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ID 1420 | ANALYZING A GLOBAL SENSE OF PLACE BY USING COGNITIVE MAPS: A STUDY OF AFGHAN IMMIGRANT WOMEN IN AUCKLAND

Roja Tafaroji[1]
[1]The University of Auckland
rtaf006@aucklanduni.ac.nz

1 INTRODUCTION

Sense of place, according to the literature (Hummon, 1986; Lewicka, 2008; Proshansky et al., 1976; Raymond et al., 2010; Relph, 1976; 1997; Tuan, 1980; 1975), is the characteristic and meaning of a place derived from the experiences that people as individuals or within a group have in the place. Places are,

therefore, spatial settings which gain specific characters from people's experiences in a particular time. Places are conceived and sensed "in a chiaroscuro of setting, landscape, ritual, routine, other people, personal experiences, care and concern for home, and in the context of other places" (Relph, 1976, p.29).

Globalization is widely argued as the process of economic, political and socio-cultural change since it has been associated with worldwide flows of migration and mobility (Berner, 1997; Castells, 1991; Massey & Jess, 2003 [1995]; Pile et al., 1999; Pries, 1999; Steger, 2003). Cities are not excluded from this global change. Their meanings and identities constantly change according to the different experiences of different people over time.

This paper explores the meanings of places in the global city of Auckland according to everyday life experiences of Afghan immigrant women who live in Auckland. In order to discuss the meanings of different places for Afghan immigrant women in Auckland, firstly, I provide an overview of the meaning of everyday life experience in relation to the developing sense of place in the era of globalization. Then, along with offering a critique of the essentialist approach to the place and its meaning in the globalization era, this paper suggests cognitive mapping as a method to explore the meanings of the place in the global city. This paper discusses the findings of the fieldwork study that I undertook for my PhD research project in Auckland from 2014 and 2015. This fieldwork study was on eight Afghan immigrant women from two generations of immigration (1st and 1.5 generation) who live in Auckland. By focussing on cognitive maps which were drawn by these women, this paper, finally shows how these Afghan women conceive, perceive, use, and present different places in the global city of Auckland. As a concluding mark, I suggest that cognitive mapping can be applied as a method compatible with the fluidity of everyday life experiences of different groups of people, especially groups of minority, in the place of majority of global cities like Auckland.

2 EVERYDAY LIFE AND A DEVELOPING SENSE OF PLACE FOR IMMIGRANTS IN THE GLOBAL CITY

Researchers, who are interested in the subjective existence of people in place, acknowledge the importance of the everyday life experiences of people in developing a sense of place, belonging and identity in a city (Altman et al., 1980; Buttimer & Seamon, 1980; Lefebvre & Levich, 1987; Marcus, 1992; Perkins & Thorns, 2012; Rapoport, 1976; Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1974). Piotr Sztompka (2008) clarifies the concept of 'everyday life', as the observable manifestation of social existence, the cyclical and rhythmic events over a variety of time periods, the ritualized and habitual engagement with others to participate in activities, as having a certain temporal duration, as the semi-conscious/unconscious event "following habits and routines of which the actors are not fully aware" (Sztompka, 2008, p. 32) and finally as being localized in particular spaces. In his distinguished book The Practice of Everyday Life, Michel de Certeau (1988) considers everyday life as the ordinarily practised activities in the city, most importantly walking. Furthermore, Henri Lefebvre (1996a; 1996b) focuses on everyday life as the opportunity for people to use and participate in decision-making processes as their right to the city. Inevitably, therefore, everyday life involves interactions between people and places.

Everyday life experience in the globalization era, as is argued by a number of thinkers (see Hall, 2003 [1995]; Massey & Jess, 2003 [1995]; Pratt, 1999; Rose, 2003 [1995]; Sibley, 1999; Smith, 1999), influences the shared meanings between people and the (socio-political) context. These thinkers and researchers refer to a global sense of place as a developing sense and conception influenced by different aspects of everyday life experiences of people in the global place. Therefore, in the context of globalization, a sense of place is considered as a system of meanings for immigrants shared between them and the place where they experience their everyday life.

The practice of everyday life in the global city makes different groups of people as locals and immigrants interact with their different and sometimes conflicting conceptions and images of the place. Meanwhile, these people share some of the images and meanings during their everyday life experiences in the city. In the scale of immigrants from different ethnic groups and communities, there is considerable chance of developing a sense of community within ethnic communities if their cultural representations are recognized within the host society. Globalization initially has brought "a geographical imagination of a world without borders" to the real geographical world (Massey, 2002, p.293). Here the importance of 'imaginary

geographies' (Said, 1990) becomes meaningful in that this leads the research to study individual and collective images of the places in the global city which are shaped through everyday life experiences of immigrants.

International immigrants, whether they return to their countries of origin or not, make links between their places of departure and places of arrival (Massey & Jess, 2003 [1995]). Research indicates that these links create a sense of being here and there for immigrants at the same time in one place (Massey & Jess, 2003 [1995]). Doreen Massey (2003 [1995]) suggests that this being here and there is obtained through the process when immigrants (re)build their territories and home environments so as not to feel alienated in their new living places. This process leads to (re)conceptualizing of places in global cities in which immigrants resettle.

