
Urban Place as a Heterochronotopia: A Case Study of a Brno Locality*

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Abstract: This article is based on long-term study of the relationship between time and space. It does not conceive space as a dimensionless, empty, and homogeneous container but draws instead on the concept of place as unique and meaningful. The conceptualisation of place is thus based on the classic works of the humanist geographers Yi-Fu Tuan and Edward Relph, who consider place to be integral, enclosed, and determinable. The issue of the determinability of integral and still meaningful place is examined using Michel Foucault's concept of heterotopia. A certain place in a city is linked to a number of other places, which in a way then become present in that place. The place cannot be considered a homotopia but, on the contrary, is a heterotopia. Place can also be conceived from a temporal point of view. Various times (rhythms) blend in a place and they refer to processes that were taking place in other (even temporally very remote) times. Similarly, just as place can be spatially considered a heterotopia, temporally it may be considered a heterochronia. The term heterochronotopia is used to refer to a place that opens out both spatially to other places and temporally to other times. Empirically the article focuses on one selected place in the post-socialist and post-industrial city of Brno (Czech Republic). The article seeks to (1) identify links connecting the researched place to other sites and times and to (2) describe the selected place as a system of associations. The research combines a very wide range of methods such as direct observation, informal interviews, and analyses of historical documents, photos, public transport timetables, etc. The article thus offers an example of a dense description of a place as a temporally or spatially undeterminable entity, provides material for critical reflection on the assumption that urban place is enclosed and determinable, and introduces 'heterochronotopia' as a new concept referring to a spatially and temporally undetermined place in a contemporary city.

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Introduction

This article is based on the traditions of social science research into the relationship between time and space. It aims, within this framework, to further discuss the concept of place,¹ which is one of the key geographic concepts. The notion of place in geography has under the influence of the humanistic geographic tradition been based for a relatively long time on four assumptions—apparent staticity, determinacy, existence of its centre, and semantic unity. This paper challenges the validity of these assumptions and proposes a different approach to the study of place; an approach that reflects the indeterminacy of place in time and space; an approach that can take into account the relational character of place, that is, its connectedness with other places and other times. Place is thus not an enclosed and self-contained unit; on the contrary, it acquires its meaning through other, often both temporally and spatially remote places.

As a broader theoretical framework for a critical discussion of place, the article draws on Foucault's concept of heterotopia. The concept offers the possibility of extending the notion of place to its spatial (heterotopic) and temporal (heterochronic) relations. The aim of the article is therefore to discuss a geographical conceptualisation of a heterochronotopic place. Heterochronotopia is not just another name for heterotopia or heterochronia. It is a concept with which it is possible to depict place through the set of mutually related places in various times. Numerous linkages and connections with other places allow us to see place as a kind of relation network. The network itself is however not the result; it represents just a means of identification of other interrelated places, which are called locations² further in the text. The ensemble of these locations, distant both in spatial and temporal terms, represents place in line with the heterochronotopic approach. The aim of the article is also to empirically apply the heterochronotopic approach to place; on the example of a specific urban place, the article shows the possibilities of a heterochronotopic description of place emphasising the inseparability of the time and the space relations of place.

The structure of the article also corresponds to its outlined focus and aim. Alongside the Introduction and Conclusion, the article contains four theoretical chapters that discuss in detail the theoretical background of the article, including a critique on the humanistic concepts of place, and introduce the geographic concept of heterochronotopia as a temporally and spatially unbound concept of place based on Foucault's discussions of heterotopia. The theoretical chapters are fol-

¹ Three terms—place, locality, and location—are employed in this article in order to make the conceptualisation of heterochronotopia semantically clear. They are not synonyms, as they are used in specific conceptual contexts. 'Place' is understood here as a generic term reflecting broader geographical theory and practice. The term covers various conceptualisations, heterochronotopia included.

² According to Foucault, locality consists of elements through which other remote sites and elements enter and co-define the locality. These remote sites and elements are called locations in the paper.

lowed by a methodology section, which presents the methodological principles of the empirical application of the concept of heterochronotopia to a geographic description of an urban place, in this case the particular locality³ of Nové Sady in Brno, and its spatial definition. The empirical part of the article presents Nové Sady as an ensemble of other related locations; the otherness of the locations stems from their spatial or temporal distance. Such a description may be based on a number of both materialised and non-materialised and more or less obvious networks; however, because of the limited scope the approach used is necessarily selective. Here we characterise the locality as a heterochronotopia based on the ensemble of locations linked to the building that dominates the locality (see the section 'Heterochronotopia of the building'), on the ensemble of locations connected through particular transport modes present in the locality, and on the ensemble of locations that are connected via the waste going from or to the locality (see the section 'Heterochronotopia of waste').

Static, delimited, centred and meaningful place

Geography, as a discipline that defines basic spatial concepts, differentiates between the concepts of space and place, often setting them in opposition [Agnew 2005: 83]. The consolidation of the concept of place is associated with the establishment of humanistic geography and therefore with the thinking of humanist geographers, most notably Edward Relph [1976], Yi-Fu Tuan [1977] and David Seamon [1979]. They were particularly motivated by a critique of a 'dehumanised', 'disembodied', and 'observer-independent' concept of space. Opposing this conception of space, they constructed their own concept of place, based on the assumption that 'people do not live in space but inhabit places' [Casey 1993: ix]. While space is perceived as dominated and controlled within their approach, place is described as lived and experienced [Taylor 1999]; their aim is thus to transform the relatively abstract concept of space into a meaningful concept of place [Cresswell 2008b: 55]. Despite the fact that the humanistic conception of place was heavily criticised primarily from the positions of a new mobility paradigm, cultural geography, or radical approaches (see the discussion below), its basic assumptions still play an important role in place conceptualisation within the social sciences that address spatial issues. Classic works of humanistic geographers thus represent not only an original source of these assumptions but, at the same time, useful material for their deeper analysis. Respecting that, our discussion of the heterochronotopic concept of place has to start with the thoughts of Edward Relph and Yi-Fu Tuan.

³ The term 'locality' is much more specific and refers to a particular situated and observable site under study. It represents a rather technical description of Nové Sady in terms of a field survey.

We can thus consider at least four humanist assumptions of place, which are still prevalent in contemporary social science debates about spatial phenomena, and which complicate the comprehension of current spatial processes. Doreen Massey talks about (i) the seeming staticity of place, (ii) the determinacy of place, (iii) the existence of a centre/core of place, and (iv) the semantic unity of place [Massey 1993]. Let us first concentrate on the issue of (i) staticity of place. Tuan literally speaks about place as pause, when he writes:

Furthermore, if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place. [Tuan 1977: 6]

Tuan in this context considers place something that provides stability and security and thus sets it in opposition to space, which in turn offers openness, freedom, movement, and therefore also the risk of exposure. This fully suits the sedentarist way of viewing the world, in which place is seen as the epitome of rootedness, spatial order, and belonging [Cresswell 2006: 26]. Massey very clearly shows how the approach of humanistic geographers depends on Heidegger's thought, especially on his *Being and Time*, adopting its dichotomy of being and becoming and reproducing it in the dichotomy of static place and becoming time. A humanistic geographic place is therefore like a pause, stopped in time, static, and non-processual, and thus repeating the division of the integral experience of space-time into analytical categories of space and time [Massey 1993: 66]. As stopped in time and thus timeless, it however makes it possible to capture spatial continuity [Agnew 2005: 83]. Place is thus not only temporally static, but also spatially continuous; it is a specific moment, a moment of a concrete continuous space [Henderson 2009: 540]. Mimi Sheller and John Urry from the perspective of a new mobility paradigm refuse the fixity and stability of place in the current highly mobile world and emphasise its hybrid essence. Places are, according to them, produced and reproduced by 'unstable and ever changing' relations between 'materialities and mobilities' combining local and also distinct objects, technologies, and socialities [Sheller and Urry 2006: 214; Sheller and Urry 2016: 12, 13].

The second assumption is (ii) the determinacy of place. Relph also refers to Heidegger, when he emphasises the need for human existence to have bounds.

The philosopher Martin Heidegger [1958: 19] declared that 'place' places man in such a way that it reveals the external bounds of his existence and at the same time the depths of his freedom and reality. [Relph 1976: 1]

Relph sees place as a specific spatial unit, not too different from other concepts such as street, city, or region. As a tool for the critique of the homogeneous concept of space, place is conceived as an area with certain common characteristics [Hender-

son 2009: 539], thereby forming discrete spatial units, defined by a boundary that determines what is still sufficiently common and is consequently 'inside' place, and what is insufficiently common and thus lies 'outside' it [Seamon and Sowers 2008: 45]. Place is thus defined both through its internal 'similarity' and through its outer links with other places [Relph 1976: 3]. Relph also places great emphasis on the experience of 'being inside' [Relph 1976: 49], emphasises the concept of insideness, analyses the degree of human inclusion into or adherence to a particular place, connects the identity of place with a human identity, or rather connects the concept of place with the concept of subjectivity [Gregory 1994: 391; Seamon and Sowers 2008: 45; Butler 2013: 52; Butler 2014: 209–210]. Massey comments on this need to define and delimit by saying that the use of 'boundaries' can be beneficial for certain types of studies, but it is definitely not necessary for the conceptualisation of place itself [Massey 1993: 67]. That is, again, related to the third assumption, deducing that if place delimits an area with similar characteristics and separates the 'inside' from the 'outside', then place (iii) becomes the centre of the surrounding area. Places are 'significant centres of our immediate experiences of the world'. [Relph 1976: 141]

Relph considers places as certain unique centres of space, which are enclosed, self-contained, and self-sufficient. Besides dichotomies of time and space, and inside and outside, this concept also reproduces the dichotomy of centre and periphery. While the centre can be seen as the center of sense in terms of linking the real and imaginary place of greatest familiarity (home), the periphery is the expanse of the unknown [Gibas 2014: 237]. A number of authors contradict this assumption about place. Doreen Massey speaks about a 'global sense of place' [Massey 1993], Kevin Hetherington talks about 'an "ordering process" of diffuse but connected placings' [Hetherington 1997], Tim Cresswell speaks about a 'product of multiple mobilities intersecting' [Cresswell 2008b: 57], George Henderson writes 'a network of potentially far flung sites are enrolled into relationship with each other' [Henderson 2009: 541], and Derek Gregory speaks about 'a complex, dynamic and uneven web' [Gregory 2009: 113].

