ALGIRDAS RAMONAS | MASTER THESIS
TU DELFT | DEPARTMENT OF URBANISM

BRAVE
TOLERANT
CITY

PLANNING FOR DIVERSITY
FORBEARANCE IN KAUNAS

2023

Brave Tolerant City
Planning for diversity forbearance in Kaunas

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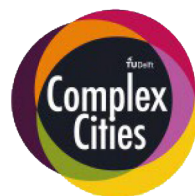
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Instead of preface: note to the reader

This research is first and foremost a personal exploration of what tolerance and the city mean to me. Therefore, I heavily used autoethnographic methods and added many personal subjective touches. Quotes are from novels that debate this topic but also are vital to me. Moreover, this research is a test for myself – can I conduct a theoretical and poetic inquiry into urban planning, the trajectory I have been interested in for some time now.

I believe critical tolerance is one of the most essential personal virtues, and diversity is a value for society in itself. That brings certain biases to my work, which I try to acknowledge and address. But this belief also intrinsically produces elements of this paper. I use diverse colours, symbols, lines, and varied positioning of images not as a design or functional piece but to represent my belief in the value of diversity. Furthermore, I filled this report with various images that sometimes have no connection to the text but represent (in)tolerance in space. All these details are a graphic representation of the difference. They are meant to create a poetic journey for the reader – the same as my journey through this research.

Figure 0.1. Example of the intolerant occupation of space.

Contents

Acknowledgements

I would not have been able to conduct this research without the support and help from multiple parties. The broad professional and personal encouragement I received was critical for this thesis, therefore I would like to express my deep gratitude to everyone who aided me during this process.

First, I would like to thank my mentors, Gregory and Juliana. Your academic knowledge and mentoring were imperative for the process and the final product. In addition to the outcome, I learned so much from you. Every mentoring session that we had was necessary for my personal growth. Moreover, I would like to thank you for the personal support I have received. I would not have succeeded without your belief in me and my non-traditional thesis and approach. I know that sometimes I did not deliver or was stuck in my theorisations, but you have not lost faith in me and allowed me to continue on the path I felt comfortable with.

I would also like to express my gratitude to the member of the board of examiners, Robert. I was lucky to receive a delegate that is an expert in the fields of my thesis, namely spatial and social justice. I highly value your comments and references.

I want to thank the whole Planning Complex Cities studio. Studio sessions and interpersonal discussions were crucial for the process. From studio mentors and fellow students I received many good pieces of advice, references, and recommendations that I not only used in the thesis but will carry with me in the future. Furthermore, personal companionship was one of the essential elements that pushed me to go further and learn more.

The crucial part of the thesis was the respondents, who agreed to meet with me without any tangible gain and use their free time for lengthy interviews. From the depths of my heart, I am thankful for you. Not only I learned many valuable things from you and the process, but I was able to form the main concepts of this theory due to the information I received from you. Since I was mostly an outsider to your profession and communities, our extensive talks allowed me to understand the issues you face daily.

I am very thankful to my personal friends, who live in Lithuania and whom I met during my studies. You were the ones that had to listen to my boring stories about tolerance and my complaints. I hope my talks did not make you want to be less tolerant just because you were sick of this term in general.

I want to thank my mother, Kristina, who helped me mentally and physically not only through the Master's studies but also through every step of my life, which led me to where I am now. While due to different places of residence during this period, there was less physical help, I always had someone to whom I could talk and express my concerns. Thank you for listening. Thank you for hearing.

I feel grateful for two Obi-Wan Kenobis in my life – the Jedi and my Cat. While Obi-Wan the Jedi is the face of the universe that has provided me with imagination and relief for many years, Obi-Wan the Cat helped me constantly by being there (for me) and being a cute little being.

Lastly, everything I said before is relevant to my great love, Vytaute. Thank you for your support. Thank you for understanding. Thank you for hearing. Thank you for your inspiration. Thank you for everything.

Figure 0.2. Snapshot from the film "Forrest Gump" (Zemeckis, 1994).

Padėka

Nebūčiau galėjęs atlikti šio tyrimo be kelių žmonių paramos. Gauta profesinė ir asmeninė pagalba buvo labai svarbi visam procesui, todėl noriu išreikšti didelę padėką visiems, prisidėjusiems.

Pirmiausia norėčiau padėkoti savo mentoriams Gregory ir Juliana. Jūsų akademinės žinios ir kuravimas buvo kritiškai svarbūs procesui ir galutiniam produktui. Aš labai daug išmokau iš jūsų. Kiekviena mentorystės sesija buvo būtina mano išsilavinimui. Be to, norėčiau padėkoti už asmeninį palaikymą, kurio sulaukiau. Man nebūtų pavykę be jūsų tikėjimo manimi ir mano netradiciniu darbu bei požiūriu. Žinau, kad kartais buvau užstrigęs, bet jūs nepraradote tikėjimo manimi ir leidote toliau eiti tuo keliu, kuriuo jaučiausi patogiai.

Taip pat norėčiau padėkoti egzaminuotojų komisijos nariui Robertui. Man pasisekė, kad sulaukiau delegato, kuris yra mano baigiamojo darbo sričių, būtent erdvinio ir socialinio teisingumo, ekspertas. Labai vertinu jūsų pastabas ir nuorodas.

Noriu padėkoti visai „Planning Complex Cities" studijai, kurios seansai ir bendruomeninės diskusijos buvo labai svarbūs procesui. Iš studijos mentorių ir kolegų sulaukiau daug gerų patarimų, nuorodų ir rekomendacijų, kurias ne tik pasinaudojau baigiamajame darbe, bet ir nešiosiuosi su savimi ateityje. Be to, asmeninė draugystė buvo vienas iš esminių elementų, paskatinusių mane eiti toliau ir sužinoti daugiau.

Esminė baigiamojo darbo dalis buvo respondentai, kurie sutiko susitikti su manimi ir išnaudoti laisvą laiką ilgiems interviu be jokios apčiuopiamos naudos. Iš širdies gelmių esu jums dėkingas. Iš jūsų sužinojau begalę vertingų dalykų, kurių dėka galėjau suformuoti pagrindines šio darbo teorijas. Kadangi dažniausiai buvau pašalinis jūsų profesijoje ir bendruomenėse, mūsų platūs pokalbiai leido man suprasti problemas, su kuriomis susiduriate kasdien.

Esu labai dėkingas savo asmeniniams draugams, gyvenantiems Lietuvoje ir su kuriais susipažinau studijų metais. Jūs buvote tie, kurie turėjo klausytis mano nuobodžių istorijų apie toleranciją ir mano skundus. Tikiuosi, kad mano pokalbiai nepriverstė jūsų būti mažiau tolerantiškiems.

Noriu padėkoti savo mamai Kristinai, kuri padėjo man morališkai ir fiziškai ne tik magistrantūros studijose, bet ir kiekviename mano gyvenimo žingsnyje, kuris atvedė mane ten, kur esu dabar. Nors dėl skirtingų gyvenamųjų vietų šiuo laikotarpiu fizinės pagalbos buvo mažiau, visada turėjau žmogų, su kuriuo galėjau pasikalbėti ir išsakyti savo rūpesčius. Ačiū, kad išklausei. Ačiū, kad išgirdai.

Jaučiuosi dėkingas už du Obi-Wan Kenobi savo gyvenime – džedajų ir mano katiną. Džedajus Obi-Wan yra visatos veidas, kuri daugelį metų skatino mano vaizduotę ir padėjo atsipalaiduoti, o katė Obi-Wan man padėjo nuolat, būdamas miela maža būtybė.

Galiausiai viskas, ką sakiau anksčiau, yra aktualu mano didžiajai meilei Vytautei. Ačiū už palaikymą. Ačiū už supratimą. Ačiū, kad išklausei. Ačiū už įkvėpimą. Ačiū Tau už viską.

Figure 0.3. Ištrauka iš filmo "Forestas Gampas" (Zemeckis, 1994).

pagalbą projektui
Aš niekada nepadėkojau už ~~užgelbėtą gyvybę.~~

Summary

4 issues to address

1. Duel of the fates

Globalisation, political polarization, and increasing social conflict make instruments for peaceful coexistence necessary.

2. Washed concept

As a method for peace, tolerance is more discussed than ever. However, it has become a washed-up concept.

3. Knowledge gap

There is a knowledge gap between the socio-spatial environment and tolerant attitudes toward difference.

4. Intolerant Kaunas?

Kaunas is an excellent place to research tolerance because of hidden intolerance and homogenous demographics.

Tolerance is an essential tool of peaceful coexistence that allows diversity to flourish and a multicultural pluralist society to function. In times of globalisation, digitalisation, and polarization, it is becoming more critical than ever. Nevertheless, tolerance faces multiple issues. As a concept, it is being washed up, belittled, and critiqued either for its extensiveness or narrowness. Consequently, it became a vague notion, posing the question of what it means in contemporary society. Is it emotion, feeling, or attitude? How does it relate to other concepts of inclusivity and justice? In addition, even with an increasing amount of studies, there is still a gap in knowledge about the relationship between tolerance and space. It is still largely unknown how one associate with the other, what forces are affecting this link and how to use it to facilitate tolerance. Moreover, Kaunas, my hometown and choice as a case-study area, has very explicit issues regarding discriminatory but also changing attitudes, making it an optimal location to investigate (in)tolerance and conditions for it.

Environment

Tolerance for difference

Forces affecting attitudes

① ? ② Foster tolerant attitudes

1. Decrease the knowledge gap between the socio-psychological concept of tolerance for difference and spatial planning by analysing their relationship.

2. Understand forces affecting attitudes towards difference, their characteristics and how these could be used to foster more tolerant attitudes.

Test

③ Kaunas

Update

3. To test the achieved understanding in the city of Kaunas and, by doing so, update it.

Research questions

Main question

How can spatial and policy planning be used to foster more tolerant attitudes towards difference in everyday Kaunas?

This central question defines instruments, the main research field, and the specific location. It was supported by three parts of sub-questions. The first was used to analyse the concept of tolerance and its relation to the environment in general, allowing to systemise it into the framework of tolerance. Second part I used to understand site conditions for tolerance in Kaunas. These are precognitive conditions that affect people's attitudes. Third part was used to understand what forces affected people's attitudes in the past and how they could be operationalised today.

Sub-questions

Part 1 – Concept
1.1. What is tolerance? What are its history, definition, and limits?
1.2. How tolerance for difference relates to other concepts of inclusivity?
1.3. What is the relationship between tolerant attitudes for difference and environment?

Part 2 – Conditions for tolerance
2.1. What is the socio-cultural and spatial "deep story" of the specific society being investigated?
2.2. What is the perceived "ideal image of the conventional society"?

Part 3 – Forces affecting attitudes
3.1. What are the forces affecting people's attitudes?
3.2. How to use attitudes-affecting forces to foster more tolerant attitudes for difference?

Tolerance

Environment

Representational

"Deep story" "Ideal Image"

Forces affecting atitudes

Expression

Attitudes towards difference

Discrimination   Inclusivity

Active Tolerance
Acceptance
Respect
Passive Tolerance
Passive Intolerance
Exclusion
Oppresion
Hate Crimes

Encounter

Affect 1 – Non–representational   Intelligence

Affect 2 – Representational

My proposed theoretical framework of tolerance depicts a moment of the transformation process from one affect (attitudes towards difference) to another (expression) through encounter. Attitudes in this case are precognitive, preconscious emotions and non-representational feelings, meaning they can be unknown even to the subject of them. It is affected by the "deep story" of the society – the socio-cultural constructed conditions for tolerance – and the perceived "ideal image of the society" according to which people measure others. Both of these aspects are representational – they can be described and represented through research. Expression can be a passive stare, avoidance, or active support. Therefore it is a representational outcome of the process of tolerance, the power of which depends on the strength of the attitudes and contact.

Through empirical analysis I noticed that Lithuanians today associate tolerance much more broadly. When asked what tolerance means to them, most respondents connected it with acceptance, mutual empathy, and understanding. This led me to argue that these terms, in the form of attitudes towards difference or expression after encounter, is part of the tolerance. Therefore, tolerance in Lithuania today can be associated with inclusivity in general, and negative terms, such as exclusion, oprresion, and hate crimes, can be associated with intolerance.

An essential element of this framework are forces that affect people's attitudes. They are influenced by expressive affect, and shape attitudes as well as "deep story" and perceived "ideal image". They are the critical element to understand how planning and design could foster more tolerant attitudes. Moreover, tolerance happens in the spatial environment. Not only do relationships form and encounters occur in space, but space itself influences constituting parts of this framework.

Lithuanians, due to historical traumas, are mistrustful towards institutions and other people, they have uncertain cultural identity and strong tendency towards polarisation, which leads to passivity, high perceived fear, and escapism. Perceived "Ideal Image" of Lithuanians are heavily identified with status symbols (such as higher salary), behaviour (such as being sober), and looks (clean, middle aged). Due to these conditions for tolerance, simple everyday encounters are too apathetic to affect people's attitudes.

"Deep story"

"Ideal Image"

Mistrust, uncertain identity, polarisation, passivity, perceived fear, escapism

Higher salary, educated; Noiseless, sober, heterosexual; Clean, (strong) man, middle-aged

Passive Encounter

Expression; Affected people's attitudes

Attitudes towards difference

Tolerance Event

1. is an active, concentrated form of encounter
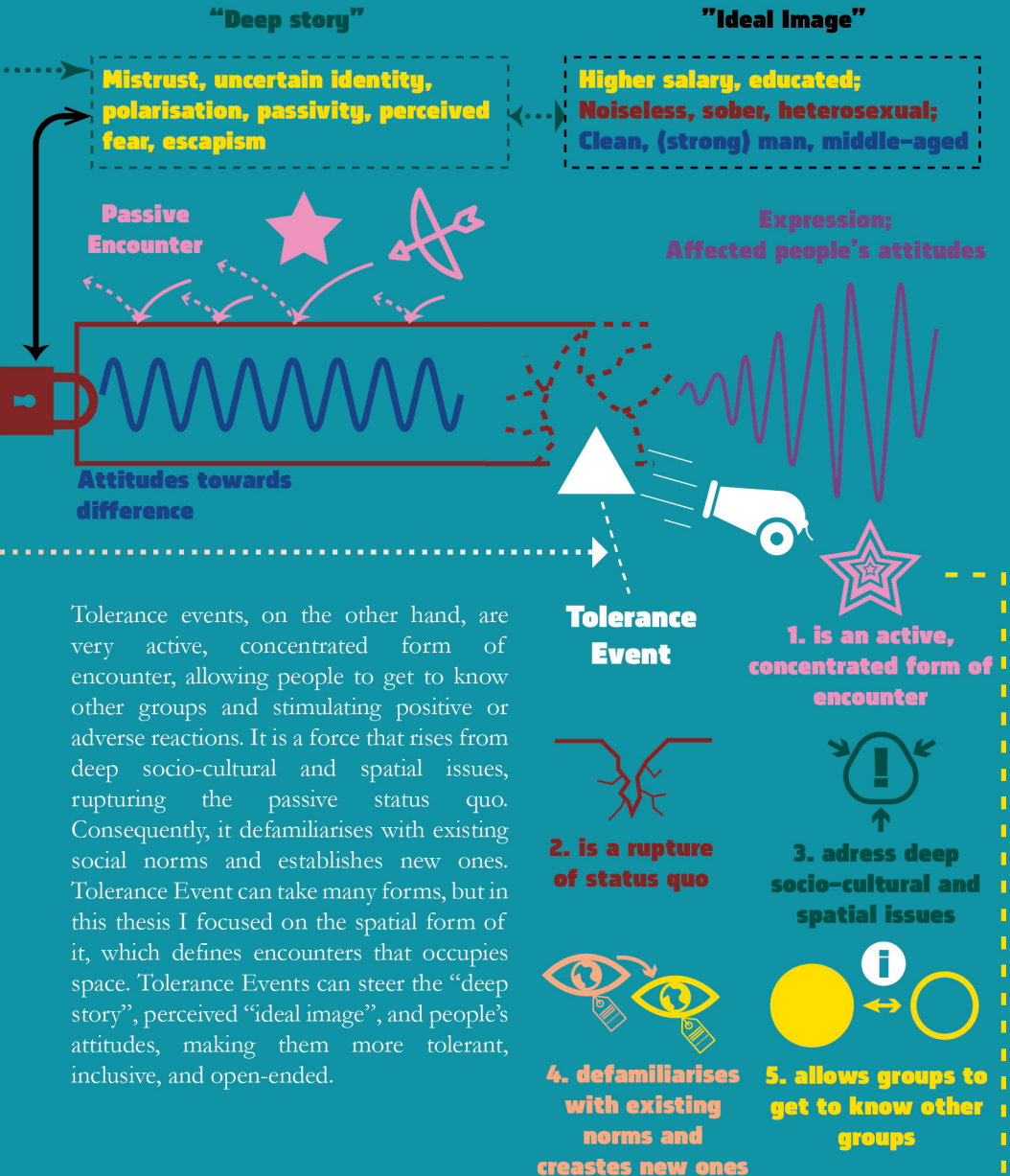
Tolerance events, on the other hand, are very active, concentrated form of encounter, allowing people to get to know other groups and stimulating positive or adverse reactions. It is a force that rises from deep socio-cultural and spatial issues, rupturing the passive status quo. Consequently, it defamiliarises with existing social norms and establishes new ones. Tolerance Event can take many forms, but in this thesis I focused on the spatial form of it, which defines encounters that occupies space. Tolerance Events can steer the "deep story", perceived "ideal image", and people's attitudes, making them more tolerant, inclusive, and open-ended.

2. is a rupture of status quo

3. adress deep socio-cultural and spatial issues

4. defamiliarises with existing norms and creastes new ones

5. allows groups to get to know other groups

Tolerance and Space

Controlled space	Rule space	Norm space
Spaces controlled by one predominant group	Spaces controlled by third party, which sets up rules others follow	Spaces where no group has direct control, therefore norms are a dominant mean of social control

I classified the relationship between tolerance and space into three categories based on who is predominant in the place and has control over it:

1. Controlled Space is where one group is predominant and controls the place through explicit rules and implicit norms. It can be closed (inward-looking, reducing encounters and, consequently, tolerant attitudes) or open (outward-looking, fostering contact and tolerant attitudes).

2. Rule Space is where a third-party group controls the place through rules according to which people are filtered.

3. Norm Space is where no group has complete control, and implicit norms are predominant means of social control. This space has an imperative symbolic value.

Characteristics of Tolerance Event and Space

Theory   Space   Stakeholders

I extrapolated 23 characteristics of Tolerance Event and Space by analysing 8 case studies in Kaunas and 1 in Vilnius. I divided these notions into 3 groups. The Theory group is more conceptual, showing broader trajectories rather than concrete aspects. The Space group represent critical typomorhphological, functional, and visual elements of Tolerance Event and Space. Finally, the Stakeholders group shows the imperative characteristics regarding various actors' relationships, potentials, and strengths.

BRAVE MORE TOLERANT TOLERANCE CITY EVENTS

# = municipal Office of the Equal Opportunities Ombudsperson

Vision – one rule to guide them all

I propose one main rule that guides other subrules - to make a Brave Tolerant City one needs to produce more Tolerance Events. To implement the main rule, I propose 7 subrules designed for Kaunas. These subrules cover policies, institutions, stakeholders, spatial planning and design.

1.Top–down support

Top-down support is critical for Tolerance Events to happen and expand in range and power by providing legitimacy. I propose to expand and ground National Office of the Equal Opportunities Ombudsperson to the local level. Municipal Office would cooperate with local NGOs, citizens, knowledge sector, and planning offices, as well as provide oversight over municipal administration.
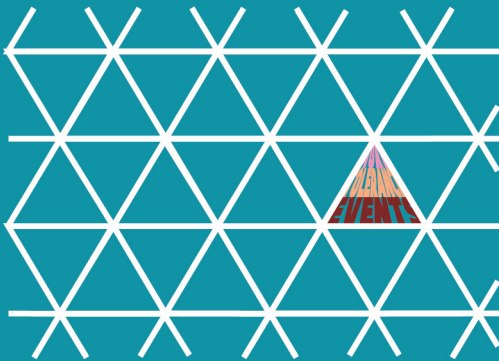
2.Part of the larger whole

Planning for tolerance should include other aspects of city life and connect with other planning and design documents to ensure strategic coherence and strengthen common goals and values. For this thesis, I selected two existing Kaunas planning documents: The Sustainable Mobility Plan (Civitta & PU-PA, 2019) and the Complex Transformation Strategies of Apartment Buildings Built in the Soviet Era (Marozas et al., 2022).

6.Protect.Participate.Evaluate.

Most of my recommendations would cause reactions from people, of which in the beginning many would be intolerant, creating unsafe situations for communities. Therefore it is imperative to propose mechanisms that would protect vulnerable groups. To implement this subrule in Kaunas instead of singular top-down benchmarks I propose to create an evaluation framework that stakeholders could use to assess each case - Tolerance Impact Assessment.

5.Policentrism

Tolerance Events cannot only happen in the city centre but needs more diversified locations, which would increase the variety of people producing and attending Tolerance Events, facilitate more diverse encounters, and foster complex understanding and tolerant attitudes. I propose that spaces outside of the centre should be prioritised for new developments and art projects, and that new publicly acessible buildings should have 360 degrees of functional areas rather than 60.

4.Create synergies

Forming new relationships and strengthening existing ones between actors and spaces empowers their capacity to act and produce More Tolerance Events. To implement this subrule, I suggest to foster flexible school occupation so that local communities would have Space for Gathering. Furthermore, I propose to unite current funding options for bottom-up initiatives in Kaunas and Kaunas District under one system - "Brave Tolerant Initiatives".

360 building

"Brave Tolerant Initiative"

Chapter 6.Fostering tolerance: making the Brave Tolerant City

3.Diversify!

For Tolerance Events to have a large-scale affect it is essential to have an extensive diversity of them. To increase the diversity of Tolerance Events, citizens of Kaunas need to get right to the production of the Tolerance Events. To achieve this, I suggest to open up the process of event organising by making it faster, more open, and more flexible. In addition, I propose to erect Municipal Constructions - Plug-In Bus Stops - modular wooden constructions that locals could use for their happenings.

7.Power of the centre

Although other subrules stress the importance of spreading Tolerance Events spatially throughout the city, the city centre should not be forgotten due to its functional and symbolic importance. To show how the "Power of the centre" subrule could be implemented, instead of proposing planning, design, or policy guidelines, we (me together with a performer) produced a small-scale Tolerance Event, which we captured in the video format.

Plug-In Bus Stop
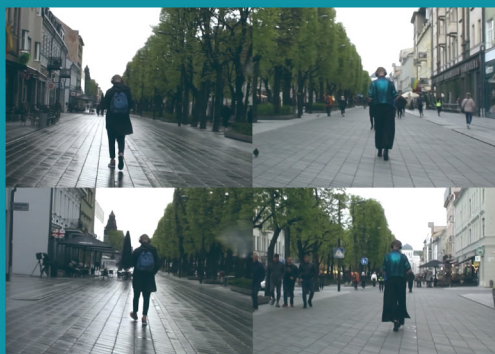
Walk the Line
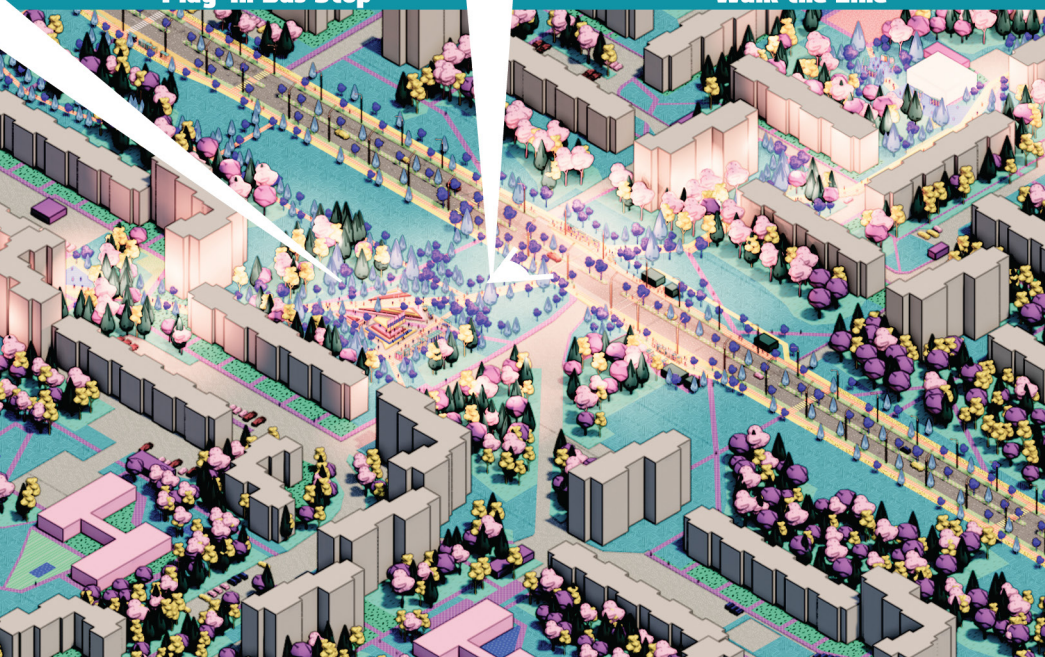
Santrauka

4 problemos, kurias reikia išspręsti

1. Likimų dvikova

Dėl globalizacijos, politinės poliarizacijos ir didėjančio socialinio konflikto vis labiau įrankiai būtini taikiam sambūviui.

2. Išplautas konceptas

Kaip taikos įrankis, tolerancija yra aptariama kaip dažniau nei anksčiau, tačiau tai tapo išplautu konceptu.

3. Žinių spraga

Yra žinių atotrūkis tarp socialinės-erdvinės aplinkos ir tolerantiško požiūrio į skirtingus žmones.

4. Netolerantiškas Kaunas?

Kaunas yra puiki vieta tyrinėti toleranciją dėl paslėptos netolerancijos ir homogeniškos demografijos.

Tolerancija yra esminis taikaus sambūvio įrankis, leidžiantis klestėti įvairovei ir veikti daugiakultūrei pliuralistinei visuomenei. Globalizacijos, skaitmenizacijos ir poliarizacijos laikais jis tampa dar svarbesnė nei bet kada anksčiau. Nepaisant to, tolerancija susiduria su daugybe problemų. Kaip sąvoka ji yra išplaunama, menkinama ir kritikuojama dėl platumo ar siaurumo. Todėl tai tapo miglota sąvoka, kelianti klausimą ką tai reiškia šiuolaikinėje visuomenėje. Ar tai emocija, jausmas ar požiūris? Kaip tai susiję su kitomis įtraukimo ir teisingumo sąvokomis? Be to, net ir didėjant studijų kiekiui, vis dar yra žinių spraga apie tolerancijos ir erdvės santykį. Vis dar iš esmės nežinoma, kaip jie veikia vienas kitą, kokios jėgos daro įtaką šiai sąsajai ir kaip jas panaudoti tolerancijos skatinimui. Be to, Kaunas, mano gimtasis miestas ir šio tyrimo vieta, turi labai aiškių problemų dėl diskriminacinių, bet kartu ir besikeičiančių požiūrių, todėl tai yra optimali vieta tirti (ne)toleranciją ir jos sąlygas.

Aplinka

Tolerancija skirtumams

Jėgos, veikiančios požiūrius

?

①

②

Skatinti tolerantiškesnius požiūrius

1. Sumažinti žinių atotrūkį tarp socialinio-psichologinio tolerancijos skirtumams koncepto ir erdvinio planavimo, analizuojant jų ryšį.

2. Suprasti jėgas, turinčias įtakos požiūriui į skirtumus, šių jėgų ypatybes ir kaip jas panaudoti skatinant tolerantiškesnius požiūrius.

Ištestuoti

③

Kaunas

Patobulinti

3. Ištestuoti suformuotas išvadas Kauno mieste ir tai darant jas atnaujinti.

Tyrimo klausimai

Pagrindinis klausimas

Papildomi klausimai

Kaip Kaune panaudoti erdvinį ir strateginį planavimą kasdienių tolerantiškesnių požiūrių į skirtumus skatinimui?

Šis pagrindinis klausimas apibrėžia instrumentus, pagrindinę tyrimo sritį ir konkrečią vietą. Kad į jį atsakyti, išskaidžiau į tris papildomų klausimų dalis. Pirmąją panaudojau analizuojant tolerancijos sampratą ir jos ryšį su aplinka. Atsakydamas į šiuos klausimus sukūriau tolerancijos kaip sistemos struktūrą. Antra klausimų dalis man leido suprasti sąlygas tolerancijai Kaune. Tai prekognityvinės sąlygos, turinčios įtakos žmonių požiūriui. Trečioji dalis buvo naudojama siekiant suprasti, kokios jėgos veikė žmonių požiūrį praeityje ir kaip jas būtų galima pritaikyti šiandien.

1 dalis – Konceptas
1.1. Kas yra tolerancija? Kokia jos istorija, apibrėžimas ir ribos?
1.2. Kaip tolerancija skirtumams yra susijusi su kitomis įtraukties sąvokomis?
1.3. Koks yra tolerancijos skirtingiems žmonėms ir aplinkos santykis?

2 dalis – Tolerancijos sąlygos
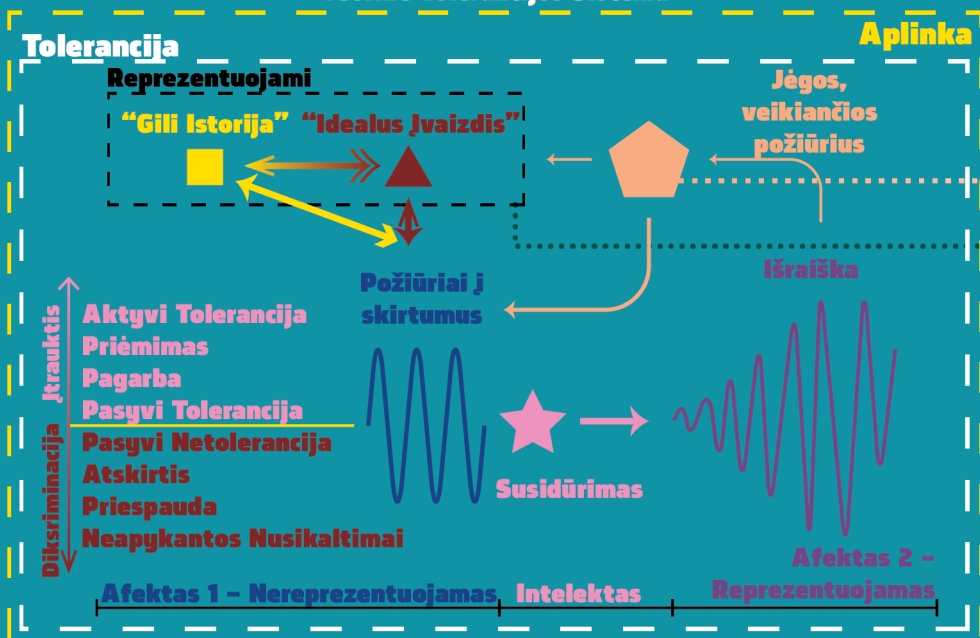**2.1. Kokia yra konkrečios tiriamos visuomenės sociokultūrinė ir erdvinė „gili istorija"?**
2.2. Koks yra suvokiamas „idealus įprastos visuomenės įvaizdis"?

3 dalis – Jėgos, turinčios įtakos požiūriui
3.1. Kokios jėgos turi įtakos žmonių požiūriui?
3.2. Kaip panaudoti požiūrius veikiančias jėgas, kad būtų skatinamas tolerantiškesnis požiūris į skirtumus?

Tolerancija

Aplinka

Reprezentuojami

"Gili Istorija" "Idealus Įvaizdis"

Jėgos, veikiančios požiūrius

Išraiška

Požiūriai į skirtumus

Įtrauktis

Aktyvi Tolerancija
Priėmimas
Pagarba
Pasyvi Tolerancija
Pasyvi Netolerancija
Atskirtis
Priespauda
Neapykantos Nusikaltimai

Diksriminacija

Susidūrimas

Afektas 2 – Reprezentuojamas

Afektas 1 – Nereprezentuojamas   Intelektas

Mano pasiūlyta teorinė tolerancijos sistema vaizduoja transformacijos momentą iš vieno afekto (požiūrio į skirtumą) į kitą (išraišką) per susidūrimą. Požiūriai šiuo atveju yra išankstinės, prekognityvinės emocijos ir nereprezentaciniai jausmai, kas reiškia kad jie gali būti nežinomi net jų subjektui. Požiūrius veikia visuomenės „gili istorija" – sociokultūrinės sukonstruotos sąlygos tolerancijai – ir suvokiamas „idealus įprastos visuomenės įvaizdis", pagal kurį žmonės vertina kitus. Abu šie aspektai yra reprezentatyvūs – juos galima aprašyti atliekant tyrimus. Išraiška gali būti pasyvus žvilgsnis, vengimas arba aktyvus palaikymas. Todėl tai reprezentacinis tolerancijos proceso rezultatas, kurio galia priklauso nuo išankstinių nuostatų ir kontakto stiprumo.

Atlikdamas empirinę analizę pastebėjau, kad šiandien lietuviai toleranciją sieja daug plačiau. Paklausti, ką jiems reiškia tolerancija, dauguma respondentų tai siejo su priėmimu, abipuse empatija ir supratimu. Dėl to teigiu kad šie terminai yra tolerancijos sistemos dalis ir pasireiškia kaip išankstinis požiūris į skirtumą arba išraiška po kontakto. Todėl tolerancija Lietuvoje šiandien gali būti siejama su įtrauktimi, o neigiami terminai, tokie kaip atskirtis, priespauda, neapykantos nusikaltimai, – su netolerancija.

Esminis šios sistemos elementas yra jėgos, turinčios įtakos žmonių požiūriui. Jos yra veikiamos po kontaktinės išraiškos afekto ir kartu formuoja žmonių požiūrius, „gilią istoriją" ir suvokiamą „idealų įvaizdį". Šios jėgos yra esminis elementas norint suprasti, kaip planavimas ir dizainas galėtų paskatinti tolerantiškesnį požiūrį. Be to, tolerancijai labai svarbi yra erdvinė aplinka. Erdvėje ne tik susiformuoja santykiai ir vyksta susitikimai, bet ir pati erdvė daro įtaką sudedamosioms šios sistemos dalims.

Lietuviai, dėl istorinių traumų, nepasitiki institucijomis ir kitais žmonėmis, turi neapibrėžtą kultūrinį tapatumą ir stiprią poliarizaciją. Šie požymiai veda į pasyvumą, jaučiamą baimę, ir eskapizmą. Suvokiamas lietuvių „idealus įvaizdis" yra tapatinamas su statuso simboliais (pvz., didesniu atlyginimu), elgesiu (pvz., blaivumu) ir išvaizda (švarumu, vidutiniu amžiumi). Dėl šių tolerancijos sąlygų paprasti kasdieniai susitikimai yra pernelyg apatiški, kad paveiktų žmonių požiūrį.

"Gili Istorija"

Nepasitikėjimas, neapibrėžta tapatybė, poliarizacija, pasyvumas, jaučiama baimė, eskapizmas

"Idealus Įvaizdis"

Atlyginimas, išsilavinimas; Netriukšmingas, blaivus, heteroseksualus; Švarus, (stiprus) vyras, vidutinio amžiaus

Pasyvūs susidūrimai

Išraiška; Paveikti žmonių požiūriai

Požiūriai į skirtumus

Kita vertus, Tolerancijos Įvykiai yra labai aktyvi, koncentruota susitikimo forma, leidžianti žmonėms pažinti kitas grupes ir skatinanti teigiamas ar neigiamas reakcijas. Tai jėga, kylanti iš gilių sociokultūrinių ir erdvinių problemų, suardanti pasyvų status quo. Tolerancijos Įvykis paveikia esamas ir nustato naujas socialinėmis normas. Tolerancijos Įvykis gali būti įvairių formų, tačiau šiame darbe daugiausia dėmesio skyriau erdvinei jo formai, kuri apibrėžia erdvę užimančius susitikimus. Tolerancijos Įvykiai gali paveikti „gilią istoriją", suvokiamą „idealų įvaizdį" ir žmonių požiūrį, todėl tai yra jėga padaranti visuomenę tolerantiškesne, įtraukesne ir atviresne.

Tolerancijos Įvykis

1. yra aktyvi, koncentruota susitikimo forma

2. yra status quo plyšimas

3. sprendžia gilias sociokultūrines ir erdvines problemas

4. paveikia esamas ir nustato naujas socialinėmis normas

5. leidžia grupėms susipažinti su kitomis grupėmis

Tolerancija ir Erdvė

Kontroliuojama Erdvė	Taisyklių Erdvė	Normų Erdvė
Erdvės, kurias valdo viena vyraujanti grupė	Erdvės, kurias valdo trečioji šalis, kuri nustato taisykles kitiems	Jokia grupė neturi tiesioginės kontrolės, todėl normos yra dominuojanti socialinės kontrolės priemonė

Aš suskirščiau santykį tarp tolerancijos ir erdvės į tris kategorijas pagal tai, kas dominuoja toje vietoje ir kas ją kontroliuoja:

1. Kontroliuojama Erdvė yra ta vieta, kur vyrauja viena grupė ir valdo vietą per aiškias taisykles ir numanomas normas. Ji gali būti uždara (orientuota į vidų, mažinanti susitikimų galimybes ir atitinkamai tolerantiškus požiūrius) arba atvira (orientuota į išorę, skatinanti kontaktą ir tolerantiškas nuostatas).

2. Taisyklių Erdvė yra vieta, kur trečiosios šalies grupė kontroliuoja vietą savo taisyklėmis, kurių turi laikytis kiti ir pagal kurias filtruojami žmonės.