Once immigrants, particularly first generations of immigrants, were living in their countries of origin (before migration), they were experiencing their places including all the components of the place such as cultural, socio-economic and environmental aspects of the place. Therefore, each place had a specific character and identity which was the after effect of the elements and features which could be experienced in the place. Continuous experiences of immigrants in the place over time, also, support their sense of attachment to the place. However, when migrants leave their places and resettle in another place, they bring all the memories of past life experiences with them to their new living place. These memories contribute to their perceptions of their new living place and lead them to use this place based on their formed expectations. Since people from different countries with different socio-cultural backgrounds have different memories of their past life experiences and therefore different expectations of future occurrences in the new place, it is inevitable that there will be different ways of appreciating this new place based on different perceptions and conceptions of different groups of immigrants within places in the global city.

Massey (2003 [1995]) argues that immigrants' different appreciations of place change the singular identity of those places in global cities over time. It is in this way that local identity is threatened through the globalization process. David Harvey (1989b) also considers this as an end to the feeling of spatial stability and a sense of coherence in a place. Harvey believes that discourses on the need for settled places are part of exclusive nationalism, regionalism and localism which oppose diversity at any scale (Harvey, 1989a).Therefore, by focussing on Afghan immigrant women as a group of minority in the global context of majority of Auckland, this paper explores the meanings of places for them by investigating their everyday life experiences in the host society of Auckland. The everyday life experiences of those people are sources of their (social, emotional, physical) connections as individual and within communities with their living place.

2.1 CRITIQUE ON ESSENTIALIST APPROACH TO THE PLACE OF IMMIGRANTS IN THE ERA OF GLOBALIZATION

Different perspectives on the concept of place have been reviewed in refugee studies and studies on immigration and displacement (see Brun, 2001; Kibreab, 1999; Malkki, 1992). One perspective considers place as an essential concept for the identification process. From this point of view, which emerged after World War Ⅱ, refugees are looked at as displaced people who are taken away from their roots and morality (Brun, 2001). Therefore, they are people with no culture, no morality, no power and no identity. This attitude to refugees and displaced people brings about particular policies to solve their displacement problem (Brun, 2001; Den Boer, 2015; Kibreab, 1999). By regarding refugees as being 'out of place' and 'uprooted', these policies have set up exclusive strategies which lead to two possibilities for refugees: they either become absorbed into the culture of the new place or return to their place of origin. Another strategy, 'the right to remain at home strategy', is concerned with helping displaced people in their place of origin in order to prevent them from being "uprooted" (Brun, 2001; Kibreab, 1999).

The above-mentioned perspectives in immigration and refugee studies result from an essentialist approach to place which strongly advocates the fixity in the meaning and identity of place. An essentialist approach attempts to solve the problem of identity through looking at place as a unique, unchangeable, independent and fixed entity even over a time period. Therefore, relationships between people and places as well as represented cultures are also fixed and localized. This approach may not be responsive to the co-existence of cultural differences in global cities because the phenomenon of socio-cultural diversity in a

place is not easily understood through this essentialist approach. Critics of this approach argue that mobility is an inevitable fact of the current world and that refugees do not lose their identities through their immigration process (Malkki, 1992).

The critics of the essentialist approach to place present another view through looking at refugees as active agents who are able to develop meanings of their new places. This view is characterized by deterritorialization or reterritorialization (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997; 1992; Malkki, 1992). It is associated with the globalization process in which different trends of mobility and displacement necessitate new ways of conceptualizing space, place and the relationship between people and places. In this view, place must be experienced to obtain meaning. Place is a product of socio-cultural construction, not a fixed entity. This is in accordance with Doreen Massey's understanding of place as the setting for social interrelations (1991; 1994a; 1994b). Massey sees place as a meaningful product of the intersection and interaction of different identities (Massey, 1994b). According to her understanding of place, the place of immigrants and refugees is the intersection of different and even conflictive identities of different communities. From this point of view, different communities with different interests, norms and values coexist in the same place. As a result of the participation of each community in the reterritorialization process, different power relations are expected to govern over the place at the same time. While this may cause conflicts and tensions between different communities, these conflicts create the possibility of negotiation between those communities, which affects the way that each community appropriates the place. Therefore, it can be argued that refugees' conceptions of their new place are not only influenced by their past life experiences, but also by their present experiences and interactions in the place. That is why a specific community develops different identities in different places (Brun, 2001). Interaction is the key in the construction process of identity.

In the following sections of this paper, I will discuss how cognitive maps represent the everyday life experiences of immigrants with focussing on the experiences of Afghan immigrant women in Auckland.