Criticism of both assumptions about the determinacy and centrality of place from the perspective of the new mobility paradigm can be supplemented by the thesis that places made and remade by fluid relations with other, distinct places, become progressively more and more constituent parts of the outside, and as a consequence their central and bounded character is weakening [Cresswell 2008a: 137]. Places can, therefore, be viewed as a kind of assemblage in which the things that constitute a particular place are often held apart. The erosion, or even dissipation, of place boundaries is caused by many different deterritorialising forces, such as the flow of capital, forms of transport and communication technologies, and the availability of mobile devices that enable a routine escape into cyberspace etc. [Cresswell 2011: 240, 241].

All of the authors mentioned above share criticism of place as a centre; place is not an intersection or network, but a network is needed for locating scattered

place. And it is to this that the last assumption about (iv) the semantic unity of place is related.

... there is something distinctive about idea of place, for in this meaning place appears to possess some 'perceptual unity' that is given to it by our experiences with unique and real places. [Relph 1976: 4]

A sense of place is key not only to humanistic geography. According to Relph, 'sense' is an essential defining characteristic of place, and according to Tuan, place is constituted as a gathering of 'sense' [Tuan 1977: 54]. Criticism of this assumption then does not contradict sense itself but rather the unity of the sense of place, that is, the assumption that place has some sort of a single uniform and common sense, and that if it does not, then this is a mistake and such a common sense needs to be found [Norberg-Schulz 1969: 226]. This persistent 'sameness' then makes it possible to distinguish one place from another [Relph 1976: 45]. Doreen Massey contradicts this semantic homogeneity of place by saying that places do not have one single, common sense, and that rather places are also semantically differentiated [Massey 1993: 67]. Mike Davis shows how places can be internally conflicted, and, what is more, they can also be defined by conflict [Davis 1985]. Places thus do not have to have a clear identity but, on the contrary, their identity of sense can be more layered, fragmented, and contradictory. Such places are typically transport places, such as airports, which can be defined by the multilayering of distinct or even conflicting meanings and views that are valid for residents, airline industry actors, and governmental bodies acting on local, regional, national, international, and global scales [Kesselring 2009; Faburel and Levy 2009]. Moreover, Tim Cresswell distinguishes between the personal meaning of place based on a person's own experiences and its mediated senses spread via various media (internet, films, TV, novels, etc.). Places are, therefore, also representational and their alternative meanings can be shared differently among particular groups [Cresswell 2011: 236, 239]. The same place can also possess different names and be known differently in specific worlds of ethnic and linguistic groups residing in the same city, as is illustratively shown in the case of colonial Singapore [Wong 2006].

These four assumptions of (i) the seeming staticity of place, (ii) the determinacy of place, (iii) the existence of a centre/core of place, and (iv) the semantic unity of place will serve us as material for a critical exploration of an alternative concept of place [Lefebvre 2009: 186] capable of overcoming the repetition of these dichotomies, allowing us to analytically conceive time and space together. Foucault's concept of heterotopia/heterochronia appears to be suitable for this purpose.

Heterotopia

The term heterotopia has been frequently used in the language of the contemporary disciplines of space since the 1990s [Saldanha 2008]. Heterotopia, presented by Michel Foucault back in 1967 in his lecture 'Of Other Spaces' (*Des espaces autres*), is, however, not a theoretically anchored concept with predetermined areas of analysis. It is rather an intellectual framework that 'only' suggests a possible way of looking at place and space; its aim is rather a description of the next development stage of society, a search for the meaning of what comes after modernism.

While mediaeval society lived in a hierarchical and stable system of places, according to Foucault, contemporary society produces and adopts a dynamic space of relations. In opposition to the fixed localisation of mediaeval society, Foucault [1996] here presents the concept of emplacement, or, better, the ongoing emplacement of places in heterogeneous networks existing both in space and in time. The concept of emplacement thus represents a space of relations between points, elements that are simultaneous, placed side by side, close and distant, sorted and scattered [Foucault 1996: 71]. If place represents the relations between these points and elements, then the proposition that we live in an emplacement means that we live inside a set of relations. The term emplacement thus corresponds to the concept of space described by Foucault as an assemblage of relations [Foucault 1996: 75] and also allows for delimitation towards prior homogenising concepts, as he says that individual placements are reciprocally irreducible and irreplaceable [Foucault 1996: 75].

Foucault, however, does not address in detail all emplacements, or emplacements in general, but focuses only on such emplacements that have relation to all other locations, specifically a relation that reverts their original sense [Elden 2009: 330]. He talks about two separate types of emplacements—of 'utopias' and 'heterotopias'. Although both kinds of emplacements are scientifically inspiring, for the purposes of this article it is primarily heterotopia that has certain geographic potential. In heterotopias, real emplacements (all other places) are simultaneously represented, contradicted, and reverted [Foucault 2003: 76], they are therefore 'countersites' of sorts or 'other places' associated in an ambivalent relationship with places dominantly produced and adopted by the majority society, that is, places of the cultural mainstream [Saldanha 2008: 2081; Johnson 2013]. Foucault goes even further, arguing that heterotopia refers to the situation where a large number of fragments of various systems are reflected in a single location in such a way that they do not establish any common unity, coherence, or new identity [Cenzatti 2008: 75].

Since the main source for interpreting Foucault's concept of heterotopia is a single text, and that only in the form of notes prepared for a lecture given in 1967, there is not much material for a deeper understanding of Foucault's concept of heterotopia. The result is frequent criticism of the concept or multiple and vari-

ously conceived discussions, interpretations, and explanations of the concept. Critics include Edward Soja, who refers to the definition of the concept as inadequate and incoherent, because, on closer inspection, heterotopia can acquire several often mutually hardly compatible meanings [Soja in Johnson 2013: 792].

Heterochronia

In the introduction to his paper 'Of Other Spaces', Michel Foucault says: 'that current anxiety is fundamentally concerned with space, much more on than with time: the latter, probably, merely appears to us as one of the many possible patterns of distribution between elements that are scattered over space' [Foucault 1996: 73], privileging thus to a certain extent the spatial dimension of the concept of heterotopia. In another brief remark on his account of time, Foucault [1996: 81] states that 'heterotopia begins to function fully when you find yourself in a certain absolute rupture with the traditional time'. And he uses the term heterochronia to describe a symmetric defining relation between place-heterotopia and a specific time.

The full scale of phenomena that can be defined as heterochronia is, however, still unclear:

- Is heterochronia the specific manner of spatialisation, or, better put, the accumulation of time in a place (museum collections, materialised memory of a place)?

There are a considerable number of articles discussing the accumulation or materialisation of specific historical events, epochs, and time periods in a single place in the form of statues, sculptures, exhibitions, and museums [Kuhn 2004; Ssorin-Chaikov 2006, 2013; Aydemir 2008]. In the time scale of everyday life, eternity often coincides with long-term permanence and as such it is usually associated with certain elements of physical space, such as historic buildings or street lines. The more transient temporality of human lives, activities, and movements in space then creates the impression that those permanent structures link a particular place with other, past times and events, as well as other elements and structures that may link the place with future times [Ssorin-Chaikov 2006]. The experience of a particular place is then also co-created by the capabilities of selected local structures to associate a different temporality, the spirit of the past/future [Marcelli 2015: 149].

- Is it the temporality of a place (marketplace, holiday village)?

The temporality of the day thus contrasts with the certain sacredness of the night in which places that do not respect quiet hours (night clubs, convenience stores, gas stations, etc.) stand out as heterochronias of a kind. The working part of the week alternates with rest days, and their rhythm highlights heterochronias in the form of operating businesses, such as stores with weekend opening hours or 24/7 businesses [Muliček, Osman and Seidenglanz 2015].

- Is it the specific rhythm or temporal regime of a place (monastery, sanatorium)?

Sosna [2015] sees the essence of heterochronia in the coexistence of a larger number of locally overlapping time regimes. On the example of a landfill, Sosna documents three time regimes: (1) an institutional regime, given by the intended operating life of the landfill and the planned phasing of its filling; (2) a regime of timelessness, resulting from the nature of the landfill as a place that will be for an extremely long period of time only and nothing but a landfill, storing objects and materials with a decay time of thousands of years; and (3) a cyclic regime, produced by the daily rhythms of the arrivals and departures of mixed-waste wagons or by periodic fluctuations in the amount of waste taken in depending on the season. Heterochronia conceived in this way is strikingly similar to Bakhtin's chronotope, that is, a locality with a specific combination of rhythms [Muliček, Osman and Seidenglanz 2015]. If we shift the debate to the urban environment, a number of chronotopes with a rhythmic profile can be tracked that are exempt from the universal synchronisation of the contemporary city through time [Marcelli 2015: 166]. They are therefore heterochronias, places of discord with the usual, linearly conceived temporality and dominant synchronising rhythms [Bal 2011].