3. Normų Erdvės jokia grupė visiškai nekontroliuoja, todėl netiesioginės normos yra vyraujanti socialinės kontrolės priemonė. Ši erdvė turi milžinišką simbolinę vertę.

Tolerancijos Įvykio ir Erdvės charakteristikos

Teorija **Erdvė** **Žmonės**

$$F = -F$$

$$\triangle = (+-)\triangle$$
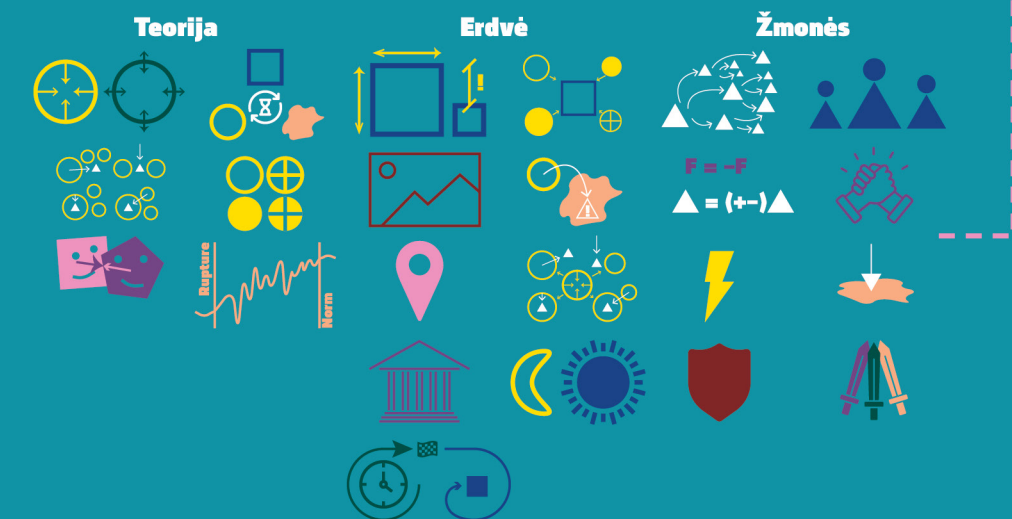
Išanalizavęs 8 pavyzdžius Kaune ir 1 Vilniuje, išskyriau 23 Tolerancijos įvykio ir erdvės charakteristikas. Šias sąvokas suskirsčiau į 3 grupes. Teorijos grupė yra labiau konceptuali, rodanti platesnes trajektorijas, o ne konkrečius aspektus. Erdvės grupė atstovauja kriktiniems tipomorfologiniams, funkciniams ir vizualiniams Tolerancijos įvykio ir erdvės elementams. Galiausiai, Žmonių grupė parodo būtinąsias charakteristikas, susijusias su įvairių dalyvių santykiais, galimybėmis ir stiprybėmis.
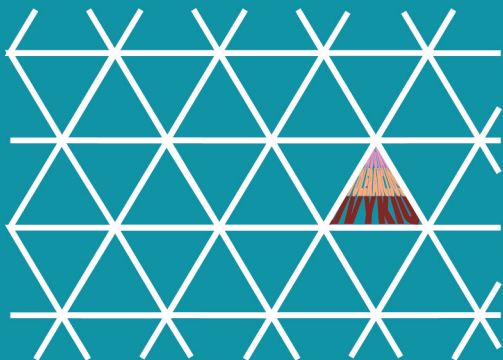
DRĄSŲS DAUGIAU TOLERANTIŠKAS = TOLERANCIJOS MIESTAS ĮVYKIŲ

savivaldos = Lygių galimybių kontrolieriaus tarnyba

Vizija — viena taisyklė visoms valdyti

Siūlau vieną pagrindinę taisyklę, kuri vadovauja kitomis taisyklėmis — norint tapti Drąsiu Tolerantišku Miestu, reikia sukurti Daugiau Tolerancijos Įvykių. Pagrindinės taisyklės įgyvendinimui siūlau 7 Kaunui skirtas papildomas taisykles, kurios apima įstatymus, institucijas, suinteresuotąsias šalis, erdvinį planavimą ir projektavimą.

1.Palaikymas iš viršaus

Palaikymas iš viršaus yra labai svarbus, kad Tolerancijos Įvykiai įvyktų, bei užtikrinant pagrįstumą padidėtų jų diapazonas ir galia. Siūlau plėsti Nacionalinę Lygių Galimybių Kontrolieriaus Tarnybą iki vietos lygmens, sukuriant Savivaldybės lygio biurus. Šie bendradarbiautų su vietos NVO, piliečiais, žinių sektoriumi ir planavimo biurais, taip pat prižiūrėtų savivaldybės administraciją
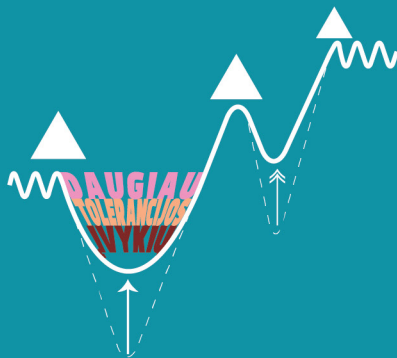

2.Didesnės visumos dalis

Planuojant tolerancijai reikia apimti ir kitus miesto gyvenimo aspektus, papildant kitus planavimo ir projektavimo dokumentus, kad būtų užtikrinta strateginė darna ir stiprinami bendri tikslai bei vertybės. Šiam projektui pasirinkau du esamus Kauno planavimo dokumentus: Darnaus Judumo Planas (Civitta & PU-PA, 2019) ir Sovietmečiu Statytų Daugiabučių Namų Kompleksinės Transformacijos Strategijos (Marozas ir kt., 2022).

6.Protect.Participate.Evaluate.

Dauguma mano rekomendacijų sukeltų žmonių reakcijas, kurių daugelis pradžioje būtų netolerantiškos ir sukurtų nesaugias situacijas bendruomenėms. Todėl būtina pasiūlyti mechanizmus, kurie apsaugotų pažeidžiamas grupes. Kad nesiremti pavieniais „iš viršaus" suformuotais etalonais, šiai taisyklei įgyvendinti Kaune siūlau sukurti vertinimo sistemą, kurią suinteresuotosios šalys galėtų naudoti vertindamos kiekvieną atvejį atskirai— Tolerancijos Poveikio Vertinimą.

5.Policentrizmas

Tolerancijos Įvykiai privalo vykti ne tik miesto centre, bet ir aplinkiniuose mikrorajonuose. Tai padidintų žmonių rengiančių ir dalyvaujančių Tolerancijos Įvykiuose įvairovę, sudarytų sąlygas įvairesniems susitikimams, ugdytų kompleksinį supratimą ir tolerantiškas nuostatas. Siūlau, kad už centro ribų esančioms erdvėms būtų teikiama pirmenybė naujiems projektams ir meno projektams, o naujuose viešai prieinamuose pastatuose funkcinės zonos turėtų būti 360 laipsnių, o ne 60.

4.Kurti ryšius

Naujų santykių kūrimas ir esamų stiprinimas tarp suinteresuotų veikėjo ir erdvių įgalina jų gebėjimą veikti ir sukurti daugiau Tolerancijos Įvykių. Šiai taisyklei įgyvendinti siūlau skatinti lankstų mokyklų naudojimą, kad vietos bendruomenės turėtų erdvės susibūrimams. Be to, siūlau apjungti dabartines bendruomenių finansavimo galimybes Kaune ir Kauno rajone į vieną sistemą – „Drąsios Tolerantiškos Iniciatyvos".

360 pastatas

"Drąsios Tolerantiškos Iniciatyvos"

3.Pajvairinkite!

Kad Tolerancijos Įvykiai turėtų didelio masto poveikį būtina didelė jų įvairovė. Norint tai pasiekti, kauniečiai turi turėti teisę į Tolerancijos Įvykių Produkciją. Tam įgyvendinti siūlau atverti renginių organizavimo procesą, padarant jį greitesniu, atviresniu ir lankstesniu. Taip pat siūlau Savivaldybės Konstrukcijas – Prijungiamas Autobusų Stoteles. Tai būtų modulinės, medinės konstrukcijos, kurias vietiniai galėtų panaudoti savo renginiams.

7.Centro galia

Nors kitose taisyklėse pabrėžiama Tolerancijos Įvykių erdvinės sklaidos visame mieste svarba, tačiau miesto centras neturėtų būti pamirštas dėl jo funkcinės ir simbolinės reikšmės. Siekdami parodyti, kaip galima įgyvendinti „Centro galios" taisyklę, užuot siūlę planavimo, dizaino ar politikos gaires, mes (aš kartu su atlikėju) sukūrėme nedidelės apimties Tolerancijos Įvykį, kurį įamžinome vaizdo formatu.

Prijungiama Autobusų Stotelė
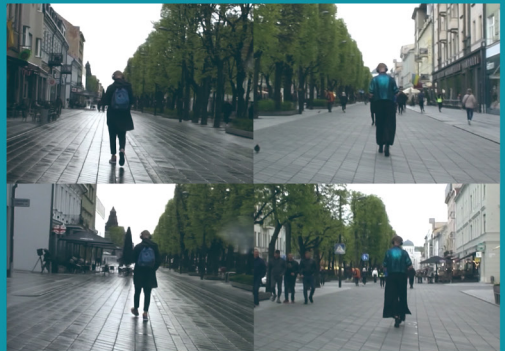
"Eik Linija"

On their way back across the Channel, Bernard insisted on stopping his propeller and hovering on his helicopter screws within a hundred feet of the waves. The weather had taken a change for the worse; a south-westerly wind had sprung up, the sky was cloudy.

"Look," he commanded

"But it's horrible," said Lenina, shrinking back from the window. She was appalled by the rushing emptiness of the night, by the black foam-flecked water heaving beneath them, by the pale face of the moon, so haggard and distracted among the hastening clouds. "Let's turn on the radio. Quick!" She reached for the dialling knob on the dashboard and turned it at random.

<...>

"But it's lovely. And I don't want to look."

"But I do," he insisted. "It makes me feel as though…" he hesitated, searching for words with which to express himself, "as though I were more me, if you see what I mean. More on my own, not so completely a part of something else. Not just a cell in the social body. Doesn't it make you feel like that, Lenina?" But Lenina was crying. "It's horrible, it's horrible," she kept repeating. "And how can you talk like that about not wanting to be a part of the social body? After all, every one works for every one else. We can't do without any one. Even Epsilons…"

"Yes, I know," said Bernard derisively. "'Even Epsilons are useful'! So am I. And I damned well wish I weren't!"

Lenina was shocked by his blasphemy. "Bernard!" She protested in a voice of amazed distress. "How can you?"

In a different key, "How can I?" he repeated meditatively. "No, the real problem is: How is it that I can't, or rather - because, after all, I know quite well why I can't - what would it be like if I could, if I were free - not enslaved by my conditioning."

"But, Bernard, you're saying the most awful things."

"Don't you wish you were free, Lenina?"

"I don't know what you mean. I am free. Free to have the most wonderful time. Everybody's happy nowadays."

He laughed, "Yes, 'Everybody's happy nowadays.' We begin giving the children that at five. But wouldn't you like to be free to be happy in some other way, Lenina? In your own way, for example; not in everybody else's way."

<div align="right">

Aldous Huxley, "Brave New World", (2020 chapter six) [1933]

</div>

Motive

In 2012 I was seventeen and still living in a small town in suburban Kaunas. I lived there all my life up to that point, with little interaction with the city. I went to school there, all my friends were there, and I spent my leisure there. I lived in this enclave, a microcosm of a relatively homogenous environment. Looking from today's perspective, I was an intolerant person. In most cases not actively but passively disagreeing with "otherness" around me. Or, as I see today, I was afraid. I was not brave enough.

Figure 0.4. Me in 2012.

Figure 0.5. Me in 2022.

Today, in 2023, I am twenty-seven years old and have interacted with many European cities. I lived, studied and worked not only in Kaunas but in Brno, Barcelona, Brussels, and Rotterdam. My friends and leisure activities are scattered around the globe. And today I consider myself a tolerant person, in most cases actively encouraging and engaging with "otherness" around me. I am no Braveheart yet, but more daring than before.

This thesis, therefore, in addition to professional motivation, is personally stimulated in seeking the answer to this change in myself, with the principal, underlying question: was it the city that changed me?

All my experience and ideas are from a white, educated, heterosexual, progressive, Eastern-European male perspective.

Abstract

Tolerance is an essential tool of peaceful coexistence that allows diversity to flourish and a multicultural pluralist society to function. In times of globalisation, digitalisation, and polarization, it is becoming more critical than ever. Nevertheless, tolerance faces multiple issues. As a concept, it is being washed up, belittled, and critiqued either for its extensiveness or narrowness. Consequently, it became a vague notion, posing the question of what it means in contemporary society. Is it emotion, feeling, or attitude? How does it relate to other concepts of inclusivity and justice? In addition, even with an increasing amount of studies, there is still a gap in knowledge about the relationship between tolerance and space. It is still largely unknown how one associate with the other, what forces are affecting this link and how to use it to facilitate tolerance. Moreover, Kaunas, my hometown and choice as a case-study area, has very explicit issues regarding discriminatory but also changing attitudes, making it an optimal location to investigate (in)tolerance and conditions for it. Therefore in this paper I embark on a journey to study this concept, following the main research question: **how can spatial and policy planning be used to foster more tolerant attitudes towards difference in everyday Kaunas?**

Tolerance is subjective, partly non-representational, and unconscious. For this reason, I chose to use a mixed-methods explorative approach, combining comprehensive theoretical and empirical analyses. I consolidated spatial observations, institutional research, in-depth unstructured interviews, extensive literature and media review, and poetic investigation of artistic mediums. Through these methods, I integrated knowledge from a diverse range of disciplines, from psychology and philosophy to urban planning and architecture.

The fusion of multiple methods and disciplines allowed me to conclude on conceptual and spatial aspects of tolerance. By integrating tolerance into the affect theory, I argue that it is a process which, through encounter, transforms one state of being into another, meaning that tolerant attitudes are in constant flux. I transferred this new definition into the theoretical framework, which guided my empirical investigation in Kaunas. Based on unstructured interviews and an analysis of multiple cases, I uncovered a force affecting people's attitudes in Lithuania – the Tolerance Event. It is a very active form of encounter that ruptures the passive status quo while at the same time addressing severe socio-cultural issues and allowing people to get to know diversity. Building on this theory, I propose multiple strategies as an example of how to use the Tolerance Event in Kaunas. They involve funding, policy, institutions, design, and planning proposals and are covered by one central vision – to become the Brave Tolerance City, Kaunas needs More Tolerance Events.

Figure 0.6. Example of "space of fear".

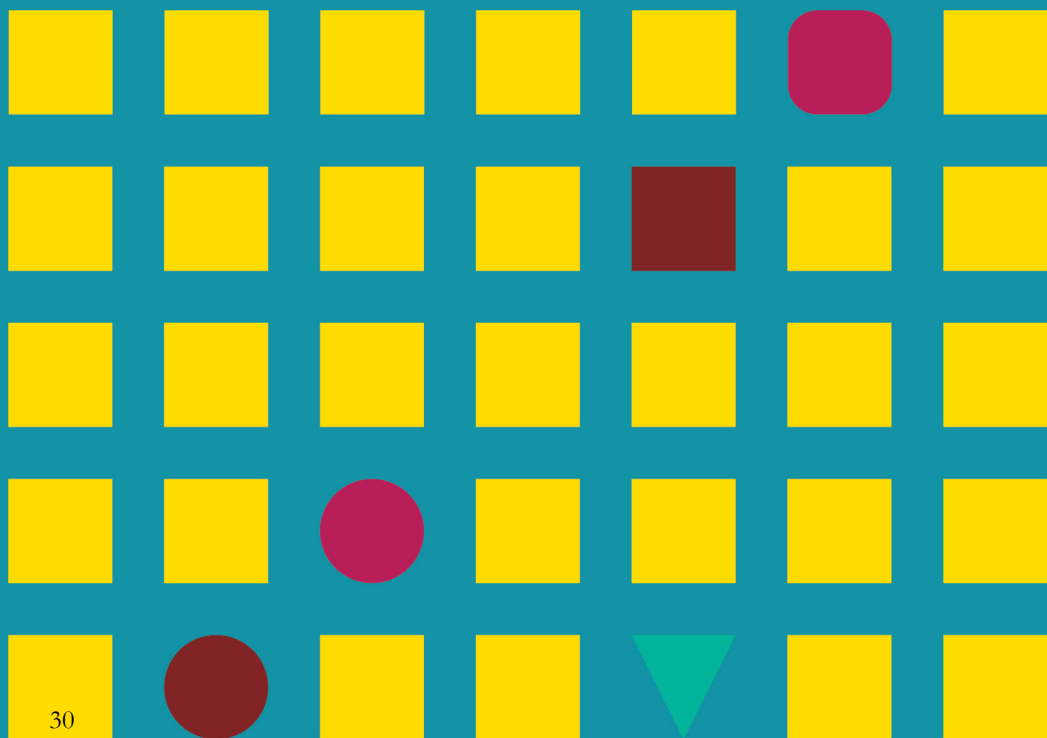## Key words

Tolerance; Diversity; Inclusivity; Comity; Affect;

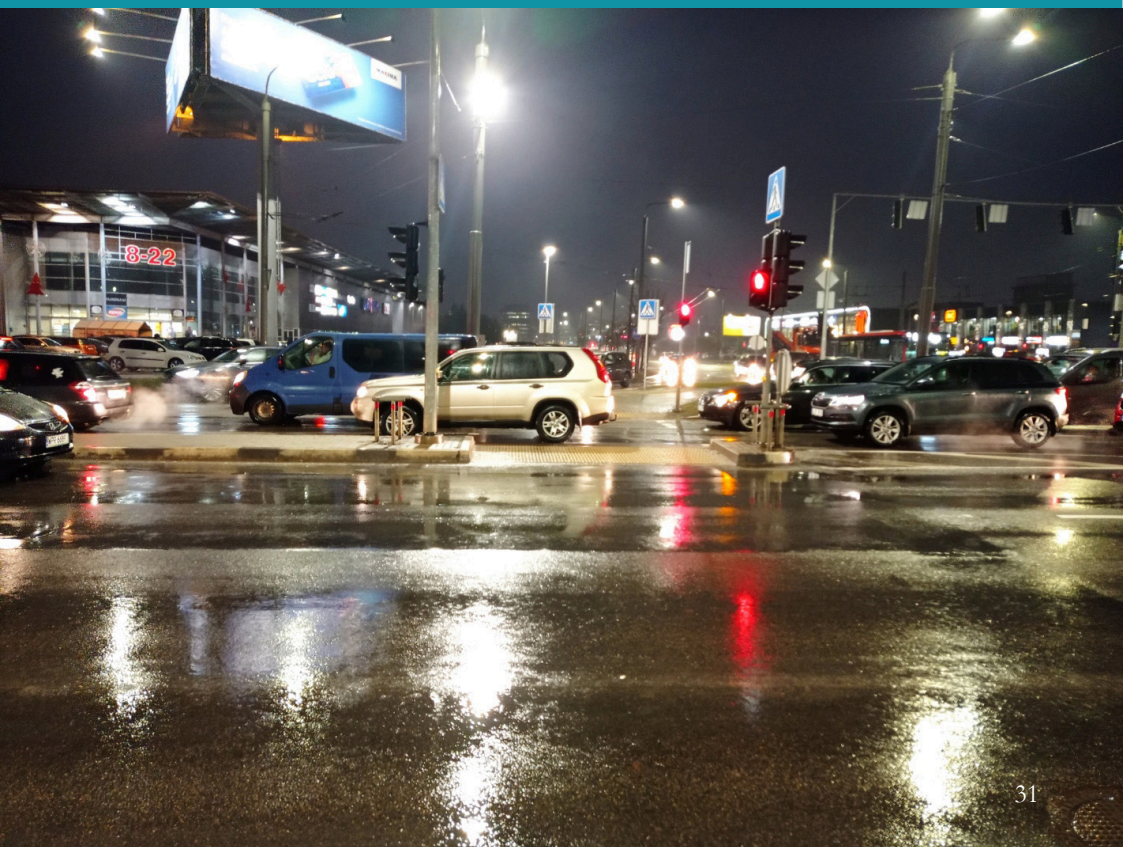Figure 0.7. Example of intolerance towards pedestrians and handicap.

1.INTRODUCTIO

WHY DOES TOLERANCE MATTER?

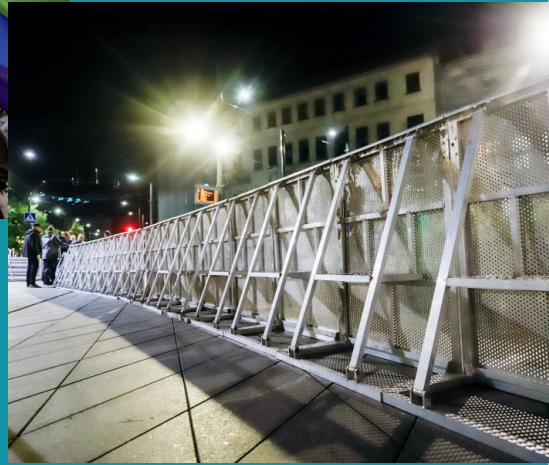Figure 1.1. Example of the intolerant occupation of space. Cars blocking the pedestrian crossing.

Figure 1.2. Kaunas Pride. J . Stacevičius photographs. (Anilionytė, 2021)

Kaunas Pride: a failed test for Europe's upcoming Capital of Culture? 37

Jūratė Anilionytė, LRT TV, LRT.lt
2021.09.06 17:45

Kaunas Pride / J. Stacevičius/LRT

1.1. Introduction

The year was 2021. Kaunas was about to become the European Capital of Culture, for which it was preparing for years. Under this title, it is supposed to stand for human rights, equality, unity, and tolerance. On the surface, it seemed like that. There were no massive protests, a post-covid lifestyle filled the streets, cultural consumption peaked, and the mayor had high approval ratings. However, one event shattered this false imagery. The first Kaunas Pride was organised (while there were multiple in Vilnius already), and the process revealed the city's deep-grained issues.

The municipality tried hard to denounce the public right to gather, arguing that there were "security issues" and "infrastructure works" on the way. After presenting three different route options, organisers took the city to court, which ruled in their favour. Finally, after a last-minute appeal by the municipality, on the eve of the event day court ordered to approve the march.

Security concerns were no joke for the municipality, which erected massive fences, creating a "safe pathway" for the LGBTQ+ community and its supporters. In a way, it was helpful because on the day of the event crowd of counter-protesters gathered to express their disagreements towards the community. Large police forces had to interrupt. The dichotomy between "traditional" and "unconventional" was exposed.

Kaunas Pride had a clear motivation – they asked for equal rights to be guaranteed by law. They occupied central space to show their civil intolerance towards state institutions, with the main plea for legal civil partnership.

This event exposed deep issues of intolerance in Kaunas and Lithuania in general. Each party revealed their intolerance towards other groups using space as means. Built ecology became an expression of disagreements between "conventional" and subculture. On the other hand, the space itself might have influenced the people. The central location gave visibility for civil expression, while rigid walls built around the pathway pushed counter-protesters for violence by highlighting their "truths" about LGBTQ+. This relationship between society, space, and tolerance is the central topic of this essay.

1.2. Problem statement

In his famous popular science book "Sapiens", historian Yuval Noah Harari argued that one thing could be assumed: humankind is going towards unification, and the world is and will become more global (Harari, 2015). And indeed, globalisation and digitalisation now reached every point of the planet, making humanity more connected than ever. Diversity becomes more and more visible. The complexity of social relationships is rising. At every corner, something different and unique can be bumped into, increasing uncertainties. Global issues, such as climate change, the Covid-19 pandemic, and the russian war in Ukraine, only strengthen worldwide anxiety.

All these changes result in cracking social co-existence. The rise of authoritarianism, conspiracy theories, and political polarization represent a search for frictionless and straightforward solutions for global issues. In the global west, riots in front of parliaments became a new norm. An example of this – the 2021 riot in front of the Lithuanian Seimas – represents how dangerous this process can become. Not only people tried to storm the parliament building at night, but in the daytime, they brought gallows as a depiction of what should be done with the unliked politicians. The normalisation of such behaviour stresses the importance of instruments for peaceful coexistence.

Tolerance historically was such an instrument. Usually, it is defined as a choice to accept something one disagrees with. It is a foundation on which contemporary democracies were built (Karstedt, 2007) and a value that allows for trust to emerge between diverse groups in a complex society. It is critical in cities where numerous "secondary families" (Cook, 1963) or "subcultures" (Fischer, 1975) are formed based on freedom of movement, shared interests, and high population densities.

On the other hand, today the "pluralistic" tolerance is preconditioned through background influences, such as media (Marcuse, 1965). The theoretical utopia that allowed modern democracies to form, in the current globalised society cannot handle practical issues. In addition, the concept of tolerance became a go-to term for politicians. It has primarily positive connotations but also a vague enough definition to be used as a meaningless urge "for toleration" (Bulota, 2012; Donskis, 2008; Gritėnas, 2021). As Lithuanian philosopher and politician Leonidas Donskis said, "they [beaurocrats and politicians] made it wooden, meaningless log, with which you can do anything; it became a word-chump – without form, content, nothing" (Donskis, 2011). Therefore we need a critical and consistent approach to tolerance that brings us closer to the utopian state of tolerance.

Figure 1.3. Example of the intolerant production of space.

Figure 1.4. Protest in front fo Lithuanian Parlament against Coronavirus restriction. The sign says:
Place for national traitors.
J. Elinskas. 2021
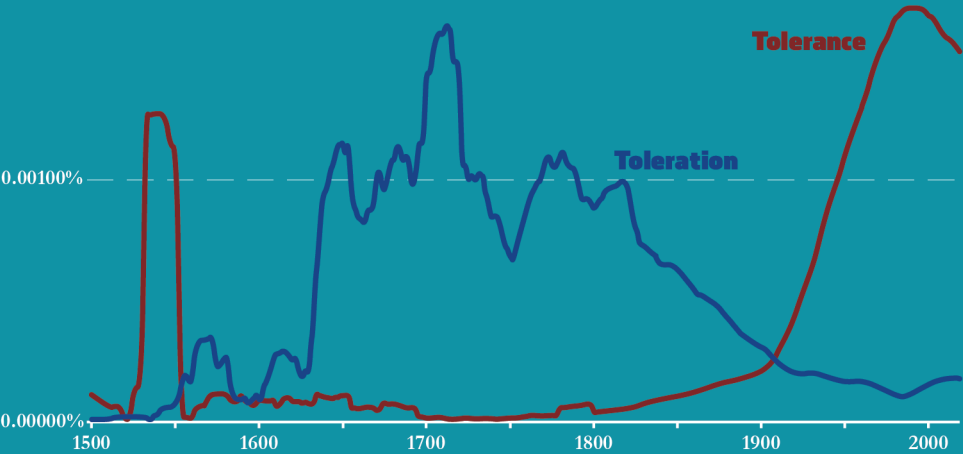
Figure 1.5. Usage of the words Tolerance and Toleration in literature according to Google Ngram. https://books.google.com/ngrams/

Figure 1.6. 2020 Lithuanian Parlament election results. The darker tones (areas where liberal ("Laisvės") party won majority of votes correlates with major cities. (The Central Electoral Commision of the Republic of Lithuania, 2020)
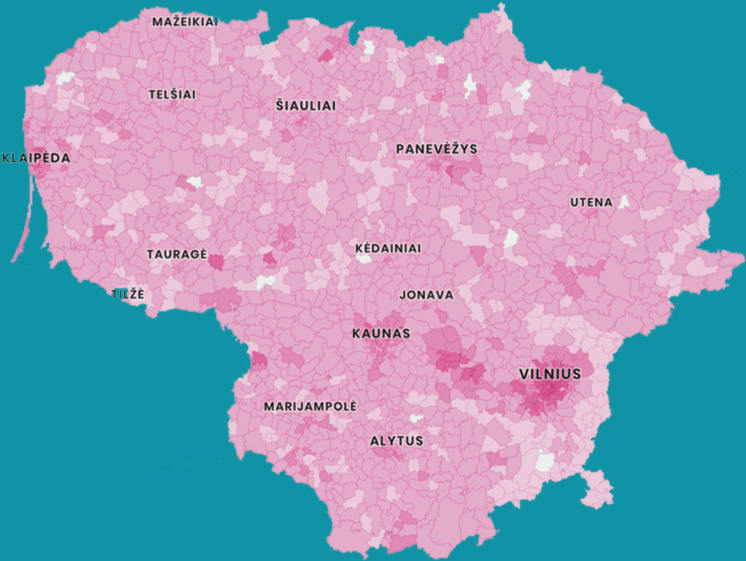
Under such circumstances, it is unsurprising that tolerance is heavily discussed and researched. From the Medieval ages onwards, when large-scale conflicts arose in Europe, tolerance was considered a solution. This type of debate followed religious conflicts in post-reformation Europe of the 16th and 17th centuries (R. P. Wolff, 1965) (although at that time philosophers used the term toleration), was strengthened by the Enlightenment and finally skyrocketed after World Wars. Sometimes the debate focuses on the theoretical possibility of tolerance (for instance (Peluritis, 2013)), and whether it is too much or not enough (Verkuyten, 2022), while discussion on the environmental causes is scarce.

Those who studied it (Bannister & Kearns, 2013; Huggins & Debies-Carl, 2015; Kent, 2022; Zeeb & Joffe, 2021) found a correlation between urban ecologies and tolerant attitudes towards difference. A crude example of this correlation is voting patterns. For instance, looking at the results of the Lithuanian 2020 parliament elections, it is possible to see that urban inhabitants were leaning towards liberal candidates associated with human rights, equality, and tolerance. The link between cities and higher toleration thresholds is visible, yet the real causes are unclear.

The impact of cities on citizens has intrigued scholars for a long time. In the 20th century, two lines of thought emerged (Huggins & Debies-Carl, 2015). The first one was the so-called determinist theory. Scholars like Louis Wirth and Georg Simmel argued that the urban environment had a mainly negative impact towards citizens. They associated urban life with a breakdown of group relationships and alienation (Simmel, 2012; Wirth, 1938). Another group, which could be called compositionalists (Fischer, 1995), argued that the urban environment has no impact on citizens, and only residents and their cultural backgrounds differ. They say that it is not causational mechanisms, but self-preference of individuals to live in cities that make an impact.

I argue that both theories are not mutually exclusive and only form two ends of the gradient. Most of the real-life cases fall in between. In other words, both self-choice (or societal) and environmental levels are always involved. These fields influence tolerant attitudes towards difference, and the inquiries into it need to address both societal and environmental ecologies.

Therefore, while a vast political, philosophical, sociological and psychological body of knowledge on tolerance exists, its relation to the environment is understudied. Jon Bannister and Ade Kearns urged that "To achieve tolerant cities requires tolerance itself to be worked at, rather than to hope that tolerance can sustain itself in contemporary urbanity or believe that it can be shored up by regular calls to unity, and through regulatory means" (Bannister & Kearns, 2013). In replying to this call, I will investigate tolerance for difference and its relationship to the environment in this thesis.

Figure 1.7. Sign in Vilnius put up by residents of a neighbourhood in a public space. Basically it says:
Everybody who rides with skateboards, we kindly ask you not to disturb public tranquillity and not to damage the pavement. Your noise disturbs residents. We hope for your understanding and kindness.
We encourage you to choose another place for your hobbies.
It is a prime (and very ironic) example of "conventional" not tolerating subcultures.

1.3. Why Kaunas?

The importance of societal preconditioning and environment for attitude formation makes the analysis of urban tolerance very site-specific. Institutional, historical, and socioeconomic contexts are different in every place. Therefore, in my opinion, it is vital to analyse the topic of urban tolerance through specific case area. For this thesis, I chose to study the city of Kaunas, Lithuania. It is the second largest city in Lithuania, with around 300.000 inhabitants, located in the centre of the country, on the crossroads of major national (Vilnius – Klaipėda) and international (Warsaw-Riga) highways. A few essential aspects of Kaunas make it a peculiar case to study (in)tolerance.

Figure 1.8. Lithuania satellite map. Base: Google Maps.

Figure 1.9. Lithuania location in the context of Europe and terrorist states.

Figure 1.10. Kaunas and Kaunas Region locaions.

Figure 1.11. Demographics in Lithuania and Kaunas (Valstybės Duomenų Agentūra, 2022).

Lithuania

15,4% Non-lithuanians

84,6% Lithuanians

Kaunas

3,8% Non-lithuanians

96,2% Lithuanians

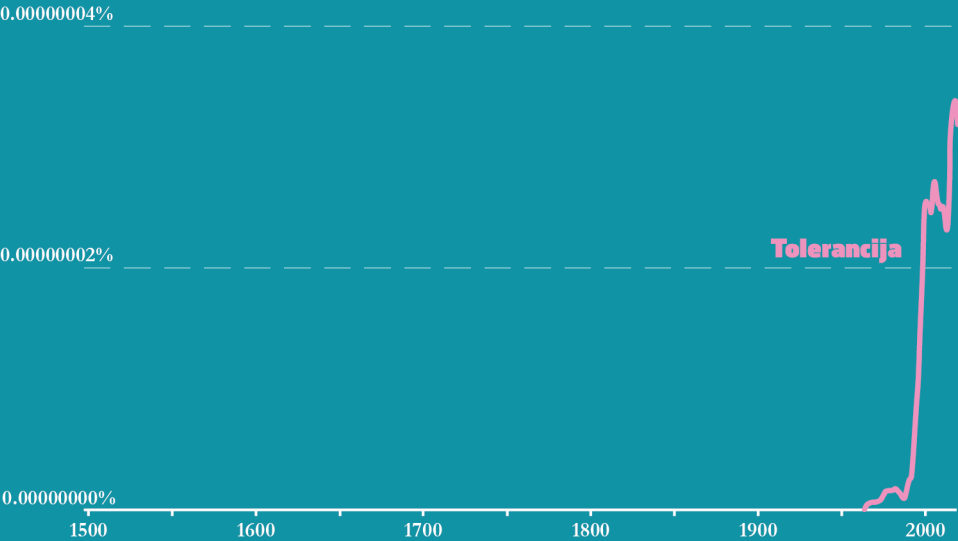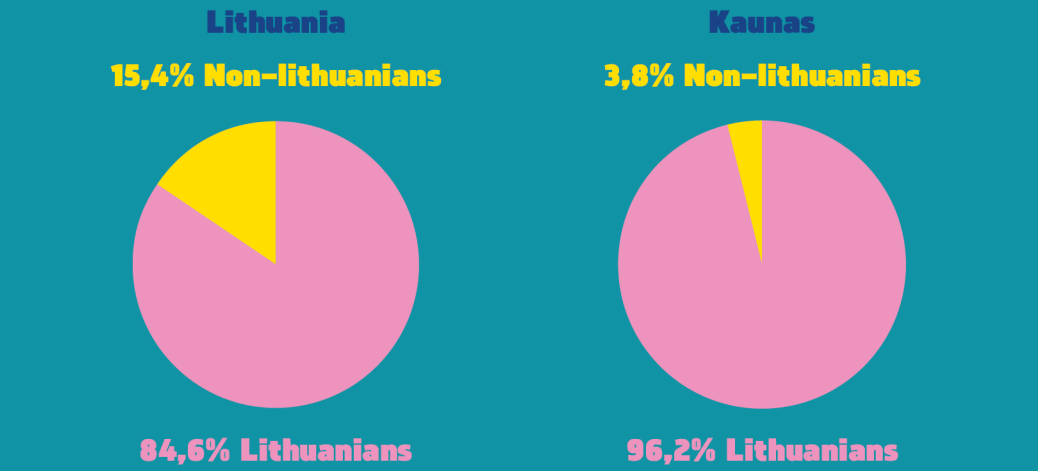0.00000004%

0.00000002%

Tolerancija

0.00000000%

1500   1600   1700   1800   1900   2000

Figure 1.12. Usage of the word Tolerancija (Lithuanian for Tolerance) in literature according to Google Ngram. https://books.google.com/ngrams/
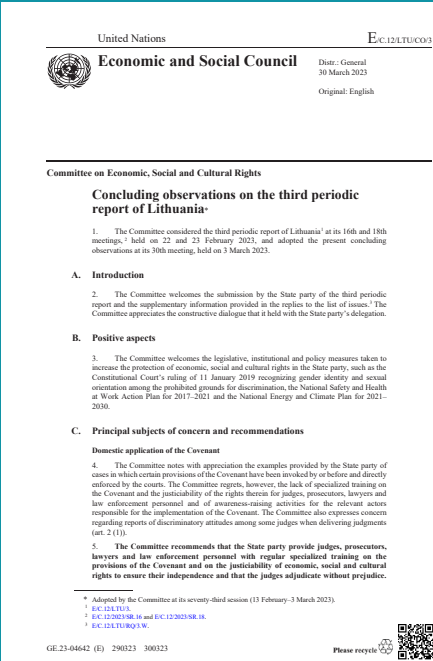
Firstly, in Lithuania tolerance became a fundamental term. During the soviet occupation, expatriates in the USA started to adapt this concept to Lithuanian traditions. Its relevance exploded after Lithuania regained independence in 1990. However, it is still a fresh notion that yet did not become "a deeper existential experience and a sign of a political and moral stance" (Donskis, 2008). Studying this state of tolerance – between tradition and new formation – can reveal essential understandings of the concept.