3 COGNITIVE MAPS AS THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE LIVING ENVIRONMENT

Cognitive mapping has been used by research on people's perception of place in order to simplify the complexities of people-place relationships and interactions (Golledge, 1999; Golledge & Stimson, 1997). Studies in the field of environmental psychology define cognitive maps as abstract representations of people's feelings, beliefs, thoughts, and ideas which are structured on different aspects of (individual and social) identity in the context of their everyday life experiences (Cohen, 1985; Downing, 1992; Kaplan, 1973; Kitchin, 1994; Proshansky et al., 1976; Spencer et al., 1989) and the way they orient themselves within the place (Golledge, 1999; Lynch, 1960). Maps as sources of insight (Jacobs, 1996) illustrate significant forms of representation in the place. Cognitive maps, therefore, generate specific information about daily activities of people in the city which are not necessarily mentioned in their verbal narratives. Maps are able to represent a socio-cultural system that in a global context can be used as a representation of mainstream discourse (Ristock & Pennell, 1996). They show how the power relations in the global context control and define the geographic boundaries which lead to creating social boundaries for people's activities in the city (Harley, 2009). According to the developing sense of place in the era of globalization, I apply cognitive maps of a group of Afghan immigrant women in order to obtain an understanding of the sense of place in the global city of Auckland.

3.1 AFGHAN WOMEN'S COGNITION OF AUCKLAND AS REPRESENTATIVE OF THEIR (PERSONAL) EVERYDAY LIFE EXPERIENCES

This paper uses cognitive maps as representatives of the living context of a group of Afghan immigrant women who live in Auckland supported by a number of quotations from semi-structured interview with these Afghan immigrant women. Founding on the collected data from my PhD project, I asked eight Afghan immigrant women, who were the participants of the study, to draw a map of Auckland representing the city in which they live. In their drawings of Auckland, I asked them to include the places that are important to them during their everyday life experiences such as their living place, their working or studying

places, and places of interests or landmarks of the city. The scale of the details in their maps was not specified, so they were to decide about the scale of their maps, from neighbourhood, suburb or city. They were insured that the scale of their drawing and the area which is shown in their maps do not matter as long as their illustrations of the important places in the city match their daily preferences. The shape of Auckland was another aspect of cognitive maps which were asked to be presented in their drawings.

Participant Afghan women represent their imagination of the city according to the elements of the city to which they have become familiar during their everyday life experiences. Kevin Lynch (1960) defines these elements as elements of legibility, which help people to understand and read the city. They include nodes, pathways, landmarks, districts, and edges. However, interpretation and explanation of all of these elements in cognitive maps of Auckland are beyond the scope of this thesis. Nodes and pathways are two elements that I analyze in cognitive maps of Auckland in order to obtain an understanding of how participant Afghan women spend their daily time in the city, and get access to places in the city and appropriate them. Through analyzing nodes, I inspect the important activity locations that participants refer to in their maps. Also, the pathways in the maps are the ways through which participants visualize the access between their important activity locations in the city.

3.2 DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS OF COGNITIVE MAPS

In this section, I analyze the ways that participants imagine Auckland as their context of everyday life experiences. I support my analysis of the cognitive maps by the data I collected during the interview meetings with my participants. This analysis assists me to discuss the sense of place for the participants in different places of the global city of Auckland.

I explain everyday life experiences of the participants in different places of Auckland based on an existing classification of activities in public life of the city. This classification helps me in analyzing everyday life experiences of participants according to the type of their activities in different places of the city. Jan Gehl (2011), who has focused on the quality of urban life, discusses types of human activities in public spaces. He distinguishes between necessary (functional) activities, optional (leisure) activities, and social activities. Necessary activities, according to Gehl (2011), are everyday tasks – almost compulsory – which take place regardless of the quality of the place, whereas optional activities highly depend on the quality of the place and the potential that it provides for people to spend more time in it. Social activities can happen spontaneously with other activities and highly depend on the presence of others in public places. Greetings, playing, and collective activities of any kind are known as social activities in public places. I begin the analysis of the cognitive maps with the younger group of participant Afghan women who belong to the 1.5 generation of immigrants and have been in New Zealand for approximately 15 years[1]. In the cognitive maps presented by Zahra and Meena, who are cousins, a technical element concerning their cardinal directions in Auckland[2] appear to be common (Figure 1). This shows that both of them think of the links between their important places in Auckland as links between four cardinal directions through the central part of the city (CBD). These links reflect means of access for them between those places. This is clearly shown in Zahra's cognitive map in which she draws a train and car as means of transport and annotates them with "train" and "motorway" to show her means of transport from the city to those places. She clearly stated this in the interview, when I asked her about her frequent means of transport in the city:

> *"Roja: What is your frequent means of transport in Auckland?*
> *Zahra: Emmm, my car and train, yeah.*
> *Roja: Which one do you use more?*
> *Zahra: I use just train."*

[1] In this research, I studied on 8 Afghan immigrant women as the research participants in Auckland. Participants are introduced based on their generations of migration: first generation and 1.5 generation. According to the official report published by Department of Labour of New Zealand in 2008, the first generation immigrants are "immigrant youth2 who were born overseas and arrived in New Zealand after the age of 12", and the 1.5 generation immigrants are "immigrant youth who were born overseas and arrived in New Zealand by the age of 12"2 (Ward, 2008, p. 4). This categorization, although not a fixed categorization, is based on immigrants' age of arrival2 and their place of birth which are considered influential in the identification process of migrants in the host society (Ward, 2015).