In any case, heterochronia refers to the combination of various times in a single place. We understand heterochronia as qualitative shifts of time in a single place, as the local fusing of different rhythms, as spatially fixed combinations of times from different periods, or as any other example of different temporalities co-existing, fusing, or interfering in a given place.

Heterochronotopia

The aim of our paper is to use Foucault's reflections on heterotopia and heterochronia, or specifically his more general considerations about a differentiated sense of place, to devise a geographic conceptualisation of place as heterochronotopia. The term heterochronotopia is not new; it has, however, so far been employed as a conceptual tool for analysing art exhibitions, installations, or cinematic montages [Bal 2008]. Foucault himself defines six principles which he refers to as the principles of heterotopic emplacement; however, in his approach they are heterochronic principles as well. In other words, some of his principles refer to a more heterotopic and others to a more heterochronic sense of emplacement. In this text, however, we focus only on those principles that refer both to the characteristics of social space [Lefebvre 1991; de Certeau 1984] and to the characteristics of the network concept of space [Swyngedouw 1999; Swyngedouw and Swyngedouw 2004; Fariás and Bender 2010; Gandy 2014]. There are four principles important for geographic application: (1) heterotopias involve relations to other places, (2) heterotopias transform in time, (3) heterotopias can emplace side by

side mutually contradictory places, (4) heterotopias interconnect different times in a single place. The fifth⁴ and sixth⁵ principles are not taken into account for the purpose of geographic conceptualisation here as they do not directly develop the imagination of a relational or network approach to space.

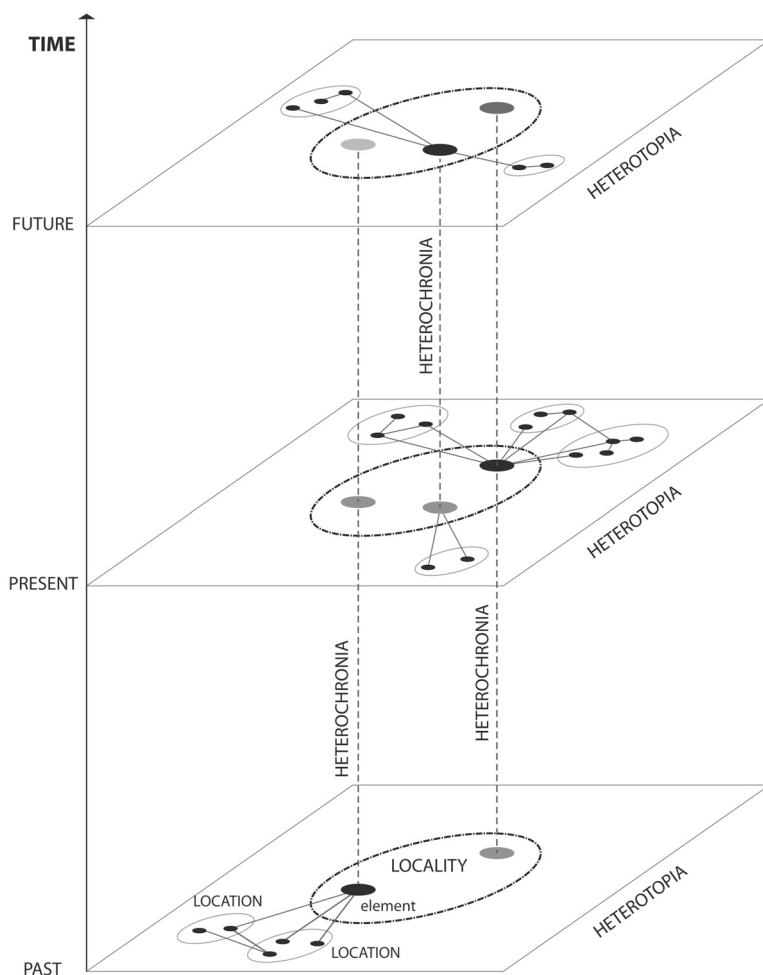
According to Foucault, heterotopias are places that acquire relations with other places, while the nature of these relations can, among other things, have the character of a description, a mirror, or a reflection. This highlights the relational character of heterotopias, which resonates with conceiving place as a decentralised, non-restricted entity connected with remote locations. The connection may be of various natures, from fixed infrastructure connections to information flows and other intangible links to connections purely symbolic or even imaginary [Heyns 2008]. The relational character of a heterotopia allows us to conceive place as spatially non-restricted and use this argument of Foucault's in the geographic conceptualisation of an alternative approach to place (the first attribute of a heterochronotopia).

However, the character, form, and intensity of the relations that connect a place-heterotopia with other places are not changeless. In the second principle Foucault refers to heterotopias as temporary entities whose position may evolve in linearly flowing historical time. One and the same heterotopic place thus may acquire other functions and other locations in the network of relationships—not because the place itself transforms, but because the external environment changes, the matrix of the relational network is rearranged. The permanence of the physical structure of a place thus can be contrasted with the often significant changes of its function in time. The second principle commented on here puts emplacement into the context of unidirectionally flowing time, within which its position and the characteristic relations change (the second attribute of a heterochronotopia).

⁴ Foucault, in his fifth principle, describes heterotopias as places which are open and closed at the same time. A heterotopia is not a freely accessible place, according to Foucault; its accessibility is somehow restricted or, conversely, enforced. If we explore empirically an urban place that can be physically entered only in its present form, it is open just in the present time. We can have only mediated access to the history of a place through documents, archives, maps, and photographs; an unmediated experience is not possible. Despite the fact that a heterochronotopia conceptualises place across time, we are not able to enter it in any other time than the present. Similarly, we can derive the future of a place from plans, visions, and strategies, but the direct experience is denied to us. The place in its future, as well as in its history, is closed.

⁵ Foucault's sixth principle refers to a certain role that heterotopias impose on the remaining space. The function oscillates between two extreme poles of illusion and compensation. It concerns a specific social or symbolic meaning of place that permeates all other places. Each place involves certain utopic illusions about geometry, aesthetics, hygiene, and safety of space, as well as certain compensations in the form of the breaking of norms (misparking, dumping, public excretion, etc.).

Figure 1. Heterochronotopia



In his third principle, Foucault talks about heterotopias that may juxtapose locations that are mutually incompatible, and that can enrich each other with deep and (seemingly) externally introduced senses. Thanks to this, place acquires different senses from the various other 'heres' and 'nows'. Contrary to humanist thinking, place thus does not have and even cannot have one single and common sense; instead its sense is heterotopically and multiply layered. This principle of Foucault's allows us to approach place as semantically ambiguous or even contradictory (the third attribute of a heterochronotopia).

In the fourth principle, Foucault speaks about heterotopias that form certain time sections, which means they are open to time from various periods or time with different meanings. This heterochronic aspect of heterotopias indicates both the ability to 'enclose all times, all eras, forms, and styles ... almost perpetual and unlimited accumulation within an irremovable place' [Foucault 1996: 82] and the fact that the experience of place, its materiality and temporality, can also be created by other, spatially remote locations, from which their time or rhythm is transmitted [Schwanen 2007]. Place thus ceases to be a pause and loses the assumption of temporal staticity. Foucault's fourth principle allows us to conceive place not through a single time, but through a number of different times (the fourth attribute of a heterochronotopia).

Heterotopia, complemented by a heterochronic aspect, is used in this article as the starting point for a critical reflection on the concept of urban place. Place is not a closed and self-contained unit because it obtains its significance through other, often spatially remote locations; it is shaped by other places, which demonstrate their 'absent presence' in many ways. Place, however, is unenclosed not only in space but also in time. Different times (eras) and rhythms coexisting in a particular urban place refer to processes that take place in other, often spatially remote locations and temporally remote times. An urban place thus cannot be perceived as a locality that remains in relation to all other locations. It can, however, be conceptualised as a locality that has connections only to certain locations. The geographic focus then is not on the relations themselves, but on the ensemble of locations linked to the locality under study.

We understand heterochronotopia as a specific geographic application of Foucault's heterotopia. The geographic conceptualisation of heterotopia assumes that place can be regarded as an ensemble of spatially and temporally discontinuous locations located outside the 'here and now' of the observed locality (Figure 1). Following this view, the locality is connected via specific relations to other locations. These locations can be situated in close vicinity to the locality or at a distance from it, or, in the extreme case, on the other side of the world. When conceptualised in this way, a heterotopia is a set of synchronic locations connected to the locality under study on one temporal level (see the horizontal perspective in Figure 1, i.e. particular heterotopias).

Besides the spatial dimension, there are also the temporal contours of place. Each place has its own history, development stages, layers of sediment, architectural styles, technological phases, and life cycles. Each place is shaped by its own biography. This biography, however, is not contiguous in temporal terms. If a place passed through dynamic development stages that left visible imprints, these stages were usually followed by periods of stagnation that are not directly identifiable in the locality. The history of a present place thus consists of a set of formative periods that are not necessarily continuous in time but are spatially linked to a particular place. It is an ensemble of the periods of time that are synchronic—related to the single place. The temporal dimension of a place can be

called heterochronia (see the vertical perspective in Figure 1, i.e. particular heterochronias).