What is more, Lithuania and Kaunas specifically are very homogenous. Officially there are only less than 4% of non-Lithuanians in Kaunas and less than 16% in the country overall, which makes this city an ideal case to study causes of (in)tolerance because of the highlighted ethnical majority. And this majority has severe issues of intolerant behaviour. Various subcultures are marginalised for their behaviour, norms, or sexual orientation. As the introductory example shows, this intolerance runs not only in civil society but also on the institutional level. On the other hand, increasing appreciation of refugees and Ukrainians show that tolerant attitudes toward difference can be vivid. Even if it is a result of the russian war in Ukraine, it shows that there is a potential for a brave tolerant society.
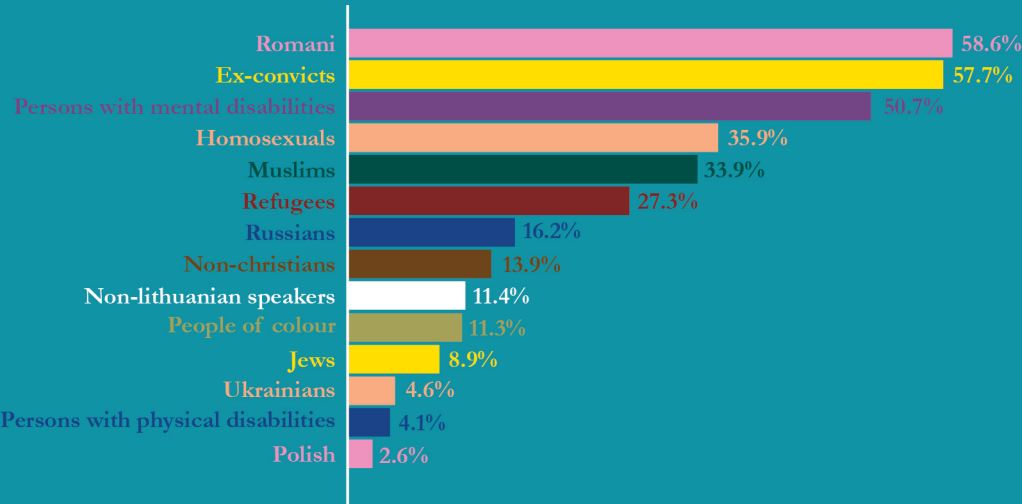
Furthermore, the current concerns of multilevel intolerance are summarised by the third report of the United Nations Economic and Social Council Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (2023). The committee appreciates the crucial steps Lithuania has taken at juridical, institutional, and societal levels to increase tolerant attitudes. Nevertheless, it also argues that many issues are yet to be addressed, such as the situation of Roma people, people with disabilities, people experiencing homelessness, migrants, and LGBTQ+, as well as issues regarding gender stereotypes, ageism, and the urban-rural dichotomy.

In addition, there are multiple personal motivations. Kaunas is fascinating to me. It is my hometown, where I lived, worked, and studied. I have a deep emotional attachment to this place and would like to use my knowledge to increase living quality in this city. While this brought me certain biases, it also allowed me to investigate the situation more closely since I knew the language, had contacts and easier access to information.

Figure 1.13. Periodic reports are documents made by United Nations Economic and Social Council (Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights) in which the institution presents its overview of the progress and recommendations to increase inclusivity and equality of human rights for a specific country (2023)

Which of the following groups of people would you not want to live in the neighborhood with?

Group	Percentage
Romani	58.6%
Ex-convicts	57.7%
Persons with mental disabilities	50.7%
Homosexuals	35.9%
Muslims	33.9%
Refugees	27.3%
Russians	16.2%
Non-christians	13.9%
Non-lithuanian speakers	11.4%
People of colour	11.3%
Jews	8.9%
Ukrainians	4.6%
Persons with physical disabilities	4.1%
Polish	2.6%

How has your attitude towards these groups of people living in Lithuania changed over the past 5 years?

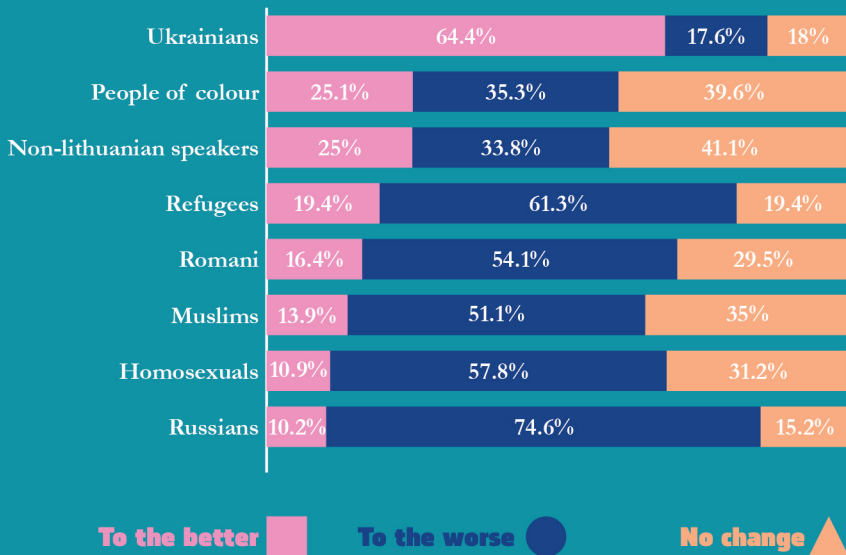| Group	To the better	To the worse	No change
Ukrainians	64.4%	17.6%	18%
People of colour	25.1%	35.3%	39.6%
Non-lithuanian speakers	25%	33.8%	41.1%
Refugees	19.4%	61.3%	19.4%
Romani	16.4%	54.1%	29.5%
Muslims	13.9%	51.1%	35%
Homosexuals	10.9%	57.8%	31.2%
Russians	10.2%	74.6%	15.2%

To the better   To the worse   No change

Figure 1.14. Societal Attitudes Regarding Ethnic and Religious Groups in Lithuania (Blažytė, 2022).

1. Duel of the fates

2. Washed concept

3. Knowledge gap

4. Intolerant Kaunas?

Figure 1.15. Problem statement summarised in the four main issues.

1.4. Conclusion: four issues to address

To summarise this chapter, I systemised the problem statement into four main issues I addressed in this research. Namely, they are:

1. Duel of the fates
Globalisation, political polarization, and increasing social conflict make instruments for peaceful coexistence necessary.

2. Washed concept
As a method for peace, tolerance is more discussed than ever. However, it has become a washed-up concept.

3. Knowledge gap
There is a knowledge gap between the socio-spatial environment and tolerant attitudes toward difference.

4. Intolerant Kaunas?
Kaunas is an excellent place to research tolerance because of hidden intolerance and homogenous demographics.

2.RESEARCH PLAN

HOW TO UNDERSTAND TOLERANCE?

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will present a research plan for understanding tolerance for difference and its relationship to spatial, cultural, and institutional environments. Here I will set out the direction of the research with hypotheses, aims, questions, timeline, flow, and methods. My objective for this chapter is to present a clear research plan that other researchers or students could use to continue work in the field of urban tolerance. It is one of my aims to decrease the knowledge gap between tolerance for difference and the science of the spatial environment. Since my research is limited, fostering interest in further studies is one of the main ways of achieving this long-term decrease in the knowledge gap.

2.2. Hypotheses

I based this research on 2 main hypotheses, which I tested throughout the process.

1. There is a relationship between the social and built environment and tolerance for difference.

As I argued in the problem statement, there is a correlation between progressive virtues (of which tolerance is a part) and cities, exemplified by the crude example of voting patterns. Two main theories discuss the causation of this correlation – determinists argue that the environment is the most important cause, while compositionalists stress the effect of self-choice. By formulating this hypothesis, I take a middle ground and say that environment and self-choice are critical for forming tolerant attitudes.

2. It is possible to objectify and represent the characteristics of this relationship.

Tolerance for the difference could be very individual and non-representational (Thrift, 2008), meaning it could be hard to analyse the causational relationship between environment and tolerance for difference with conventional means. With this hypothesis, I stress that there are representational parts of the topics that a mixed-methods approach could reveal.
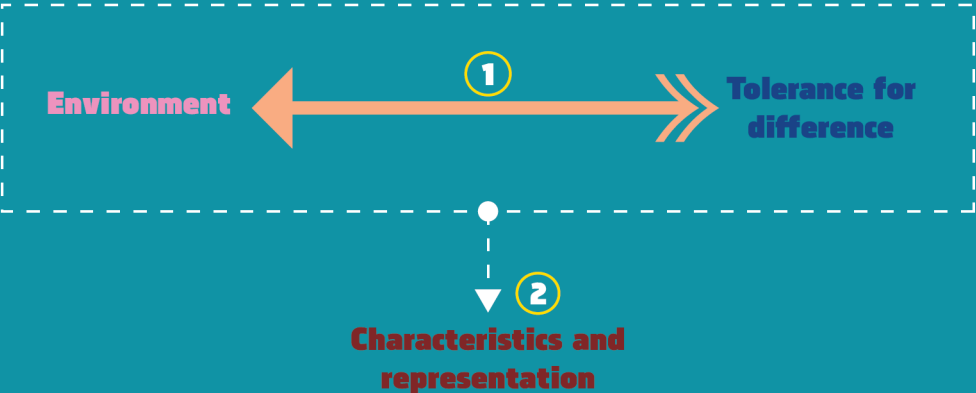

Figure 2.1. Two research hypotheses.

2.3. Research aim

The overall aim of the research is to increase knowledge in the field of tolerance and its relationship to the environment, trying to understand how urbanity and attitudes towards diversity influence each other. The goal is to combine and build upon existing research on the concept of tolerance from various disciplines (planning, sociology, psychology, philosophy, history, and political theory) and to relate it to urban planning.

I divided this overall task into 3 main objectives:

1.Decrease the knowledge gap between the socio-psychological concept of tolerance for difference and spatial planning by analysing their relationship.

2.By proceeding with the first objective seek to understand forces affecting attitudes towards difference, their characteristics and how these could be used to foster more tolerant attitudes.

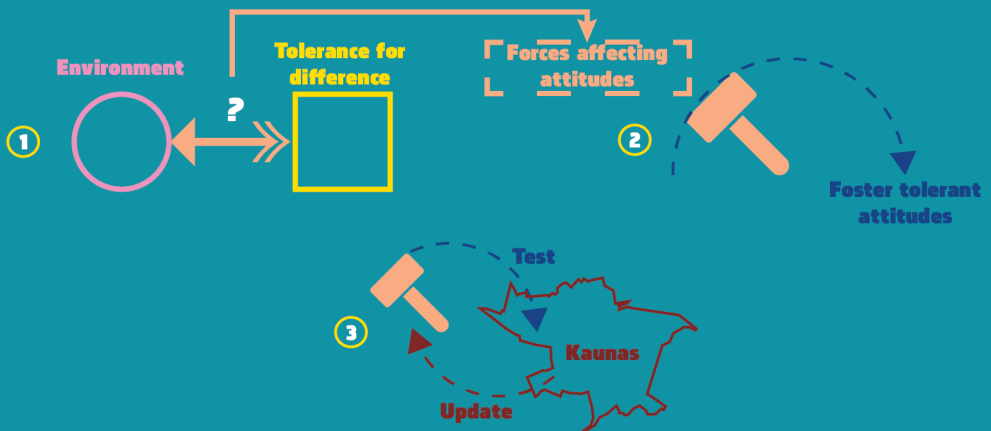**3.To test the achieved understanding in the city of Kaunas and, by doing so, update it.**

Figure 2.2. Three research aims.

2.4. Research questions

Based on personal motivation, problem statement, and hypotheses, I formulated a main research question for this graduation project:

How can spatial and policy planning be used to foster more tolerant attitudes towards difference in everyday Kaunas?

This central question defines instruments that I used to propose changes (spatial and policy planning), the main research field (tolerant attitudes towards difference in everyday), and the specific location (Kaunas, Lithuania). Another important aspect of this question is that it narrowed the research field into specific tolerance for difference in everyday life, which essentially means analysing how each citizen of Kaunas reacts to diversity and strangers in the city.

Furthermore, three sets of research sub-questions were defined based on research aims. The first set, described below, was used to analyse the concept of tolerance and its relation to the environment in general, allowing to systemise it into the framework of tolerance. From this knowledge, I derived the second and third sets of research sub-questions.

1.1. What is tolerance? What are its history, definition, and limits?

The goal of this sub-question is to tackle the issue of uncertain definitions and to define the boundaries of the research. It is essential to look at the broad spectrum of disciplines, how the concept changed over time, what can be learned from historical understandings, what are critiques on tolerance, and what are its conceptual limits. To answer this question, I used a literature review and unstructured interviews.

1.2. How tolerance for difference relates to other concepts of inclusivity?

By answering this sub-question, I aimed to position this research in the broader debate on inclusivity, relating tolerance to positive (acceptance, kindness, and empathy) and negative (discrimination, oppression, and hate crimes) concepts. Based on the theoretical nature of the question, the primary tool to address it was a review of scientific literature, reports, and media, as well as in-depth unstructured interviews.

1.3. What is the relationship between tolerance for difference and socio-spatial environment?

By analysing the impacts of the environment over tolerant attitudes toward difference, I increased the knowledge in the field and depicted the potential ways for intervening in this relationship. I looked at diverse disciplines and mediums, different scales, and spatial, institutional, cultural, (geo)political, and historical environments. I used self-experience, literature review, spatial and institutional analysis, and artistic mediums such as novels and cinema.

With the following 2 sub-questions, I sought to understand site conditions for tolerance in Kaunas. These are precognitive conditions that affect people's attitudes. Knowledge of these conditions informed my theoretical conclusions and implementation strategies.

2.1. What is the socio-cultural and spatial "deep story" of the specific society being investigated?

The term "deep story" was initially used by sociologist Arlie Russell Hochschild (2016; cited J. Alexander & Conrad, 2022) to describe Tea Party members' feelings and worldviews. Here I use the term to describe the prehuman, intangible, and passive sociocultural constructs that unconsciously affect people's attitudes towards diversity in a given society. To address this inquiry on the socio-cultural level, I looked at whether people are more individualistic or community-based; is society more religious or secular; are people more trusting or mistrusting; are there unsolved historical traumas; what are the socio-political situation and structure. In spatial terms, I analysed spatial conditions deeply rooted in sociological situation, such as people's feelings (comfortable or anxious) in the area, if the site is monocentric or polycentric, and if it fosters contact.

2.2. What is the perceived ideal "image of conventional society"?

This question is primarily connected to the previous one, since by analysing socio-cultural and spatial "deep story", I could understand the perceived "ideal image" of Lithuania. This image creates social norms and stereotypes, according to which others should look and behave to be tolerated. Yet these images simultaneously are most susceptible to change because they are perceived. Intense conflictual contact with diversity can have a deprovincialisational impact towards beliefs (Verkuyten et al., 2022).

The following 2 sub-questions were added later, by conducting empirical fieldwork to answer the first sets of sub-questions. Especially by proceeding with interviews, I understood that to affect people's attitudes it is important to understand what forces worked in the past and how they could be operationalised today.

3.1. What are the forces affecting people's attitudes?

Forces are active elements changing the short-term and long-term outcomes of encounters with diversity. It is a term used by scholars of affect theory, for example, Nigel Thrift (2008). He described spaces "as fluid forces that have no beginning or end and which are generating new cultural conventions, techniques, forms, genres, concepts, even (or so I will argue) senses" (Thrift, 2008; Chapter 5). In this thesis, I use this description to define forces, instead of spaces, which for my urbanistic research are much more tangible and practical implementation elements.

Forces differ from conditions. Conditions in my research are prehuman, intangible, and passive sociocultural constructs that unconsciously affect people's attitudes towards diversity. Forces are tangible, active elements that directly affect people's attitudes and indirectly alter conditions. Therefore conditions inform forces, which in turn can affect conditions.

I analysed forces retrospectively. First, I sought to understand situations where there is a representational change of (in)tolerance or comity. Then, by studying existing and past conditions, I investigated what forces affected the transformation. To achieve this mixed methods approach was critical. One method could not reveal all the nuances of these forces. Sometimes I sought to understand the change of attitudes through one set of methods, and analysed forces by another set.

3.2. How to use attitudes–affecting forces to foster more tolerant attitudes towards difference?

With this question, I guided the implementation of the knowledge acquired by answering other sub-questions. Therefore this inquiry was addressed at the late stage of the research when I formed a coherent understanding of the concept of tolerance and forces affecting people's attitudes. Nevertheless, through implementation and research-by-design approach I reflected, tested, and updated the conducted theoretical and empirical analysis. It helped to clarify and strengthen the essential elements of this thesis. Yet design and planning in this thesis were not a goal but a means to explain and make practical the theoretical and empirical research. A combination of spatial, institutional, and policy analysis and planning methods were critical to forming a holistic implementation vision, strategy, and design. It was essential to propose changes affecting space, stakeholders, institutions, funding, and policies. I used artistic mediums to improve the accessibility of the message and show more nuanced ways of implementation.
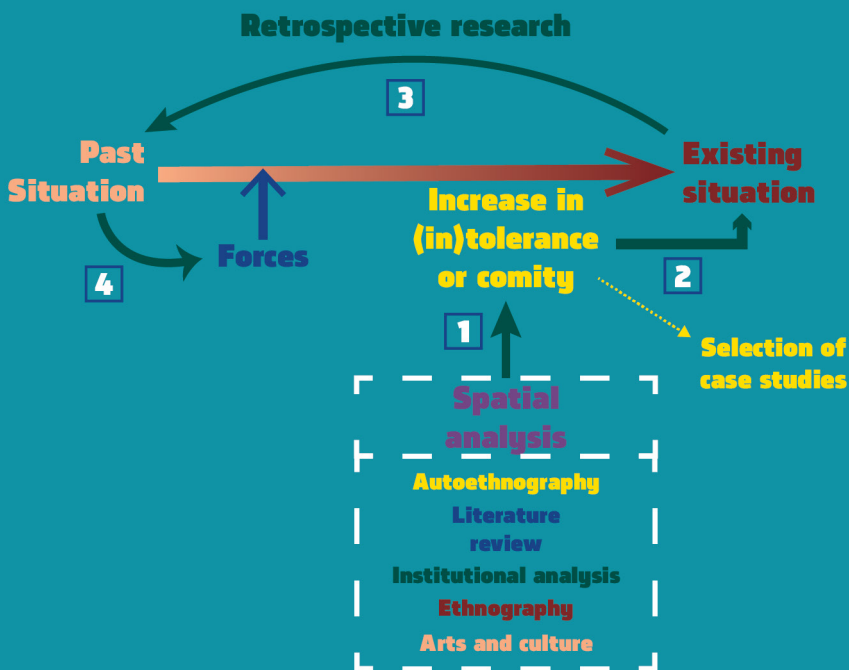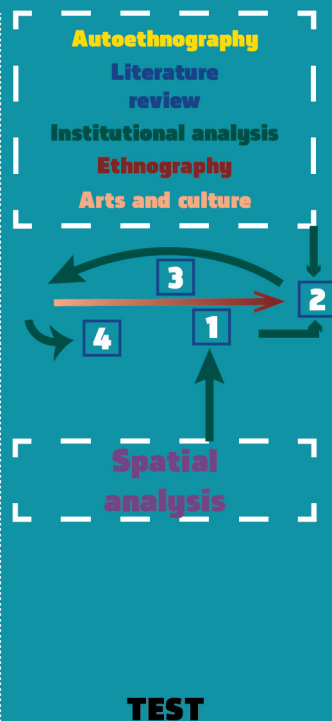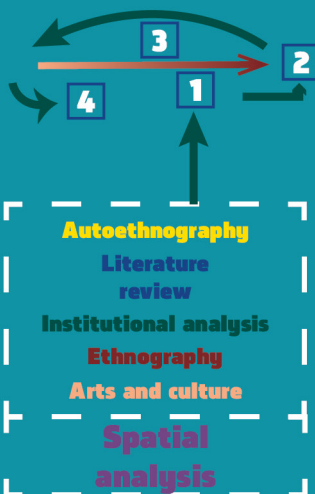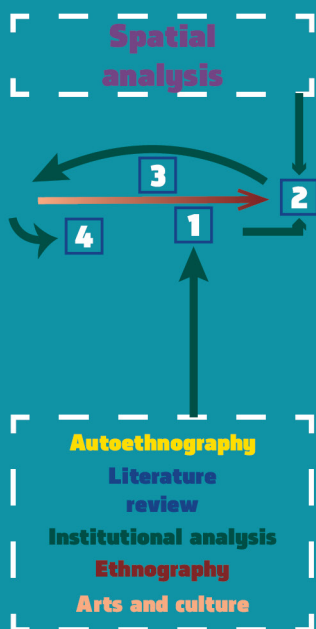
Figure 2.3. Retrospective approach used to answer 3.1 sub-question.

2.5. Methods

I extensively used methods based on the literature review for the first set of sub-questions. However, during the later stages of the research, I tested and updated them with empirical research – interviews, media review, and spatial and institutional analysis.

I used more contextual instruments to answer the second set of sub-questions. Spatial analysis (mapping and on-site observations), ethnographic research (interviews, statistical analysis, media review), and institutional investigation (policy review, stakeholders, governance, and public institutions analysis) were the primary methods. Nevertheless, I used literature review and inquiry into arts and culture to understand the issues and potentials better.

In-depth unstructured interviews and media review were the essential methods for the third set of sub-question. To create primary operational concepts, I combined conclusions from empirical and theoretical investigations. Afterwards, I used other methods to analyse and implement the initial notions in-depth and provide thorough characteristics, definitions, and descriptions.

Autoethnography. Since I spent different stages of my life in Kaunas, I could compare current conditions analysed through fieldwork and the past situation experienced personally.

Literature review. I used mainly scientific literature combined with fictional novels, essays, reports, and declarations from various institutions related to the topic. The goal was to connect and critically reflect on ideas from a broad spectrum of theoretical and practical disciplines: philosophy, history, cultural geography, political theory, architecture, spatial planning, sociology, psychology, and urban studies. I used and compared both international and local Lithuanian literature related to the topic.

Arts & culture. Analysis of the cultural representation of tolerance brought a more nuanced understanding of the topic. Artists can use mediums that show social action in context, putting moments of interaction in the environment. It was an essential medium for better and more holistic understanding, storytelling, and implementation.

Spatial analysis, planning, and design. .I conducted contextual research of the case study area using synchronic and diachronic documentation forms. I mapped, sketched, filmed, and took photos in relation to spatial ideas uncovered with the theoretical analysis. Furthermore, spatial planning and design were essential for testing and implementing revealed information.

Institutional analysis. Institutional context forms a necessary societal background for tolerant attitudes. Based on insights by civic participation activists (de la Pena et al., 2017), by analysing stakeholders, government structures and power relationships, public facilities and NGOs, and policies, I aim to uncover its influence on people's behaviour and tolerant attitudes for the difference.

Ethnography. I used ethnographic research to analyse the tolerance situation and forces affecting attitudes in Kaunas. Unstructured interviews were the most important. Statistical analysis of the case-study area provided crucial contextual information. Media analysis formed a large part of this research since journalists have already interviewed people relevant to this research.

I chose to conduct unstructured interviews ("taking a narrative and free-flowing approach" (Knott et al., 2022)) because of their potential to uncover information unknown to the researcher. Due to the research gap between tolerance and spatial planning, most intelligence is still unknown. Therefore deep-dive into a few elements following the story of the interviewees was a better approach, rather than structuring rigid questions in advance. It allowed me to uncover the unknown but limited possibilities for replicability and comparison.

I interviewed 17 people, which I invited and grouped based on a few filters. First, I searched for respondents representing the least statistically tolerated groups in Lithuania, such as migrants, LGBTQ+ community members, and people with mental disabilities. To this group belongs interviewees, such as ravers or people experiencing homelessness, whom I invited based on media review or other interviews. The next category of participants is experts in the field of human rights. I contacted various NGOs working in the area to invite them through their public emails. The third category consists of social workers. Their professional knowledge of working with discriminated people proved critical for this investigation. The final category of participants consists of people who confront (in)tolerance in their everyday work situations, such as police officers, security guards, and bus drivers.

Sub–questions	Outcomes
Part 1 **Concept**	
1.1. What is tolerance? What are its history, definition, and limits?	Definition and description of tolera bibliography of tolera
1.2. How tolerance for difference relates to other concepts of inclusivity?	Placement of tolerance for difference in l justice and inclusiv
1.3. What is the relationship between tolerant attitudes for difference and environment?	Framework of tolerance, methodology qustions for intervie
Part 2 **Conditions for tolerance**	
2.1. What is the socio–cultural and spatial "deep story" of the specific society being investigated?	Visual and verbal conclusions of the elem which can be adressed directly and us planning and design dec
2.2. What is the perceived "ideal image of the conventional society"?	Description of stereotypical perceived im them". This information cannot be adr inform further planning and des
Part 3 **Forces affecting attitudes**	Characteristics of the forces affecting atti to inform further planning and desig characteristics should be in multiple fiel stakeholders.
3.1. What are the forces affecting people's attitudes?	
3.2. How to use attitudes–affecting forces to foster more tolerant attitudes towards difference?	Vision, design task and its implement funding, institutions, spatial design, an

Figure 2.4. Sub-questions, outcomes, and things to consider.

	To consider
...nce for difference, ...nce	It is important to look at the broad spectrum of disciplines; how the concept changed over time and what can be learned from historic understandings; what are critiques on tolerance; what are its conceptual limits
...arger debates on spatial ...ty	Consider not only how it relates to positive, inclusive concepts, but also negative, discriminatory terms
... for further research, ...ws	It is critical to look at different disciplines and mediums; through different scales; not only at spatial, but also institutional, cultural, (geo)political, and historical environments;
...ents of the "deep story" ...ed to inform further ...cisions.	It is important to look into these elements: are people more individualistic or community-based; is society more religious or secular; are people more trusting or mistrusting; are there unsolved historical traumas; what is socio-political situation and structure, primary mobility means of the area; do people feel comfortable or anxious in the area; is it polycentric or monocentric?
...ages of "us" and "good ...essed directly, but will ...sign decisions.	This summarises other inquiries into individually or collectively perceived social norms of how others should look and behave to be tolerated.
...tudes that could be used ...n decisions.These ...ds - theory, space, and	Consider relationship between forces and conditions. It is important to look at forces retrospectively - first understanding what changes already happened in the past and looking what forces affected those changes. Therefore mixed methods approach is critical.
...ation through policy, ...d planning proposals.	Important to combine multiple methods to achieve holistic and interrelated result. This is meant to be an example of how forces affecting attitudes can be operationalised rather than final goal on its own. It is also imperative to consider the implication of the biopolitical nature of the question (see. "7.4. Reflection", pages xx-xx).

Sub-questions	Autoethnography	Litera... revi...

Part 1
Concept

1.1. What is tolerance? What are its history, definition, and limits?

1.2. How tolerance for difference relates to other concepts of inclusivity?

1.3. What is the relationship between tolerant attitudes for difference and environment?

Part 2
Conditions for tolerance

2.1. What is the socio-cultural and spatial "deep story" of the specific society being investigated?

2.2. What is the perceived "ideal image of the conventional society"?

Part 3
Forces affecting attitudes

3.1. What are the forces affecting people's attitudes?

3.2. How to use attitudes-affecting forces to foster more tolerant attitudes for difference?

Figure 2.5. Sub-questions and used methods. Size of the figures represents the importance of specific method.

2.6. Research flow

The main issue I faced while designing the research plan was that tolerance for difference is subjective and, therefore, hard to measure. Moreover, there is little knowledge about the relationship between tolerance for difference and socio-spatial environment. As a result, many questions were unknown at the beginning of the research. That is why I designed the process in a few interconnected stages, each supporting and iteratively strengthening the other and producing different outcomes.

From personal motivation, problem field, and hypotheses, I constructed the main research question, followed by the first part of the sub-questions. Its purpose was to understand tolerance for difference and its relationship to the environment. My metaphor for it was a flashlight that guides the way for future research. By addressing the first set of sub-questions mainly through theoretical exploration, I constructed the first outcome of this research – the framework of tolerance – which I later tested and updated through empirical investigation.

To investigate further, I proposed the second part of sub-questions that allowed analysing the topic in the case-study area – Kaunas. The methods used were more related to space, governance, and policy analysis. By answering it, I understood that I was missing a third part of the sub-questions related to forces affecting attitudes. I analysed these forces diachronically - first understanding what attitude change happened and then investigating what forces affected this change. This research allowed me to conclude that in Lithuania the main force could be defined as Tolerance Event, which I could subsequently characterise and present guidelines for intervention.

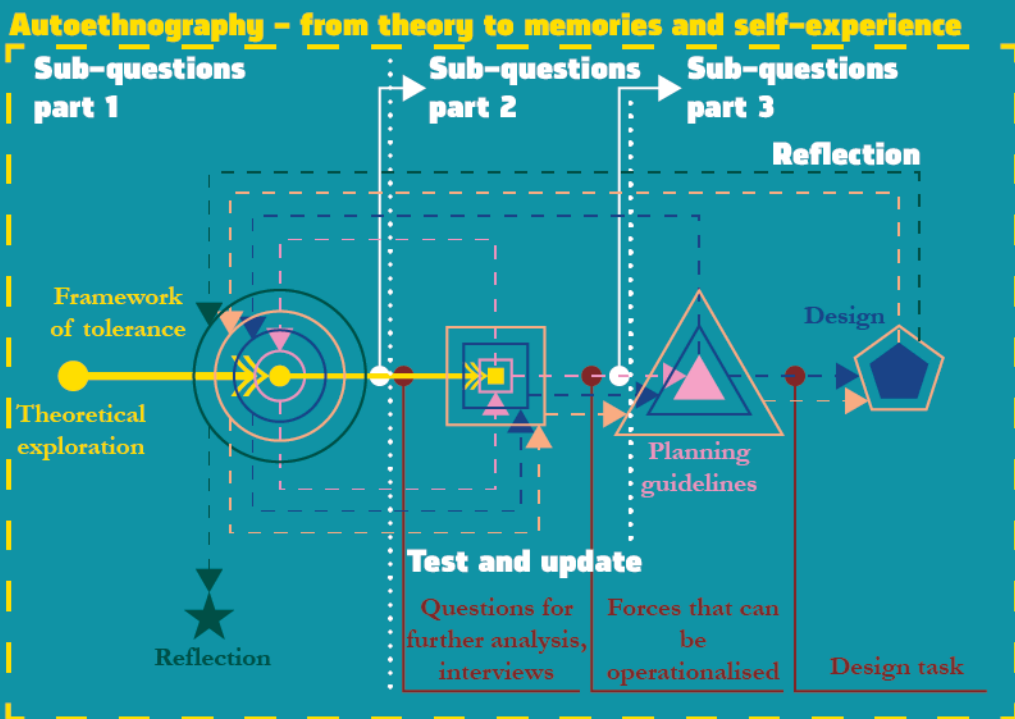Figure 2.6. Goal of the Framework of Tolerance.

Personal motivation

Was it the city that made me more tolerant?

Hypotheses

There is a relationship between environment and tolerant attitudes for difference. This relationship can be used to foster more tolerant relationships.

Problem field

Tolerance is becoming more important for social relationships in the times of digitalisation and globalisation.

Main research question

How can spatial and policy planning be used to foster more tolerant attitudes towards difference in everyday Kaunas?

Sub-questions part 1

Understanding concept

1.1. What is tolerance? What are its history, definition, and limits?
1.2. How tolerance for difference relates to other concepts of inclusivity?
1.3. What is the relationship between tolerance for difference and socio-spatial environment?

Intended outcome 1

Framework of tolerance – tool for further research

Sub-questions part 2

Understanding site conditions

2.1 What is the socio-cultural and spatial "deep story" of the specific society being investigated?
2.2. What is the perceived "ideal image of the conventional society"?

Sub-questions part 3

Understanding forces

3.1. What are the forces affecting people's attitudes?
3.2. How to use attitudes-affecting forces to foster more tolerant attitudes towards difference?

Intended outcome 2

Characteristics of the Tolerance Event and Space

Intended outcome 3

Vision and its sub-rules

Intended outcome 4

Spatial, policy, institutional design proposals

Iterative reflection

Figure 2.7. Research framework.

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Autoethnography – from theory to memories and self-experience

Sub-questions part 1

Sub-questions part 2

Sub-questions part 3

Reflection

Framework of tolerance

Design

Theoretical exploration

Planning guidelines

Reflection

Test and update

Questions for further analysis, interviews

Forces that can be operationalised

Design task

Figure 2.8. Research framework interconnectivity and the main outcomes.

I designed this research to work in an iterative, constantly reflecting process. Different stages were continuously interconnected, with outcomes supporting and updating each other. I started from theoretical observation to build up knowledge and an initial framework of tolerance, connecting it with the case-study area and then reflecting on theory. Afterwards, I was able to form 3d part of sub-questions, interview themes, and main concepts of this thesis, which I could then implement and test the theoretical notions. In this way, each product gave way to the other while mutually strengthening each other and the whole research.

It is essential to mention that the autoethnographic approach was a significant method and process for my research. The conceptual and theoretical nature of the topic would make it very hard to analyse tolerance in an unknown environment. My memories and experience with Kaunas helped me to reflect on theory immediately. In this way, I could base concepts on something tangible from the case-study area, connect different elements in an iterative process, and move from thought to action.

2.7. Conclusion: research timeline

The thesis timeline represents elements of the overall process. Starting with exploration, I continued to create research plan and investigate other fields. Because a considerable part of the project is theoretical, I used literature review and related activities till the last elaboration phase before the final submission. Yet the paramount intensity of the former method was before the mid-term presentation. Afterwards, I dedicated much time to preparing for and conducting interviews, analysing Kaunas spatially and institutionally, and producing on-site observations. After gathering enough understanding about Tolerance Event and Space, I started creating design task and its implementation.
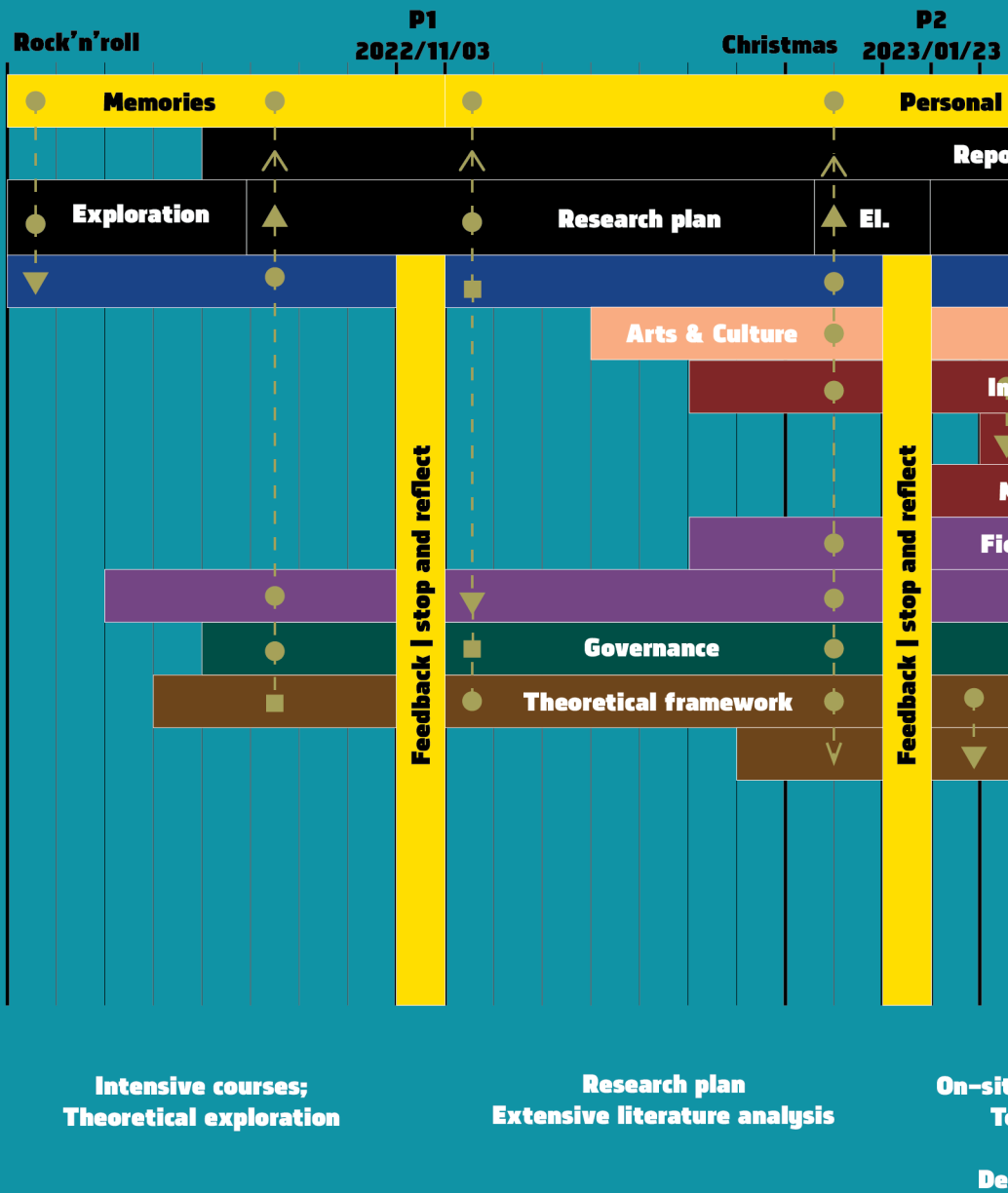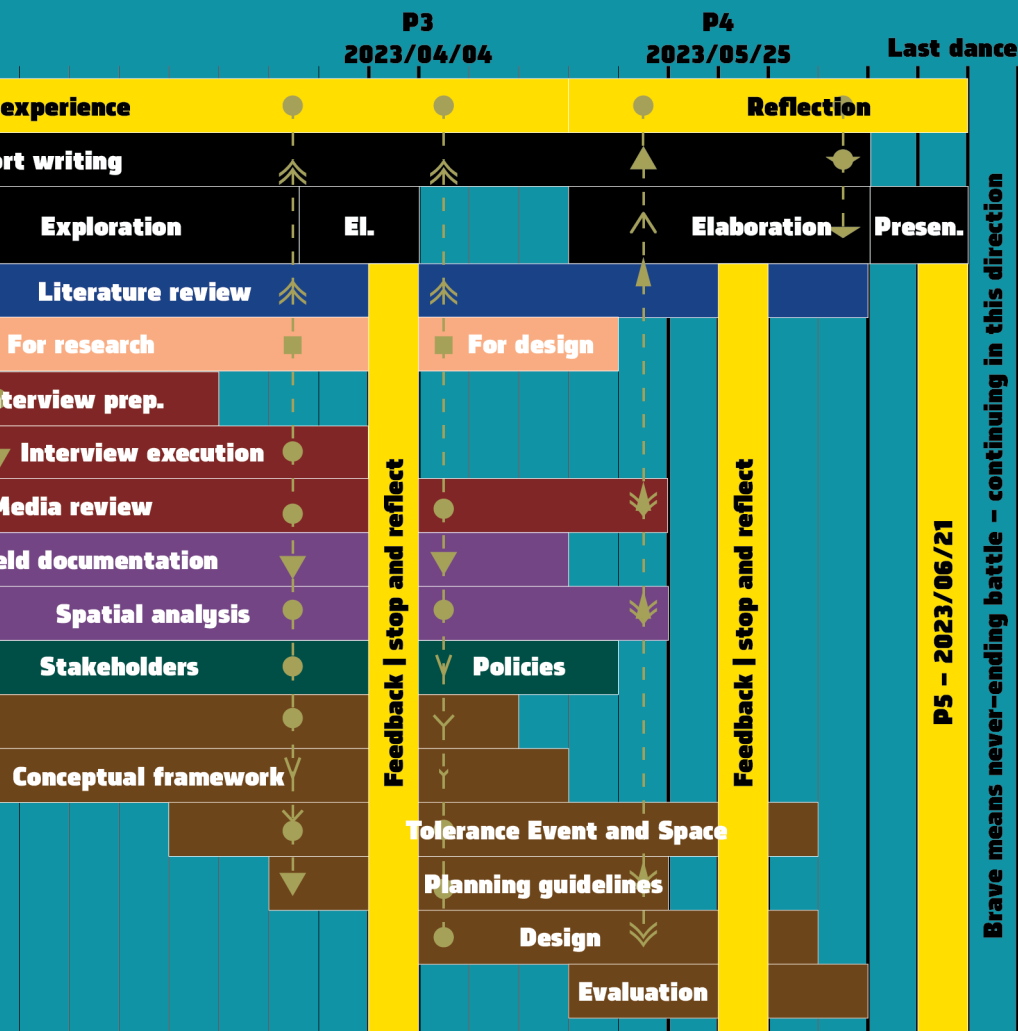
Figure 2.9. Thesis timeline.