[2] However, this can be explainable by the fact that I interviewed them together in the same place and it was Zahra who first drew her cognitive map while I was interviewing Meena. Therefore, Meena might have had the chance to look at Zahra's drawing copied the pattern in her drawing. However, I asked them to only rely on themselves and the way they imagine Auckland including its important places for them as individuals.

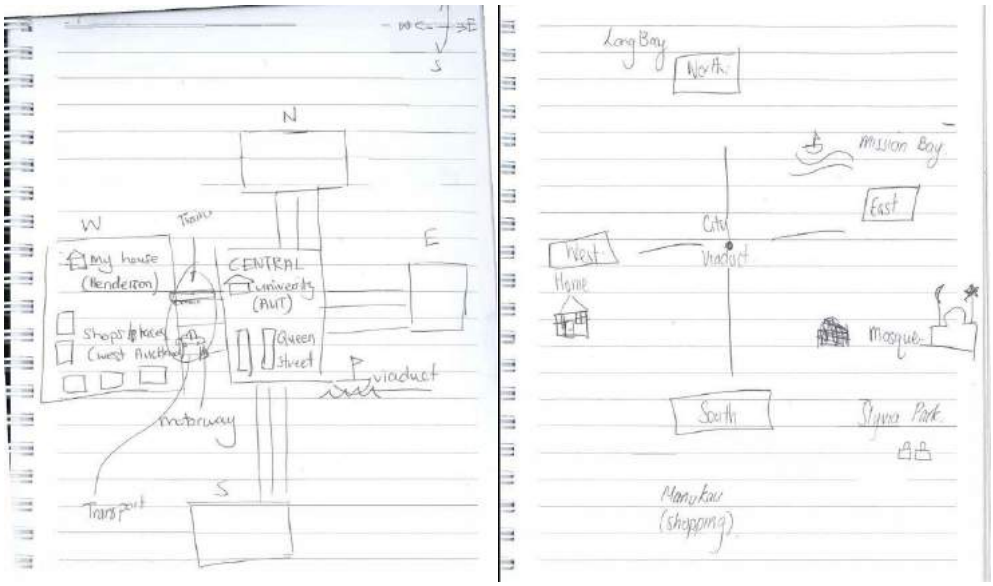

Figure 1. From left to right: Zahra's and Meena's cognitive maps of Auckland

Meena, however, does not clearly show her means of transport in the map. She imagines the city in four cardinal directions. These straight lines between important activity locations are representative of perceptual links between those places since she does not do necessary activities in the central part of Auckland, unlike Zahra who studies in the CBD. Therefore, Auckland is perceived as a whole entity, not as fragmented zones. However, in her interview, Meena noted that she drives her own car as her most frequent means of transport and uses the train as a means of public transport if she wants to go to CBD to do some necessary activities like studying:

> *"Roja: Okay, what is your frequent means of transport?*
> *Meena: Driving.*
> *Roja: Driving?*
> *Meena: Yeah.*
> *Roja: So you have your own car?*
> *Meena: Yeah.*
> *…*
> *Roja: Okay. So you don't usually use public transport. Do you?*

Meena: Emmm, no unless I come to see… you know, for studying like I'm going to study next year in the city, so yeah I'll train. But emmm, other than that no…"

However, her decision not to use public transport is supported by her mother who thinks of the bus as not a "safe" place to be in:

> *"Meena: …When I was younger as well, my mum didn't…, she was not against... she was against public transport, like she… she thought it wasn't safe, so she would hate me going on public transport as well, so it's like, you know, you get your own transport, you know.*
> *Roja: Aha...why did she think that it's not safe?*
> *Meena: She was just like …you… you see all sorts of people, you just never know what they could do, you know?... And so yeah.*
> *Roja: Aha.*
> *Meena: Yeah, and I was younger as well, and you know wearing scarf it was kind of difficult as well.*
> *Roja: Aha.*
> *Meena: So yeah, she... she would just like watching us."*

The perception of Meena's mother about public transport in a global city has made Meena avoid using public transport during her daily life. It is clear from the above quotation that the perception of Meena's mother is based on the unfamiliarity with people of whom "you just never know what they could do".

The above quotation demonstrates the importance of the influence of the family, particularly mothers, in the daily life experiences of young Afghan women like Meena. This influence contributes to Meena's different appreciation of a place, which is based on her experience as a Muslim woman in the global city of Auckland. In this regard, Doreen Massey (2003 [1995]) argues that immigrants' different appreciations of places change the singular identity of those places in global cities over time.

Sadjida, a 26-year-old Afghan woman, refers to her living area as her most preferable place in the city. She shows this in her cognitive map. The following figure is her cognitive map of Auckland (Figure 2). In her cognitive map, Sadjida allocates half of the page to the Lynnfield area and places around her living area. The big circle on the map represents that she imagines important places within the Lynnfield area as connected with each other and she includes access ways within the immediate vicinity of the circle including May Road. There is another circle shaped area that Sadjida annotates as "City" in the map. It includes the University of Auckland, AUT, IMAX and Queen Street. She shows the connection between the former circle and the latter one with connector lines, which resemble streets. While she was drawing those connector lines, she mentioned to me that the longer one is Dominion Road, which according to her is the main link between her living area and the city.