The meaning of heterochronotopia is a combination of heterotopia and heterochronia; a combination of the ensemble of synchronic locations (the horizontal level) with the ensemble of synchronic time periods (the vertical level). Heterochronotopia is a time-space concept that employs the potential of both. Place is not conceptualised here as a set of locations mutually related within one temporal level (e.g. the present), nor it is a mere sum of the various time periods that pass through a single locality (e.g. the history of a public square). Place is constituted and shaped by the ensemble of other locations in different times. First, each particular location has its own biography that is, at least partly, projected into the related locality under observation. Locality is thus connected not only with other locations but also with other biographies and other times. Second, each time period linked to the observed locality involves specific other places; the places that were or will be linked to the period, other places that co-created or will co-create the biography. In this respect, the other time periods link the locality to other locations, and the other locations connect the locality to other times. A heterochronotopia is not just another name for heterotopia or heterochronia. It is a concept by which place can be depicted through a set of mutually related places in different times (see the combination of the horizontal and vertical perspectives in Figure 1).

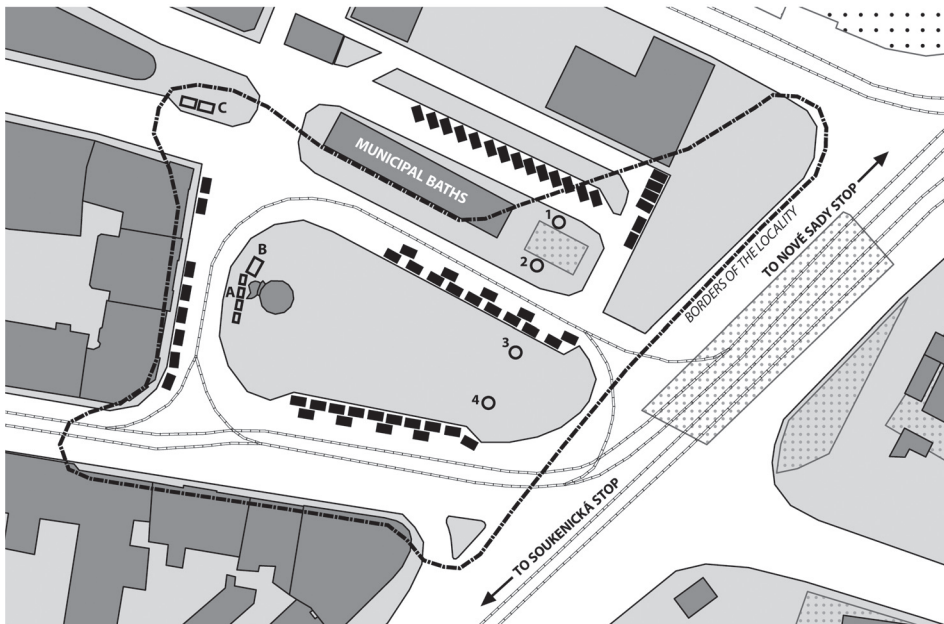
Heterochronotopias thus represent an alternative way of ordering space-time [Hetherington 1997]. They show place as non-restricted, unenclosed, atopic, and connected [Dehaene and De Cauter 2008: 5]. Heterochronotopias represent emplacements between locations and times from which they differ; they are sets of opposing relationships, an assemblage of linked contradictions, and a number of overlapping meanings [Elden 2009: 330]. Unlike place in the original humanist-geographic sense, heterochronotopias have no centre or centrepiece; heterochronotopias are thus decentralised, dislocated ensembles of locations. At the same time, heterochronotopias are not contiguous, closed, continual places. As an ensemble of locations, a heterochronotopia is geographically and temporally dispersed; it has no enclosed territory or period that could be determined as a contiguous space-time.

In the empirical part of the paper, we shall look at a method that can be used to describe place as a heterochronotopia. The aim is thus not to describe the humanist-conceived place as a meaningful, centred, determined, and spatial entity halted in time. On the contrary, the aim is to move away from this description and demonstrate how a contemporary urban place can be described in terms of its relations to other places (the first attribute) and other times (the fourth attribute), which are constantly changing with time (the second attribute) and therefore superimposing numerous various (and sometimes contradictory) meanings (the third attribute). The description of a place as a heterochronotopia will then comprise descriptions of those individual attributes that are the most characteristic for a place, instead of an exhaustive description of the whole.

Methodology

The locality selected here for the empirical application of the concept of heterochronotopia was in the city of Brno. The selection of the locality was largely random; or more precisely, the locality was not selected for its semantic, functional, or aesthetic qualities, but purely pragmatically for characteristics facilitating the survey. What was taken into consideration, therefore, was its accessibility for the authors of this article from their places of residence and work, its accessibility via public transport, its level of illumination at night, and its global observability. At the same time, locations already covered by other studies [Galčanová, Osman and Vacková 2011; Vacková, Osman and Galčanová 2012] were dismissed because of their already defined semantic categories. Apart from these criteria, it was a random choice. The locality was chosen in the vicinity of the intersection of streets Nové Sady, Hybešova and Nádražní; the working name 'Nové Sady' is used in the paper. The locality is situated on the outskirts of the historic city centre, near the main railway station. Tram tracks pass through the locality (including a turning loop) that are used by five regular lines. The locality also has a very good

Figure 2. Locality overview



Note: 1,2,3,4 – public trash cans; A – waste paper containers; B – waste plastic container, C – waste glass containers.

connection to highway network. Besides the transport function, the residential function of the locality blends with its service function, represented mainly by shops, offices, restaurants, and medical offices.

The simple delimitation of the observed locality became a separate issue. Given that we sought to capture the chronotopic (spatio-temporal) nature of the place, a simple spatial delimitation of the locality in advance did not seem appropriate. A different approach was therefore chosen. The locality was first observed for several hours during different parts of the day. At this stage, the focus was mainly on recording the flows of movement and their direction, speed, and fluency in all daily situations. The observations showed that the locality exhibits completely different flows during the morning rush hour, lunch break, or after dark. The spatial extent of activities thus changes over time and it would be possible to spatially delimit the locality differently for different daily situations. The final delimitation presents situational or processional nature of the observed locality. Processional 'self-containment' was not employed to describe the locality but was done rather for a purely methodical purpose. Our aim was not to delimit and bound space in order to separate it from other spaces; on the contrary, we sought to document the interconnection of a delimited locality with other locations. The borders of the locality are not to be perceived as separating and dividing. They are used to accent other spatial relationships than those concerning the borderline. The borders are a way of connecting the locality with other places than those directly adjacent to it [Subrahmanyam 1997]. Border delimitation is a necessary methodical step, and through it we were able to focus our research attention and to enter and get an overview of the locality in a short time and from a fixed standpoint. By delimiting the locality we were able to make the physical fix of our heterochronotopia research.⁶ On its south and west sides the locality is determined by the frontage of a block of houses; on the north side by the presence of several journey destinations (medical centre, tram stop, benches, trash cans, and semi-public toilets), and on the east side by a large and busy street with cascades of traffic lights (Figure 2).

Thus defined, the locality was then observed for over 40 hours during the autumn of 2015 (September, October) and the spring of 2016 (March, April).

⁶ To a certain degree, there is an analogy with the follow-the-thing approach of Ian Cook [2004, 2006, 2007]. Just as Cook attempts to follow a single thing beyond its actual presence 'here and now', we attempt to follow place beyond the spatial and temporal borders of the observed locality. Cook follows clearly delimited things (e.g. papaya, pepper sauce, chicken, etc.) that move through space; we, alternatively, follow a place, which is less delimitable and also more static in space when compared to the commodity thing. A heterochronotopic place moves in space, however, in a different way; it moves as a consequence of changing relations to the other locations that produce it. In order to follow this movement of place, we have to delimit a specific part of space—a locality. Only this procedure allows us to follow it both in time and space and consider this specific part of space as a place, and more specifically as a heterochronotopic place.

Grounded theory [Glaser and Strauss 1967; Strauss and Corbinová 1999] was used as the basic methodological framework, which enabled us to start with empirical data from unstructured observations and let the topics emerge gradually. Several separate topics emerged out of the observations and proved to be site-specific and characteristic for the observed locality. The building of the Municipal Baths on the north side of the observed locality proved to be one of the landmarks of the whole locality, both a functional and a visual one. This building is one of the main destinations and one of the reasons why people visit the observed locality, while it is visually completely atypical compared to the architectural style of its surroundings (Figure 3). The locality as a whole is primarily dominated by its transportation function and is used as an informal intermodal city hub, allowing its users to switch between various modes of transport (train, tram, bus, car, bike, etc.) and smoothly connect to the individual networks of these other transport modes (Figures 4, 5). The most commonly observed activities within the locality were various forms of waste handling. People brought waste to the locality, disposing of it, unloading it, sorting it, collecting it, raking it, untangling it, transferring it, and tying it, and then in turn picking it up, loading it, trucking it, and carrying it away (Figure 8, 9). Given the scope of this article, we had to limit the empirical part of the text to the following three selectively chosen topics—the heterochronotopias of the building, transport, and waste, which, however, represent the most characteristic heterochronotopic features of the locality. Each of the topics is presented as a network of various links between locality and spatially or temporally remote locations. The extent of these relations can be considered infinite, or, more precisely, endlessly branching and therefore temporally or spatially undelimitable. The extent of the building, transport, and waste heterochronotopias thus depends entirely on the nature of the empiricism itself, which determines how far it makes sense to discover and describe the particular networks [Latour 2005: 148] and to add new locations into the ensemble. While the absent locations connected to the building in the locality were described using empirical material in the form of historical texts, photos, and literature, the absent locations connected to the transport network were described with field notes of observations, surveys of users, informal interviews, public transport timetables, and the annual publications of the public transport company, and the absent locations connected to waste in the locality were described with data from field notes, informal interviews, the websites of individual companies engaged in waste management, and photodocumentation of waste in public garbage bins. The waste itself (its weight, colour, substance) was not analysed in detail [Sosna 2015; Sosna and Brunclíková 2015], but attention was paid to visually identifying basic categories of waste (bottles, cups, cigarettes). Furthermore, the time and frequency of the occurrence of waste was recorded, as were any signs linking the particular pieces of waste to specific retail chains.