P3
2023/04/04

P4
2023/05/25

Last dance

...experience — Reflection

...ort writing

Exploration — El. — Elaboration — Presen.

Literature review

For research — For design

...terview prep.

Interview execution

Media review

...eld documentation

Spatial analysis

Stakeholders — Policies

Conceptual framework

Tolerance Event and Space

Planning guidelines

Design

Evaluation

Feedback | stop and reflect

Feedback | stop and reflect

P5 – 2023/06/21

Brave means never-ending battle – continuing in this direction

...te observation and interviews;
...olerance Event and Space;
Case studies;
...sign task – More Tolerance
Events

7 subrules;
implementation;
reflection

Elaboration;
Tolerance Impact
Assessment

3. TOLERANCE
ANCIENT CONCEPT IN THE 21ST CENTURY

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will present a theoretical base of this research which I tested and updated through empirical investigation. I will describe tolerance through multiple lenses, bringing knowledge from diverse fields: sociology, philosophy, political theory, culture, arts, urban planning, criminology, and history. In this chapter I present only the most essential parts for this thesis. A more detailed investigation of tolerance can be found in the appendix. At the end of the chapter, I will propose an instrument for site-specific research – the theoretical framework of tolerance – which I used to investigate Kaunas. Due to the time limit and area of the research, I narrowed my focus to Western and especially Lithuanian writers and scholars, combining their ideas into one project. Future researchers can add knowledge from their backgrounds, strengthening the debate on tolerance.

3.2. 50 shades of tolerance

In the historical overview (see Appendix, pages 298-311), one can see two main types of tolerance: passive and active. The former is associated with Lockean philosophy, where difference is allowed but not necessarily engaged; the latter with Mill's ideas, in which diversity is celebrated and encouraged. Different definitions could be seen in literature, but they essentially describe similar notions. For example, social psychologist Maykel Verkuyten used the terms forbearance and appreciation tolerance (Verkuyten, 2022); political theorist and historian Laurynas Peluritis – negative and positive tolerance (Peluritis, 2013); philosopher Michael Walzer described 5 types, but in essence 4 of his types belongs to passive tolerance category and only the last to active tolerance (Walzer, 1997).

Initially, I argued that both types of tolerance are compatible and affect people's behaviour. For instance, Vytautas Kavolis in his text "Tolerance Assumptions" (2006, pp. 160–168) describes tolerance as passive inaction towards disliked diversity, while actively fighting for the concept of tolerance in general. Therefore I represented the division of tolerance not in a table but in a gradient.

However, through empirical analysis (mostly interviews and media review), I noticed that Lithuanians today associate tolerance much more broadly (see Appendix, pages 360-363). When asked what tolerance means to them, most respondents connected it with acceptance, mutual empathy, and understanding. Some people associated tolerance with support, love, and non-generalisation. This led me to reassess the gradient that I formed at the beginning of the research, expanding it from a linear to a spatial system, which includes and entangles multiple other concepts besides passive or active forms of tolerance. In a way, tolerance in Lithuania today can be associated with inclusivity in general.
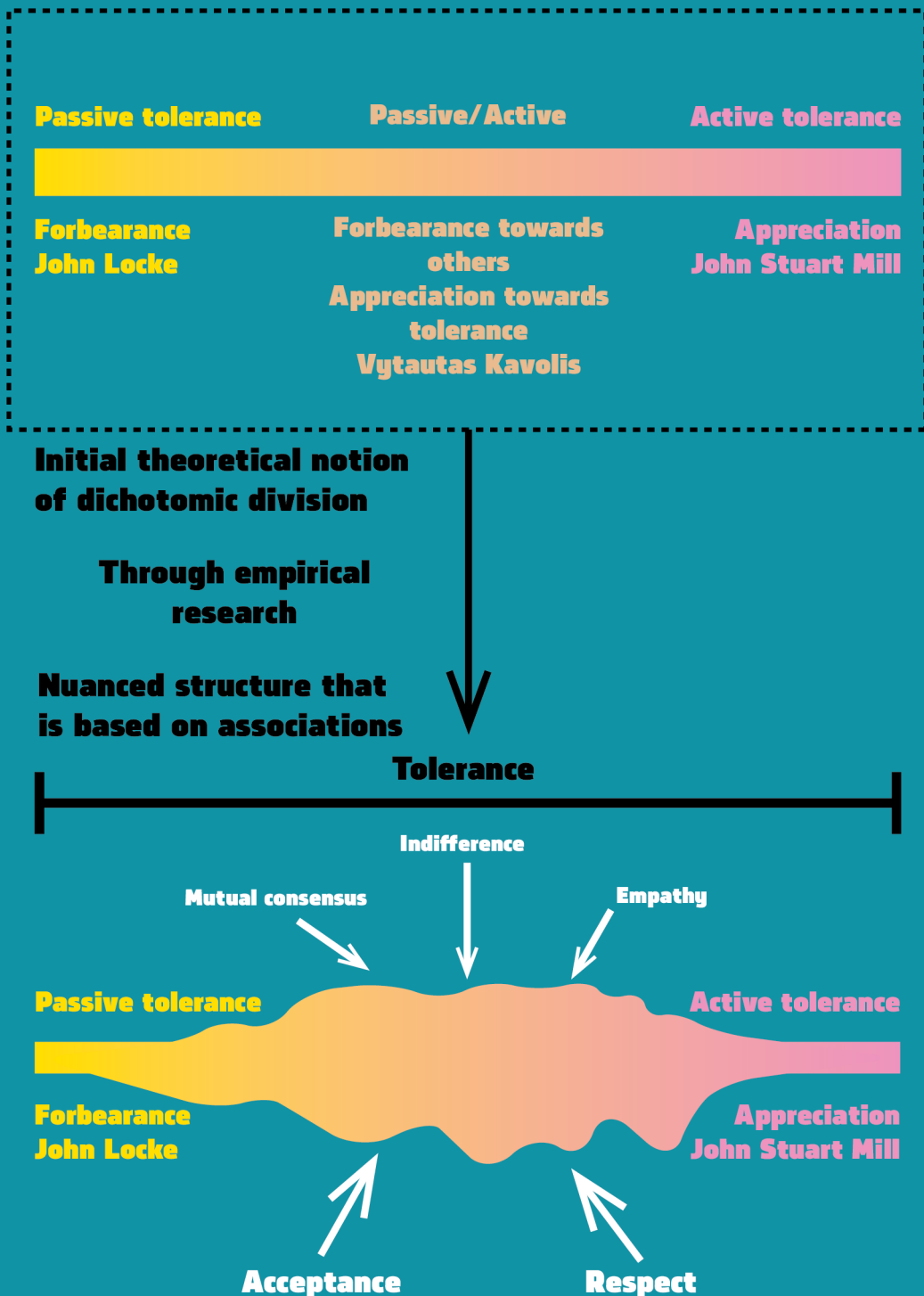
Passive tolerance   **Passive/Active**   **Active tolerance**

Forbearance
John Locke

Forbearance towards others
Appreciation towards tolerance
Vytautas Kavolis

Appreciation
John Stuart Mill

Initial theoretical notion of dichotomic division

Through empirical research

Nuanced structure that is based on associations

Tolerance

Indifference

Mutual consensus

Empathy

Passive tolerance

Active tolerance

Forbearance
John Locke

Appreciation
John Stuart Mill

Acceptance

Respect

Figure 3.1. Change of understanding on what tolerance is.

3.3. Tolerance and other concepts

As I argued, tolerance in contemporary Lithuania is synonymous with inclusivity and related terms. However, there are different levels of tolerance and its relationship to other concepts. First, the more tolerant the idea is, the less mass it can cover since it becomes more challenging to personal beliefs. Compared to respect (Sennett, 2003), kindness (Thrift, 2008), acceptance (UNESCO, 1995), and active tolerance (Mill, 1998), passive (forbearance) tolerance (Locke, 2003) is the least inclusive. Yet here lies the strength of forbearance – it does not require letting go of one's values. Therefore a person can be forbearant of most groups, while they can only actively tolerate some. The same applies to the intolerance side – the majority of people could be passively intolerant (Verkuyten, 2022), while more active, stronger forms, such as oppression (Potašenko, 2020) and hate crimes (European Council on Tolerance and Reconciliation, 2015) are rarer.

Furthermore, even if forbearance is not as inclusive as other concepts, it forms a barrier between forms of tolerance and intolerance (Verkuyten, 2022). Since it requires the least from a person, it is the easiest to achieve. "Precisely because it is minimal, it is crucial" (Vogt, 1997; cited Verkuyten, 2022, p. 34). What this also means is that forbearance is not the end goal. Forbearance is a tool to reach higher levels of inclusivity.

An important question I investigated through interviews, media review, and field observation, was how passive forms of (in)tolerance are expressed and perceived. More potent forms of tolerance are more visible and representational, while forbearance can be almost invisible (Verkuyten, 2022). Based on the conducted research, I argue that it is felt and expressed on three levels: observation, symbols, and responses.

Observation is a constant element of today's society. Hence sometimes it can be hard to understand whether it is tolerance or the opposite. I argue that the length of the look matters: short, quick looks can represent curiosity, while long stares can often mean discriminatory attitudes (for more discussion on observation, see chapter "Perception, or search for purity", pages 80-83).
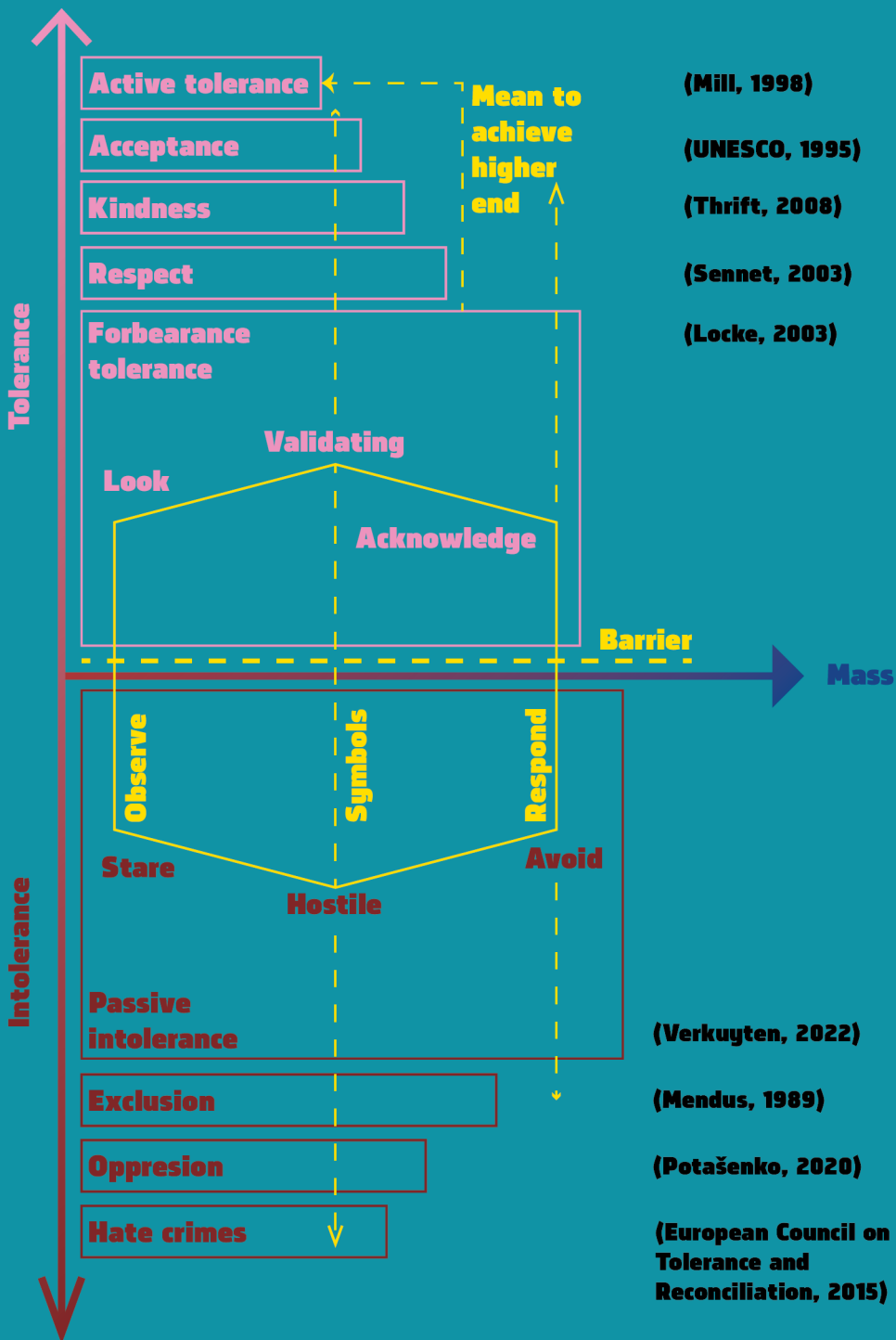
Tolerance

- Active tolerance
- Acceptance
- Kindness
- Respect
- Forbearance tolerance

Mean to achieve higher end

Look
Validating
Acknowledge

Barrier

Mass

Observe
Symbols
Respond

Stare
Hostile
Avoid

Intolerance

- Passive intolerance
- Exclusion
- Oppresion
- Hate crimes

(Mill, 1998)

(UNESCO, 1995)

(Thrift, 2008)

(Sennet, 2003)

(Locke, 2003)

(Verkuyten, 2022)

(Mendus, 1989)

(Potašenko, 2020)

(European Council on Tolerance and Reconciliation, 2015)

Figure 3.2. Relationship of concepts that form (in)tolerance.

Figure 3.3. Symbol of intolerance hanged during Kaunas Pride 2021 (Gurevičius, 2021).

The category of symbols involves various types of visual or graphic objects (for instance, clothing or graffiti), which can be validating or hostile towards specific groups. As one respondent mentioned, "During Kaunas Pride, I remember, it was very uncomfortable [when I noticed] hanged in front of underpass the International Classification of Diseases Code that was previously used to identify homosexuality as a disease, and since I understood it I felt really disgusted. There were various types of posters that made me uncomfortable. I imagine some kind of graffiti would also make me feel poorly." Extreme cases of symbol usage could be defined as active forms of (in) tolerance (for a case study example on symbols, see "Baltic and Kaunas Prides, pages 160-173).

The passive response is an unconscious behaviour towards specific groups. The most common example of an intolerant response is avoidance, when "people try not to see them [people experiencing homelessness], to pass by as soon as possible, to get rid of them" (Javaitytė, 2018), "[in buses] there are places for people with disabilities, and sometimes people stand there and do not move away" (NTAC "Korys," 2021). Forbearance is expressed by simple acts of acknowledgement, such as a reciprocal smile, friendly chat, or just a nod. "Only when I came to volunteer, I thought that they [people experiencing homelessness] needed things the most, but later I realized that they lacked much more just simply being together. Not to tell them what to do or how to do it, but to communicate with them the way I communicate with my friends so they don't feel left out." (Baškienė, 2020), "Each of us can contribute <…> maybe sometimes just deciding to talk and get to know a homeless or poor person." (Indriliūnaitė, 2018).

Tolerance, or mutual goals and values

Imperius, or destruction of the society

Cruciatus, or intolerance

Avada Kedavra, or violation of the specific cultural human rights
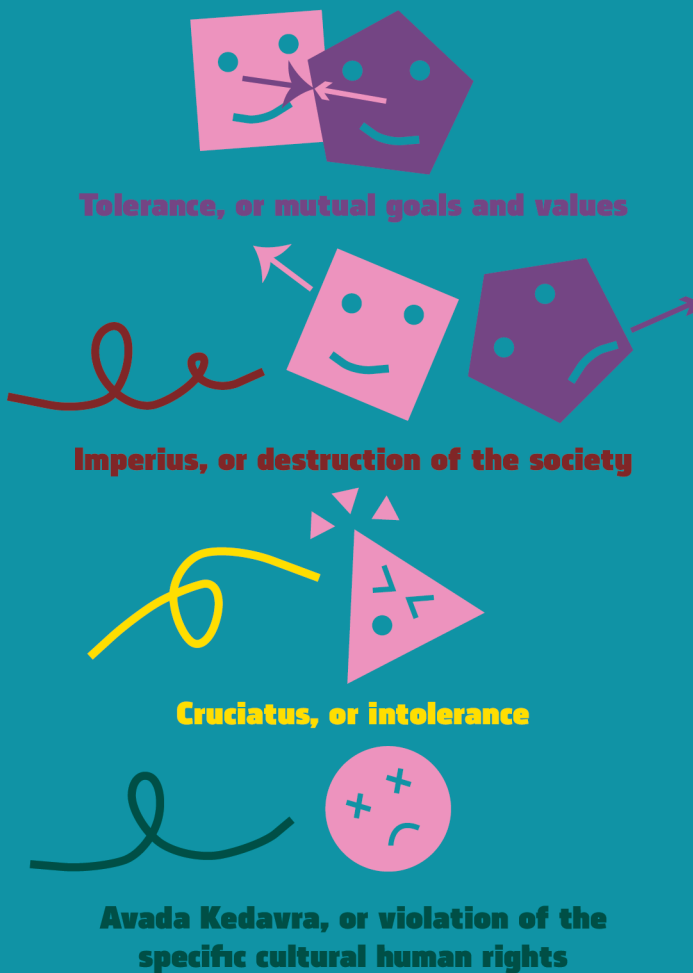
Figure 3.4. Limits of tolerance.

3.4. Conceptual limits

It is vital to set out limits of tolerance to protect society from cultural relativity and the destruction of identity. I would argue that there are three conceptual limits of tolerance, and the best way to remember them is to compare them to 3 unforgivable curses presented by J.K.Rowling in the "Harry Potter" franchise. To test these theoretical notions, I asked interviewees what they are intolerant of. I included some of the answers according to the relevant category.

Imperio, or destruction of the society

A European Model Law For The Promotion of Tolerance and The Suppression of Intolerance article I states that "Diversity should not affect the fundamental identity - or the shared values, history and aspirations - of society." (European Council on Tolerance and Reconciliation, 2015). This means that every specific society can be tolerant if it does not threaten its identity. However, in my opinion, this argument is open to exploitation and "enemisation" of diversity, because everything can be seen as threatening. By conducting a media review I found out that it is an argument used mostly to defend intolerant attitudes with a debatable rationale behind it. For example, people tend to complain about people experiencing homelessness in public spaces, arguing that they spread diseases (KaunoDiena.Lt, 2013), or that it damages the "touristic image" (KasvykstaKaune.lt, 2018). Therefore I argue that Vytautas Kavolis (2006) presents a much better argument. He states that tolerance is applicable as long as two subjects have a mutual goal and values.

Mildred had already anticipated this in a quavery voice. "Ladies, once a year, every fireman's allowed to bring one book home, from the old days, to show his family how silly it all was, how nervous that sort of thing can make you, how crazy. Guy's surprise tonight is to read you one sample to show how mixed-up things were, so none of us will ever have to bother our little old heads about that junk again, isn't that right, darling?"

<…>

The room was blazing hot, he was all fire, he was all coldness; they sat in the middle of an empty desert with three chairs and him standing, swaying, and him waiting for Mrs. Phelps to stop straightening her dress hem and Mrs. Bowles to take her fingers away from her hair. Then he began to read in a low, stumbling voice that grew firmer as he progressed from line to line, and his voice went out across the desert, into the whiteness, and around the three sitting women there in the great hot emptiness:

<…>

Mrs. Phelps was crying.

The others in the middle of the desert watched her crying grow very loud as her face squeezed itself out of shape. They sat, not touching her, bewildered by her display. She sobbed uncontrollably. Montag himself was stunned and shaken.

"Sh, sh," said Mildred. "You're all right, Clara, now, Clara, snap out of it! Clara, what's wrong?"

"I-I,", sobbed Mrs. Phelps, "don't know, don't know, I just don't know, oh oh…"

Mrs. Bowles stood up and glared at Montag. "You see? I knew it, that's what I wanted to prove! I knew it would happen! I've always said, poetry and tears, poetry and suicide and crying and awful feelings, poetry and sickness; all that mush! Now I've had it proved to me. You're nasty, Mr. Montag, you're nasty!"

Ray Bradbury, "Fahrenheit 451",
(2011 part II) [1953]

Figure 3.5. Example of intolerant and unequal production of space. Notice how roads are perfectly clean, while sidewalks are hardly walkable.

Crucio, or intolerance

A European Model Law For The Promotion of Tolerance and The Suppression of Intolerance states that "There is no need to be tolerant to the intolerant" (European Council on Tolerance and Reconciliation, 2015). This is very much in line with Karl Popper's paradox of tolerance: "Unlimited tolerance must lead to the disappearance of tolerance. If we extend unlimited tolerance even to those who are intolerant, if we are not prepared to defend a tolerant society against the onslaught of the intolerant, then the tolerant will be destroyed, and tolerance with them"(1947, p. 226).

Many respondents connected to this aspect and to the Golden Christianity rule. For instance, they noted "I often say that how people think of you depends on how you behave", and "as you behave, so others behave the same with you.". Some respondents referred to more specific groups, from whom they felt intolerance. For example, one interviewee felt discriminated against by Catholics because of sexual orientation "I don't like going to church. It was never close to my heart, but now it is completely against my beliefs."

Avada Kedavra, or violation of the specific cultural human rights

A European Model Law For The Promotion of Tolerance and The Suppression of Intolerance states that "Tolerance is subject to other reasonable limitations in conformity with human rights law" (European Council on Tolerance and Reconciliation, 2015). In addition, the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance states that "Consistent with respect for human rights, the practice of tolerance does not mean toleration of social injustice or the abandonment or weakening of one's convictions." (UNESCO, 1995). In every society these fundamental human rights differ, but in Lithuania it would be: threats to health, hate crimes, bigotry, and human exploitation.

To quote respondents of my interviews: "Behavior that I do not tolerate and do not like very much is when people mock another person", "I do not tolerate behaviour rather than groups, such as swearing.", "I can tolerate anything that does not offend or harm others. There are limits to tolerance. It must not cause bad effects."

These limitations show that no society can be entirely tolerant. There are a vast amount of practices that, at any given moment, are discriminated against. These views constantly change and are best represented by the legal system because judicial laws are nothing but official intolerance (West, 2014). Reading books is an entirely normal and tolerable action in the USA today. But, as imagined by Ray Bradbury in "Fahrenheit 451", one day there could be a world where reading books is a punishable action and then it would not be tolerated anymore (Bradbury, 2011). Our laws and attitudes can change and with them specific limits of tolerance.

Figure 3.6. Labelled panopticon.

As O'Brien passed the telescreen a thought seemed to strike him. He stopped, turned aside and pressed a switch on the wall. There was a sharp snap. The voice had stopped.

Julia uttered a tiny sound, a sort of squeak of surprise. Even in the midst of his panic, Winston was too much taken aback to be able to hold his tongue.

"You can turn it off!" he said.

"Yes," said O'Brien, "we can turn it off. We have that privilege."

<…>

"Shall I say it, or will you?" he said.

"I will say it," said Winston promptly. "That thing is really turned off?"

"Yes, everything is turned off. We are alone."

George Orwell, "1984" (2013 part II, chapter VIII) [1949]

3.5. Reasons for (in)tolerance

Tolerance, in most cases, is like a nail gun, which as a tool is empty without nails (see chapter "Tolerance dichotomies" in appendix, pages 312-315). Therefore it is essential to discuss these nails – reasons for (in)tolerance. Since there are infinite reasons for (in)tolerance, I will discuss them in a few categories, namely perception of the "ideal image", uncertainty, lack of understanding, and seek for closure.

Perception, or search for purity

Whether a dislike of a type of clothing, disagreement with behaviour, or disgust with sexual orientation, it is based on the perception of one "ideal image" of how society should look (I dislike your clothing because that's not how a Lithuanian should dress). American sociologist Richard Sennet in his book "The Uses of Disorder" argued that human beings tend to "search for purity" (Sennett, 1970). According to him, to avoid mistakes people in their adolescence build up "pure" images of their lives. They keep strengthening this "dream life" with their choices if not challenged. They judge and measure others based on this "pure" image. Individual and collective moral codes, according to which others' actions are measured, tend to be formed based on the perceived "ideal image of the society" (Pinker, 2008).

As French idea-historian Michel Foucault argued, contemporary society lives in a sort of panopticon in which everyone observes others and consequently observes themselves to behave accordingly (Foucault, 1995). Panopticism, therefore, becomes an internal control mechanism through which people measure everyone as well as themselves according to one "ideal image". One of the most famous (and most literal) examples of this are telescreens from "1984" (Orwell, 2013). These are two-way screens, functioning as surveillance tools. Since they are everywhere, people never know when they are being observed, therefore they need to act according to the "ideal image" of Big Brother.

In addition, this can also be called labelling bias, which "refers to expectations that others might develop for a person given a particular label" (Fox & Stinnett, 1996). If stereotypes or metaphors label a person, they are expected to act accordingly (Bannister & Kearns, 2013). Stereotypes or metaphors are essentially measurements against the "pure image". Even perceived threat, one of the strongest influences on intolerance (Verkuyten, 2022), is based on the perception of how one should and should not behave.

My empirical research backs this idea. I noticed that people constantly scan and observe other people. However, as one respondent noted, "People like to observe others, but without them knowing". This paradox of panopticism makes people scan and observe others but simultaneously avoid eye contact at all costs. When the observing subject is moving it is an easy process (like in a shopping mall), yet when the situation is more static, it creates awkward situations of avoidance and discomfort (like in a bus).

This constant observation can be explained by panopticism or discriminatory attitudes, but also by honest curiosity towards human beings, as famous public life observer Jan Gehl argued (2013). Therefore this constant scanning does not mean negative attitudes on its own. One respondent argued that "[I] do not know what the other person's intention is, so I do not judge weather it is tolerant or intolerant behaviour". Another respondent noticed that what makes a difference is the length of the look and reciprocity of the person. "If the look is long and feels like a stare, it creates discomfort. If the observer does not respond to my smile, that fosters an unpleasant feeling."

Figure 3.7. Sketches from field research depicting how people observe others in static and kinetic conditions.

Bus. Static conditions. 2023/02/20

Window

Window

Look

Phone

Bus (plan)

Search for "free space" →

Looking through the windows to avoid eye contact

SHOPS

Look

Walk
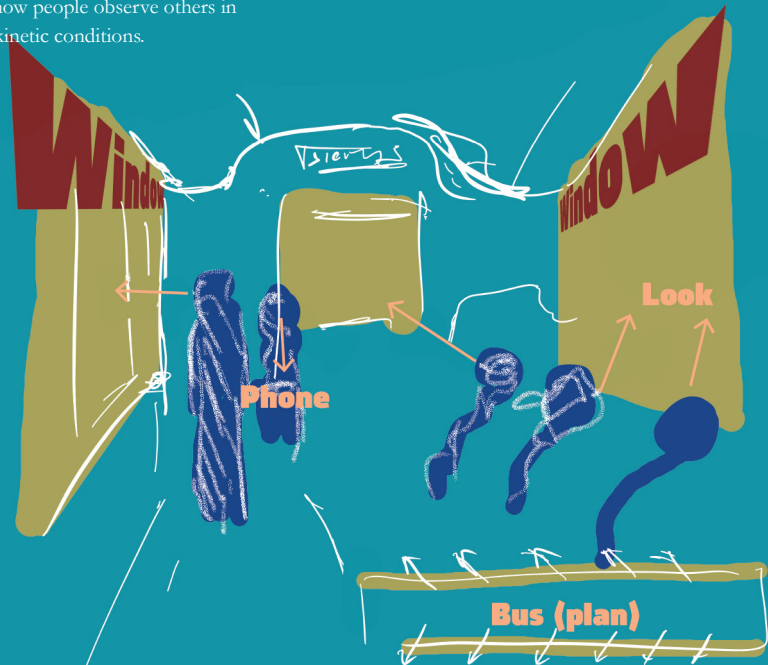
Does not look where one is going

SHOPS

Look

Walk

Looks
at shop
window

Observes
(scans)
passer-by

Looks
away!

Looks
at shop
window

1

2

3

4

1

2

3

4
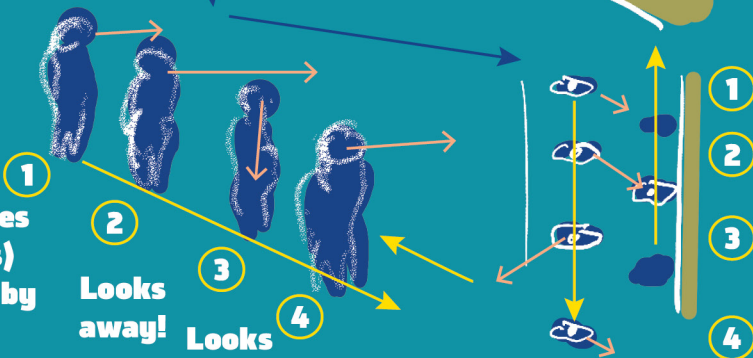
Uncertain identity

Unconsciously or not, people do not only measure other according to how it conforms perceived "ideal image". Evaluating by mere conformity would be too trivial, leading to indifference and an "I do not care" attitude rather than (in)tolerance, which requires a precognitive emotion. The element that affects the outcome of the process is risk. People measure how threatening appearance, behaviour, and beliefs are to perceived "ideal image". For example, recently in Lithuania there was a policy proposal for mutual agreement for sex. The aim is to create more judicial protection for rape victims, which otherwise could be hard to prove. Nevertheless, the debate immediately turned to risks for the status quo of society. The law became marginalized, leading to the slippery slope fallacy (Vorobjovaitė, 2022). This can be called "enemisation" of human rights when it is judged as a threat to the "ideal image".

From there stems an essential aspect of intolerance – the uncertainty of one's identity. When people are sure about who they are, they feel less threatened by others (Verkuyten, 2022). On the other hand, when people feel ambiguous about their beliefs when they feel wronged or see themselves as victims, then they also feel more threatened. Uncertainty creates fanatism and orthodoxy. "A person feels wronged, cannot because of his personality <…> weakness control his outrage, and starts to look for appropriate objects to aggressively spill his dissatisfaction" (Kavolis, 2006, p. 231). This is not only a collective but also an individual trait. According to Richard Sennett, self-respect is an essential element of respect towards others (Sennett, 2003). This highlights a paradox of belief – the more robust the belief, the less fanatic and intolerant a person becomes because they feel less threatened. The strength of the faith leads to a position of safe uncertainty (Mason, 1993) in which flexibility, heterodoxy, and plurality can thrive.

He said he'd studied it closely—and had found a blank, "literally nothing, gentlemen of the jury." Really, he said, I had no soul, there was nothing human about me, not one of those moral qualities which normal men possess had any place in my mentality. "No doubt," he added, "we should not reproach him with this. We cannot blame a man for lacking what it was never in his power to acquire. But in a criminal court the wholly passive ideal of tolerance must give place to a sterner, loftier ideal, that of justice. Especially when this lack of every decent instinct is such as that of the man before you, a menace to society." He proceeded to discuss my conduct toward my mother, repeating what he had said in the course of the hearing.

<…>

"This man has, I repeat, no place in a community whose basic principles he flouts without compunction. Nor, heartless as he is, has he any claim to mercy. I ask you to impose the extreme penalty of the law; and I ask it without a qualm. In the course of a long career, in which it has often been my duty to ask for a capital sentence, never have I felt that painful duty weigh so little on my mind as in the present case. In demanding a verdict of murder without extenuating circumstances, I am following not only the dictates of my conscience and a sacred obligation, but also those of the natural and righteous indignation I feel at the sight of a criminal devoid of the least spark of human feeling."

Albert Camus, "The Stranger", (2012 part two, chapter IV) [1942]

No/weak belief　　　　**Mediocre belief**　　　　**Strong belief**

Indifference

Intolerance　　　　　　**Tolerance**
Rigity　　　　　　　　**Flexibility**
Orthodoxy　　　　　　**Heterodoxy**
Unsafe certainty　　　**Safe uncertainty**

Figure 3.8. Strength of the belief and its relationship to tolerant attitudes.

Lack of understanding

Lack of understanding means that people lack knowledge of other groups. Consequently, they reduce others into stereotypes or simplified groups. People whom I interviewed agreed with this notion. For instance, one respondent remarked that "in Lithuania people tend to simplify [diversity] to one group: black, Muslim, refugee, gay. It comes from lack of knowledge."

In addition, a lack of understanding fosters reluctance to acknowledge the autonomy of others and mutual interdependency (Sennett, 2003). It can also be called provincialism, which "refers to being centred in one's own small world" (Verkuyten et al., 2022). Deprovincialisation, therefore, "allows one to respect, even admire, other peoples and cultures while looking at your own group in a new and more complex way." (ibid). It makes a person more informed, understanding, and strengthens their identity. On the other hand, provincialism makes the perceived "ideal image" more rigid and weaker It generates thinking that the person's worldview is the only correct one, creating indifference towards other groups and, counter-intuitively, feeling more threatened by it.