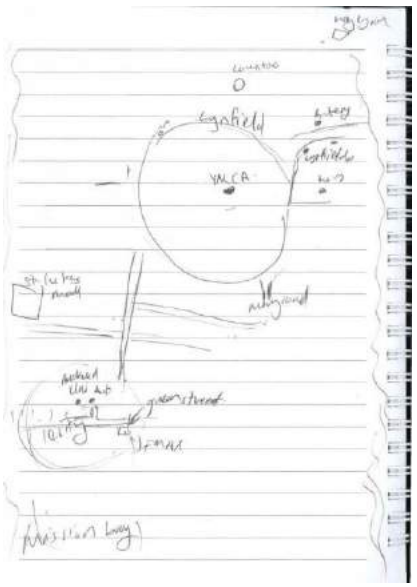

Figure 2. Sadjida's cognitive map of Auckland

However, Sadjida does not acknowledge cardinal directions in her map and this causes confusion in understanding her imagination of the city because Lynfield is located southwest of the city centre area of Auckland, while she locates the Lynnfield area north-east of the city centre in her drawing (Figure 2). This means that she does not imagine the location of different places in relation to each other in a bigger picture of the city. This is reflected in her explanation of choices of preferred places in Auckland. Most of her preferred places are located within the boundary of her living area, including the YMCA gym, the Coffee Club in May Road, and the Countdown shopping area in Mount Roskill, among others. In addition, in her interview, Sadjida stated that the bus is her main means of transport in the city and she relies on this mode of public transport to access places in the city:

> *"Roja: What is your frequent means of transport?*
> *Sadjida: Um, frequent would be bus."*

Sadjida's daily life in Auckland is divided into two main parts of home and university and this division is clearly presented in her cognitive map. However, she illustrates her cognitive map by focusing on each node and the potential activities in each of those places. Hence, for Sadjida, the connection is not as important as places themselves. This shows the importance of activities for her in each of the places she illustrates in her drawing rather than accessibility to these places and the links between them.

Taiba, one of the young participants, represents her cognitive map of Auckland in a rectangular shape, which embraces important activity locations for her as shown in the map below (Figure 3). Her main link between those locations is clearly noted as "Motorway (20)[1]" in the map. It affirms that she is clear about her means of access, which is car.

[1] By Motorway (20), she means State Highway 20 (SH20), which is known as the Southwestern Motorway in Auckland.

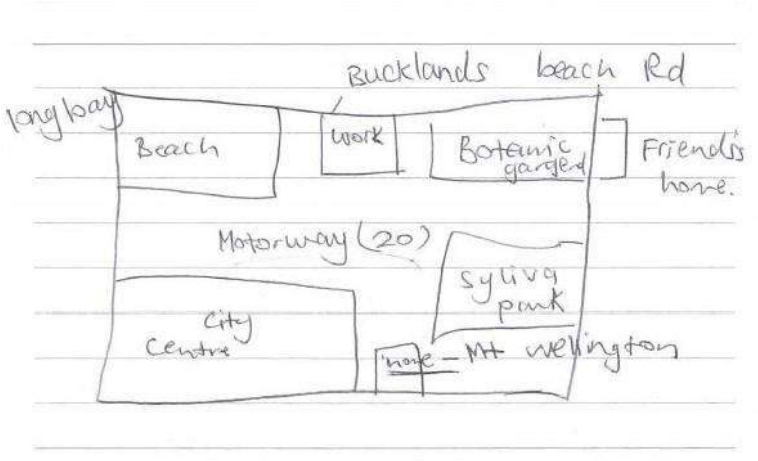

Figure 3. Taiba's cognitive map of Auckland

The following extract of the interview with Taiba highlights this:

> *"Roja: So ...what is you frequent means of transport?*
> *Taiba: I drive.*
> *Roja: Do you drive?*
> *Taiba: Yeah, now I do. Before I used to catch the train and the bus."*

Taiba, also mentioned that having a car is not her preferred choice of transport. However, she has no other choice since public transport is not reliable in Auckland:

> *"Roja: How do you feel about in-city travels and transport in Auckland?*
> *Taiba: You always have to have a car, otherwise (chuckles)… otherwise you can't d epend on public transport, it's hard."*

Henna, who is a university student at Auckland University of Technology (AUT), presents her cognitive map of Auckland as a route map, which shows places in a route between her home and the university. In the following map (Figure 4), Henna draws Auckland in a linear shape that extends from south to north. Congestion of annotated places in the eastern side of Henna's cognitive map is indicative of locations of her main activity zones in East Auckland. However, the locations of places in Henna's cognitive map do not match with their real locations in Auckland. It shows that Auckland, for Henna, is perceived according to her daily life experiences.

