянами из других городов/регионов России?
- d) когда путешествуете в другие страны:

d.5.1. Кажется ли вам / можете ли Вы сказать, что другие места – Ваш второй дом? Ассоциируете ли Вы себя с этими городами? С какими именно?

е) где Вы обычно проводите свой отпуск?

e.5.1. где бы Вы хотели его провести?

- почему?

6. На каких иностранных языках вы говорите?

a. Как Вы их выучили?

b. Какие иностранные языки Вы хотели бы изучить?

Часть В

Идентичность:

1. Идентичность может быть связана с группами людей, например: эстонцы, итальянцы, поляки, бразильцы, население г. Москва, студенты СПбГУ, рабочие завода «Фиат». Чувствуете ли Вы свою принадлежность к некой группе? К нескольким группам?

a. Как Вам кажется, к каким группам Вы принадлежите, исходя из Вашей национальности, корней, культуры, страны, города. Ниже приведён общий список подобных групп:

Гражданин России, европеец, россиянин, житель калининградской области, калининградец, житель балтийского региона, североевропеец, житель северного полушария, житель западной России, житель восточной Европы, житель центральной Европы, русскоговорящий, я сам по себе, гражданин мира.

a.1.1. Выберите, пожалуйста, одну, наиболее значимую для Вас, группу из этого списка.

a.1.2. Можете ли Вы также указать другие важные для Вас группы, чтобы описать себя?

b. Можете ли Вы назвать себя жителем Европы?

b.1.1. Чувствуете ли Вы свою принадлежность к Европе?

b.1.2. Можете ли Вы описать себя прилагательным «европеец»? Будет ли это одной из Ваших личных характеристик? Почему? Почему нет?

2. Что для Вас идентичность (как социологический термин)?
 - a. Как вы считаете, на чём основана идентичность?
3. Считаете ли Вы, что корни/происхождение людей являются важными для них? А для Вас лично?
 - a. Считаете ли Вы, что это оказывает влияние на то, кем Вы являетесь? На то, что отличает Вас от других людей?
 - b. Для всех поколений: если Ваши родственники всё ещё живут в том месте, откуда родом Ваши родители, будь это Россия или другая страна:

b.3.1. Считаете ли Вы это место важным для Вас, местом, где Вы чувствуете себя или чувствовали бы себя как дома?

4. Кажется ли Вам, что Вам присущи некоторые характерные черты следующих групп:
 - a. Калининградцы? Россияне? Жители Балтики (каких именно стран)? Другие?
 - b. Каковы эти характерные черты? Почему Вы так считаете? Откуда они возникли?
 - c. Кажется ли Вам, что Вы ведёте себя несколько иначе, выезжая за пределы Калининградской области?
 - d. (для тех, кто учится / работает за границей) Какие черты, присущие жителям того места, где Вы учитесь/работаете присущи также и Вам?

d.4.1. В чём Вы похожи, а в чём отличаетесь от них?

d.4.2. Всегда ли это так, или есть особые ситуации, в которых Вы (или жители) ведёте себя иначе?

d.4.3. Напротив, кажется ли Вам, что существуют характерные черты для калининградцев? Чем они отличаются от жителей того места, где Вы учитесь/работаете? Это всегда так, или в каких-то ситуациях бывает иначе?

d.4.4. Оказывает ли город, в котором Вы учитесь/работаете влияние на Ваше ощущение того, кем Вы являетесь? Каким образом? Считаете ли Вы, что Вы изменились с тех пор, как учитесь/работаете там? В чём именно Вы изменились?

d.4.5. Что Вы думали об этой стране, прежде чем поехали туда учиться/работать?

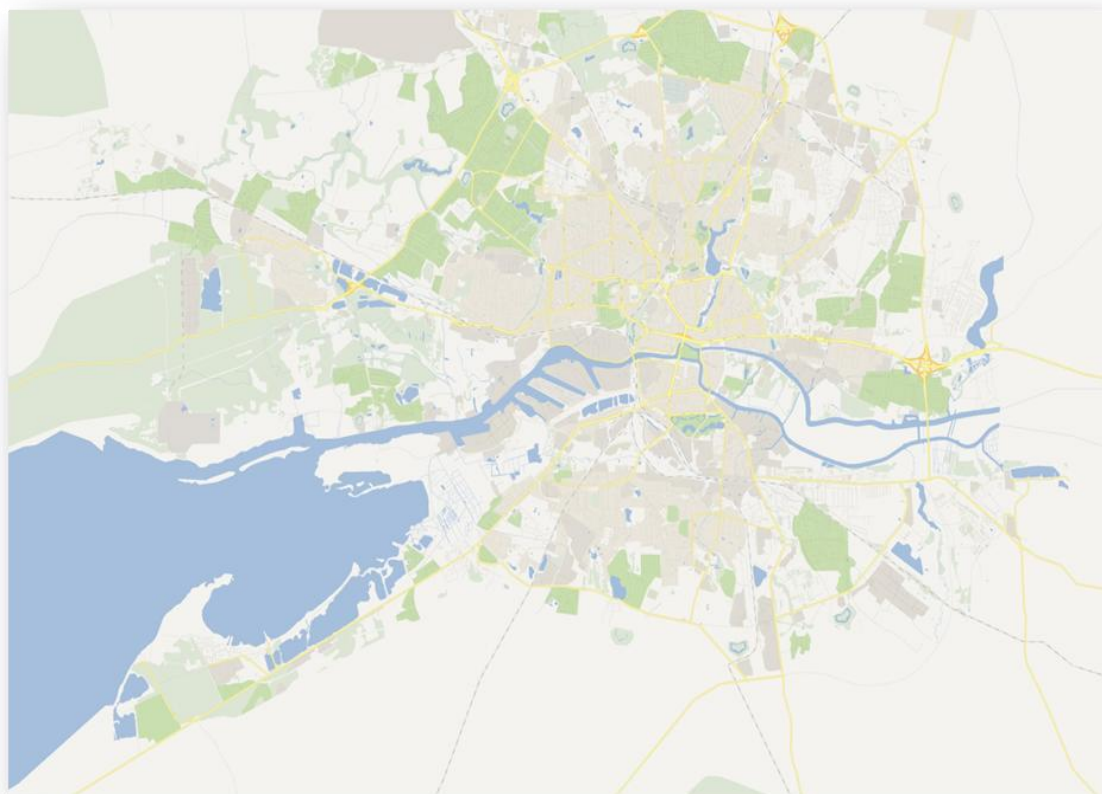
d.4.6. Что Вы знали о городе (конкретном месте)? Изменилось ли ваше мнение теперь?