Lack of understanding comes from the lack of encounters. Interviewees noted, that "the most important is to facilitate encounter", and "what changes [attitudes] the most is a personal experience". People can hear primary information and stories through personal contact instead of relying on secondary sources, such as media. For example, in Lithuania those, who are intolerant towards migrants, are the ones who have no contact with them and get most of their information from the mass media (Blažytė, 2022) (see more in the chapter "Passivity", pages 106-107). In this way, they simplify the groups and form stereotypes. In addition, encounters shatter stigmas. "People fear what they haven't encountered, what they don't interact with every day, what they don't see on their way to work" (Kiršaitė & Drigotas, 2023).

and you always fear what you don't understand

Figure 3.9. Snapshot from the movie "Batman Begins" (Nolan, 2005).
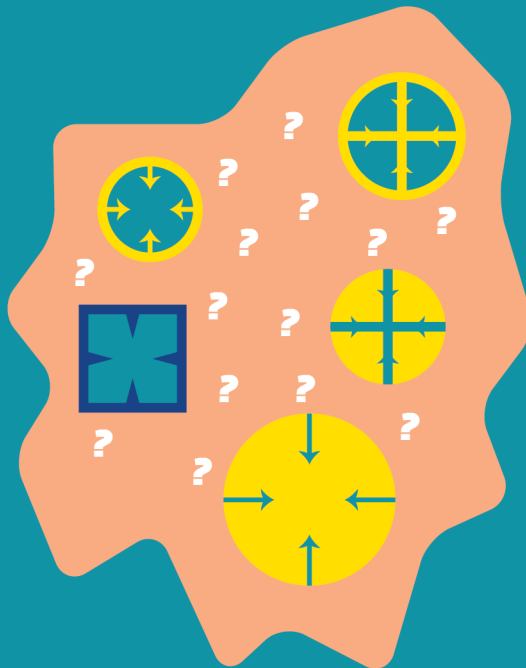
Figure 3.10. Narrow, divided individual bubbles with no encounters.
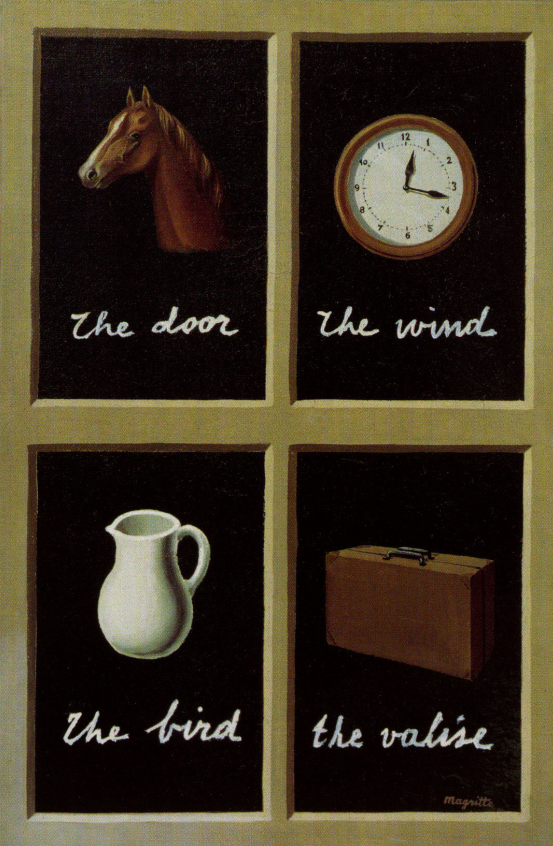
Figure 3.11. René Magritte, " La Clef des songes (The Interpretation of Dreams)", 1935. Source: (MoMA, n.d.).
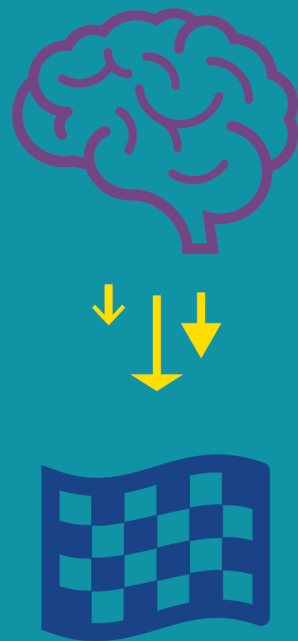
Figure 3.12. Seek for closure.

Figure 3.13. Snapshots from the movie "Raiders of the Lost Ark" (Spielberg, 1981).

Community

Existing social norms

Community

Tolerant social norms

Existing social norms

Seek for closure

Malgorzata Kossowska, Ewa Szumowska, and Paulina Szwed in their seminal book "The Psychology of Tolerance in Times of Uncertainty" (2020) describe the influence that seek for closure has towards intolerant attitudes. They argue, that the dichotomy of closed/open-mindedness "distinguishes people open to information and new ideas, prepared to change their views, from people who are rigidly attached to their convictions and resistant to the unknown <…> Closed-mindedness is a threat to tolerance and open democracy." (ibid, pages 2-3).

According to the authors, open-mindedness is doubting own views, being receptive to new information and reassessing beliefs constantly (for an extended discussion on the importance of the doubt, see "The benefit of tolerance" in Appendix, pages 318-319). When asked what changed their attitudes, one interviewee answered "I do not see many ruptures in my beliefs, probably because I had no set attitudes. On the opposite, I had the desire and curiosity to get to know people." This is a case of open-mindedness.

Another vital aspect presented in this book is uncertainty. It is a situation inconsistent with the pre-encounter system of beliefs, therefore threatening perceptual habituations, the feeling of meaning, the sense of control, essential values, and/or social identity (ibid, page 26). Tolerance for these situations is associated with a low need for closure. People seeking closure tend to use coping mechanisms which leads to discrimination. For example, they use group simplifications such as stereotypes.

Cuban American academic José Esteban Muñoz in his queer theory argued that it is imperative to "defamiliarise" people through "disidentificatory performances" (Popa, 2022). However, destroying tools of social control such as rules or norms could lead people seeking closure to more intolerant behaviour in times of uncertainty. Providing situations with "clues that "open" strategies are the most effective in achieving certainty" (Kossowska et al., 2020, p. 140) leads people to more tolerant outcomes. Therefore instead of "defamiliarizing" we should swap existing norms and rules for more tolerant ones.

That is why comity is so essential to foster tolerant attitudes. The community provides people with "clues" for "open" strategies and, therefore, more tolerant attitudes. Furthermore, the community allows people to get to know others better due to the faster spread of information and more nuanced and inclusive group attitudes (Kiršaitė & Drigotas, 2023). As one respondent argued, "Where is an active community, people become more mindful". In addition, comity is the direct opposite of immunization, which significantly reduces encounters and knowledge sharing between people (Esposito, 2013; Esposito & Campbell, 2006).

3.6. Process of tolerance

As discussed before, tolerance is not mere indifference. It involves attention in the form of disagreement or disapproval with observed behaviour, practice, or appearance. Therefore it is a process that spans from the moment of contact with diversity to rejection or acceptance of the said practice. Social psychologist Maykel Verkuyten argues that prioritisation is always involved (2022, pp. 43–44). After the initial contact, a person weighs whether to tolerate or not based on "general principles" and "specific values", which essentially are preconditioned social norms. If reasons to tolerate are prioritised over reasons not to, acceptance wins (ibid).

However, I would argue that there are more contextual elements involved. First, spatial context matters. It is one thing to meet a "threatening" person alone in the dark street than with friends on a sunny afternoon. Moreover, the way another individual behaves is also important. For example, if a stranger smiles or says hello pleasantly, it is much more likely that reasons to tolerate will be prioritised (Zeeb & Joffe, 2021). I call this mutual "dance" between two subjects the ritual of tolerance. Furthermore, tolerance is a cognitive conflict where a person neglects his initial disagreement. Hence some individual elements influence tolerance choices. According to Richard Sennett, those are curiosity and risk-taking (Sennett, 2003).

Finally, it is essential to mention the difference between direct and indirect contact. There are two types of thinking – automatic (unconscious, uncontrolled) and reflective (conscious, controlled) (Thaler & Sunstein, 2009) (Richard Sennett described them as tacit and explicit knowledge (Sennett, 2003)). The usage of these two types depends on the strength of the contact. When the most passive contact with objection happens, the decision of whether to tolerate or not is made by an automatic system. An example would be bumping into a stranger on a street corner. Then the gut feeling would make a choice. In the case of active contact, the reflective system would try to override the automatic system. Talking with a friend over dinner about another person, one would use more rational and thoughtful arguments rather than gut instinct. This distinction is important because to have a long-lasting effect, objection needs to move from automatic to reflective systems and back again. The more active the encounter, the more it will have an impact.
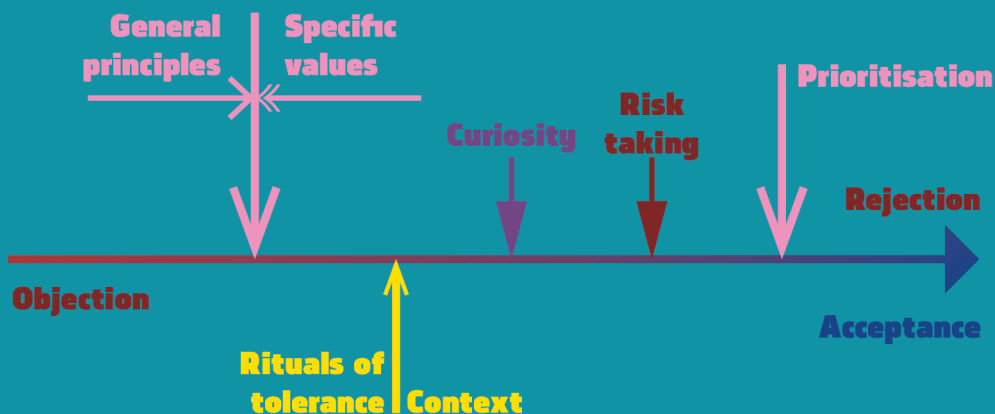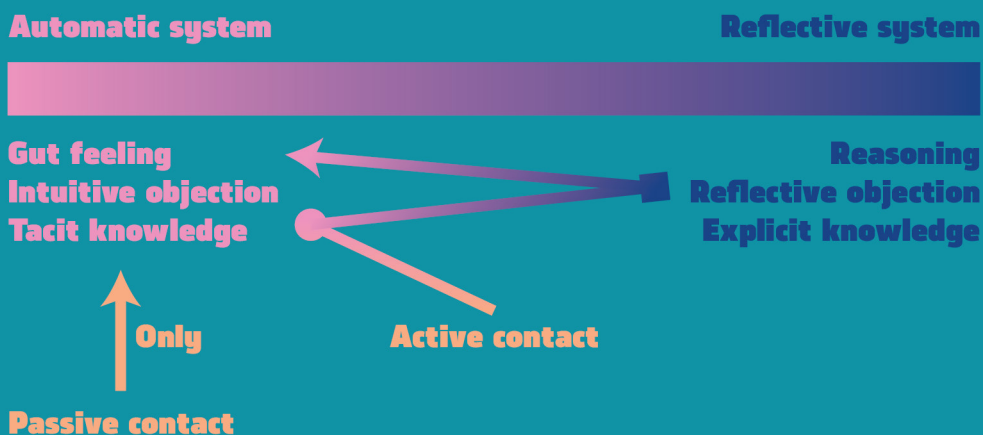
Figure 3.14. Process of tolerance.

Figure 3.15. Cognitive systems and their relationship to types of contact.

Process of understanding

Increased understanding makes it easier to tolerate. As respondents stated, "It is easy to demonise something that is far. Much harder to demonise something that is in front of you", "at first I thought that my moral compass is correct, based on facts and reality. But later I recognised that others have valid moral compasses <…> it is more related to understanding people. Sometimes you do now know people's morality, but already consider them friends, and consequently their moral compass becomes valid for you. You become tolerant towards it."

Therefore it is vital to describe the process of understanding. It is a dynamic development that gradually increases the complexity of knowledge about a specific group. "Openess in this sense means readiness to select more complex, difficult, and effortful cognitive activity – seeking new information, posing new hypotheses, complex mode for verifying them, taking care to meet the standards given in instructions, forming an impression about others based not on stereotypes but rather on non-stereotypical information received in "real time". (Kossowska et al., 2020, p. 141). It starts with people seeing only differences, according to which they build stereotypes and stigmas. More nuanced and complex information is being gathered through encounters, which changes prior convictions. One respondent stated, "At first I believed that only impoverished, poorly-looking people steal, but later I understood that it is much more complex and clothing does not represent who steals. Only behaviour can."

Finally, people start noticing not only differences but also similarities. Curiosity towards diverse cultures increases, and people start investigating reasons for differences and comparing backgrounds positively. One interviewee stressed that "people find differences, and at the same time [they find] comity <…> paradox: we are different, but at the same time I understand you." This complex system of learning is what makes people tolerant. In other words, 50 shades of understanding are what matter and not dichotomy similar/different.

Now I'm not looking for absolution
Forgiveness for the things I do
But before you come to any conclusions
Try walking in my shoes
Try walking in my shoes

You'll stumble in my footsteps
Keep the same appointments I kept
If you try walking in my shoes
If you try walking in my shoes

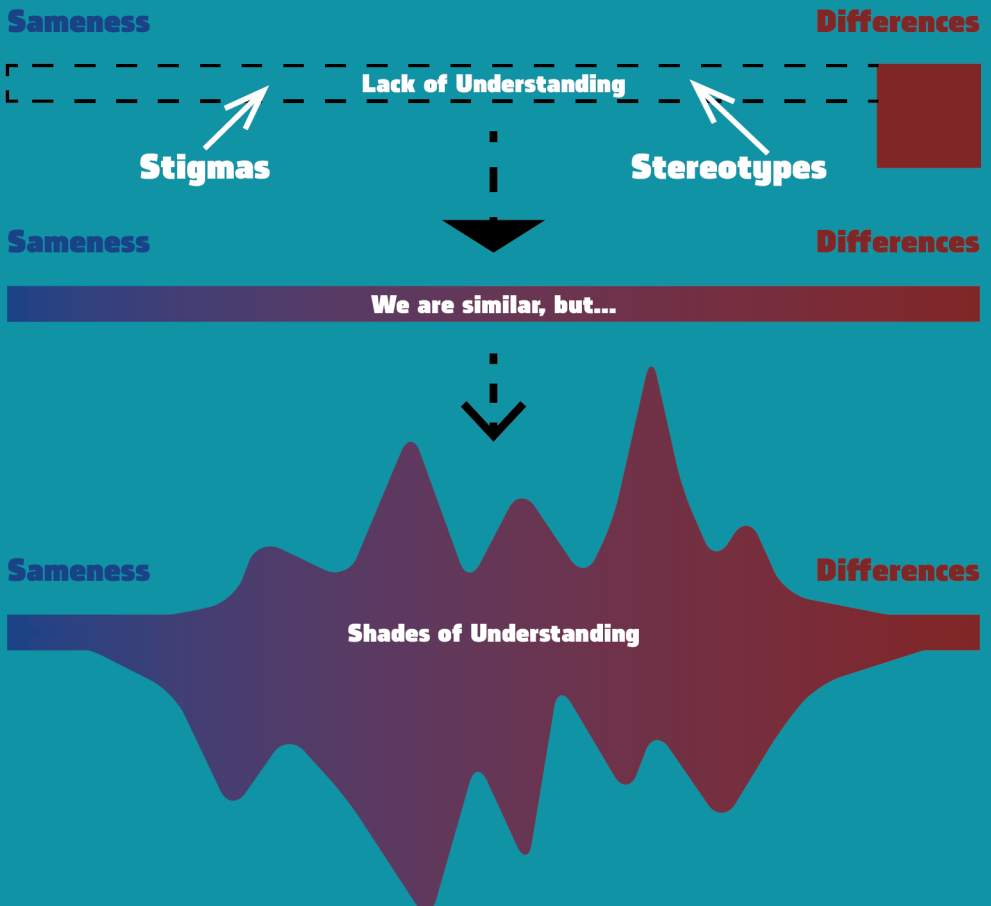**Depeche Mode, "Walking in My Shoes", (1993)**

Figure 3.16. Process of understanding.

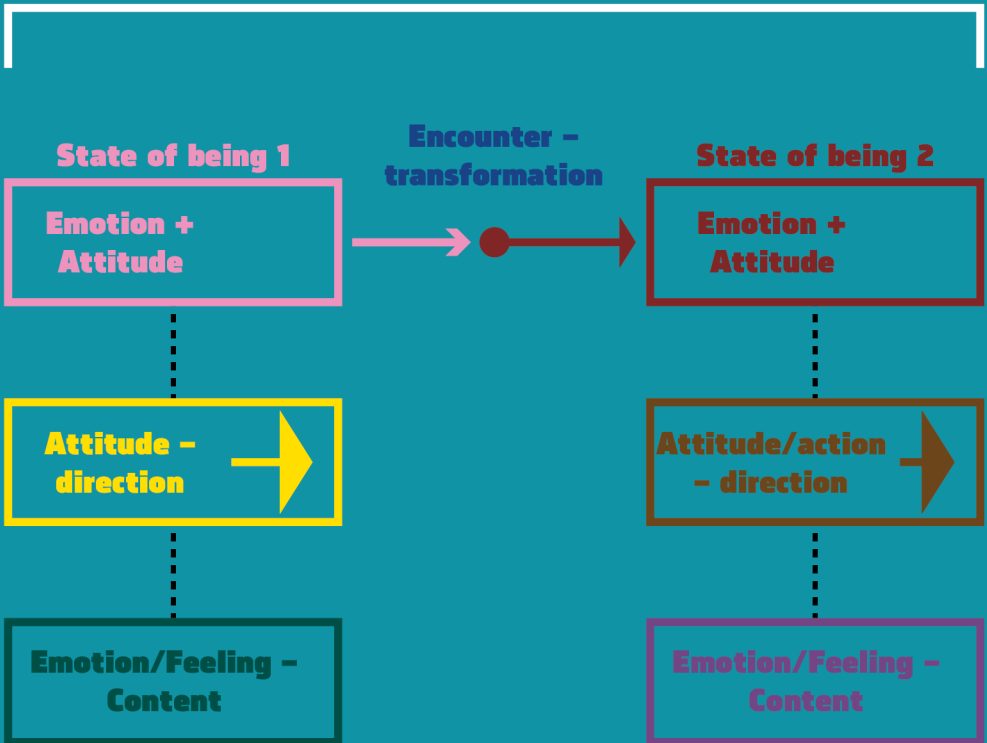Figure 3.17. Relationship between emotion, feeling, attitude, encounter, and affect.

3.7. Tolerance – is it emotion, feeling, attitude, or affect?

One question that disturbed me from the beginning of this research was what type of biological force is tolerance. Can it be considered an emotion, feeling, or rather attitude? These terms felt too narrow to describe such a complex concept as tolerance. Moreover, the current definition of tolerance received many critiques (see Appendix pages 316-317). And yet this definition was never stable, as shown by historical analysis of the concept (see Appendix, pages 298-311). It constantly changes from the beginning of internal Stoic tolerantia to active Mill's tolerance. Therefore, in this chapter, I will propose a new definition of tolerance based on affect and non-representational theories.

Dictionaries define emotion as "a strong feeling such as love or anger, or strong feelings in general" (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.-b) and "a conscious mental reaction (such as anger or fear) subjectively experienced as strong feeling usually directed toward a specific object and typically accompanied by physiological and behavioral changes in the body" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.-c). At the same time feeling is "emotion" (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.-c), and "an emotional state or reaction' or "often unreasoned opinion or belief" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.-d). Therefore it is evident that both emotions and feelings are heavily associated, almost synonymous. Yet emotion can be regarded as something internal, prehuman and precognitive, that becomes conscious when is experienced by more representable feeling.

Both of these terms represent only a singular state of being (Thrift, 2008), which does not exert an exterior force and which has a driving force (for example, a subject) (Kıvılcım Sözgen, 2022). On the other hand, tolerance involves a transformation from internal emotion or feeling (dislike or disgust) becomes an external force (positive action or inaction) through encounter. In this line of thought, tolerance is a group of emotions and/or feelings that constantly change, rather than just one singular item.

Attitude can be defined as "a feeling or opinion about something or someone, or a way of behaving that is caused by this" (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.-a), "a mental position with regard to a fact or state" or "a feeling or emotion toward a fact or state" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.-b). Therefore attitude is an empty concept in itself, providing a sense of direction and requiring other emotions or feelings to give it force. Differently from attitude, tolerance has positive, emotional connotations on its own. Yet, even if it has no content, attitude combined with emotion or feeling can be regarded as an internal, pre-encounter vector directed towards a specific object. After all, there is a tendency to refer to "tolerant attitudes" or "positive attitudes" (see for example (Buchanan et al., 2004). Therefore it is still an important term that I will use to describe a pre-encounter state of being of tolerance.

Therefore I would argue that tolerance covers emotion, feeling, and attitude, but it is not only this. The concept that can be regarded as tolerance is affect. One of the dictionary definitions of affect is "a set of observable manifestations of an experienced emotion: the facial expressions, gestures, postures, vocal intonations, etc., that typically accompany an emotion" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.-a). The word "a set" and "manifestations of an experienced emotion" is important for tolerance, which refers to plurality and expressive force of tolerance. However, scholars of affect theory argue that there is much more to it.

It is important to stress that there are multiple definitions of affect. Nigel Thrift, in his book "Non-representational Theory: Space, Politics, Affect", described 4 lines of thoughts that discuss affect, which differ in what is considered a catalyst in the process of affect: one based on embodied knowledge, one based on positive and negative affects, one based on interactions and relationships (Spinoza and Deleuze), and neo-Darwinian one based on physiological change (Thrift, 2008; chapter 8). Since the critical element of tolerance is an encounter, I argue that the Spinozan-Deleuzian theory of affect is the most applicable to the concept of tolerance.

In Spinozan-Deleuzian reasoning, affect and encounters are part of the "constantly becoming world", where the latter has a "generative outcome" (Wells et al., 2020). It s a "property of the active outcome of an encounter", which "takes the form of an increase or decrease in the ability of the body and the mind alike to act" (Thrift, 2008; chapter 8). In this sense, tolerance as affect is never stable, involving multiple affects constantly being transformed, through encounter, from one into another. It "is an autonomous and self-generating entity that is primarily thought of as processes of circulation, flow, or transference. It is that which arises through a relational encounter; it is event-based and action-based." (Kıvılcım Sözgen, 2022). Affects can be internal, precognitive, preconscious, and pre-human, or expressed externally, becoming conscious and felt. I argue that in the case of tolerance, the former is a pre-contact state of being (emotion, feeling, attitude), while the latter is a post-contact, transformed state of being, the expressiveness of which depends on the strenght of the encounter. Moreover, this means that both biological (internal) and social (external) shapes tolerance as affect.

Based on this argumentation, I believe that the initial definition of tolerance that I combined at the beginning of the research is insufficient in contemporary times. It is static and linear, therefore limiting. It was critiqued by multiple authors, such as Marcuse, Peluritis, and Brown (see "Appendix", pages 316-317). Therefore, I propose a new definition of tolerance based on kinetic circulation, transformation, and relationships.

Initial definition

1. There needs to be diversity.
2. There needs to be disagreement, dislike or disgust with that specific diversity.
3. Despite disagreement, dislike or disgust one should choose positive inaction or action towards diversity.

Proposed new definition

Tolerance is an affective process through which a socially or biologically constructed non–representational and unconscious state of being is constructed, through an encounter with diversity, to another reactive, unstable, conscious, and representational state of being, which in turn affects social and biological preconditions. Both states of being determine whether it can be called tolerance or intolerance.

Figure 3.18. Proposed new definition of tolerance as an affect.

3.8. Conclusion: the theoretical framework of tolerance

In the middle of the research, I proposed an initial framework of tolerance that included elements of diversity, "Deep story" large and small scale contexts, the process of tolerance, and the perceived "ideal image of the society". (see Appendix, page 320-331). However, in light of new empirical and theoretical evidence, I reassessed it and proposed a new theoretical framework of tolerance, which I used to analyse site conditions for tolerance and understand what forces affect tolerant attitudes.

My proposed theoretical framework of tolerance depicts a moment of the transformation process from one affect (attitudes towards difference) to another (expression) through encounter. Attitudes in this case are precognitive, preconscious emotions and non-representational feelings, meaning they can be unknown even to the subject of them (Thrift, 2008). It is affected by the "deep story" of the society – the socio-cultural constructed conditions for tolerance – and the "perceived ideal image of the society" according to which people measure others. Both of these aspects are representational – they can be described and represented through research. Expression can be a passive stare, avoidance, or active support. Therefore it is a representational outcome of the process of tolerance, the power of which depends on the strength of the attitudes and contact.

An essential element of this framework are forces that affect people's attitudes. They are influenced by expressive affect, and shape attitudes as well as "deep story" and perceived "ideal image". They are the critical element to understand how planning and design could foster more tolerant attitudes. Moreover, tolerance happens in the spatial environment. Not only do relationships form and encounters occur in space, but space itself influences constituting parts of this framework. "Underlying this rethinking of affect is the affirmation that more exists within space than the material forms and meanings attributed to them." (Wells et al., 2020).
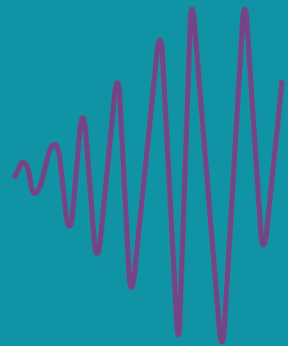
Figure 3.19. The theoretical Framework of Tolerance.

To sum up, this theoretical framework sheds light on what elements need to be analysed to foster more tolerant attitudes and their relationships. It is important to study the socio-cultural and spatial "deep story" of the society, the perceived "ideal image", and the change in attitudes, through which it would be possible to uncover forces affecting the change. In the subsequent chapters I will present how I used this framework to analyse Kaunas, Lithuania.
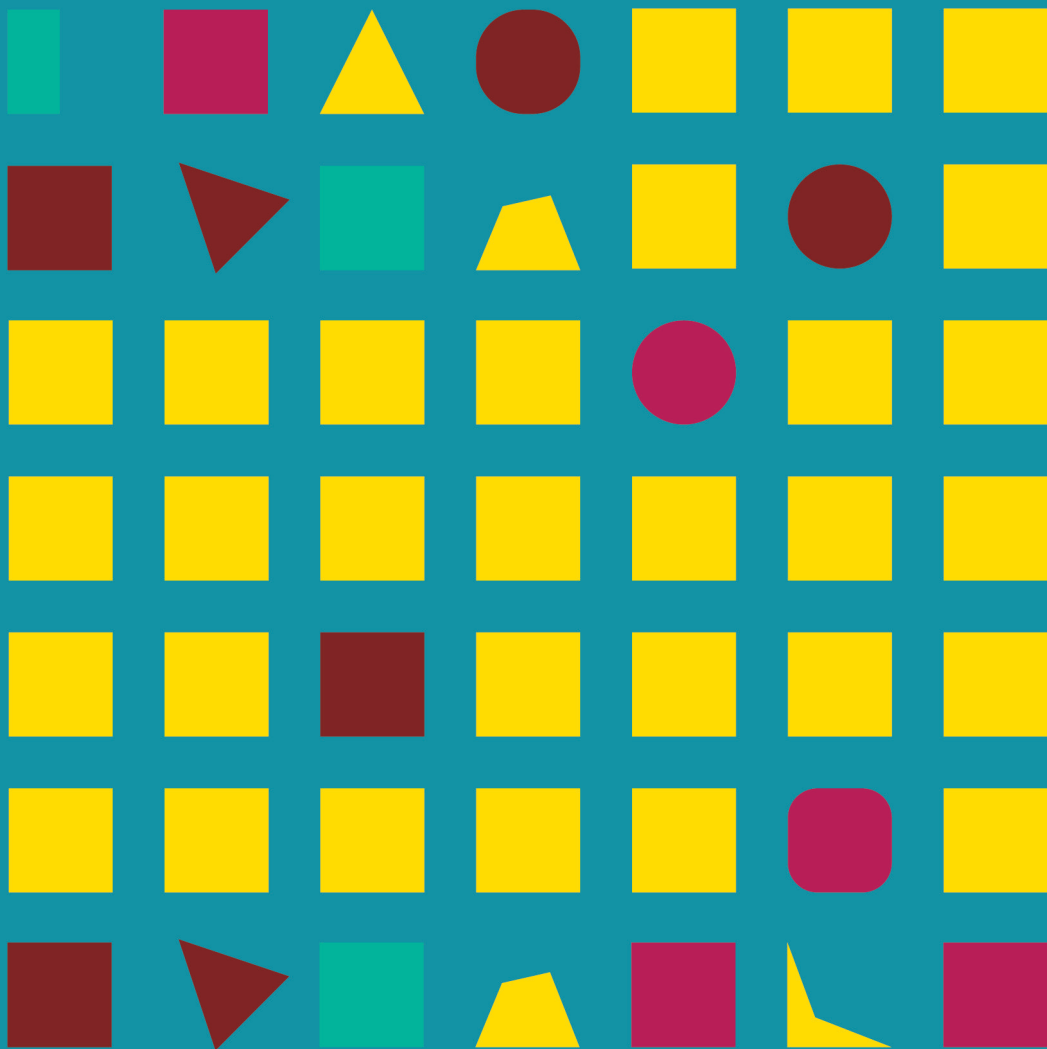
4. KAUNAS

TOLERANT HISTORY IS NOT ENOUGH

4.1. Introduction

In this section, I will show how I used the framework of tolerance to analyse Kaunas. I will describe Lithuania's socio-cultural environment, the Kaunas Region's socio-spatial background, and the governance structure. This information constitutes a "deep story" – one of the main elements affecting people's attitudes. At the end of the chapter, I will present another critical element - the perceived "image of conventional society".

4.2. The socio-cultural context of Lithuania

Historical traumas...

Occupation and repression trauma

On June 15th of 1940 soviet army walked into Lithuania. That was the beginning of almost 50 years of occupation. Two soviet and one nazi occupations left a deep mark on Lithuanian society (Gailienė, 2021). It affected the country from multiple angles. Large-scale repressions and deportations in the first decades destroyed the Lithuanian cultural and academic community, damaging the essence of the country. It is counted that around 1/3 of the population was killed, deported, or gone during this period. It strengthened the collective fear of society. Everyone was afraid that any night soldiers could come.

After stalin died in 1953, active repressions and deportations were scaled down, yet constant fear never left. Just like in the book "1984" by George Orwell, there was a collective mistrust because you never knew who was secretly working for KGB. Tolerance as a concept only existed in the private sphere because publicly everybody was equal and uniform (Klumbys, 2008). The family unit was damaged since authoritarian power was afraid of private affairs. Everybody had to be publicly visible (Gailienė, 2021). Due to constant anxiety, the population "lost a battle with alcoholism" (ibid, page 182.). The rate of suicides skyrocketed. Even today Lithuania is one of the leading countries in the world based on suicide (Higienos Instituto Psichikos Sveikatos Centras, 2022) and alcoholism statistics. This historical trauma resulted in a breaking down of cultural continuity and societal identity, creating deep uncertainties in the community.
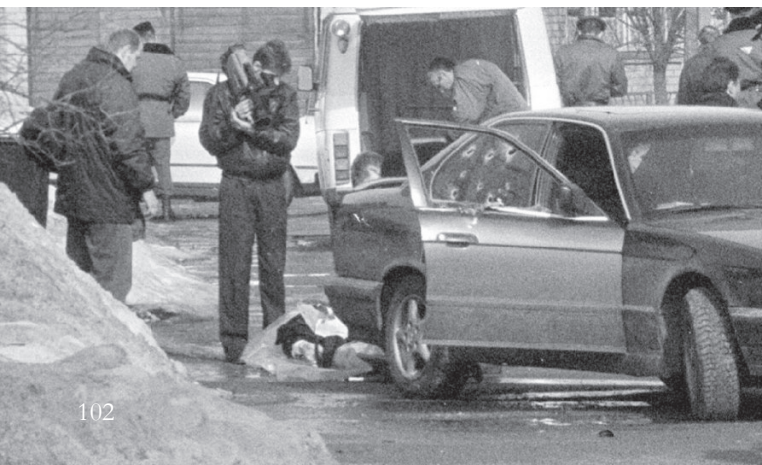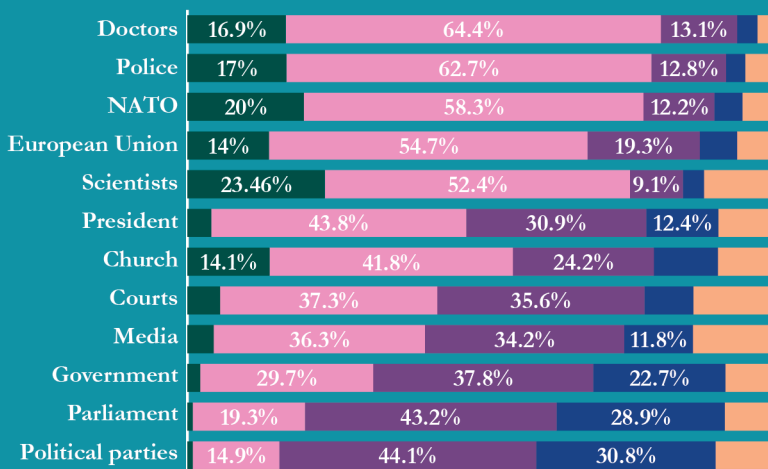

Figure 4.1. Representation of the "wild nineties". Murder of the millionaire Sigitas Čiapas in Kaunas, 1996. (Dargis, 2014).

Figure 4.2. Suicides rates in europe (Higienos Instituto Psichikos Sveikatos Centras, 2022).

Trust of the Lithuanian population in institutions, percent, 2022


Institution	Highly trust	Trust	Do not trust	Highly do not trust	N/N
Doctors	16.9%	64.4%	13.1%		
Police	17%	62.7%	12.8%		
NATO	20%	58.3%	12.2%		
European Union	14%	54.7%	19.3%		
Scientists	23.46%	52.4%	9.1%		
President	43.8%		30.9%	12.4%	
Church	14.1%	41.8%	24.2%		
Courts		37.3%	35.6%		
Media		36.3%	34.2%	11.8%	
Government		29.7%	37.8%	22.7%	
Parliament	19.3%	43.2%	28.9%		
Political parties	14.9%	44.1%	30.8%		

Highly trust ■ **Trust** ● **Do not trust** ▲ **Highly do not trust** ⬟ **N/N** ★

Figure 4.3. Trust in institutions. (Jastramskis, 2022a)

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Transition trauma

After regaining independence on 1990 March 11, Lithuania embarked on a drastic transition. It involved not only the progression from authoritarianism to liberal democracy but also the transformation from a planned to a market economy. This transition produced many winners and losers, ending up with vast inequality. Still today there is a large number of people feeling wronged. Their perception to be victims of the transition fosters soviet nostalgia (Ramonaitė, 2022). This leads to mistrust of public authorities and institutions. There is also a compelling argument that this wide mistrust leads to the belief of conspiracy theories (ibid) as a search for simple answers to complex issues. In addition, in Lithuania there is a lack of public recognition of these traumas and their impact (Gailienė, 2015, 2021). It is a result of the soviet era when hiding interior anxieties was considered a norm and from the tendency of national institutions to avoid and marginalise people who feel wronged.

Wild neoliberalism

During the transition period came an era that could be called the "wild nineties". It was a period when mass economical change and privatisation happened. People were suddenly introduced to a market economy and granted private property without knowing how to operate it. It proved to be a fertile ground for wild neoliberalism to flourish. Some people used this era to gain vast wealth, while others turned to organised crime. The latter is a primarily solved issue today, the after-effects are still widely felt (Miškinis, 2018). Examples of this are individualism, immunisation (Esposito & Campbell, 2006), and the fact that Lithuanians have the largest perceived fear in Europe while having a comparably low amount of attacks.
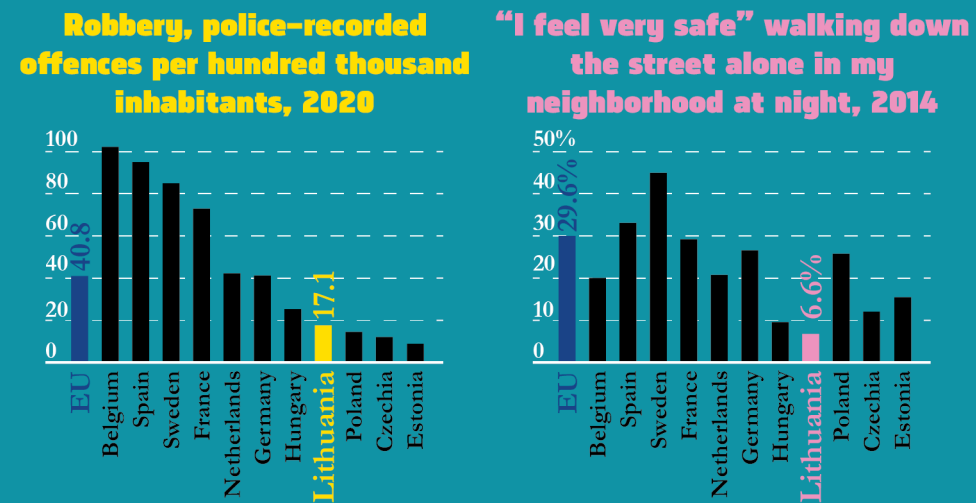
Figure 4.4. Crime (left) (Eurostat, 2022) and perceived fear (right) statistics (Miškinis, 2018).

Geopolitics today

Even after the independence, geopolitical anxiety and uncertainty never left. It took three years for the last soviet (then russian) troops to leave the country, and russia, chose putin instead of democracy. Russian war in Ukraine, which started in 2014 and reached its most active phase in 2022 February 24th, is just a pinnacle of the effects of such a geopolitical neighbour. There are multiple interior influences, such as the hiring of people to spread intolerant messages that can result in riots (LRT Tyrimų Skyrius, 2021).

...still affects us today

Mistrust

As a consequence of historical traumas, there is broad mistrust in society. It is not only highlighted by disbelief in public institutions but also in the everyday life of the citizens (Jastramskis, 2022a, 2023). "I can do bad things because otherwise, somebody else will do it to me" is an underlying state of the population. For example, a few respondents stated, there is a general tolerance for thefts from supermarkets, because "they believe they are not stealing from people, but from "oligarchs". This results in public passivity both in socio-cultural and spatial processes. Participation in elections and public life is low because "what's the point". This general mistrust also pushes people to authoritarianism, seeking for "strong hand" person to fix issues for them. And without trust fostering the brave tolerant city cannot be expected.

Uncertainty

Damaged cultural, intellectual, and historical continuity combined with geopolitical disputes and mistrust breaks down public identity. This leads to uncertainty and, consequently, to rigid and intolerant attitudes. People feel wronged by the transformation and unacknowledged historical traumas, leading them to fanatism (Kavolis, 2006). It also pushes society to cling to tangible marks of national identity. Behaviour, dress codes, the colour of skin, religion, birthplace, and language becomes the strong identifier of "us" and "them" (Šutinienė, 2008). For instance, a few respondents noted that "Lithuanians really appreciate when you use Lithuanian words speaking with them".

Polarisation

After independence, polarisation covered the country. Not only were common goals less present, but historical traumas and new affluence created a conflictual environment. These conflicts often become heavily intolerant (Donskis, 2008). There is no feeling of common direction and mutuality, therefore fostering intolerance (Kavolis, 2006). Argumentation becomes passive and has no long-lasting effect. Therefore while there is contact, it is not the type that benefits tolerance.