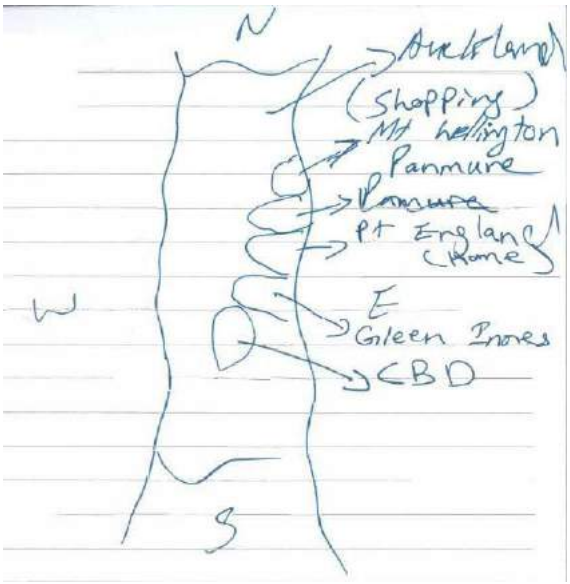

Figure 4. Henna's cognitive map of Auckland

In the interview with Henna, she pointed out that a train is her main means of transport, particularly during her routine daily life on weekdays. In her cognitive map of Auckland, this is clearly confirmed by the way that she defines her route map according to train stops during her journey:

> *"Roja: What is your frequent means of transport?*
> *Henna: Train."*

However, in her interview, Henna mentioned that her preference of using a train is not because of the efficiency of trains or any other public transport in Auckland. She would prefer to drive her own car if she did not have a problem parking in the city.

> *"Roja: Do you feel more comfortable in using public transport or your own car, just generally?*
> *Henna: I would be happy to use my car, but I won't be able to find a parking.*
> *Roja: Aha, so is it just because of the parking?*
> *Henna: Eh yeah.*
> *Roja: If it was enough parking in the city, you would bring your car?*
> *Henna: Yeah, yeah. Because coming by train takes a lot of my time."*

She is also a train person when she wants to go to shopping, as is annotated in the map in the Mount Wellington area. Again, this is highlighted by showing Panmure as a node between her home place (Point England) and shopping place (Mount Wellington).

The following cognitive map belongs to Sophia (Figure 5). She patiently illustrated her cognitive map consisting of symbols, shapes, and annotations. Sophia shows the location of Auckland CBD properly at the centre of the map, which is represented by drawing the landmarks of Sky Tower, and the University of Auckland in the city campus.

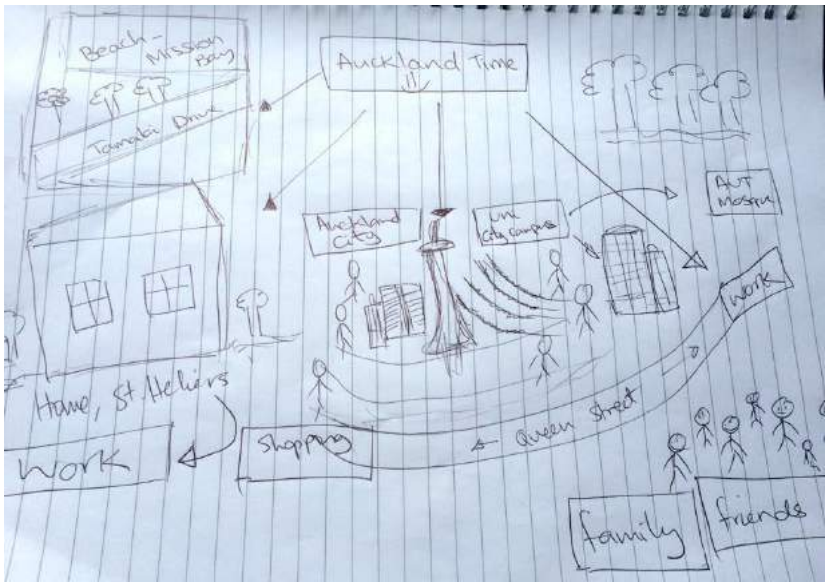

Figure 5. Sophia's cognitive map of Auckland

However, Sophia's cognitive map does not reflect cardinal directions since she does not picture her cognitive map of Auckland from a bird's-eye view. She illustrates her important activity locations with the aid of symbols and shapes such as trees, humans, and buildings. Therefore, connections between these places are not according to reality. Two main access ways, which are distinctly shown on the map, are Queen Street and Tamaki Drive. In Sophia's cognitive map, Queen Street links "Work" to "Shopping" and "Home", while Tamaki Drive is framed with trees on both sides and defined as a connection provider between "beach" and Mission Bay. In the following extract of the interview, Sophia explains her reason for preferring Tamaki Drive in Auckland to other streets and routes:

"Sophia: Probably more like the Mission Bay and Tamaki Drive area. Because it was like close to my area, nothing to worry about, you know, in terms of transport or carpark or whatever… you know? It was more relaxing."