The heterochronotopia of the building

On its northern perimeter, the surveyed locality is enclosed by the solitary, utilitarian building of the former Municipal Baths. Its 1920s functionalist architecture strongly contrasts with the exteriors of the surrounding tenement houses from the 19th century and with the look of the modern administrative building in the southern part of the locality. The Municipal Baths building can be taken as an example of initial material grounding, from which a number of the absent locations of Nové Sady can be described (Figure 3).

The specific architectural concept of the baths is significant in the heterochronotopic interpretation of the place. The form of the building, which to the external observer reveals its now infrequent public municipal function (baths), creates the unmistakable visual brand of the locality. The fact that the 1928 baths building was designed by Brno architect Bohuslav Fuchs integrates the locality of Nové Sady into an ensemble of locations connected by the narrative of 'Brno functionalism'. For contemporary historiography, Brno functionalist architecture

Figure 3. Municipal Baths



Photo: Authors.

and urbanism represent important elements in the symbolism of the birth of the modern city during the 1920s and 1930s (for more on the narrative approach to the Brno space, see Koryčánek [2003]). Locations with functionalist architecture represent privileged places in contemporary Brno, in which the cultural and economic boom of 1920s Brno has been accumulated. The seemingly banal baths building thus privileges the Nové Sady locality through its relationship to other, often more prominent locations (such as the Tugendhat Villa, Brno Exhibition Grounds, or residential complexes in Masaryk Quarter), i.e. to places with a materialised and reproduced narrative of urban modernity. Nové Sady locality is thus emplaced within an ensemble of locations that are usually referred to as 'Functionalist Brno'. This emplacement is purely contemporary; it is a testament of how the mainstream-produced symbolism of urban spaces has moved in time and how strongly the symbolism is reproduced in the official books on the city's history, tourist guides, and specialised urban studies. For example, the 'Brno Architecture Trails' project directly integrates the Nové Sady locality into an explicitly expressed ensemble of locations, which is materialised through guided walks and technical and marketing materials. However, the ensemble of 'functionalist locations' is only valid within the actual, contemporary time plane, and it is not the only possible ensemble of locations that embrace the locality. For example, in connection with the building's transformation into the headquarters of a private medical facility in 2013, the locality can also be seen as an ensemble of health-care locations.

One and the same building can also act as a medium that links the locality to other times, regardless of whether past or future. The position of the former baths, now a health centre, in Nové Sady cannot be explained by any current processes. To understand the logic of the function at the given locality, it is necessary to proceed to a diachronic explanation following the story of the locality in the flow of historical time. What connects the trans-temporal and trans-local character of the locality in this case is the watercourse of the 'Svratka millstream', which was built back in the 11th or 12th century to supply water from Svratka River to artisan workshops located in the southern suburbs outside the walls of Brno. During mediaeval and modern times, the millstream significantly defined the Nové Sady locality ontologically and shaped its physical materiality; among the locality's main features was Lampl's Water Mill and Novosadský Bridge across the watercourse. The presence of the millstream simultaneously shaped the locality's relations to other locations. As early as the 15th century and in the close vicinity of the mill, a pump for the municipal water supply was built to supply drinking water to fortified Brno [Archaia 2010]. The infrastructure of the pump and the water supply physically linked Nové Sady with the city and simultaneously formulated the heterochronotopic nature of the locality as a remote 'place beyond the walls', which is nonetheless still a significant presence in the walled city through the water that is supplied to the city's fountains at the Upper and Lower Market (today's Zelný Market and Svobody Square) and to the municipal brewery [Kuča 2000]. Novosadský Bridge, as the point where the leat can be crossed, directed traffic flows through

the locality of Nové Sady towards the Jewish Gate, one of several entrances to the walled part of Brno. During the 19th and 20th centuries, the ontological status of the locality changed as a result of the expansion of the administrative boundaries of Brno, the construction of the nearby railroad (1836–1838), and the construction of a new water supply network. Nové Sady lost its function as a settlement, mill, bridge, and municipal pump on a millstream and reappeared in the rear area of the freight depot as a potential development site for metropolitan housing in the booming city. The materiality and functionality of the locality, however, showed and still show some momentum: the structure of the municipal pump was rebuilt as a popular shower spa in the early 20th century, and then rebuilt again as baths by Fuchs in 1928, and finally the building was adapted for a health-care function in 2013. The development of the locality's aquaculturing, hygiene, purification, and health-care functions of the locality expresses the reflection of changes in external absent locations. The momentum of the emplacement of a function in a particular location and building is, in contrast, an expression of a progressive accumulation of time, which started to unravel within the spatio-temporal context of the present-ed story with the construction of the Svratka millstream. Although the millstream itself was filled and therefore physically removed in 1959, its trans-temporal effect is still apparent in the locality, even into the future. Several urban studies have elaborated plans for the restoration of the watercourse [Pavlovsky 2010; Šerek 2011] cover besides Nové Sady other places that the millstream has historically passed through. The millstream is seen as an old-new factor of identity, an element entering the locality repeatedly at various points of time in historical development and allowing the Nové Sady locality to be understood not only within the 'here and now' but also in the spatio-temporal sense of 'there and then'.

The heterochronotopia of transport

Transport is one of the basic and in fact typical features of the Nové Sady locality. The locality encompasses virtually all commonly imaginable modes of transport, which not only exist there side by side, but above all mutually combine, merge, and produce its heterochronotopia—various remote locations are present thanks to transport in Nové Sady. Immediately adjacent streets and the city centre nearby are connected to the locality through four frequented pedestrian transit routes; individual neighbourhoods in the city, including some large housing estates, are connected to the locality through the extensive tram transport system; and a much larger number of suburban and also more remote locations are connected to the locality via vehicular transportation. Cars can be seen parked or passing through the Nové Sady locality that have license plates from various regions in the Czech Republic and even from countries abroad and bear the names and logos of companies based in other cities, and there are also traffic signs with, among others, the names of the relatively distant capital cities of Prague, Bratislava, and Vienna (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Road signs in the locality

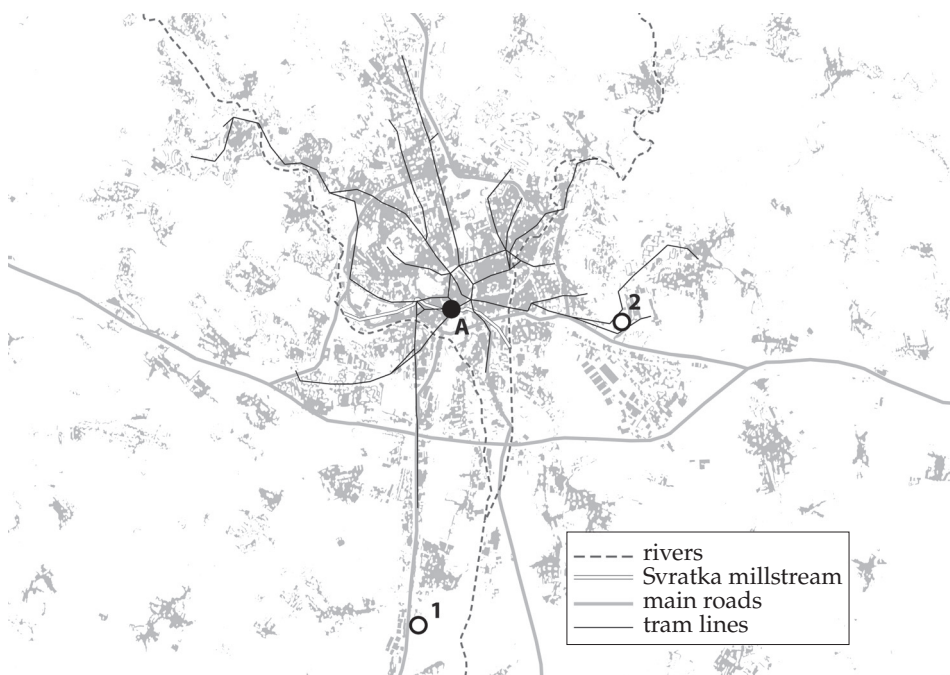


Photo: Authors.