Passivity

Historical traumas and from them resulting mistrust, uncertainty, and polarisation foster passivity. When people mistrust each other and institutions, they do not see the benefit of engagement. Fanatism and polarisation build dichotomies, which are hard to overcome in everyday life, consequently fostering passivity further. One respondent noted: "Rush hour on the bus, everyone on their phones or headphones. Complete silence. Lithuanians are not noisy. Few non-Lithuanians are enough to make it [bus] comparatively noisy". This robust passivity leads to a lack of active encounters between diverse groups, which makes Lithuanians get to know others from mass media or other secondary sources. This dramatically reduces tolerant attitudes toward those groups.

Nevertheless, this does not mean that Lithuanians are entirely passive. People can become involved and even hyper-engaged when there is a strong push. For example, public debate explodes regarding erecting new civic monuments (Bakaitė, 2023; Sabaliauskaitė, 2023). Therefore the public sphere constantly transforms from zero to extreme engagement (Thrift, 2008). This is also visible in everyday life: Lithuanians become involved, friendly, and attached when somebody else initiates the encounter. As a few interviewees stated, "Lithuanians are not interested in me <…> they are colder <…> but if you talk with them, they become friendlier", "They [Lithuanians] do not care, but they help me if I ask." Hence it is vital to foster forces for active encounters to overcome passivity.

Traffic light. 2023/02/21

Bus stop. 2023/02/21

Large distances while waiting

Figure 4.5. Drawings from the fieldwork depicting passivity of Lithuanians.

Against a background of a general, if differential, loss of belief in formal modes of efficacy, and especially political engagement, Western cultures are becoming increasingly prone to brief moments of engagement tied to the affective texture of particular events shaped by a series of political inventions made in the last 40 years or so. Most of the time Western democratic cultures tend to be disengaged but they can be 'switched on' by particular issues with high affective resonance. Thus a growth in disengagement and detachment <...> is paralleled by moments of high engagement and attachment. Part of the reason for this change in the affective time structure is, I hypothesize, the growth of anxious, obsessive and compulsive, behaviours, with interesting consequences of various kinds for politics and the political. Even though notoriously difficult to define and ask questions about, all the available surveys show that these behaviours are growing apace, filling up more and more of the Western psychic space...

Nigel Thrift, "Non–Representational Theory: Space, Politics, Affect", (2008; Chapter 10)

I know these groups from mass media

Group	%
Migrants who arrived to Lithuania illegally	65.2%
Non-EU citizens, who asked for an asylum in Lithuania	59.4%
Non-EU citizens who received asylym in Lithuania	58.9%
Migrants who have their business in Lithuania	53.4%
Migrants who study in Lithuania	50.2%
Migrants who have high-qualification job	49.3%
War refugees from Ukraine	47.3%
Migrants, who came to Lithuania to their family members	41.5%

Figure 4.6. Answers to survey questioning from where people receive information about others (Blažytė, 2022).

She has already entered the settlement itself. She walked at each house, turning her head to the left, then to the right. She didn't know that house, she didn't know who lived in it. The people of her age, with whom she lived for so many years in the same village, at the same work, were almost gone. She only knew well her grandson's house, Onele's house, the post office and the shop. All other houses were foreign to her, the same, uncomfortable and unpleasant. Especially those that have started and not yet finished building, without doors, without windows. Or piles of bricks, clay, sand, concrete mixers, strewn dirty boards, new foundation stones splattered with grit, broken slate sheets, all kinds of junk, disorder and commotion. She imagined how much work, trouble, money, and sweat people will put in here until they sort themselves out more or less, settle down, dig up those piles of clay, pave the paths with sidewalk tiles, bring dozens of cars of black soil and peat from somewhere, plant a lawn under the windows, install a few rose bushes in the middle, some unseen tree or bush, they will weld a gate with electricity from thick iron wires, paint it green, blue, yellow, even steal begonias and rushes from other people's graves to beautify and decorate their homestead, that they will turn a parbogia into the biggest stone of the fields in one place or another, - and still, after a few years, you will stand in front of it, confused and not knowing: is this the house of the person you were looking for, or his neighbour?

**Romualdas Granauskas, "Gyvenimas po Klevu [Life under the Maple Tree]",
⟨2001, p. 79⟩ [1988]**

4 km   **4 km**

14th century – 1847   **1847 – 1918**   **1918 –**

4.3. The socio–spatial environment of the Kaunas district

Neo–agrarianism

Lithuania for a long time was an agrarian country. Before the independence of 1918, only a tiny fraction of Lithuanians lived in cities. Nevertheless, during the interwar period Kaunas, at that time the temporary capital of Lithuania, heavily expanded, reaching 150 thousand inhabitants (in Lithuania overall urban population reached 23%) (Davoliūtė, 2013). In more than twenty years Kaunas became in all senses European City, with leading modernist style architecture. While urban culture was still considered strange and foreign (Račiūnaitė, 2003; Vitkauskaitė, 2019), it was partly becoming intrinsic to Kaunas citizens. The soviet and nazi occupations wiped out all this cultural tradition. Most urban inhabitants were considered potential enemies and were deported to concentration camps or GULAG.

After the war, the urban population in Lithuania again fell to a small fraction and "agrarianism" was again prominent. But soon oppressions were changed by soviet modernization – collectivization, urbanization, and industrialization (Vitkauskaitė, 2019). Many people were stripped of their agricultural lands and forced to move either into collective farming villages or expanding cities, in which they were inhibited into fastly built post-war housing estates. It broke pagan-like love for nature and replaced with lost identity and uncertainty.

This historical trauma of rapid urbanization is still evident today. Morphologically it is represented by the monofunctional division of cities and monocentrism. Socially it is still visible in societal attitudes towards cities. There is a general anxiety in the urban population (Donskis, 1997), best represented by the question "so where are we going away this weekend?". Moreover, it causes urban life passivity and increased perception of fear. This type of attitude I call neo-agrarianism – where people are lost between urban and agrarian states.

4 km   **4 km**   **4 km**

1940   **1940 – 1990**   **1990 – today**
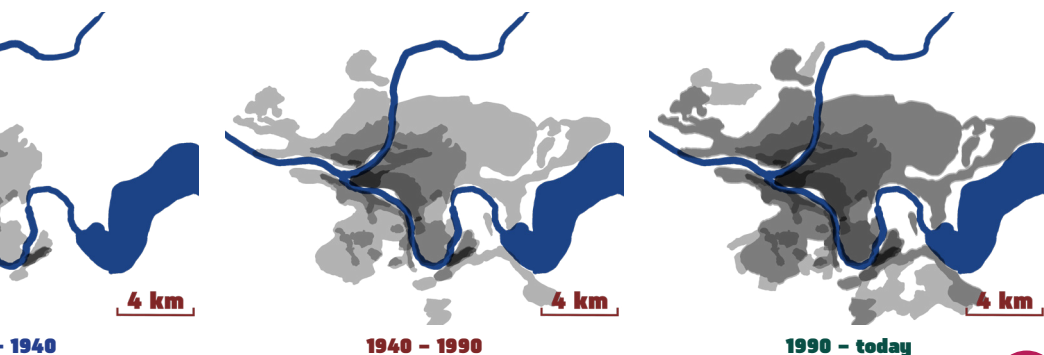
Figure 4.7. Historical development of Kaunas

Monocentrism

Monocentrism is a morphological and social state of Kaunas today and Lithuania in general. Nationally, it is visible by accelerated growth of capital at the expense of population in regions. In Kaunas district, it is represented by one intense centre. Historical Oldtown and Newtown form a clear city core. Two rapid moments of urbanisation (during the interwar and soviet eras) multiplied the size of the city. Yet to inhibit the rapidly growing population, Kaunas was expanded mainly by monofunctional housing territories.

The city centre nowadays is packed with spaces dedicated to culture and public activities, while it only houses around 5% of inhabitants. On the other hand, areas surrounding the city centre host many citizens but have no public local centres except those dedicated to consumerism. Moreover, the demographics of these territories are ageing rapidly and today inhibit the majority of retired citizens. At the same time, young families choose to either live in the city centre (if they can afford it) or move out to the suburbs.

This is not only a morphological and functional issue but also a social one. Uncertain identity, which results from historical traumas, fosters the need for collective recognition. This "victim" syndrome requires tangible status symbols that could be showcased to the population at large. The city centre can efficiently serve this purpose, making it an easy way towards recognition. Fostering better quality in post-war housing estates zones are not considered a priority. Consequently, all the investments and activities almost unconsciously are concentrated in the city centre. One respondent even called in "centre sickness". There housing prices are skyrocketing, allowing only high-earning citizens to buy or rent accommodation. The majority of people without jobs, therefore, are concentrated in post-war soviet housing estates.
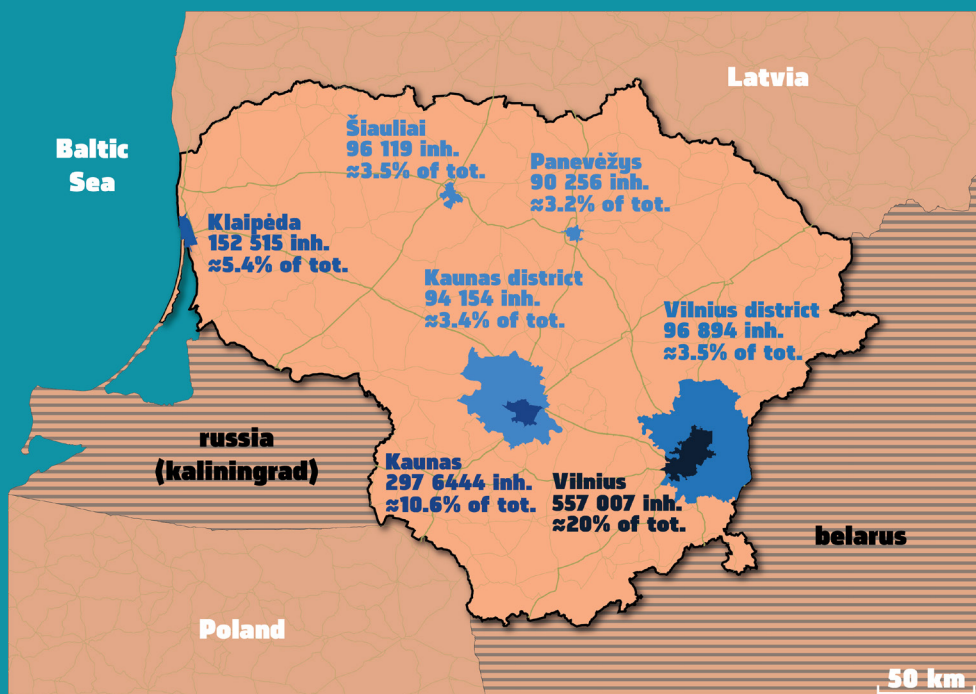
Figure 4.8. Map depicting citizens distribution over major cities in Lithuania.
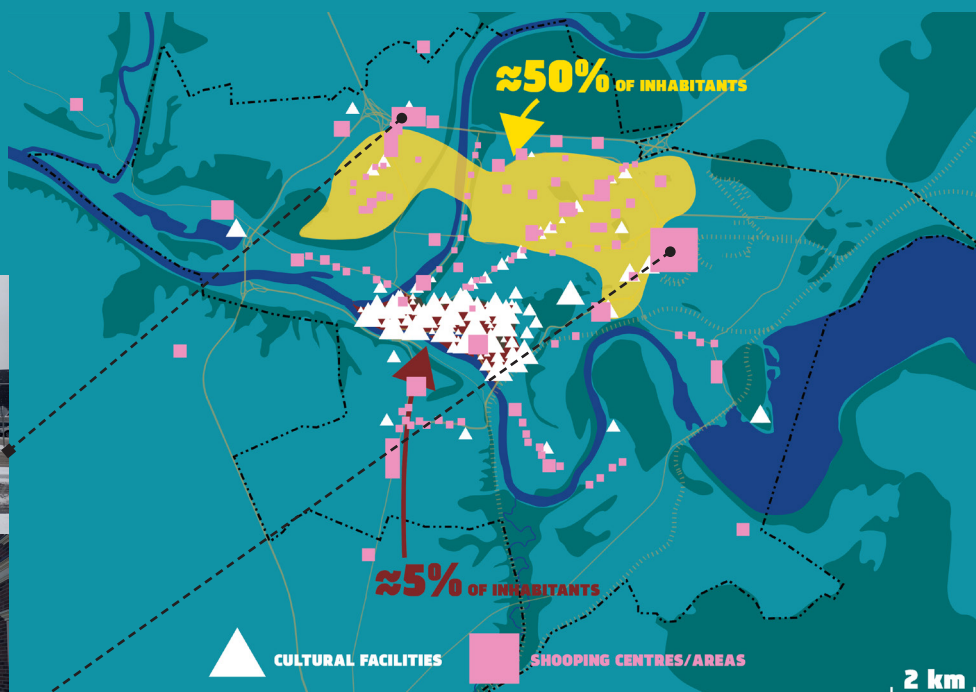
Figure 4.9. Diagram depicting spatial centrality and shopping areas distribution in Kaunas.

Figure 4.10. Diagrams depicing how many people feel safe in Kaunas (left) and physical security index (right). (Economic Consultation and Research [Ekonominės konsultacijos ir tyrimai] & Civitta, 2022)

Security perception index
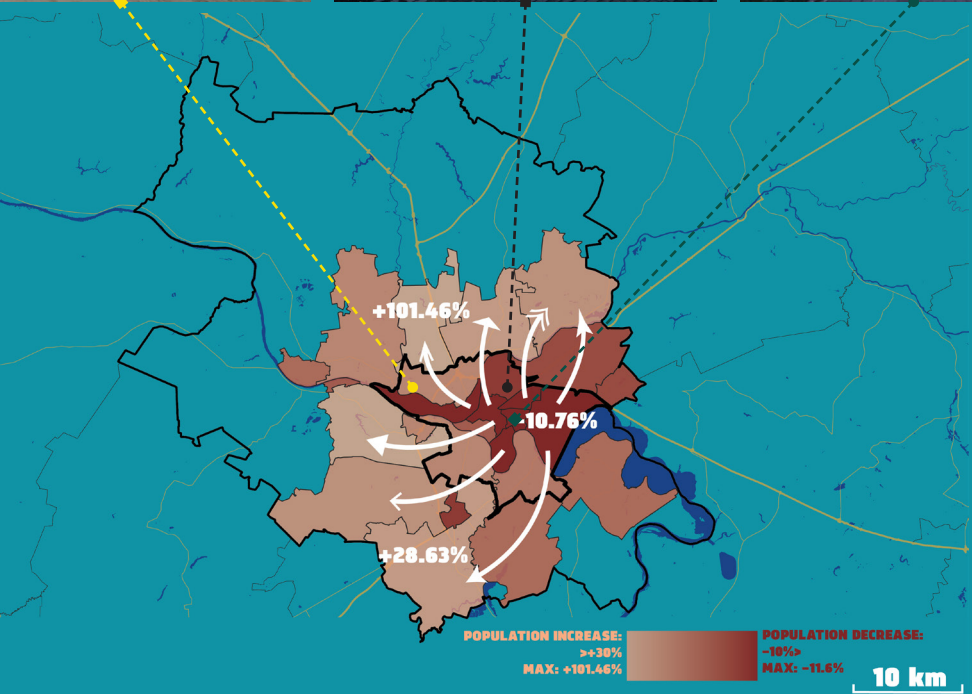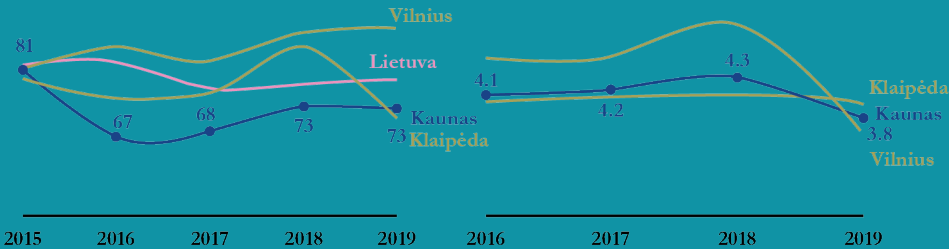**Respondents who felt safe in their settlement (by percentage)**

Level of Physical Security

Vilnius
Lietuva
Kaunas
Klaipėda

81
67
68
73
73

2015 2016 2017 2018 2019

4.1
4.2
4.3
Klaipėda
Kaunas
3.8
Vilnius

2016 2017 2018 2019

+101.46%
-10.76%
+28.63%

POPULATION INCREASE:
>+30%
MAX: +101.46%

POPULATION DECREASE:
-10%>
MAX: -11.6%

10 km

Figure 4.11. Population change in Kaunas and Kaunas District Parishes 2011-2021.
Based on (Geodata, 2021b, 2021a)

Perceived fear

Historical traumas, the wild neoliberalism period, and urban anxiety increase the perceived fear of urban inhabitants. Not only specific areas but large territories sometimes are considered unsafe, even when data shows otherwise (Miškinis, 2018). As a result, people avoid public spaces, reducing the number of people on the streets and increasing perceived fear even more. A safe environment is an essential condition to foster tolerance since it allows for peaceful interactions to happen, while unsafe, dangerous environments could generate conflict and intolerance (Gladwell, 2012). However, the perception of fear and real-world safety sometimes does not go hand in hand. Fearmongering or mass surveillance creates an image of criminal activity that does not necessarily exist. The perception of fear is a simulation, not a reality.

Escapism

Neo-agrarianism, monocentrism, and perceived fear result in a societal tendency which I call escapism. It is a highly strengthened search for the "ideal image" of society or, as Richard Sennett called it, the "search for purity" (1970). It is one of the reasons why people tend to escape to the suburbs, fence off their new and old development, use cars more than other forms of public transport. It can also be called "seek for frictionless experience" (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001).

Escapism also represents itself in outsourcing social conflict, when informal contacts are avoided or handled through institutions (Donskis, 1997; Vitkauskaitė, 2019). For example, if there is a minor car crash in a parking lot, there is a high potential that a Lithuanian would not wait and leave, risking worse consequences rather than facing social conflict. Another example would be a recent ban on smoking on balconies when one neighbour can stop others from pursuing their habits anonymously without ever meeting the smoker. All forms of escapism are a threat to tolerance. Without encounters, people gather information through secondary mediums, which decreases tolerance.
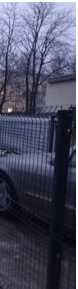
Spaces of avoidance

These combined aspects result in "spaces of avoidance" (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001). These are territories that are avoided by citizens who do not live there. In Kaunas, these spaces are primarily monofunctional post-war soviet housing estates. Non-locals have no interest or need to go there. The main attraction in Kaunas is the city centre, where jobs and leisure activities are concentrated. Therefore everyday citizens move from the rest of the city towards the centre through major roads without visiting the spaces of avoidance. For example, many respondents noted that the place where they would not like to live or avoid visiting is Šilainiai, one of the post-war soviet housing estates. Furthermore, even people who live there go outside for work or leisure, reducing the amount of activity in those spaces even more. This results in a heavily reduced possibility of encounters and increased feeling of fear in spaces of avoidance.

In addition, spaces of avoidance are not a continuous solid field but rather a gradient – some areas are more shunned than others. For example, when new public buildings have blank, concrete walls, they form inactive and dark passageways which are unwelcome for people and have zero to no functions.
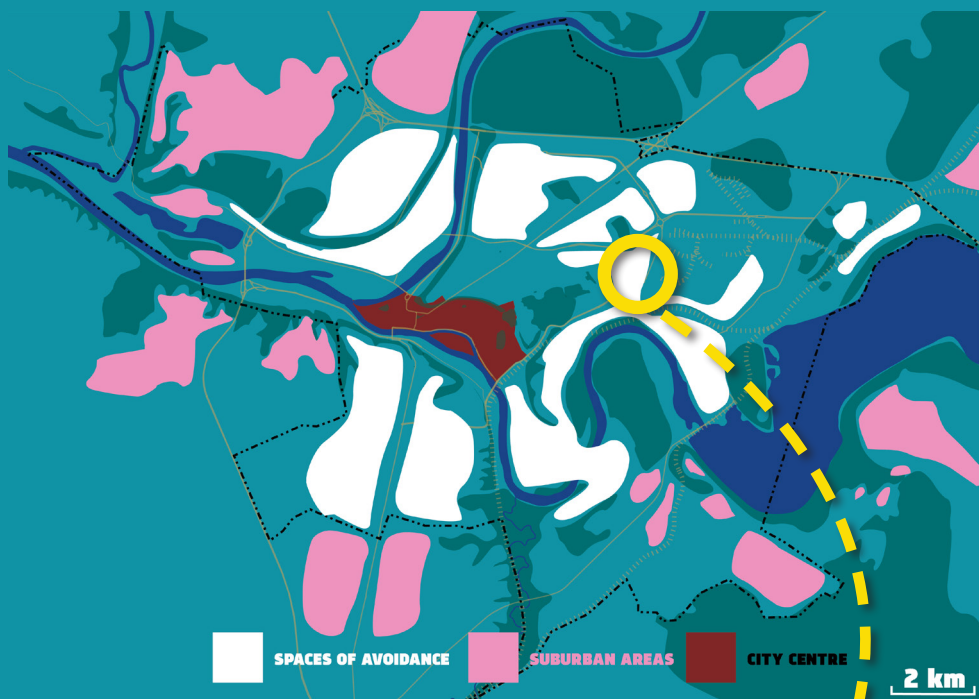
Figure 4.12. Spaces of avoidance.

SPACES OF AVOIDANCE SUBURBAN AREAS CITY CENTRE

2 km

Apartments

Kovo 11–osios st.

Parking

Girstutis
Culture POOL
Centre

Library

Shopping Centre

Parking

Kaunas
Ice Palace

Chemijos st.

Pramonės pr.

GRADIENT OF AVOIDANCE

400m
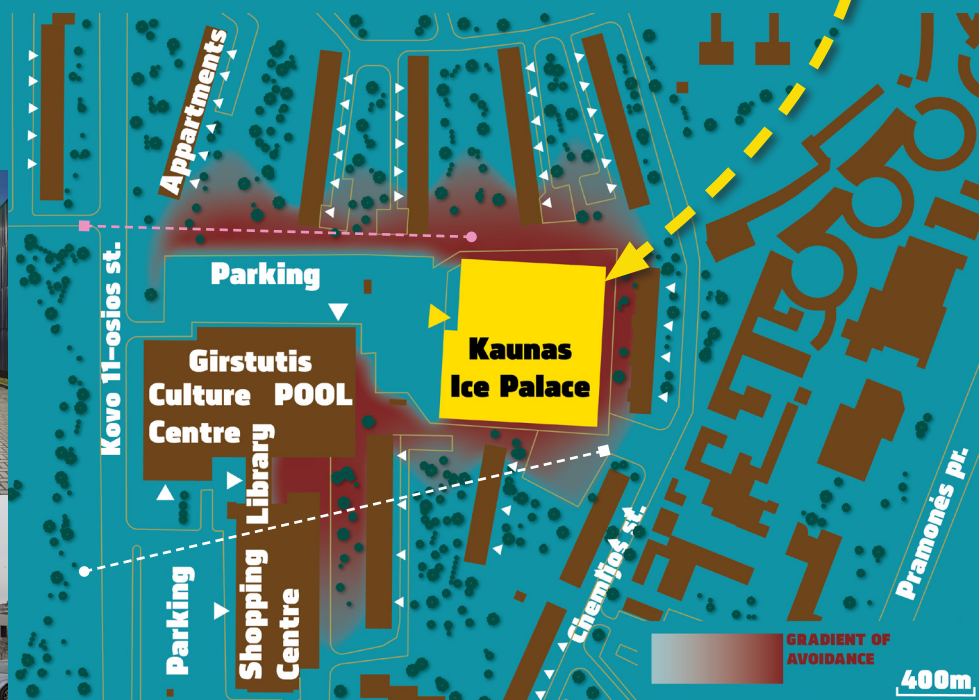
Figure 4.13. Gradient of avoidance.   115

Municipal centralisation

On a municipal level, there is a centralised governance system. National and Regional authorities deal mainly with funding and national policies, usually based on minimum requirements, which leaves relative freedom for municipalities to operate independently. Country-wide NGOs lack the capacity to focus on many individual or local cases. On the other hand, most local government units – parishes (or elderships) – are largely controlled by the mayor and his administration. This might not be a problem with the right politician with moral accountability, but in Lithuania there is a problem that the population considers mayors housekeepers rather than ethically bounded institutions. Therefore one of the main influences on the voting choices is how well the housekeeper cleans the streets (Filinaitė, 2023; Jastramskis, 2022b, 2023; Šukšta, 2022; Valiukevičius, 2023). This leaves opportunities for the exploitation of power and results in a very centralised local state apparatus, which is, as David Harvey subtly wrote, "increasingly entrepreneurially minded" (Harvey, 2012). Conflicts emerge based on prioritising economic growth and personal gains at the expense of communities (Čeponytė, 2019). This is evident in the dichotomy between two municipalities – Kaunas City and Kaunas District – since they are more conflicting than collaborating.

Figure 4.14. National governance.

Baltic
Sea

Latvia

Kaunas Region Council
Region Architecture Council

Ministries of Environment;
Social Security and Labour
Parliament Committees on
Environment Protection;
Social Affairs and Labour;
Human Rights

russia
(kaliningrad)

Vilnius

belarus

National General
or Specific NGOs

Poland

50 km

Parishes

KAUNAS DISTRICT
Administration
Municipality limit

KAUNAS
Administration
Municipality limit

POPULATION:
1000< PEOPLE
MIN: 649

TOT: 99 265
PEOPLE

POPULATION:
<6000 PEOPLE
MAX: 10 371

10 km

Figure 4.15. Kaunas District governance and population. Based on (Geodata, 2021b).

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Figure 4.16. Kaunas City governance and population. Based on (Geodata, 2021a).

55 125

39 356

Parishes

53 053

23 687

27 218

73 894

12 835

14 355

KAUNAS
Mayor
Administration
Council

21 390

14 886

POPULATION:
15 000< PEOPLE

TOT: 301 300
PEOPLE

POPULATION:
<50 000 PEOPLE

2 km

Power

Bureaucracy

Mayor

Council

Administration

Budgetary Sector

NGOs

Citizens
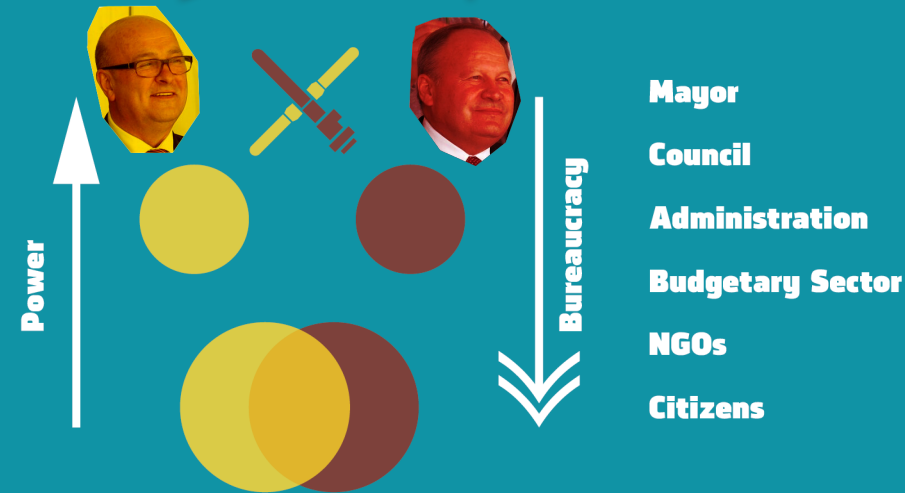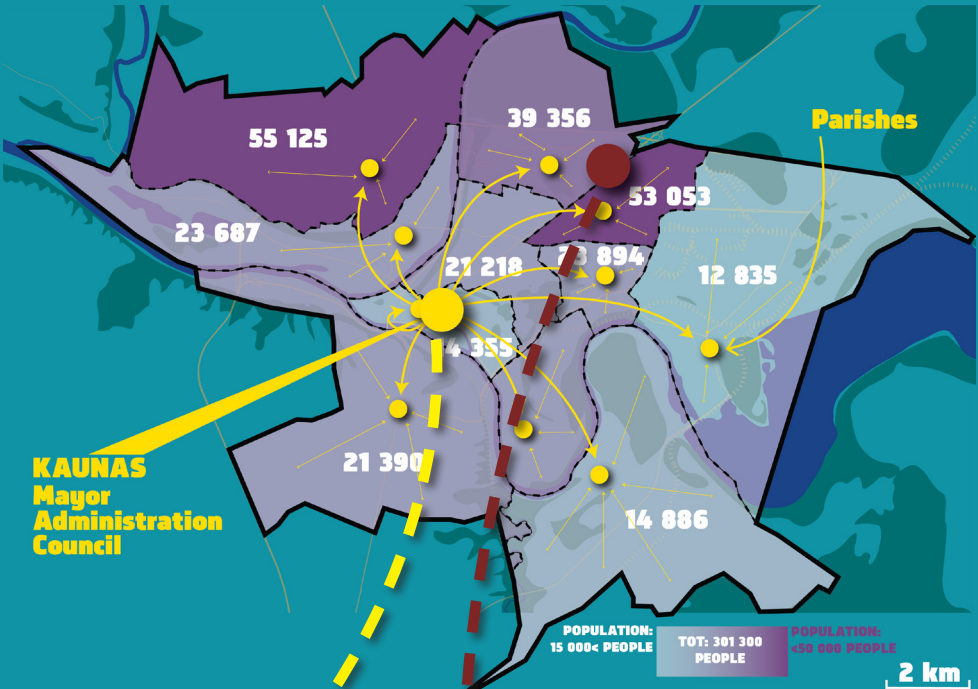
Figure 4.17. Municipal centralisation.

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Civil society (J. Alexander & Conrad, 2022) would be a backbone resistance towards municipal centralisation. The Good news is an ongoing bottom-up strengthening of local communities, usually based on community centres. They tend to be small activism groups dealing closely with parishes. What strengthens them is support from the new police department – community officers – who help and support the establishment of "safe neighbourhood" groups (Bernardinai.lt, 2012; Milkova, 2015) (for a case study, see pages 184-187). However, civil society is an enemy of municipal centralisation. From 2015, when the current mayor was elected in Kaunas, communities lost capacity-building support, funding, and even gathering spaces (Inytė, 2023), which made it very hard for local civil society to thrive.

This centralised system results in a very hierarchical stakeholders' structure. Mayor is on top, the private sector and administration in the middle, and citizens, small-scale public institutions, NGOs and subcultures at the bottom. The power imbalance is strengthened by a lack of accountability (since mayors and councils are primarily accountable only through elections) and by increased bureaucracy towards lower system levels. The latter "paperism" and reduced "soft" budget reduces the capacity of organisations, especially small-scale public institutions such as libraries. This system leads towards the reduction of diversity and civility, which results in intolerance. It allows for the administration to control narratives, reducing activity in public; it homogenises spaces as a result of local identity neglection and market-orientation; it reduces public involvement, because there are no incentives to use public participation strategies more than required by the Ministry of Environment; it strengthens "good" vs. "bad" dichotomy (for more elaborated discussion, see Appendix, pages 336-337).

4.4. Conclusion: perceived "ideal image of the conventional society"

I structured the perceived "ideal image" into three groups. The first is based on the neo-liberalistic measurement of worth as a labour force. A person without a job is considered to be less a person and more an animal (Esposito, 2010; Povilaitis, 2016). As one respondent noted, "Maybe there is some kind of past troubles, but 99% depends on the person. If you work hard, you achieve". The second group is based on visible behaviour – a person must keep their distance, be noiseless, heterosexual (visually) and most importantly sober (KasvykstaKaune.lt, 2018; Šileikė, 2023). Multiple respondents referred to drunk people when asked who (or what) they do not tolerate. "Drunk people in the bus are often conflictual, they swear a lot". Visual elements form the final group. Cleanliness, clothing, and smell are important reasons for (in) tolerance (Stažytė, 2016). One respondent noted that "there are rules, if a person is dirty, messy, we shouldn't allow him inside the bus". Women still tend to be victimized in current Lithuanian society (Žardeckaitė-Matulaitienė, 2022), therefore looking like a strong man makes a person "more ideal". And finally, ageism is a vital form of intolerance in Lithuania, leaving people who are too old or too young vulnerable (Juškaitė & Butkevičiūtė, 2023).

To address potential ethical issues, I used Artificial Intelligence tools to depict anonymous, computer-generated faces that represent the perceived "ideal image of conventional society. I used two instruments, namely Craiyon and DreamStudio.

Has a job
Educated
Higher salary = hgher status
Keeps distance
Noiseless
Sober
Heterosexual

Clean and well dressed
Smells good
Looks local (regarding both city and country)
(Strong) Man
Middle-aged
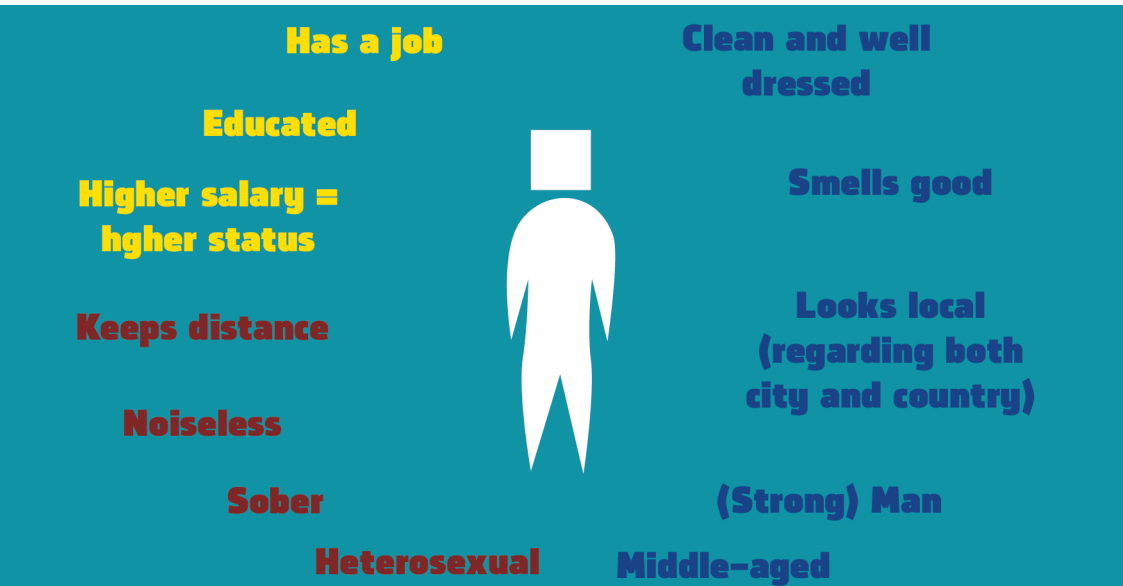
Figure 4.18. Keywords depicting perceived "ideal image" of Lithuanians.

Prompt:

Heterosexual, educated, high-earning, fit, calm, sober, clean, well dressed, middle-aged, local Lithuanian city man

Figure 4.19. Artificial Intelligence depiction of perceived "ideal image" of Lithuanians. I used the same prompt in two different engines and received two different but correct results.

Craiyon

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5. TOLERANCE

BETWEEN THOUGHT AND ACTION

AFTER EVENTS

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter I will present the significant part of empirical research, which I conducted through interviews, media review, field observation, institutional analysis, and spatial mapping. By combining empirical and theoretical analysis, I came up with the main operational concepts of this thesis – the Tolerance Event and its relationship to space. I will describe the characteristics of said concepts through analysis of case studies. I will conclude with the conceptual framework of tolerance – a practical tool that can guide the implementation process. As a reference for the structure of this chapter, I used the book of Jan Gehl "Life Between Buildings" (2011), in which he diagrammatically represented characteristics of the "good life between buildings" and based them on case study examples.

5.2. The flow of the chapter

I structured this chapter in a way representing the concept-forming process. I believe that methods used and issues faced will be best expressed in this way. After researching the majority of literature and theory used in this thesis, I struggled with the question "how to operationalise this theoretical research". Therefore I embarked on empirical exploration – without having a clear goal in mind and being open to the unknown. I had 2 themes of questions – one to test theory and conceptualise, and the other with a direction to uncover what affected peoples' attitudes and how space played a role in this transformation. I was looking for patterns and common elements through different methods. I conducted in total 17 interviews, and only after the interview count reached double digits did I notice that a repetitive force affected people and their attitudes. Constantly combining these empirical findings with theoretical notions I uncovered before I came up with two main concepts of this thesis: tolerance relationship to space and theory of the Tolerance Event.

These two concepts finally allowed me to investigate deeper and test through further interviews and spatial analysis. Therefore I selected x case studies, which came from the discussion with the respondents. In all the instances I learned first that there were changes in people's attitudes or comity. Therefore I could analyse it retrospectively through spatial mapping, observation, media analysis, interviews, and my own experience. With this type of research, I characterised the Tolerance Event and space, showing what makes it work and what does not. This information and the conceptual framework of tolerance are two critical outcomes of this investigation, which I doubt I would have found without the free, explorative way of working.

The structure of this chapter represents this journey. It starts from an initial description of the Tolerance Event and space, continues through case studies and characteristics of the concepts, and is finalised with the conceptual framework of tolerance.

Personal struggle How to operationalise prior research?

Empirical exploration

Mapping | **Field observation** | **Interviews** | **Media analysis**

Sub-questions for empirical exploration

What is tolerance?
How (in)tolerance is visible and felt?

What forces affect attitudes?
How tolerance relates to space?

Test Theory Conceptualisation

Search for patterns Operationalisation

Theory

Main concept

Controlled space | **Rule space** | **Norm space** | **Tolerance Event**

Case studies

What can we learn?