Therefore, the close proximity between her living place and that area gives her a sense of comfort without having to worry about transport and parking. The interpretation and analysis of this type of illustration of access-ways in the cognitive map could be that Sophia is either a bus or a car user. However, her level of details in her cognitive map (e.g. trees and buildings) show that she is more of a bus user that she could captured more details on her way between home and work. This is confirmed by her interview as below:

"Roja: Ohum, eh, what was your frequent means of transport in Auckland?
Sophia: Ehhh if I went to town, it was mainly by bus."

However, Sophia insisted that her daily life and stage of life influences her preferences of means of transport:

"Sophia: It depends on time… like when are we talking about? Like [during] uni time, I was always bus person. Yeah, but after uni, when I got a car and I worked and stuff, I was more a car person, yeah."

The two following maps are the cognitive maps of Banoo and Soraya (Figure 6 from left to right), who are two participant Afghan women from the first generation of immigrants in Auckland.

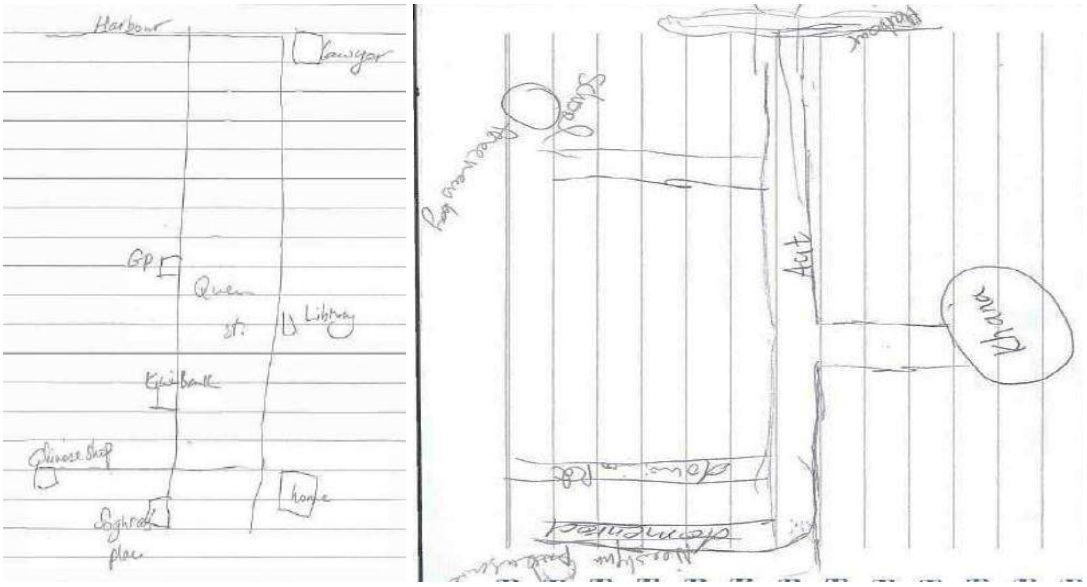

Figure 6.From left to right: Banoo's and Soraya's cognitive maps of Auckland

The generation of immigration results in a notable difference in the illustration of cognitive maps of Auckland. Other studies have also examined and found that length of residence affects the attachment of people to their living environment (Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Hernández et al., 2007). In this study, Banoo and Soraya who have been in Auckland for three years, depict their important activity locations in Auckland in and around Queen Street. This is firstly because they both live in the CBD area and secondly because they have not had many experiences outside of the CBD in Auckland according to their length of residence in Auckland. Their linear maps are indicative of the importance of Queen Street in their minds when thinking of Auckland as their living environment. The role of connection is more important in their maps compared to those of other participants from another generation of immigrants. Indeed, Queen Street is not perceived as a pathway[1]; rather, it is represented as the whole district or zone in which they live and think of Auckland.

[1] According to Kevin Lynch (1960), pathway, district, node, landmark, and border are five elements of legibility with which one imagines his or her living environment. A multitude and variety of these elements in a cognitive map are indicative of a legible living environment.

Since most of the activity locations in Banoo's cognitive map are placed in or around the vicinity of Queen Street, it is expected that she walks to her destinations. This is confirmed by the following extracts from interviews with her:

> *(Translation from Farsi[1])"Roja: What is the most frequent means of transport for you here in Auckland?*
> *Banoo: I mostly walk."*

Additionally, Banoo indicated that proximity of Queen Street to most of her important places in Auckland is the main reason for her to like it. This is quite clear by looking at Banoo's cognitive map and realizing that the importance of Queen Street has made her depict Auckland around Queen Street:

> *(Translation from Farsi)"Roja: What do you like about Queen Street?*
> *Banoo: I like it, coz it's nearby my place. English classes are close, my GP is close to me, the bank is close to me, many things are close and handy in Queen Street. If I don't have things to do, I can wander around the street, and have a walk."*

Studying the cognitive maps of the participant Afghan immigrant women along with their interviews shows that there is a correlation between length of residence in Auckland and the illustrated details of their living environment in their cognitive maps. Participants of the first generation who have been living in Auckland for three years have fewer details with which to annotate their cognitive maps than the others of the 1.5 generation of immigrants who have been living in Auckland for more than 10 years.