The presence of the space-time of the city itself and its broader commutable periphery in the locality is provided by public transportation combined with pedestrian and vehicular transportation. The unique position of Nové Sady plays a role here as it is situated between the immediately adjacent centre of Brno on one side and the more distant but still very easily accessible locations on the other side, both within the city itself and beyond. This uniqueness partly derives from the excellent position of the locality in the Brno tram network, which is currently one of the most prominent tram intersections within Brno because it is where the tram lines branch into four routes. The number of easily accessible tram destinations within Brno from Nové Sady is, however, much higher given the presence of other crucial tram branches lying in the vicinity of the locality (Figure 5).⁷ These

⁷ Nové Sady became a part of the tram network as early as 1869 when a horse-drawn tramway from Pisárky to Královo Pole crossing through Nové Sady and the main railway station was opened for passengers. Other milestones in the connection of Nové Sady to the tram network are the 1920s and the 1930s, when Greater Brno was formed and subsequently the tram routes were rapidly expanded to a great number of distant suburbs; then in

Figure 5. The locality in a wider spatial context



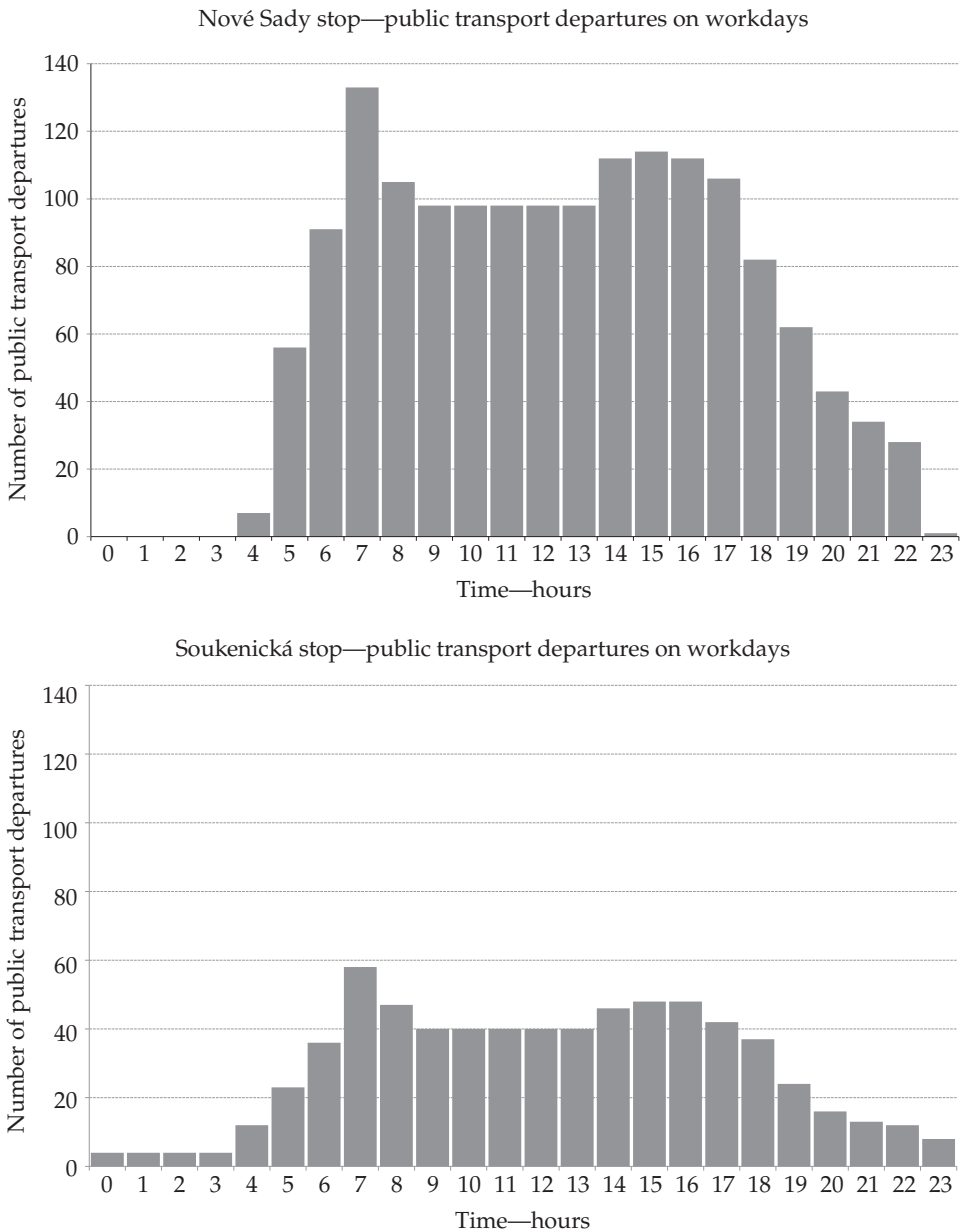
Note: 1 – waste collection and recycling centre; 2 – incineration plant; A – locality.

important tram intersections, like Hlavní nádraží (the main railway station) and Česká or Moravské náměstí (two public squares), share a common feature with the locality as together they form a system of spatially better connected and therefore temporally privileged points within Brno.

The locality also occupies a special position with respect to automobile transportation, since Nové Sady is where a high-capacity four-lane road begins. Thanks to this road a system of several outward-bound radial motorways is incorporated within the heterochronotopia of Nové Sady. No other place in the direct vicinity of the Brno city centre has such a position. Outward-bound motorways were moreover a traditional presence in Nové Sady, as they have been developed since the Second World War [BAM 2015] and the residents of the city and its users are accustomed to them. At present, there are 47 permanent parking

the year 1942, when a new route was opened directly from Nové Sady through the newly made road below Petrov Hill, thus completing the inner city tram route ring via Husova Street; and the year of 1994, when a new rapid transit radial route from Nové Sady to the Starý Lískovec housing estate was opened [Klapka et al. 1980; Morávek et al. 1989].

Figure 6. Public transport departures on workdays from the stops Nové Sady and Soukenická



Source: DPMB [2015].

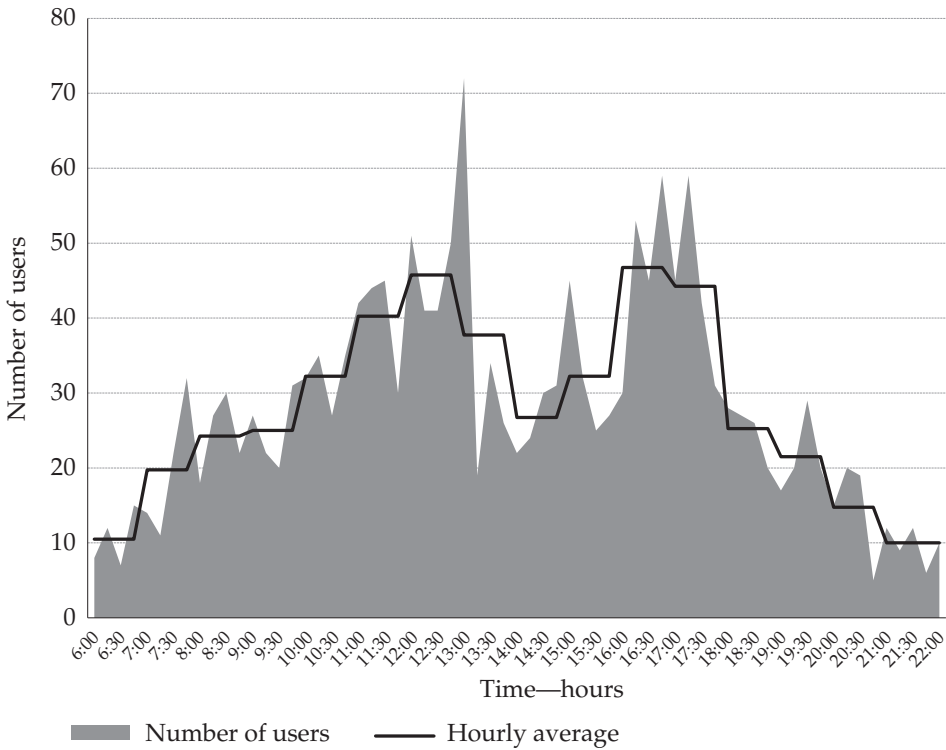
spaces within the surveyed locality, and 9 second-row spaces where it is possible to park cars temporarily.

The locality serves as a crucial formal and informal transfer point between pedestrian, vehicular, and public modes of transportation. Formalised transfers between public transport connections occur mainly at the Nové Sady tram stop (tram lines 1, 2, 8, 10 and 12) and the Soukenická stop (tram line 8 and bus lines 60 and 61). These lines connect all the important locations served by public transport within the city of Brno to the Nové Sady locality. The significance of Nové Sady's function as a place for transferring between public transport and other transport modes has to do with the good frequency of public transport connections, which may then be perceived as being temporally almost continuously available. The rhythm of public transport connections at stops in the Nové Sady locality (Figure 6) provides a good reflection of the temporality of other locations, as the need to transfer at the Nové Sady stops is directly related to the rhythms of people traveling between locations for different purposes such as commuting to work, school, and so on. In general, the public transport peaks in Nové Sady are a clear mirror of the work and other regimes people in distant locations adhere to.

Informal transfers from and to passenger cars take place in the parking spaces in Nové Sady, where is a relatively frequent fluctuation of parked vehicles. The field survey showed that a number of cars stop only for a short period of time, as in some of the parked cars people are sitting and waiting, or they unload or load the car, and the cars often stop to let someone get out or to pick someone up. These are relatively frequent activities and waiting to be picked up by a car is even one of the most common reasons pedestrians stop in the area.