Conceptual framework of tolerance

Iterative reflection

Figure 5.1. Diagram depicting the approach of the empirical research and this chapter.

5.3. Tolerance and Space

"

From the beginning of the investigation I tried to understand how tolerance affects space and vice versa. Based on the combination of empirical and theoretical research, I argue that this relationship can be described by three categories: controlled, rule, and norm spaces. In this page I present excerpts from the interviews, depicting how respondents stressed the importance of comfortable and safe places (Controlled Space) and the critical occupational aspect of the public sphere (Norm Space). I highlighted the keywords associated with these spaces. Each quote is assigned to a code of a specific interviewee (R stands for "Respondent", and the numbers of each I assigned randomly).

R1 *Here is a Queer, LGBTQ+ bar <…> traditionalist appearance will* **spoil the comfort** *[for both sides].*

<…>

This is neo-segregation because, because they failed to assimilate due to systemic problems, they see that it doesn't work, so they **start creating their own places**, *and so-called neo-segregation results.*

R5 *It is the best place for me and my friends. Best place to dance where nobody cares.* **I feel free there. There is comfort.** *In other places people are more serious and they observe you.*

R10 *I try to be with people with whom* **I feel safe.** *With whom I know nothing will happen to me.*

<…>

Community. **When you are with your community, you are safe.** *It doesn't matter where it is. Even at the same station, center or club. As long as you are with your family, you are safe.*

R11 *I feel safer showing my [sexual] orientation where* **there is more privacy, where my friends are.** *Where there is, for example, an LGBTQ+ party, or people who are non-homophobic, non-misogynist. Private, but also public space.*

<…>

The March of Families [a homophobic event] **ruined my public space.**

<…>

I do not want to be **where I am not wanted, not respected.**

Controlled space	Rule space	Norm space
◯	▢	🔶
Spaces controlled by one predominant group Can be semi-private (bars, community centres), can be private (homes), can be semi-public (skateparks)	Spaces controlled by third party, which sets up rules others follow People are filtered based on rules	Spaces where no group has direct control, therefore norms are a dominant mean of social control Has a symbolic value, over which battle occurs

Figure 5.2. Categorisation of Tolerance and Space.

Figure 5.3. Snapshot from the movie "Thor: Ragnarok" (Waititi, 2017).

Controlled Space ~~Asgard~~ is not a place. Never was. This Controlled Controlled Space Space could be ~~Asgard. Asgard~~ is where our people stand.

Encounter

Attitudes towards difference

Mistrust, uncertain identity, polarisation, passivity, perceived fear, escapism

"Deep story"&"Ideal Image"

Figure 5.4. Lack of understanding as a result of "deep story" and "ideal image" of Lithuania.

In addition to interviews, media review was imperative for my investigation. I looked at articles in which journalists discuss issues related to tolerance with vulnerable groups. For example, for people without homes:

> *"**The street is a place of challenges and insecurity**: "A person experiencing homelessness feels like he's on nails there." They are not only harassed on the street, they also receive similar reactions in state institutions or public transport, from which they are thrown out of the gate, thus publicly humiliating them." (Javaitytė, 2018).*

With this categorisation I am not opting to replace other theories and categorisations (for example, public/private gradient). Instead, as scholars of affect theory, I am extending and building on different concepts and ideas of environment (Thrift, 2008).

Controlled spaces are those where one group is predominant and controls that place through rules and/or norms. Its accessibility is not a defining feature – it can be public, private, or anything in between. What is imperative for the controlled space to exist is the comfort that a like-minded community brings. When there is no predominant group, but the space is somehow private (for example, shopping malls), the third party enforces its rules. That is what I am calling the Rule space. People are filtered based on the rules, forming a clean, artificial environment where different groups feel safer and co-exist. However, not everyone is included in this environment because of the filtering. The places where everyone technically is included I call Norm Spaces. There no party has complete direct control over happenings, therefore norms act as instruments of social control. Due to uncertain identity, these spaces have a significant symbolic value in the Lithuanian context. Therefore it becomes a battleground where conflicting groups seek to exercise power.

To tackle one of the most important reasons for intolerance – lack of understanding – encounters are imperative tools. However, in Lithuania, due to mistrust, polarization, passivity, perceived fear, and escapism, spaces of tolerance tend to be enclosed and inward-orientated. Encounters in norm space are usually passive, without long-lasting effects. Therefore the question arises – what makes these spaces open and outward-looking?

Encounter

Tolerance Event

Attitudes towards difference

Mistrust, uncertain identity, polarisation, passivity, perceived fear, escapism

"Deep story"&"Ideal Image"

Expression; Affected people's attitudes

Figure 5.5. Tolerance Event as a rupture of the passivity, realeasing expression and fostering long-lasting change.
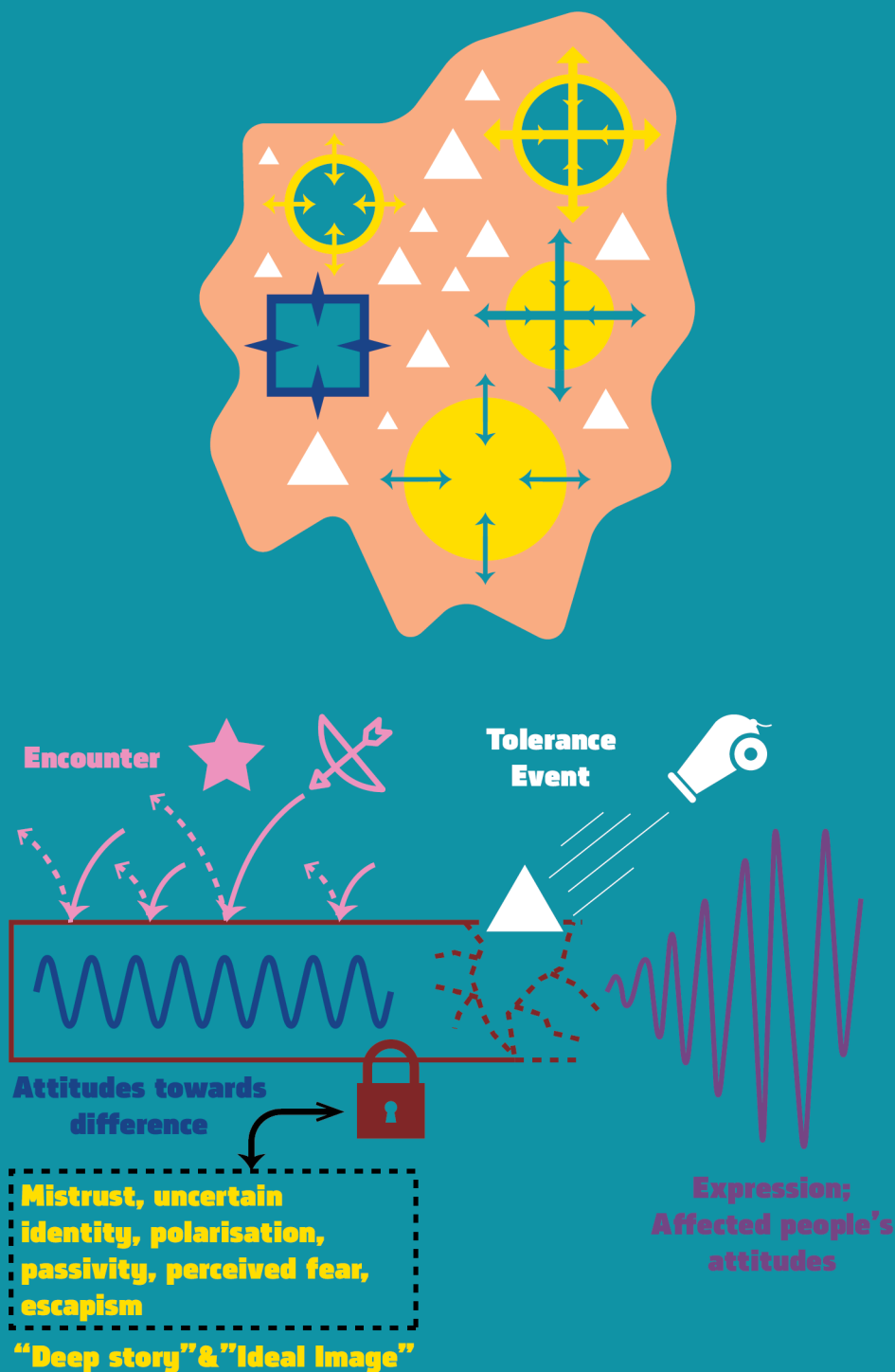
5.4. Tolerance Event

Unstructured interviews again proved imperative to answer what forces make spaces open and foster more tolerant attitudes. By searching for patterns and connections between the answers of diverse people, I sought to understand what changed their perceptions. I concluded that Tolerance Event is one of the forces that affect people's attitudes in Lithuania. Below are some of the excerpts from interviews that support this theory. I highlighted critical words related to this idea.

R1 *Through these **events**, a change is seen, and a **community is formed**. We also communicate outside the event. Attitudes and stereotypes are changing. A man from Šilainiai, who a few years ago might not have even thought about such a place, is already performing himself.*

R3 ***When you get to know**, even in the station neighbourhood, you are not afraid anymore. <...> We need to **discuss** more, integrate, and **minorities have to be more visible.***

R10 *This fight happens through certain **events**. For example during the same Baltic Pride.*

R11 *We had to **prove** [during Kaunas Pride], **to take back our spaces**. Those [anti-protestors] shouted, and we shouted back.*

R12 *I can already see that it is a process. First we move in, and they meet us negatively, even erect fences. Then they get to know us, they start to understand. After some time, they see that everything is fine. Eventually, a relationship begins to form. We organized the Application Protection Day ourselves. People from the community came. **Through such positive examples, you try to change peoples' attitudes.***

R15 *The city can facilitate active encounters [by creating] **ruptures** in public space.*

Many media essays were important for the formation of the concept of the Tolerance Event. For example, below I present a fragment from a key article in which journalists investigated opinion changes about people with mental disabilities in the Lithuanian City of Rokiškis:

> *Their friendship with new neighbours [people with mental disabilities] started a little more than a year ago. <...> He asked the residents of the community living home for help. "And they helped me here. I did not believe that they would agree so willingly and vigorously. **I asked one for help, and two or three came**" (Kiršaitė & Drigotas, 2023)*

Tolerance Event works because of the Lithuanian "deep story" and perceived "ideal image". Due to passive and mistrustful Lithuanian conditions for tolerance, simple everyday encounters are too apathetic to affect people's attitudes. In some cases, that could have a negative effect due to preconsciously perceived "ideal image". For example, the existence of people experiencing homelessness in the Norm Space usually delegitimises public institutions rather than fostering tolerance (KasvykstaKaune.lt, 2018; Povilaitis, 2016; Stažytė, 2016). There is no increase in understanding of diverse groups through these passive encounters.

Tolerance Events, on the other hand, are a very active, concentrated form of encounter. It can be primary or secondary, but nevertheless it stimulates reaction and therefore involves both automatic and reflective cognitive systems (see "3.6. Process of Tolerance", pages 90-93). In other words, it is a rupture of the passive status quo, a force that rises from deep socio-cultural and spatial issues, in return addressing them. Consequently, it defamiliarises with existing social norms and establishes new ones.

Tolerance Event can take many mediums: digital, media, film, song, etc. Yet for this thesis, I will concentrate on Spatial Tolerance Event. It defines happenings and encounters that in one way or another happen in space. It can be temporal occupation, performance, street art painting, or construction of a new building. In size and influence range it varies from small backyards to large city festivals.

With these initial conceptual definitions, I embarked on an analysis of the case studies. I have chosen cases based on conducted interviews. I sought to research a large number of different characteristics of the Tolerance Event and Spaces. Therefore all the cases are diverse in size, location, and minorities they represent.

Tolerance Event = **1. is an active, concentrated form of encounter**

2. is a rupture of status quo

3. adress deep socio-cultural and spatial issues

4. defamiliarises with existing norms and creastes new ones

5. allows groups to get to know other groups
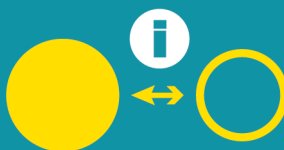
Focus

Spatial Tolerance Event

Digital Tolerance Event

WWW.

Media Tolerance Event

Film Tolerance Event

ETC

Figure 5.6. Fundamental features of the Tolerance Event.   133

5.5. Case study example – "Vija" Home for People with Mental Disabilities

I will first present one case study example in-depth, depicting in detail the methods and the line of thought used for analysis. I will only show the most important, summarised elements for the following cases. I selected this instance because I believe it touches many of the important points of my thesis and represents them very well. It is a case where I first learned about the change of attitudes through non-spatial methods, such as interviews, media review, and institutional analysis, and only afterwards used spatial mapping and field observation to understand what force affected the change.

This case study is a story about care institution for people with mental disabilities. It is an old institution, with the first instances of social care in this location recorded back in 1921. During the period of the soviet union's 2nd occupation (1945-1990) social care was based on large-scale institutions. People with disabilities were considered a burden for society, hence they were hidden and segregated in large building complexes behind the fences. These institutions provided all the functions internally, therefore people living there did not go outside often. Various stereotypes and stigmas were formed that continue to exist today (Blažytė, 2022; Kiršaitė & Drigotas, 2023)(see also "Why Kaunas?", pages 40-45).
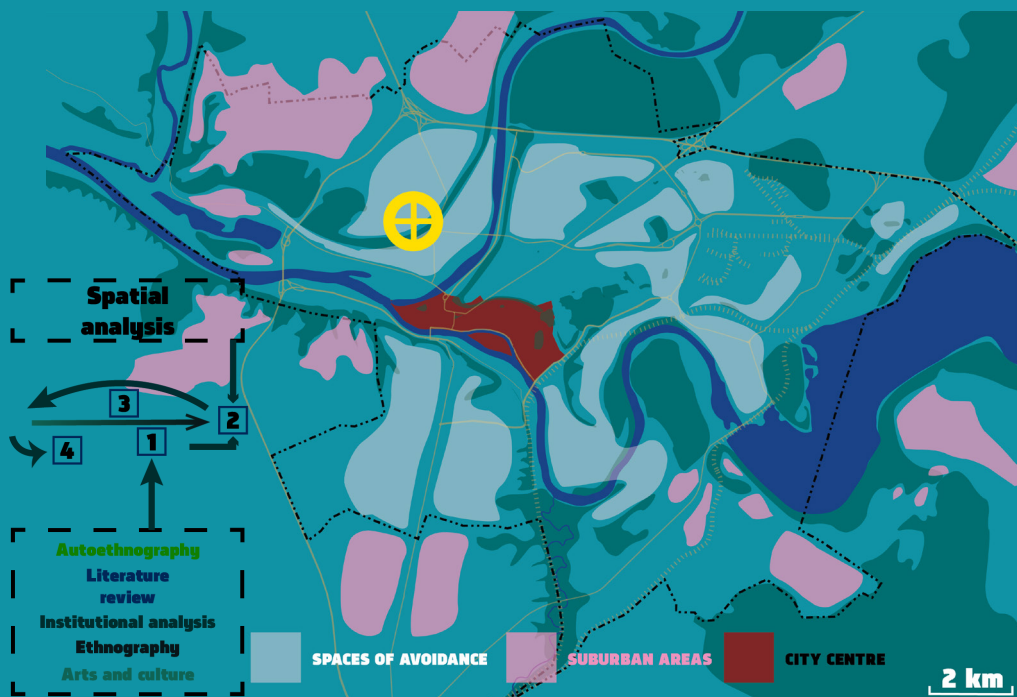
Figure 5.7. Approach used for this case study.

Figure 5.8. Location of "Vija".

Spatial analysis

3
2
1
4

Autoethnography
Literature review
Institutional analysis
Ethnography
Arts and culture

SPACES OF AVOIDANCE   SUBURBAN AREAS   CITY CENTRE

2 km

Baltijos st.

VII Fort

Apuoles st.

Linkuvos st.

Linkuvos Fortifications

Josvainiu st.

Varniu st.

OLD SITE (1927–1940)   —— SITE TODAY

Figure 5.9. Context of "Vija".   135

Figure 5.10. Spatial issues.
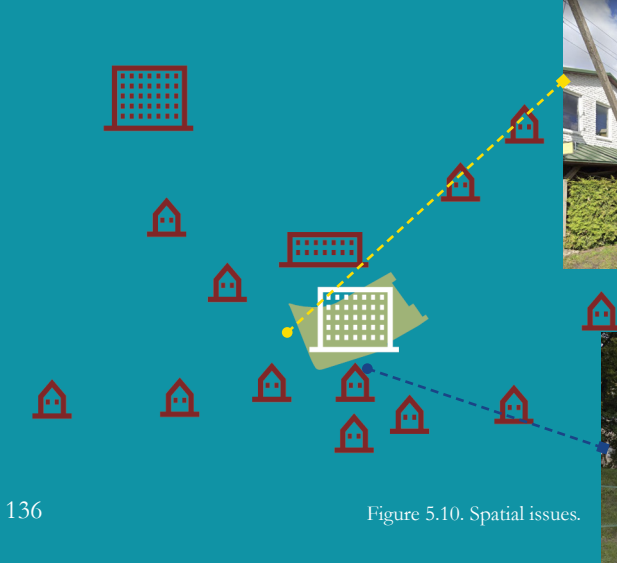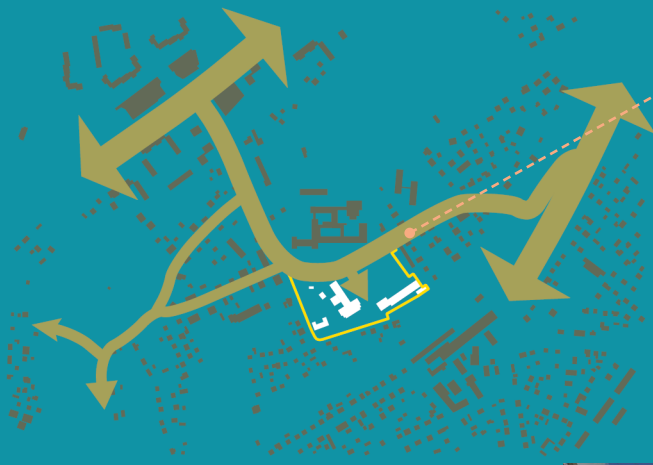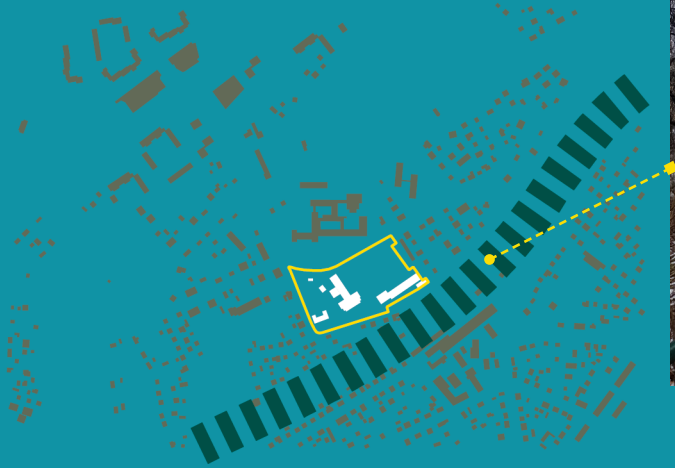
However, not only historical traumas affect these negative attitudes but also the typomorphology of the buildings. Many of the physical aspects of the facility are diminishing prospects of active encounters, consequently reducing understanding about people living there and tolerant attitudes towards them. Firstly, the case study in discussion is located in one of the microrayons of avoidance – Šilainiai – which already segregates it from majority of the population. In addition, a heavily inaccessible (especially for pedestrians) slope is located right next to the institution. Only one road passes through it, reducing accessibility even further. Finally, its typomorphology differs significantly from its surroundings. The institution was erected in the early 20 century and expanded even further through the soviet era, while nearby no post-war housing estates were built. Therefore nowadays this large complex of buildings (up to 5 stories) is located in an area of mostly single-family houses. Enormous scale difference increases avoidance of the site.

The social care institution and the high school nearby face the same issues morphologically. However, the latter is a much more open facility. Why? There are a few reasons for that. First of all, these buildings are of different types. Social care institution is a few times higher than school - 5 against 2 floors – making the latter typomorphologically much more similar to the surrounding single-family houses. Furthermore, school is much more open functionally. People use it, come and leave all day. In the morning pupil and teachers come, the former leaving in the afternoon at different times. In the evening adults come for their hobbies. People come to school using various forms of transportation. Home for people with mental disabilities, on the other hand, is mainly attended by workers, who come in the morning and leave in the evening. There is way less movement and, consequently, way less openness.

However, this situation of large-scale segregating facilities has started to change. In 2014 Ministry of Social Security and Labour signed the Transformation of Institutional Care Act, establishing directions for dissolving extensive buildings into much smaller community care facilities that house up to 10 people (for comparisment, "Vija" currently inhibits more than 200 people). From 2014 till today "Vija" home for people with mental disabilities found multiple community care centres, mostly in single-family houses. Here I will present a story of one such place, located in the Kaunas suburban area of Romainiai.

Romainiai is a typical suburban area, where most buildings are single-family houses built after 1990, usually with a front yard parking lot, fences around the sites and green grass backyards. A Social Care institution bought one of the existing houses to establish Community Care home. This erection of a new facility is a case of the Tolerance Event. The problem initially was that locals were not involved in the process: they were not informed about the plans to move in. Therefore, people's negative attitudes were not addressed, and they met the Tolerance Event of establishing a Community Care home with Anti-Tolerance Events of both active and passive disagreement.

Figure 5.11. High School. Source: Google Street View.

Figure 5.12. "Vija". Source: Google Street View.

Amount of people coming and going I–V 07:00–22:00

Amount of people coming and going I–V 08:00–17:00

50m
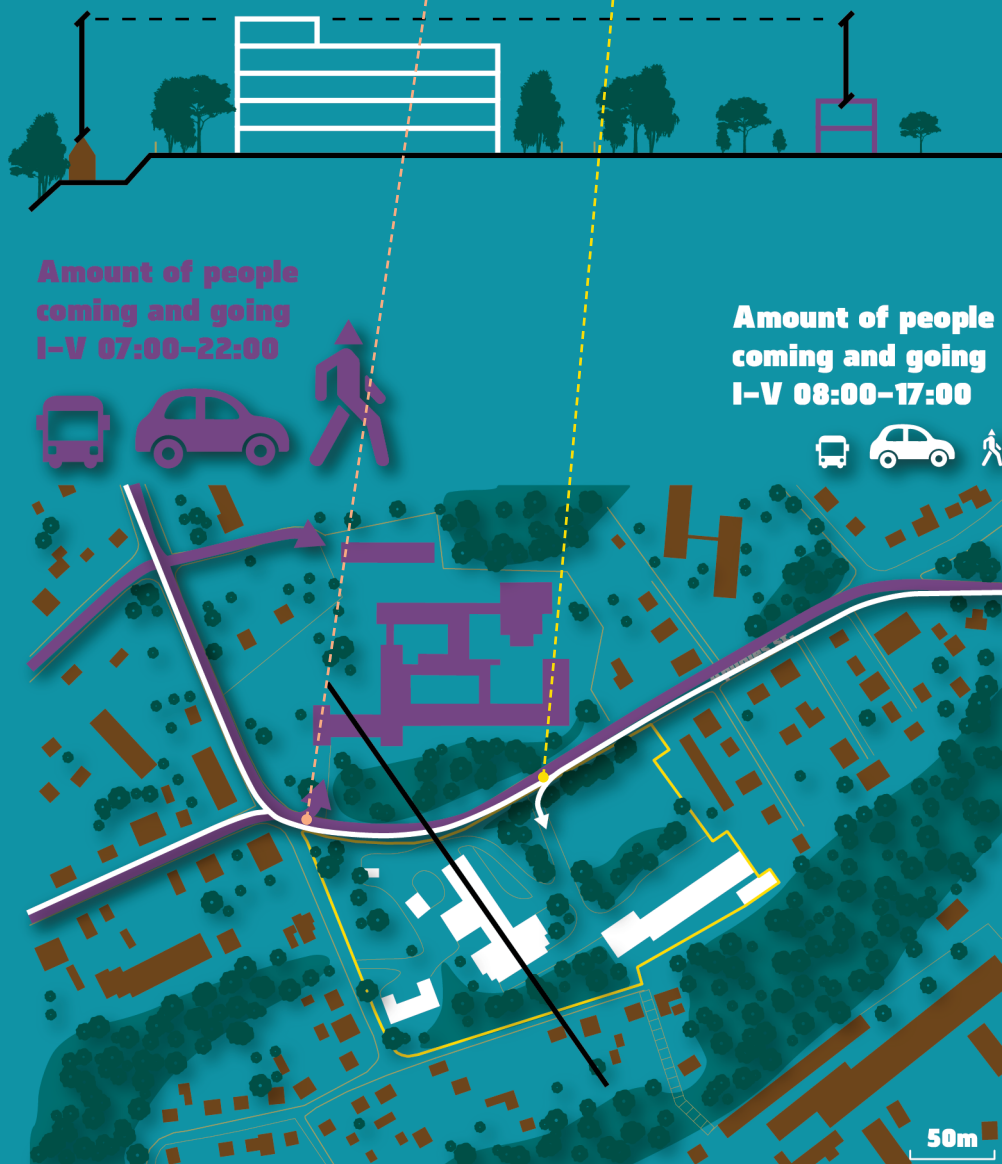
Figure 5.13. Comparisment of "Vija" and High School nearby.

SPACES OF AVOIDANCE   SUBURBAN AREAS   CITY CENTRE

2 km
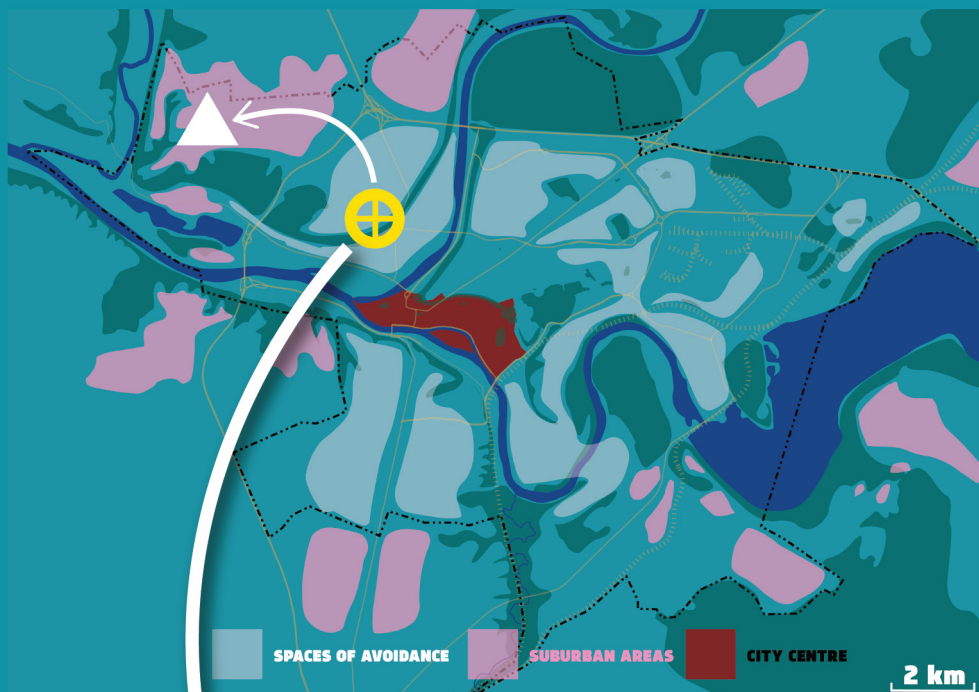
Figure 5.14. Location Community Care facility.

Lubinų st.

Romainų st.

Kaimelės st.

Vijūkų st.

100m

Figure 5.15. Context of Community Care facility.

Figure 5.16. Typical street in Romainiai. Source: Google Street View.

Nevertheless, the home was erected, and Tolerance Event became a permanent facility. Due to the size of it, its inhabitants had to spend a lot of time outside: for leisure, shopping, going to school, etc. This heavily increased the openness of the institution. It was not a fenced-off hospital-like building, but a typical house, with people living there participating fully in community life: cleaning streets, cutting grass, showing snow, etc. In addition, synergy was formed with Romainiai Community Centre, which invited people with mental disabilities to its events and vice-versa. Therefore this permanent facility, as a consequence of its openness, created or participated in Tolerance Events, where they met with locals and the mutual understanding increased, resulting in improved tolerant attitudes. This exemplifies how one intense rupture generated other Tolerance Events and ended in a more inclusive neighbourhood.
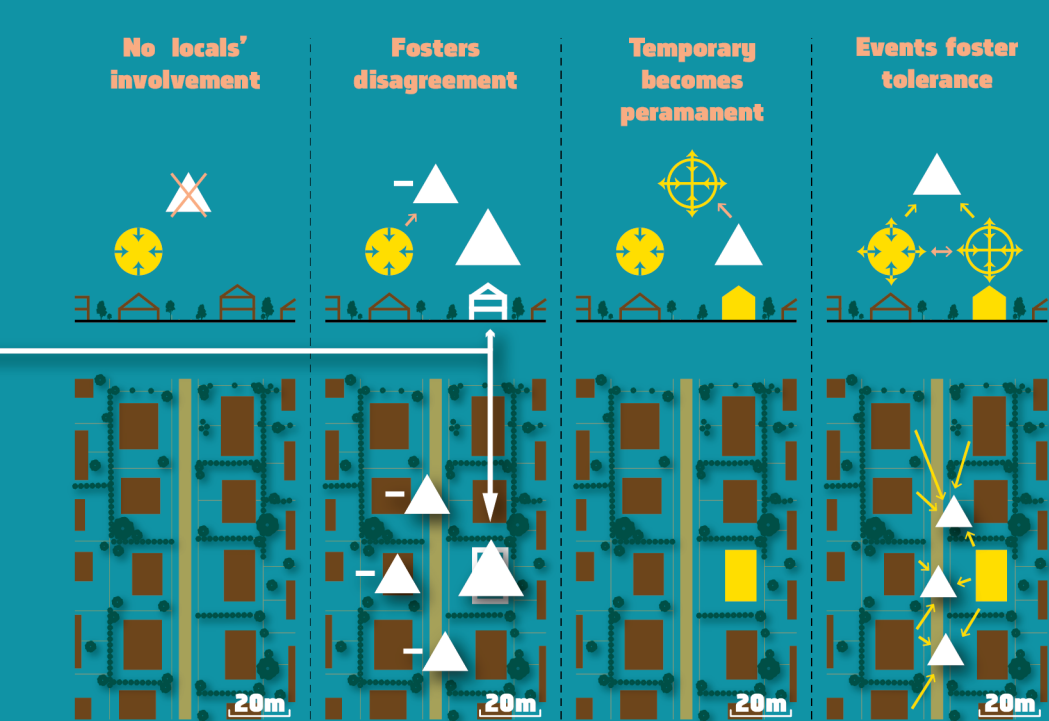
Figure 5.17. Establishment of Community Care facility - the Tolerance Event.

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Initiators

Internal spaces, communities, and organisations

External sp[aces], communitie[s], and organisat[ions]

Interest

Ministry of Social Security and Labour

Lo[cal] disagr[eement]

2014 Transformation of institutional care

No inclusion of the locals

Buying of a house for community care

Home for people with mental disabilities

Local community

Rupture

20m

20m

20[m]

142

Controlled space   Rule space   Tolerance Event

Locals' agreement

Tolerance

Event becomes permanent space

Events creates synergies

Community centre

Time

Involving locals in the planning process still needs to be addressed. One respondent made a compelling argument that people with mental disabilities "are the same people as anyone else. Why should they inform neighbours, if a person without disabilities does not have to inform anybody before moving in." Nevertheless, community involvement could increase tolerance in advance (Kiršaitė & Drigotas, 2023). Furthermore, there is an essential issue of who should do it. As another respondent noted, there is "a heavy emotional labour for a minority to educate others about themselves." It requires a lot of financial and physical capacity to involve locals. It is not the task of a "Vija". Their primary duty is social care. Therefore there needs to be an institution that could support other facilities in such cases and build capacity.
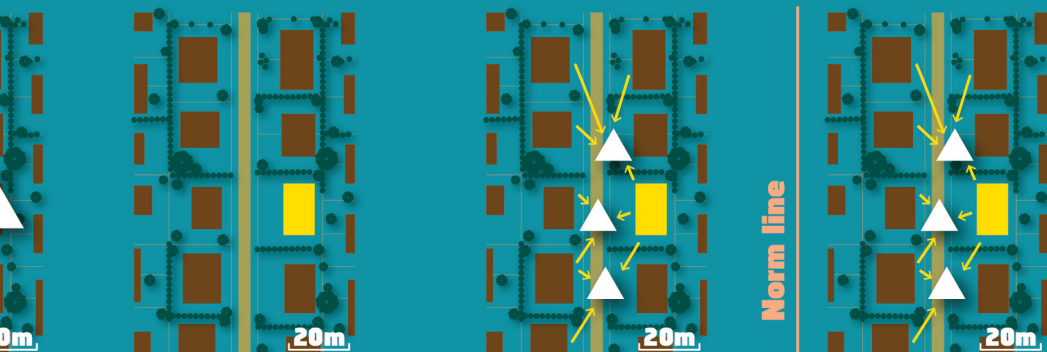
Figure 5.18. Timeline and interest of stakeholders.

5.4. What can we learn from case studies?

I conducted a similar analysis to every case study. However, due to the size of the thesis, in each instance I will only show the most essential elements for the research. A brief description and extrapolated characteristics of the Tolerance Event and Space and related graphics will describe each case. In addition, I will connect each instance with the approach used (see "Research Questions", pages 54-55). For this thesis, I selected 8 cases from Kaunas and 1 related from Vilnius (Baltic Prides).

I extrapolated in total 23 characteristics, which I divided into 3 groups. These are meant to depict what is vital for a successful Tolerance Event and Space. The Theory group is more conceptual, showing broader trajectories rather than concrete aspects. The Space group represent critical typomorhphological, functional, and visual elements of Tolerance Event and Space. Finally, the Stakeholders group shows the imperative characteristics regarding various actors' relationships, potentials, and strengths. The names of characteristics feature pop culture references to increase the "catchiness" of the labels.

Ramučiai Community (pages 184–187)

"Vija" home for people with mental disabilities (pages 14[

"Caritas" people experiencing homelessn[

"Emma" Social centre (pages 156–

"Audra" Festival 2021 (page[

Courtyard gallery and festival (pages 180–18[

Kaunas Pride (pages 160–173)

"Lizdas" club (pages 174–177)

Baltic Prides (pages 160–173)

2 km

Figure 5.19. Case study in Vilnius.

8–151)

ss day centre (pages 152–155)

–159)

s 178–179)

3)

2 km

Figure 5.20. Case studies in Kaunas.

Time changes spaces
Page 150

Size matters
Page 149

Where t
Page

4 types of controlled spaces
Page 188

"The world will be saved by beauty"
Page 152

Norm space
Page

From rupture to norm
Page 161

Location, location, location
Page 150

Dive
Page

Closed/Open
Page 149

Form follows event
Page 177

Time is of t
Page

4 types of relationships
Page 158

Temporal/permanent
Page 149

Show mutual goals and values
Page 188

Stakeholders

o meet?
184

Multilevel marketing
Page 161

"The law of the few"
Page 181

e is critical
169

$$F = -F$$

$$\triangle = \langle +- \rangle \triangle$$

Reaction (+/−)
Page 149

Relevance of the support
Page 181

rsify
178

Who should/can do it?
Pags 155

Top down legitimises
Page 186

the essence
177

Safety first
Page 173

Participation
Page 187
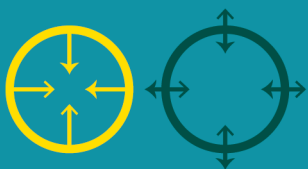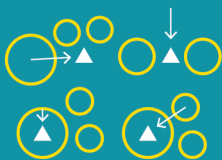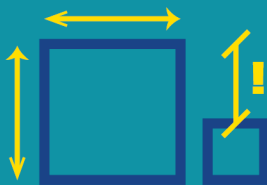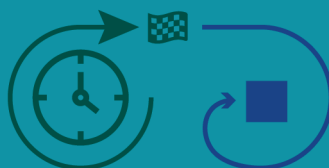
Figure 5.21. Characteristics of Tolerance Event and Space.   147

Figure 5.22. Approach used for this case study.