The difference between the cognitive maps of the participants is also related to the location of their living places as well as their other activity locations in Auckland. The participants' stages of life, such as their age and their occupation, are highly relevant to the way they illustrate their cognition of Auckland.

4 CONCLUSION

This paper discussed that the meaning and sense of place is not fixed and stable while differences are increasing in the global city. Meanings and sense of place are influenced by multi-layered differences inherent in everyday life experiences of different groups of people in the place. In order to understand the developing and changing sense of place, this paper studied the different everyday life experiences of a group of immigrant women from Afghanistan who live in the global city of Auckland. Application of cognitive mapping as a method provided this study with an opportunity to explore different meanings and functions of places in Auckland for participant Afghan women who live in Auckland. The different meanings and functions of places in Auckland explored in this study are not necessarily mentioned in interview quotations of the participants. In this paper, I used cognitive map as a method for explaining the diversity of appropriation, perception, and presentation of the city of Auckland by a group of Afghan immigrant women who live in Auckland. The results of this study showed that participant Afghan immigrant women imagine Auckland according to their context of everyday life experiences in the city. Similarities and differences between the presentations of their cognitive maps, also, refer to different layers of their identity including gender, ethnicity, religion, age, as well as stage of life and so on. Additionally, the results of this study show that participant Afghan women living in the global city of Auckland are influenced by different power relations of the context of globalization. These influences lead them to imagine and define social boundaries for themselves during their everyday life experiences in the global city.

In conclusion, this study suggests that the study of everyday life experiences of different groups of people in the era of globalization helps academic and practitioner planners to understand different layers of identification in the place. It is beneficial in the process of plan and policy making in terms of the sensitive and subjective approach that it considers in understanding difference in the global city. The application of cognitive mapping, I suggest provides a situation of taking a discursive approach in the research. It recognizes different layers of identification in the place in order to understand different senses of place in the era of globalization.

[1] Interviews with 2 participants were conducted in Farsi according to their preferences. Therefore, the interview transcriptions are translated from Farsi to English.

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ID 1429 | THE ´FOSTER CITY´: THE DIFFERENT STRATA OF URBAN DIVERSITY IN A NEWLY-MIXED TOWN

Dana Shevah[1]
[1]Technion- Israel Institute of Technology
shevahd@gmail.com

ABSTRACT: In the past several decades, an expeditious internal migration process is evident in Israel. Israeli towns which were established during the 1950s and 1960s have attracted Ultra-Orthodox communities and Palestinians who are Israeli citizens. This process stands in contrast to the Nationalist-Zionist ethos, which has aimed to plan and populate new towns in the peripheral areas of the new state, mainly for secular Jews. As a consequence, population groups who are considered as ´others´, share the urban space with the local population. Against this background, tensions between the different population groups arise, turning the city into a contested arena, where struggles over public resources, public services, local identity and urban image proliferate. This paper highlights the different strata of urban diversity in the context of planning, asking how urban management and planning deal with a city that becomes mixed and is characterized by multiple conflicts. Karmiel, a newly-mixed town in Israel, was selected as a case study. This paper is based on a PhD research that focused on three planning events which differ in scale and represent the conflicts within the urban realm, resulting from and intensified by increasing urban diversity in terms of religious inclination (secular vs. ultra-orthodox Jews), ethno-national identity (Jews vs. Palestinians who are Israeli citizens), and socio-economic inequalities (high socio-economic status vs. low socio-economic status). The methodology combines multiple sources of knowledge and information: historical knowledge (archival documentation); planning knowledge (statutory plans, municipal board-meetings' protocols, court verdicts, interviews with municipal officials and planning practitioners); local knowledge (in-depth conversations: local residents, social activists, local NGOs, building contractors, business owners, national and local press, the civic discourse in Facebook groups); quantitative data and information (Israeli central bureau of statistics, The Ministry of Housing publications, Israeli Tax authorities, Israeli Knesset research center). This approach has produced integrative knowledge about contemporary urbanism, stressing the unique urban dynamics within cities that are becoming mixed. This paper offers a new conceptualization- ´the Foster City´. Ultra-Orthodox Jews and Palestinians, who are Israeli citizens, are compared to ´step-inhabitants´- they are not an ideological product of the Nation-Zionist city. The Israeli urban reality is characterized by growing heterogeneity, subverting the Israeli planning policy which strives for absolute social, cultural and spatial separation between Jews and Arabs and between secular and Ultra-Orthodox Jews. This abnormality challenges the existing order, eroding the utopian ideal of the homogeneous Nation-City. The ´Foster City´ highlights the intermediate situation of newly-mixed cities, not only in Israel, but is germane to the European context as well. It emphasizes the complicated conditions of population groups considered as ´others´, in two central aspects: alienation and temporariness. In the ´Foster City´ the struggles over symbolic and spatial demands echo everywhere: at home, in the streets and neighborhoods and in the entire city. Nonetheless, the ´Foster City´ is an enabling space, providing for marginalized groups an opportunity to fulfill their civil rights: it reduces the supremacy of ethnic, religious, and socio-economic status, while allowing civic belonging to sprout.