The locality's intermodal character is reinforced not just by the merging of tram and car traffic but also by pedestrian traffic. The rhythm of this traffic is completely different from the prevailing time regimes of the other, but mainly local, pacemakers: offices in company buildings and other facilities like restaurants. The largest number of pedestrians pass through the locality at a time that coincides with when restaurants are offering their lunch menus, which is between 11:30 am and 1:00 pm (Figure 7). During this period, pedestrians in groups were observed, in most cases, heading either from the city centre or from the nearby AXA insurance company building to a restaurant on the ground floor of the Titanium Business Complex and then back to their offices. This peak, unlike the traffic peaks, is made up of locally employed persons and takes place within the frame of the local network. A large number of pedestrians also appear in the Nové Sady locality between 4:00 pm and 5:30 pm. However, there is no significant increase in the number of pedestrians in Nové Sady during the morning rush hour; the arrival of people from other locations at their offices and mainly at the Titanium Business Complex is spatio-temporally concentrated, straightforward, and takes place outside the surveyed site. The daily rhythms of pedestrians and public transport users during certain parts of the day complement each other, as the morning peak mainly takes the form of tram transportation while the lunch

Figure 7. The rhythmicity of the place—number of pedestrians in Nové Sady on a workday



break peak takes the form of pedestrian transportation. This shows how the local rhythm intertwines with location times introduced into the locality by public transport, mainly trams.

The Nové Sady locality has a very strong transit and transfer function and traffic represents the dominant activity, which is self-reinforcing in the long term. An impetus to further increase the traffic-determined locality's heterochronotopia could come from the possible development of a Brno railway junction that is to be called 'Petrov'. If this development occurs in the coming decades, there will be a major railway station for passengers that will be located at the edge of the locality and a completely new mode of transport, railway, will be available in Nové Sady [Europoint 2015]. This station would be served by suburban and by national and long-distance international rail lines, which would then bring further new locations into the heterochronotopia of Nové Sady. Locations like Budapest, Graz, Dresden, Berlin, Hamburg and many others would be newly present in the local-

ity, for example, in the form of train destinations, signs in electronic information devices for passengers, and perhaps also in the names of the trains (Hungaria, Macocha, Sázava) etc.

The heterochronotopia of waste

During the long-term observation of the locality, a large number of very diverse activities related to waste handling were identified. The location itself represents a kind of sorting place in which each type of waste has its own specific spatial and temporal regime and specific 'location' (mixed waste, paper, glass, plastic, construction waste, catering waste etc.). Waste interconnects the locality with other locations within at least two basic spatio-temporal networks, a network of producers that interconnect the locality with locations producing waste, and a network of processors that link the locality to locations where the waste is transported and processed. Through the act of bringing material into the locality there occurs a semantic transformation of product into waste and when material is removed from the locality a reverse semantic transformation from waste to product occurs. The locality is thus not only an intersection of routes of various materials, and it is not only the set of locations where the flow of waste begins or ends, but it is also a place where the meaning of this material is redefined.

First, we will focus on the network of producers of waste and on the locations of waste production. There are only four small public waste bins for mixed waste available in the locality. The analysis of their content reflects the main function of the locality, which is primarily transportation; people cross the locality, stop mostly at traffic lights, make phone calls, smoke, etc. Users relatively rarely stop for a longer period of time and still more rarely sit down here. However, when they do sit down, they often do so to drink, eat snacks, and some even to have lunch. These activities are associated with a specific type of waste, which includes primarily food and beverage packaging (Figure 8). From the several types of cups that bear recognisable brand characteristics, it was possible to determine the location from which they were brought into the locality (coffee shops, such as the Coffeeshop Company, or fastfood restaurants such as McDonald's and KFC). The largest volumes of waste observed in the locality were produced during lunch peak times (11:00 am–1:00 pm).

Besides the mixed-waste bins, the locality is also equipped with recycling bins (plastic, paper, glass). However, they operate in an entirely different regime. The volumetric capacity of these recycling bins is much larger, which suggests that they also take much longer to fill. At the same time, the management of their use differs. For the users, these recycling bins become the specific objectives (sub-objectives) of their trips, while some users head to containers from relatively remote locations from where they usually bring in larger amounts of waste all at once. Informal interviews revealed that the recycling bins are used by a private

Figure 8. Mixed waste in public garbage bins on 20/10/2015



Photo: Authors.

kindergarten teacher, who brings on average two plastic bags of sorted plastic to the bins once a week. The recycling bins are also used by restaurants located both directly in the locality and in its immediate vicinity. For example, the restaurant 'U Emila' takes out paper and plastic trash to the bins every day and the employees of a pub further away called 'Klub na dráze' drive to the bins with waste on a cargo tricycle carrying their own recycling bins, in their own words, 'whenever they are full'. In this way, it would be possible to trace the set of homes and businesses from which the waste is brought to the locality and with what regularity. Waste, however, can get to the locality in a far less obvious way, too. During the observation, the roof on the house at 478/18 Nádražní St. began to be replaced, and two construction waste containers were placed next to the house and filled with old tiles and wood. Therefore, in a way these 'temporary' containers for another type of waste in this case brought waste to the locality not horizontally but vertically. At the same time, waste is also transported to the observed locality by street waste pickers. The locality is situated at the end of the routes of several pairs of 'pickers'

Figure 9. The alternative routes of one pair of garbage pickers (Thursday 8/10/2015)

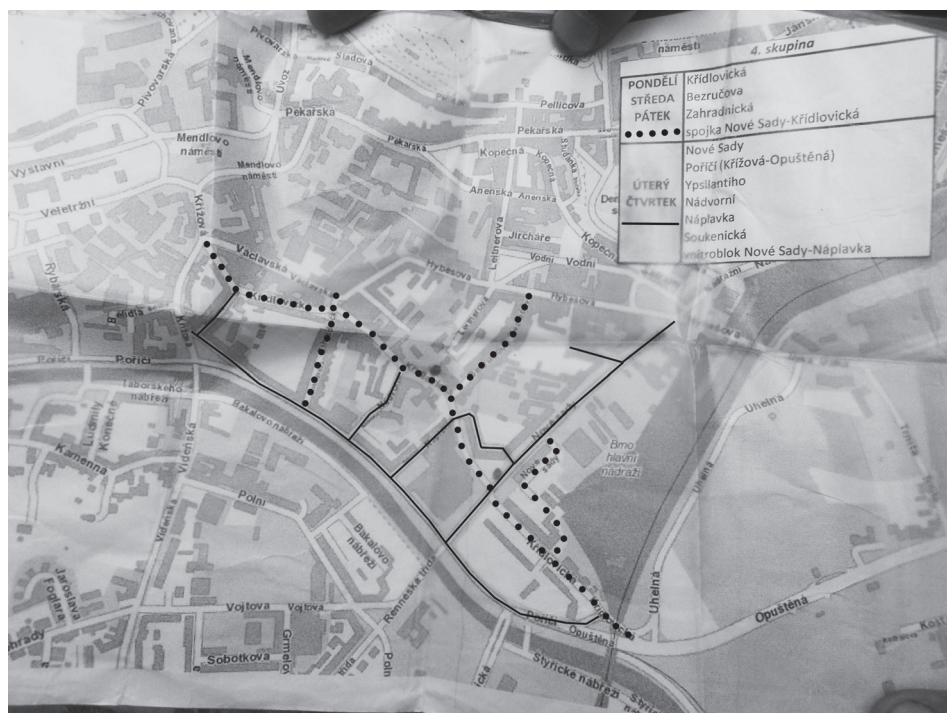


Photo: Authors.

(employees of Brno City Municipality), who regularly walk through the specified routes. An informal interview revealed that they go through one route (orange) on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and the second route (green) on Tuesdays and Thursdays (Figure 9). The pickers dump the collected waste into large bags which they tie up and leave at the specified part of the locality. Up to 11 bags of waste collected in this way were recorded at one time during the observation.

The second network, which relates the locality to other 'heres' and other 'nows', is a network of waste processors, which is no less complicated. The main activity of the waste processors is the regular collection of waste from the locality for further processing to other absent locations. At least five different companies involved in waste collection have been observed (Table 1), and each company specialises in a different type of waste. The most often observed company in the locality was SAKO Brno, which collects household waste from individual buildings in the locality. Informal interviews revealed that SAKO employees have keys to the front doors of the houses and collect waste directly from the inside areas of the individual houses. The waste is collected from the residential houses

Table 1. Companies that collect waste from the locality

Company	Address	Waste type	Collection frequency
SAKO Brno, a.s.	2 Jedovnická Street, Brno	household waste, paper, plastic	various
DVOŘÁK comte, a.s.	21 Palackého Square, Brno	municipal mixed waste	daily
Kaiser servis spol. s r.o.	608/36 Bezručova Street, Blansko	food waste	Mon., Wed., Fri.
AVE komunální služby a.s.	592 U Vlečky Street, Modřice	glass	bi-weekly
FALKY spol. s r.o.	637/141e Kaštanová Street, Brno	collected municipal waste	weekly

twice a week, every Monday and Thursday, around 8:00 am. Office buildings then have their own regime of waste collection according to their specific needs. The Titanium Business Complex situated on the outskirts of the observed locality has its own central waste storage from which SAKO collects municipal waste every day, paper and plastic waste three times a week (Mon, Wed, Fri), and glass waste on request. SAKO disposes the municipal waste in the incineration plant at 2 Jedovnická Street, Brno, where it is burned. SAKO, however, also collects waste from public recycling bins with sorted waste (paper and plastic), which are emptied weekly. Both of these types of waste are moved to the sorting line, also at 2 Jedovnická Street, Brno, where individual types of secondary raw materials are sorted, pressed into bales, and weighed. This sorted plastic is then resold, most often to PETKA CZ, whose registered office is at 592 U Vlečky Street, Modřice. The purchaser of the sorted paper could not be identified; according to SAKO representatives, purchasers of this commodity fluctuate dynamically.