5. Считаете ли Вы, что работать/жить/учиться в другом городе России было бы по-другому, нежели в Калининграде? В чём именно, на Ваш взгляд, заключались бы различия и сходства?
6. Кем/как Вы себя ощущаете, когда Вы:
 - a. В Калининграде? Когда в Москве или Петербурге или другом российском регионе?
 - b. За границей? (назовите места, где Вы были за границей)
 - c. Что для Вас Ваш город, Ваш родной город? Другие важные места, города, страны?
7. Гордитесь ли Вы тем, что Вы – россиянин и калининградец?
 - a. Почему? Почему нет?
 - b. Что делает Вас особенным?

с. Что делает Вас таким же, как все?

Часть С

Временная и пространственная идентичность:



1. Это карта Вашего города.

а. Где именно вы живёте в Калининграде?

i. Что Вы знаете о Вашем районе?

ii. Вам нравится в нём жить?

iii. Почему? Почему нет?

б. Вы когда-нибудь переезжали? Почему?

i. Если бы Вы могли выбрать место, где жить в городе, что это было бы за место? Почему?

ii. Куда бы Вы ни за что не переехали? Почему?

2. Представьте, что я попросила вас показать мне Калининград, его самые важные места.
 - a. Теперь обоснуйте Ваш ответ.
 - b. Обозначьте центр и периферию (окраины)
 - b.2.1. Что для Вас центр города?
 - b.2.2. (если живёте на окраине) как часто Вы бываете в центре? Почему?
 - b.2.3.(если живёте в центре) как часто Вы бываете на окраинах? Почему?
3. Что Вы знаете об истории своего города?
 - a. Если представить путешествие во времени:
 - a.3.1.(для старшего поколения) Какие главные видимые изменения произошли в советский период? Что изменилось с тех пор, что осталось прежним?
 - a.3.2.(для среднего и младшего поколения) Какие главные видимые изменения Вы можете перечислить со времени (и в связи с) расширения ЕС? Что изменилось, что осталось прежним?
 - b. (только для тех, кто работает или учится за границей) Каковы основные различия между Калининградом и городом, в котором Вы работаете или учитесь?
4. Памятники в городе Калининград: пожалуйста, расположите их в порядке от более важных к менее важным.
 - a. Чем Вы руководствуетесь при составлении списка? Объясните, пожалуйста.
 - b. Что Вы знаете об этих памятниках?

б.4.1. Знаете ли Вы что написано на этом памятнике?

б.4.2. Где Вы об этом узнали?

5. Расскажите о своих привычках, обозначьте места, где Вы бываете чаще всего. Опишите свой обычный рабочий день.
 - а. В каких местах Вы бываете чаще всего? В каких реже всего? Почему?
 - б. Случается ли Вам оказываться в местах, которых Вы не знаете? Как часто это происходит?
 - с. Есть ли такие места, куда Вы никогда не пойдёте и не поедете? Бывали ли Вы там или просто избегаете таких мест?
6. Знаете ли Вы какие-нибудь истории, связанные с городом или областью? Какие-нибудь шутки или анекдоты? Поговорки или поверья?
7. Какой праздник есть в Калининграде? Это типичный праздник для этого региона?
 - а. Происходят ли празднования в городе? Где именно?
 - б. Если Вам захотелось пойти куда-нибудь вкусно поесть, куда именно Вы пойдёте?
 - б.7.1. Главное блюдо Калининградской области?
 - с. Если Вам захотелось пойти куда-нибудь, чтобы хорошо провести время, куда Вы пойдёте?
8. Считаете ли Вы Калининград знаменитым и важным городом?
 - а. По Вашему мнению, почему он таким является?
 - б. Почему нет?

Большое спасибо за потраченное время и ценную информацию. Я надеюсь, что Вам понравилась наша продолжительная беседа. Если Вы хотели бы что-либо добавить, или если Вы считаете, что я могла бы спросить Вас о чём-то ещё, пожалуйста, скажите мне. Я буду рада улучшить своё исследование.

Спаси