Sorted glass is collected from the public recycling bins every two weeks by AVE komunální služby (community services), which is also based at 592 U Vlečky Street, Modřice, where the waste is also sorted, loaded onto trucks, and transported to Vetropack Moravia Glass factory in Kyjov. The mixed municipal waste from the four bins available at the locality (Figure 2) is removed by another company that collects waste in the locality. Employees of DVOŘÁK Comte come to the locality every weekday morning between 7:00 and 8:00 am, collect the contents of the bins, pick trash from the ground and rake leaves. Waste is then transported to the collecting area at Brno-Řečkovice railway station; from there it is transported to the incineration plant. One of the restaurants in the locality hires a waste removal service called Kaiser Servis, whose central dispatch is based in the vicinity of the SAKO incineration plant. The waste from the restaurant is collected every other day (Mon., Wed., Fri.) during the opening hours of the restau-

rant. The last of the companies, FALKY removes the mixed waste collected by the 'pickers' in the adjacent streets from the locality, most often once a week. Although the management of collection of various types of waste from the locality is highly individualised, uncoordinated, and non-systematic, most of the waste is transported either to the incineration plant at 2 Jedovnická Street, Brno, or to the collection point at 592 U vlečky Street, Modřice, where a number of companies engaged in secondary waste processing are based.

Besides the official waste collection in the locality, there is also unofficial 'removal' of waste. During the observation, people with shopping carts repeatedly passed through the locality, stopping by garbage bins. They even kept repeating the same tracing. We managed to conduct an informal interview with one of them. The person goes through the locality regularly, every weekday, always around noon (1:00 pm). His route starts at Rondo, the name of a multi-purpose hall, and then continues along Křídlovická Street, Václavská Street, and then Hybešova Street and back to the observed locality, and then it continues in the direction of the main railway station and the collection point in Plynárenská Street. He collects mostly metal and old electrical appliances, and not only on the street—upon agreement he is willing to collect it from households. Similarly, we observed a person who specialised in collecting returnable bottles and who was using two sticks to pull unbroken returnable beer bottles out of the glass recycling bins. He reported that he does not come to the locality entirely regularly, but checks it out twice a week, depending on 'how things go'. He then returns the 'rescued' bottles to one of the nearby supermarkets (Tesco, Billa, Albert). There is thus a redistribution of a certain portion of waste to the immediate surrounding area of the observed locality before the official collection and transport of the waste to the sorting areas takes place. While the official waste collection connects the locality to relatively remote locations, the unofficial waste 'removal' connects the locality with locations in close proximity. Each agent uses a different technology of waste collection/removal, operates on a different scale level, and connects the locality with different meanings. Similarly, the extent of networks of different kinds of waste can be compared. While municipal and construction waste is produced directly at the locality and on a regular daily basis, sorted waste is transported from its neighbourhood in regular cycles (weekly, bi-weekly), and public mixed waste is brought to the locality from relatively distant locations (coffee shops, restaurants, food, etc.) and emerges mainly during lunch time.

Conclusion

Using the concept of heterotopia, Michel Foucault introduced a new way of thinking about place within a space of relations. A heterotopic conceptualisation of place systematically rejects the hierarchical organisation of space and, to some extent, blurs the repeatedly reproduced semantic boundaries of traditional spatial concepts such as place and local, here and there, centre and periphery or

inside and outside; instead, it emphasises the importance of the unique emplacement of place within a space of relations. The relational approach makes it possible to see a place in connection with other locations, which, though often remote, are present in some way and are important in terms of how that particular place is defined.

In this article Foucault's heterotopia is understood as a broader theoretical framework for a critical discussion of place. The article's aim was to discuss a geographic conceptualisation of heterochronotopia or more precisely a heterochronotopic place. From a geographic point of view heterochronotopia would not be perceived as a locality that maintains relations to all other locations. However, it can be conceptualised as a locality that has connections only to certain locations. Connections and relations themselves are not so interesting in this sense. It is rather the ensemble of locations linked to the locality that makes the concept beneficial for geographic application. The geographic conceptualisation of heterotopia thus assumes that the locality is connected via certain linkages and relations to other locations that are not necessarily spatially adjacent to the locality. The heterochronotopic concept further assumes that the locality is linked also to locations in other time periods, both past and future. A place is thus constituted not only by the ensemble of various locations present in a single temporal level and not only by the ensemble of various time periods that are present in a single location. It is constituted by the ensemble of other locations in different times. A concept is thereby formed with which it is possible to identify places not only as spatial entities, but, at the same time, as temporal or spatio-temporal entities. The concept of heterochronotopia makes it possible to describe the specific historical development of a place and to reflect its biography. A post-industrial place can be grasped not only through its present meanings but simultaneously through the meanings of its industrial history; a post-colonial place through the meanings of the colonial period and a post-socialist place through the meanings linked to socialist times. In this sense, heterochronotopia represents not only the ensemble of specific locations on a certain temporal level but the various locations interconnected across past, present, or future times.

The heterochronotopic approach conceives a specific place as simultaneously trans-local and trans-temporal—a condensed description of the emplacement of a location is possible only if the temporal and spatial relations are interpreted concurrently. This is showcased in three empirical sections in this article: the heterochronotopia of a building, of transportation, and of waste. These sections document to varying degrees the four described attributes of a heterochronotopia: (1) the place's relational character, (2) changes in the place's meaning and function, (3) the place's semantic overlaying, and (4) the plurality of times in one place.

The empirical chapter on the heterochronotopia of transport describes the ensemble of locations that are interconnected by transport networks on different scale levels and the way in which the spatial configuration of the public transport

networks brings into the locality the rhythms (i.e. temporality) of other locations, such as remote housing estates, whose inhabitants leave for work and then return home at a specific time of day. This connection also involves a temporal dimension: it links the locality to the periods when the housing estates were constructed and when the related sections of the tram system were built. The ensemble of locations linked to the locality through any of the transport modes mentioned above (pedestrian, tram, car) represents just one of the possible ways in which to grasp a place heterochronotopically. It is obvious that another ensemble of locations might be defined by different transport modes. For example, the sewage and energy infrastructures connect the Nové Sady locality to the distant and seemingly invisible locations of the transformer stations, power plants, pumping stations, and wastewater treatment plants, but they also connect these locations to the time periods in which the technological, political, and economic contexts in which the construction of these infrastructures was made possible.

The production and collection of waste examined in the article represents another heterochronotopic mode, another specific assemblage of times and places; similarly other assemblages can be connected by commuting, by corporate relations between financial institutions headquartered in the locality, or by relations maintained by people residing in the locality. The issue of waste was picked up and developed because of its strong relevance for the locality. During the observed time waste was being handled, brought to the locality, carried out of the locality, or produced and sorted. On the basis of the waste we were able to show the many various links to other locations that intermingle in the locality, their rapid alternation, and the rhythm at which a heterochronotopic place transforms from one ensemble of locations to another. In other words, a heterochronotopia can be seen through the prism of waste production/collection as an entity stemming from an ensemble of other locations rhythmically varying in time.

The temporality of a place however cannot be limited only to the rhythms brought into the locality by various 'heres and nows' of other, absent locations. The heterochronotopic concept also works with the temporality of locations from different historical times. As documented in the section concerning the Municipal Baths, it is desirable, in this case, not to separate the physical dimensionality of the place from the flow of time in it or outside it. Material structures in the place are expressions of accumulated time, through which the locality is more or less intensely connected not only to historical, but also to future points in time. Mediaeval Nové Sady is a place distant not in the spatial sense, but certainly the temporal sense—despite, or perhaps because, it is a rightful part of an assemblage of times that defines the current form of the surveyed locality. The present building of the baths connects the locality to the times when the millstream flowed through, when the water was being pumped over the walls, and when the people were bathing there. The heterochronotopia of the observed locality is linked through the building of the baths to distant locations (river, weir, city centre) that shaped and constituted it at the time. Other buildings in the locality,

the configuration of street lines, place names, trees, and so on, represent similar accumulations of time.

Place as a heterochronotopia is in the article primarily examined from a geographic point of view. A strong motivation for exploiting this concept is the determination to take a stand against the classical humanistic geographic conception of place in space and more effectively integrate time and space into a meaningful explanatory framework. The article deliberately does not work with a place as perceived, experienced, and lived by an individual observer, so the various meanings being attached to the place by individuals or different groups of users lie outside the scope of this article. The research focus here is on the representation of place through other places. The representation approach applied, however, does not imply necessarily an a priori fixation and delimitation of place. Place can be considered fixed just in a single temporal layer—it is the heterotopia that connects the locality with synchronic locations. Conceptualising place as both a heterotopia and a heterochronia we go beyond this limited view. The heterochronotopic place involves a wide range of layers evolving and reshuffling in time; it can never be paused or fixed. At every moment there are new relations emerging that connect the locality with new locations and constitute the heterochronotopia of Nové Sady. Nové Sady is thus permanently happening, permanently produced, and permanently practised and becoming. To be more precise, place is in our view practised through other locations and this practice is captured in the flows of people, things, and materials connecting the observed locality with absent locations. In this text, we traced how this heterochronotopia is constituted through the movement of the river water (material), the movement of human users (people), and the movement of waste (things).

As a result, in the place of a humanistic place, understood as semantically unambiguous and relatively static in time, as a delimited and territorially contiguous space, we have a heterochronotopic place, emerging and fading as an ensemble of other places of different times. The case study of the Nové Sady locality in Brno demonstrates the possibilities of the heterochronotopic concept showing that its definition and meaning do not emerge in situ, but as a result of relations with other, temporally and spatially absent locations. A heterochronotopia is thus a useful tool for capturing the meaning of places with a disrupted, substituted, planned, controlled, or otherwise modified history.

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