Figure 5.23. Location of "Vija" and Community Care facility.
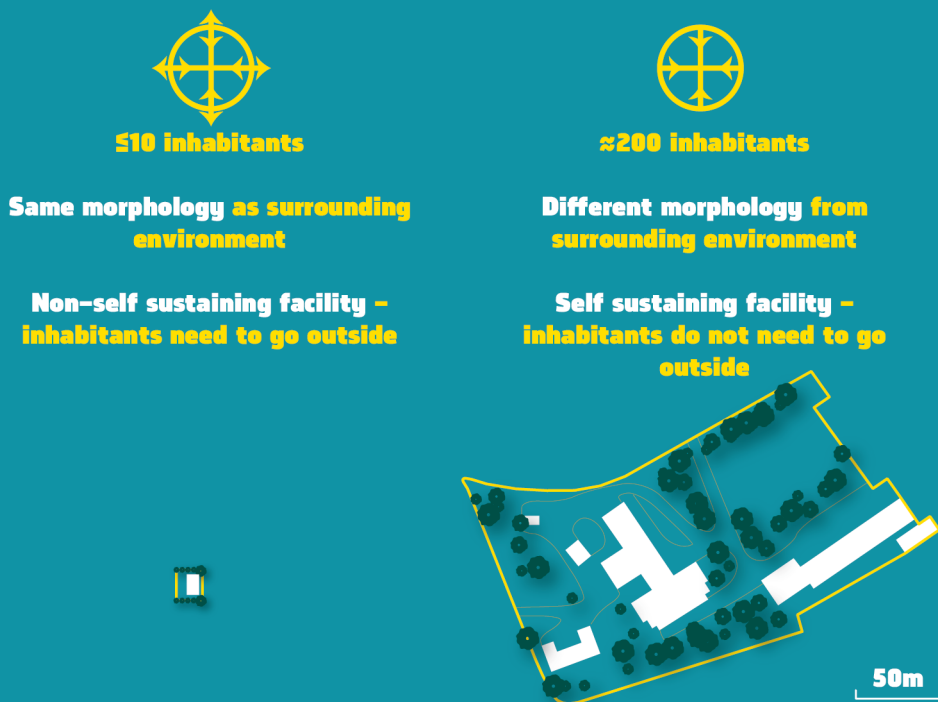
≤10 inhabitants

Same morphology as surrounding environment

Non-self sustaining facility – inhabitants need to go outside

≈200 inhabitants

Different morphology from surrounding environment

Self sustaining facility – inhabitants do not need to go outside

Figure 5.24. Comparision of "Vija" and Community Care facility.
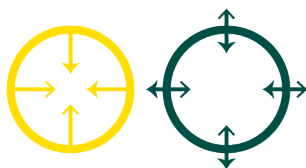
Closed/Open

Controlled spaces can be closed or open. The former are inward-looking, not eager to produce Tolerance Events, and does not foster encounters between different groups. Open Controlled Spaces are the opposite – they are outward-looking, incentivised to create and participate in Tolerance Events, and establish potentials for contact.
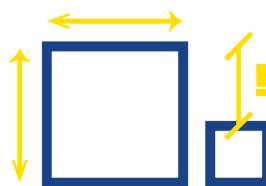
Size matters

Typomorhphological size matters. Buildings contrasting with surrounding areas are less likely to be open and more likely to be avoided. Therefore there is less potential for affecting people's attitudes and more capability for simplification and stigmatization.
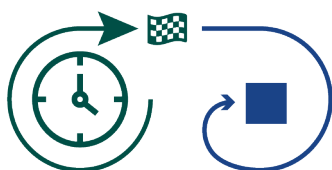
Temporal/permanent

Tolerance Events are temporal, intensive periods of encounters that occupies space. However, it can become permanent places in the future. These permanent spaces become part of everyday life, therefore they cannot be considered Tolerance Events anymore.

Reaction (+/−)

$$F = -F$$

$$\triangle = (+-)\triangle$$
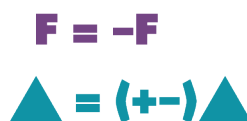
Tolerance Events are disturbing and intense encounters that rupture the existing status quo and norms. Consequently, they provoke a reaction from different groups. It can be positive or negative, depending on the current attitudes toward the specific subject.
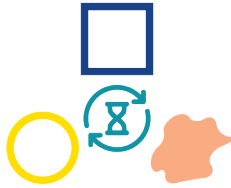
Time changes spaces

Spaces of Tolerance are not stable entities. They depend on who uses it or is predominant in it. At different times of the day, week, month or even year, Spaces of Tolerance can transform from one to the other. In the case of the High School, the whole site is Controlled Space during classes (8:45-17:45), because most people using the facilities are the school community. However, in the evening, when pupils leave, the buildings become Rule Space since it is accessible by outsiders but under the supervision of security. Exterior space becomes Norm Space because it is accessible by everyone.

Location, location, location

The name for this characteristic is based on the developers' slogan. It represents the importance of the location for open, tolerant attitudes fostering places. If the area segregates and closes off, it becomes tough for the place to have a large-scale impact. "Vija" home for people with mental disabilities is segregated from the rest of the city by its location. Therefore it is avoided just because there are no attraction points nearby.
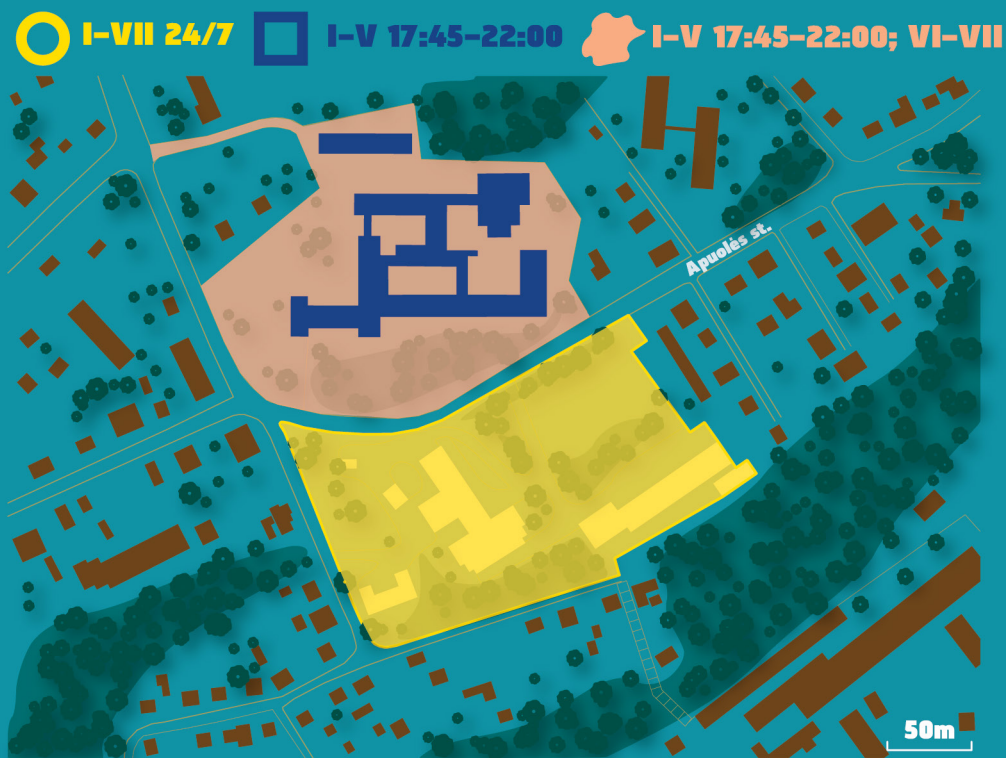
I–VII 24/7   **I–V 17:45–22:00**   **I–V 17:45–22:00; VI–VII**

Apuolės st.

50m

I–V 8:00–17:45

Apuolės st.

50m
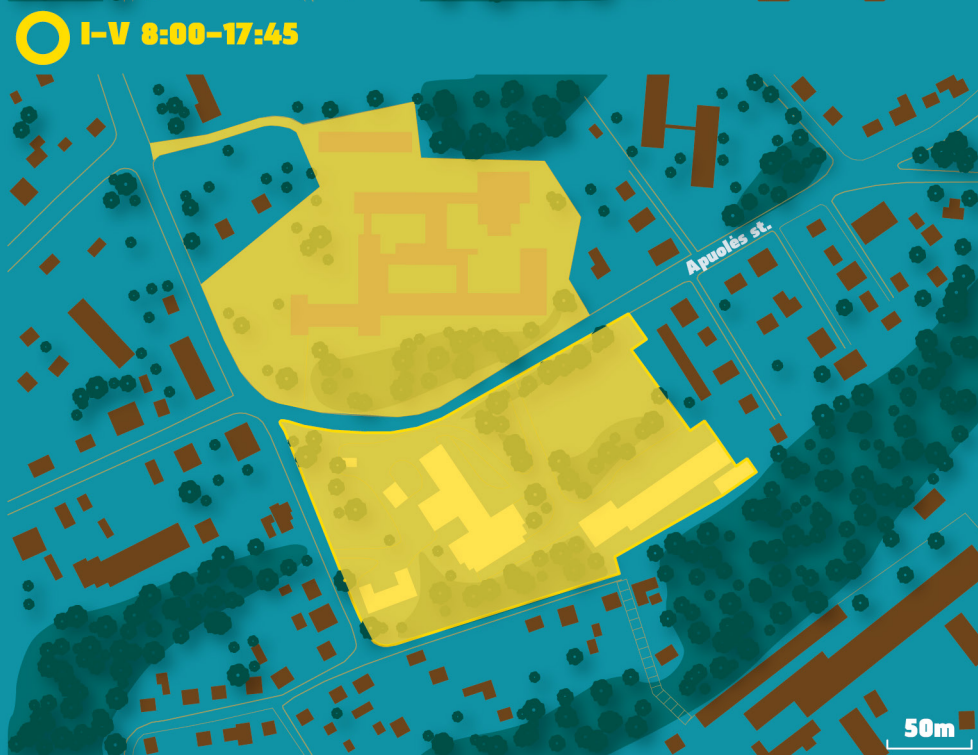
Figure 5.25. Different Tolerance Spaces depending on time of the day and week.

151

"Caritas" people experiencing homelessness day centre

This case study provided much information for my research about issues faced by people experiencing homelessness. It is a facility located in the Space of Avoidance of Kaunas. It is a very open community gathering space where people without homes and locals gather to spend time together. Multiple other facilities are in the same building supporting people without homes – lunch cantine, temporal accommodation, and institutions helping drug and alcohol addicts.
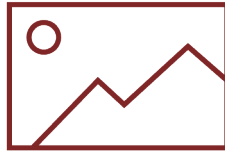
"The world will be saved by beauty"

It is a quote by Fyodor Dostoevsky written in his classical novel "The Idiot". I argue that in the Lithuanian context, it well represents the importance of a clean environment, which is connected to the "broken windows" theory (Gladwell, 2012). People stigmatise and avoid dirty, neglected places, closing them off and removing encounters. One respondent noted that "1 broken window leads to more thefts and worse image. Negativity attracts negativity".
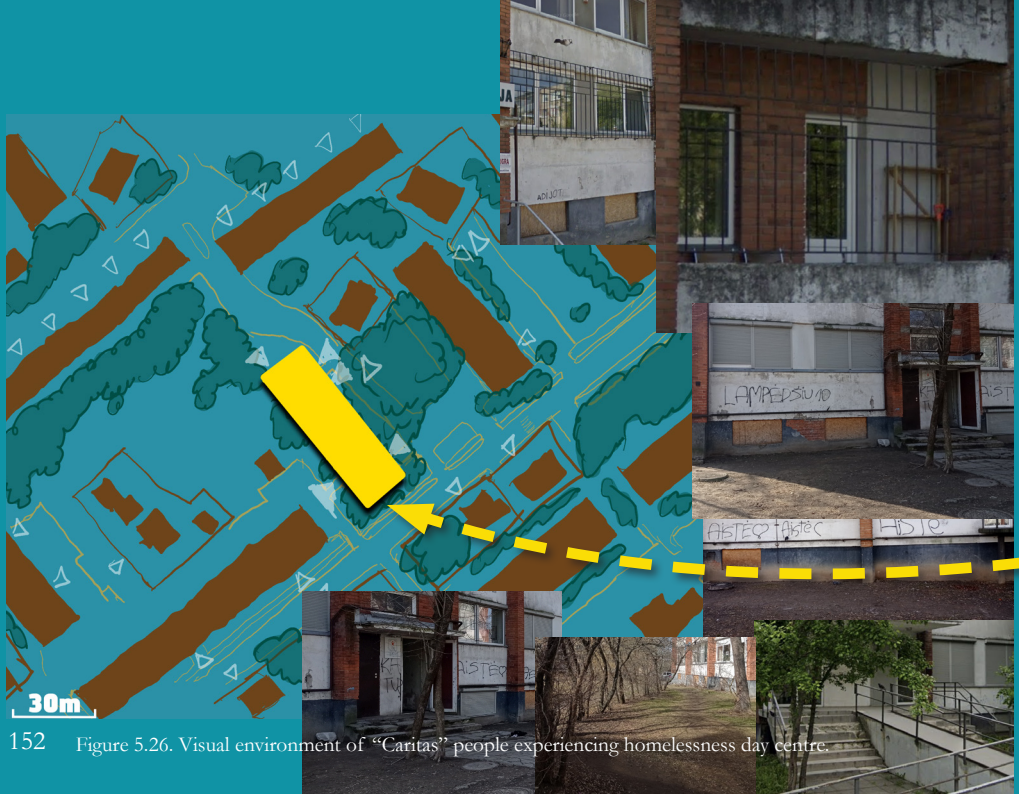

Figure 5.26. Visual environment of "Caritas" people experiencing homelessness day centre.

Figure 5.27. Location of "Caritas" people experiencing homelessness day centre

3
2
1
4

Autoethnography
Literature
review
Institutional analysis
Ethnography
Arts and culture
Spatial
analysis

100m

Figure 5.28. Context of "Caritas" people experiencing homelessness day centre

The case of the day centre well represents this. While it is often used throughout the day, located in a building just like the surrounding area, it is still heavily stigmatised by the broader city inhabitants. I argue that the decaying environment is the reason for that – people avoid it and it strengthens the existing stigmas connected to people without homes (Bourdieu, 1999). Locals have tolerant attitudes since they know the place and community very well and they are part of the same environment.

Figure 5.29. Tolerance Events and stakeholders interest depicted chronologically.

The case of the "Caritas" day centre raises an important question: who should (or can) work to affect people's attitudes? This facility's primary goal is to directly support people experiencing homelessness, not to clean the environment or produce Tolerance Events. In addition, they lack the physical and financial capacity to do that.

Spatial
analysis

3
2
4 1

Autoethnography
Literature
review
Institutional analysis
Ethnography
Arts and culture
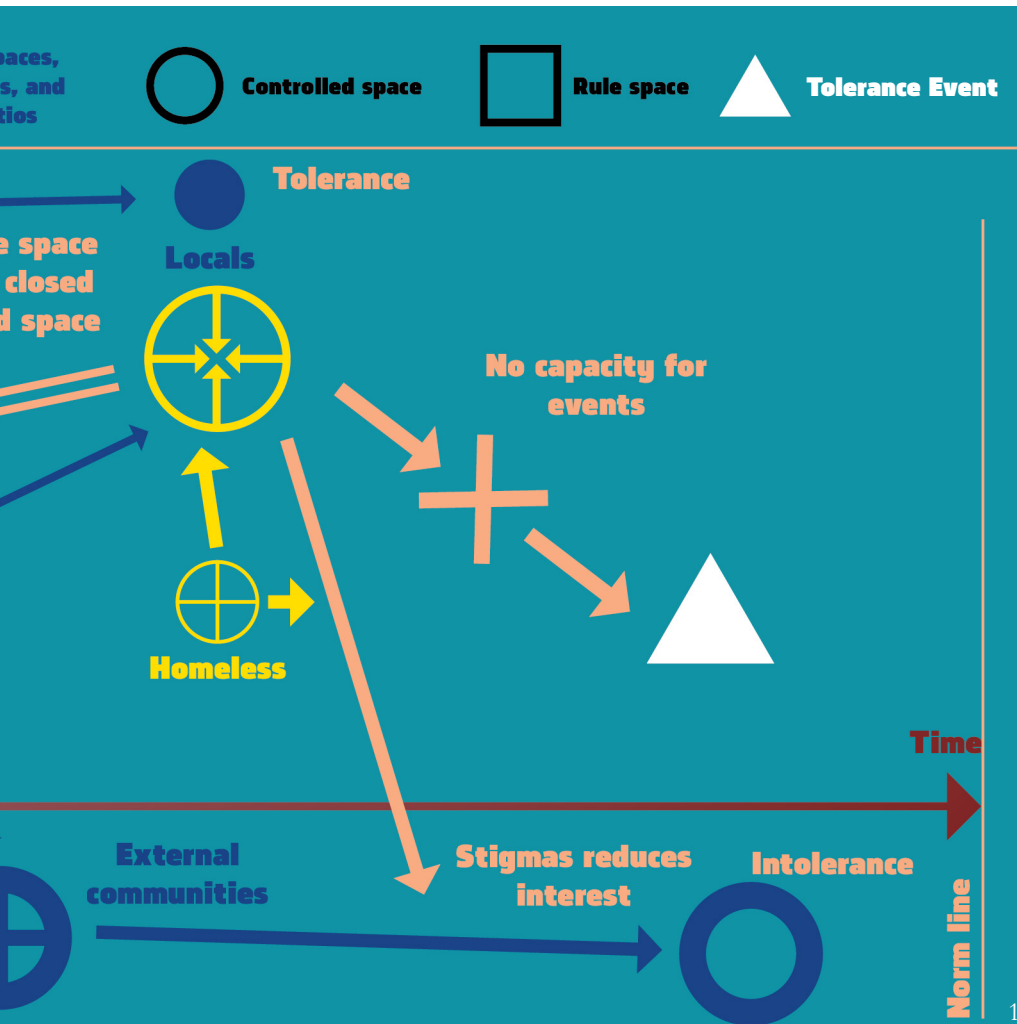
Figure 5.30. Approach used for this case study.

Figure 5.31. Location of "Emma" social centre.

2 km

Neris

Nemunas

500m
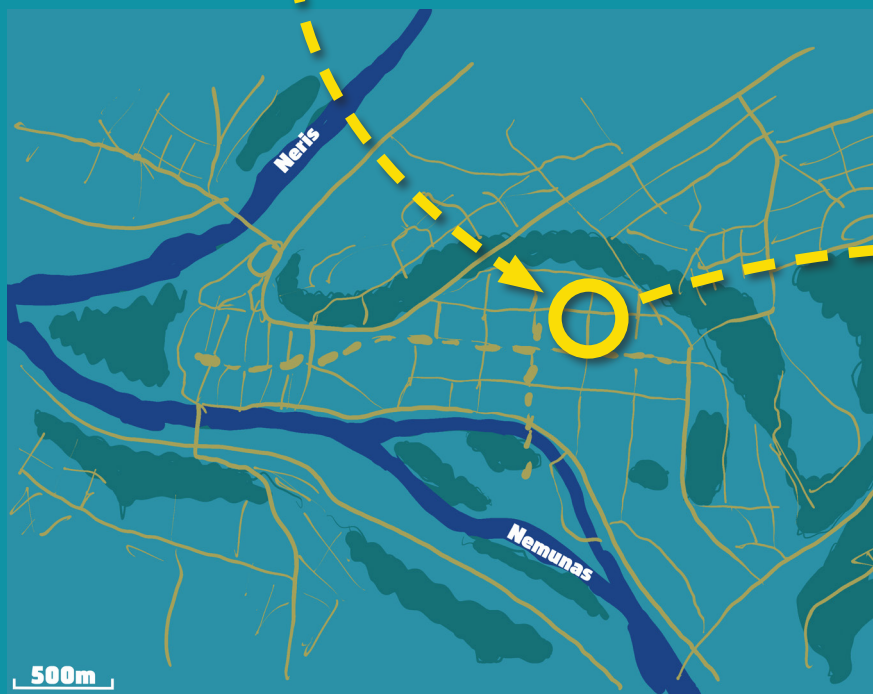
156   Figure 5.32. Context of "Emma" social centre.

"Emma" social centre

Established in 2017, this social centre is located in the very centre of Kaunas, in the 2-floor high blue wooden building. However, on a small scale, it is relatively hidden. It is positioned further away from the main pedestrian artery – Laisvės Avenue, above a local bar, with the main entrance in the backyard. Therefore even if it is open to everyone, the centre itself is known less from its physical location than through Tolerance Events that it organises and participates in. This represents another critical characteristic which I call "4 types of relationships".

Figure 5.33. "Emma" social centre.
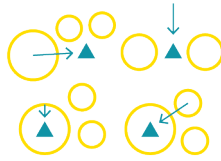
This characteristic represents the variety of Tolerance Event and Space synergies. Space becomes more open and affects people's attitudes more when it uses these relationships fully. This is the case of "Emma" because even if it is relatively hidden, it made its name through Tolerance Events.

I divided these relationships on 2 axis – depicting where and by who Tolerance Events are organised in liaison with Tolerance Spaces. The main march of the Kaunas Pride 2021 was organised by the "Emma" community, but outside of their social centre. However, other Tolerance Events of the Pride were hosted in the blue wooden house, representing the diagram's internal-interior part. The National Inconvenient Film Festivals, hosted annually, often arrange screenings in the "Emma", attracting people outside the circle of everyday visitors. Finally, the top right corner represents the instances when both organiser and the place of the Tolerance Event are external to the social centre, for example, when "Emma" collaborate with Kaunas Artists' Home.
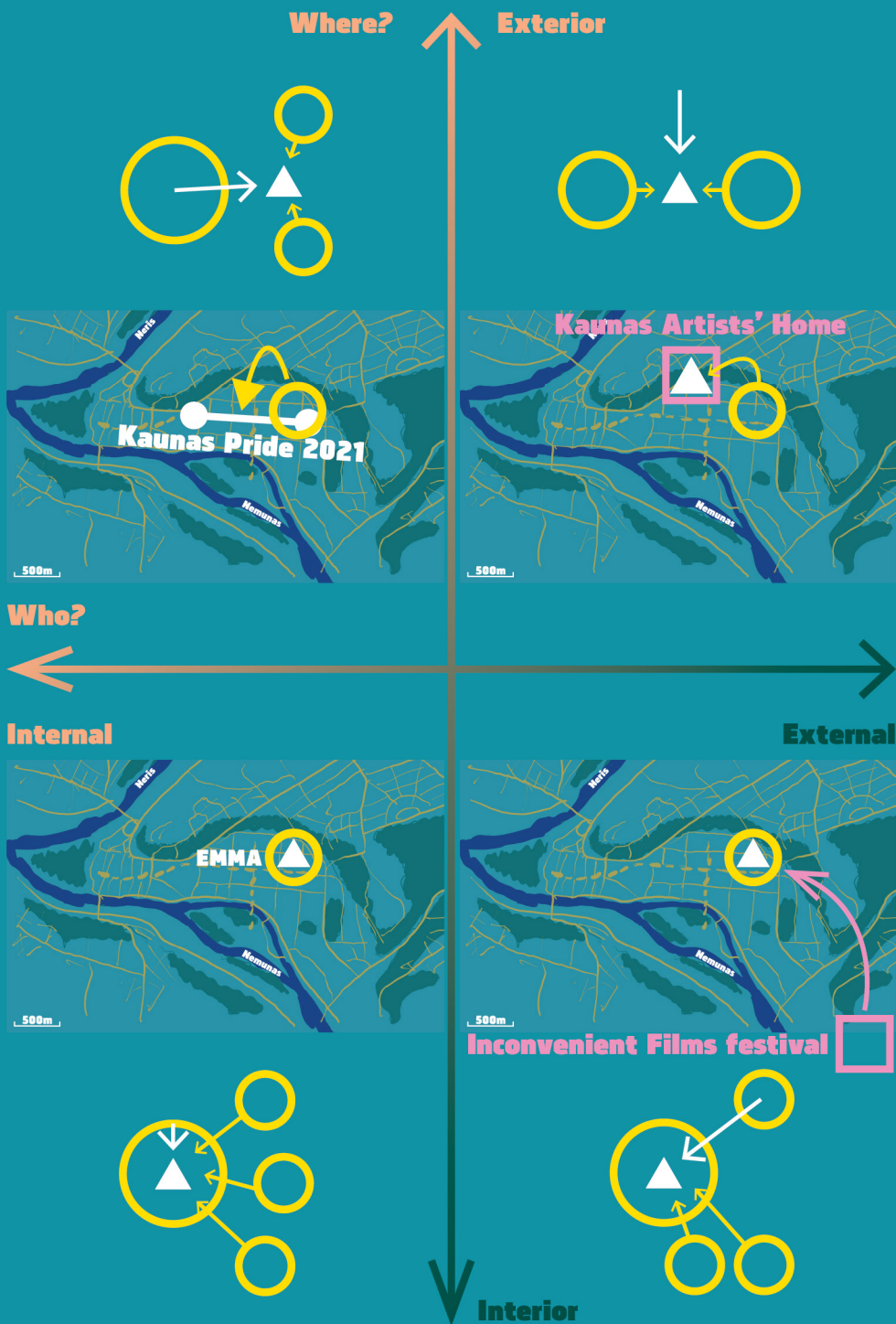
Figure 5.34. 4 types of relationships.   159

Figure 5.35. Approach used for this case study.

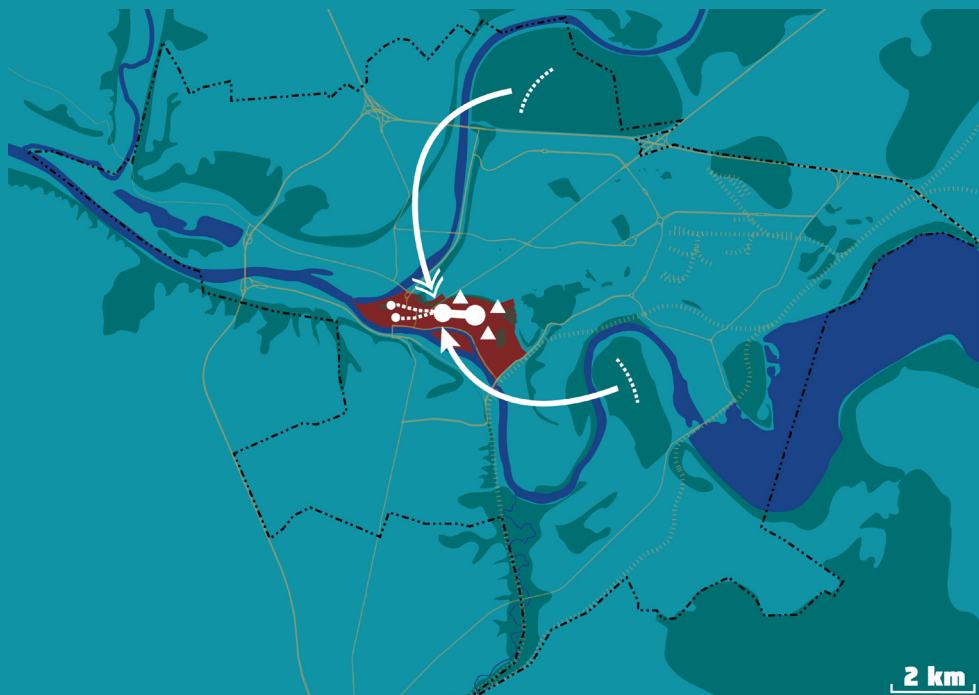Figure 5.36. Locations of Baltic Prides in Vilnius.

Figure 5.37. Locations of Kaunas Pride 2021. Dashed lines shows locations offered by municipality.

Baltic and Kaunas prides

Baltic Prides have been organised since 2009 collaboratively by NGOs from all 3 Baltic States, hosted in a different capital every year. The first one in Vilnius was executed in 2010, and in 2022 the fifth Vilnius Baltic Pride took place. Kaunas Pride so far only happened in 2021. Local NGOs organised it with a much smaller capacity. By comparing these events it is possible to see the changing attitudes at both societal and governmental levels. Importantly, spatial analysis plays a huge role in investigating this case study.
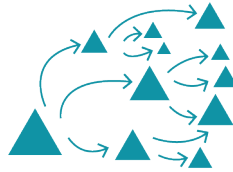
Multilevel marketing

This is a synonym for a "Pyramid scheme" business model, which incentivises recruiting more salespeople rather than selling products, consequently multiplying participants at each stage. I believe this is a good metaphor for the process of a successful Tolerance Event – it is multiplied by other Tolerance Events, constantly increasing in quantity. One becomes few, few become more, and more becomes a lot. This was the case of Baltic Prides – each year more and more events were hosted by the main organisers and collaborators.
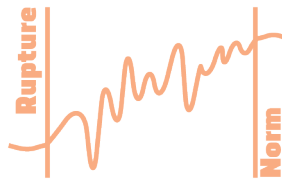
From rupture to norm

A Tolerance Event starts as a rupture of the status quo, addressing sociocultural issues and provoking a reaction. This also means that at some point it can affect people's attitudes enough to become a norm. The striking behaviour in the beginning gradually becomes everyday and new status quo. In Hegelian Dialectic terms, the thesis, through rupture, provokes antithesis, and in the end forms synthesis, which becomes a new thesis. And when the behaviour becomes everyday, it loses its breaking powers and cannot be called Tolerance Event anymore.

	(Gelūnas, 2020)	(Didžgalvis, 2014)	(Skaraitis, 2016)	(Danisch...
Courts	2	2	0	
Arrests	10	30	0	
Protestors	≈2000	≈1000	≈50	
Police	≈800	≈500	≈500	
Participants	≈350	≈800	≈3000	
Rupture			**Norm**	

Figure 5.38. Evolution of Baltic and Kaunas prides.
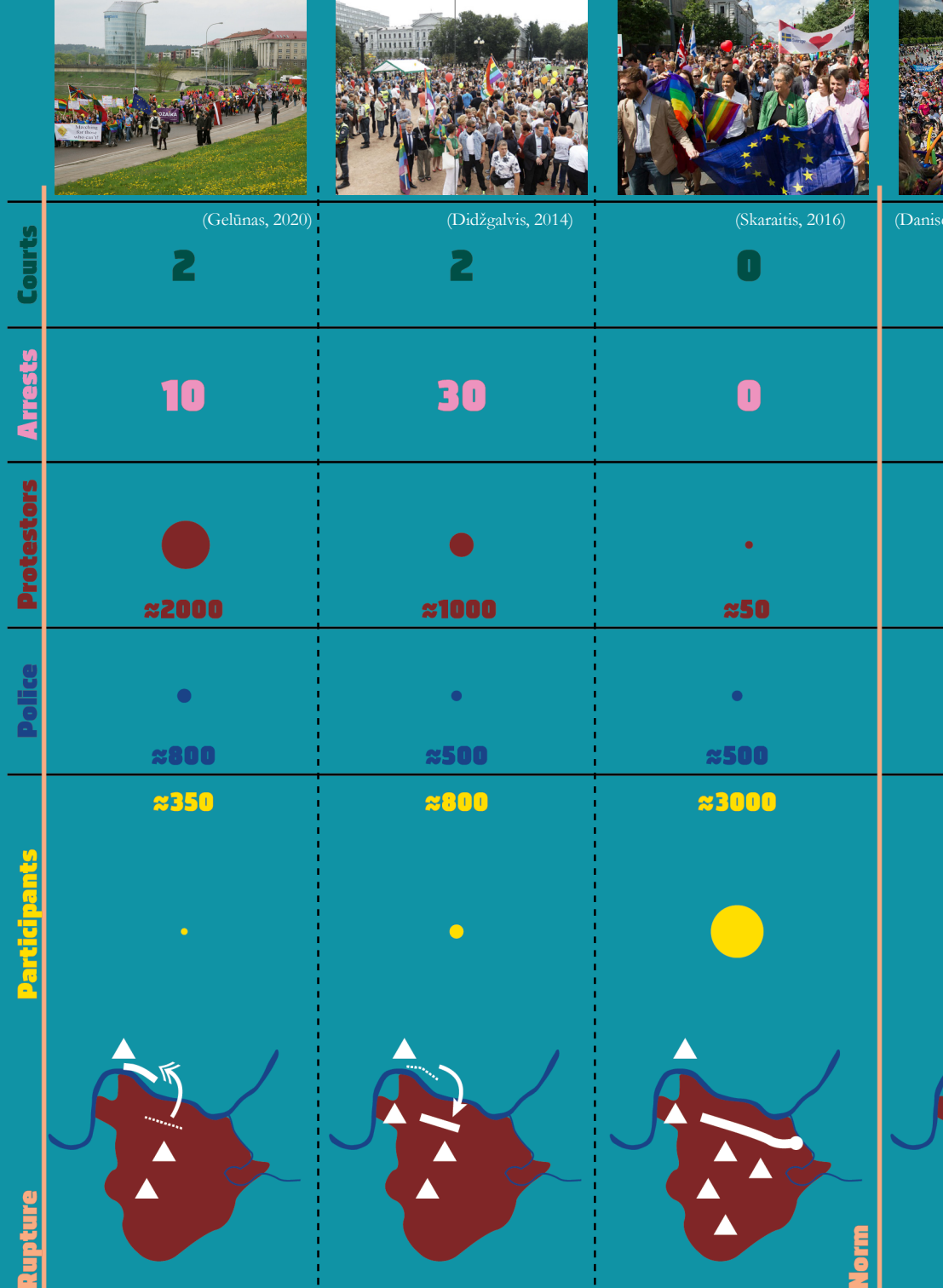
0	**2**	**0**
0	**22**	**0**
•	●	•
≈30	≈500–1000	≈20
•	•	•
≈500	≈800	≈500
≈10 000	≈2000–3000	≈4500–20 000

Rupture

Kaunas
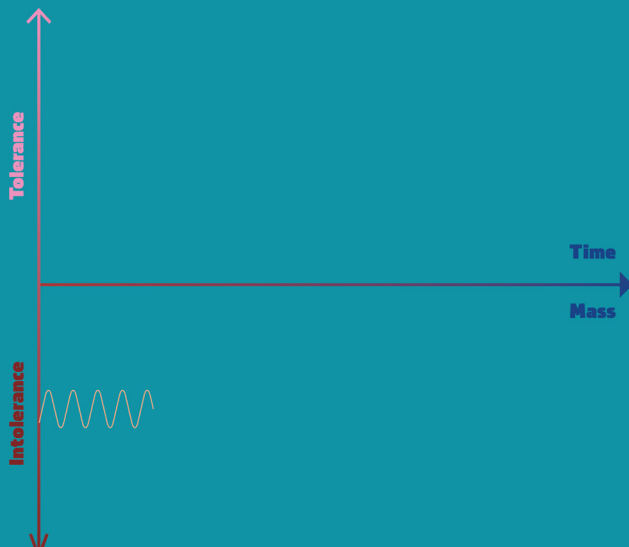
Top-left diagram labels: Tolerance, Intolerance, Time, Mass, Thesis = status quo

The process starts with people's attitudes being in status quo.

Top-right diagram labels: Tolerance, Intolerance, Rupture, $F =$, $\triangle = $, $\triangle = -\triangle$, Thesis = status quo, Antithesis
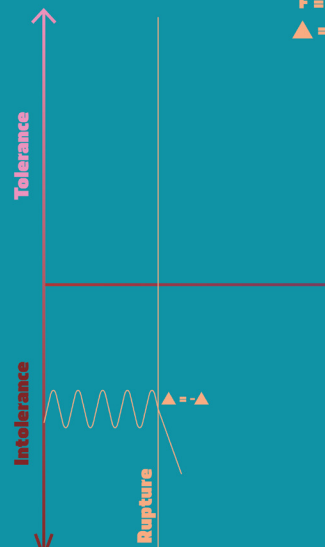
Tolerance Event ruptures thesis, p
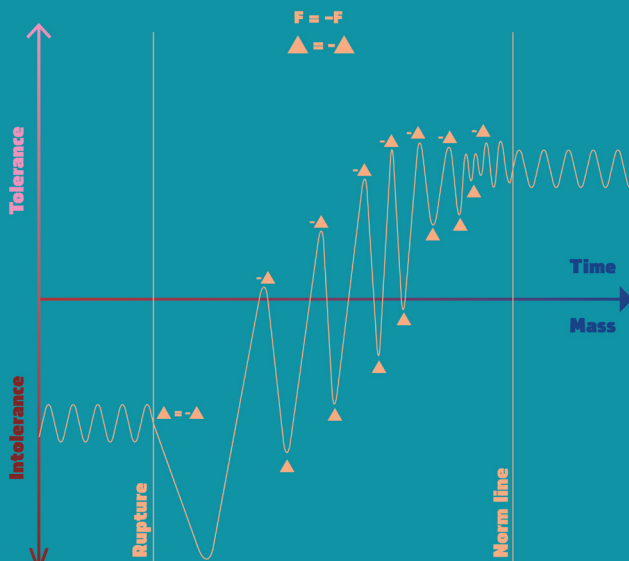
Bottom-left diagram labels: $F = -F$, $\triangle = -\triangle$, Tolerance, Time, Mass, Intolerance, $\triangle = -\triangle$, Rupture, Norm line, Thesis = status quo, Antithesis = event period, Sinthesis = norm

Event period continues with more Tolerance Events and subsequent reactions, gradually fostering more tolerant attitudes.

Bottom-right diagram labels: $F =$, $\triangle =$, Tolerance, Intolerance, $\triangle = -\triangle$, Rupture, Thesis = status quo, Antithesis
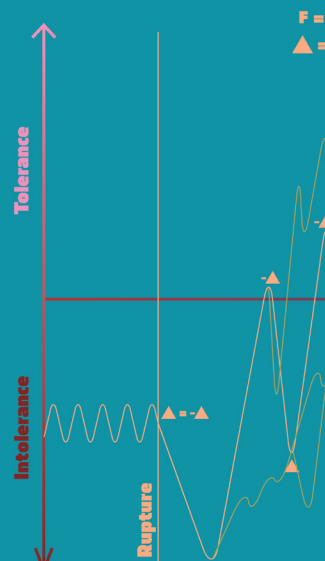
At each stage multiple more Tol
due to Multilevel Ma

F = –F
▲ = -▲

Tolerance

Time

Mass

Intolerance

Rupture

▲ = -▲

= –F
= -▲

Time

Mass

= event period

provoking reaction and antithesis.

Thesis = status quo   Antithesis = event period

Reaction to the first Tolerance Event provokes another Tolerance
Event.

= –F
= -▲

Time

Mass

Norm line

= event period   Sinthesis = norm

lerance Effects are being created
rketing characteristic.

F = –F
▲ = -▲

Tolerance

Time

Mass

Intolerance

Rupture

▲ = -▲

Norm line

Thesis = status quo   Antithesis = event period   Sinthesis = norm

The whole increase in tolerant attitudes can be represented by a
kinetic, unstable gradient.

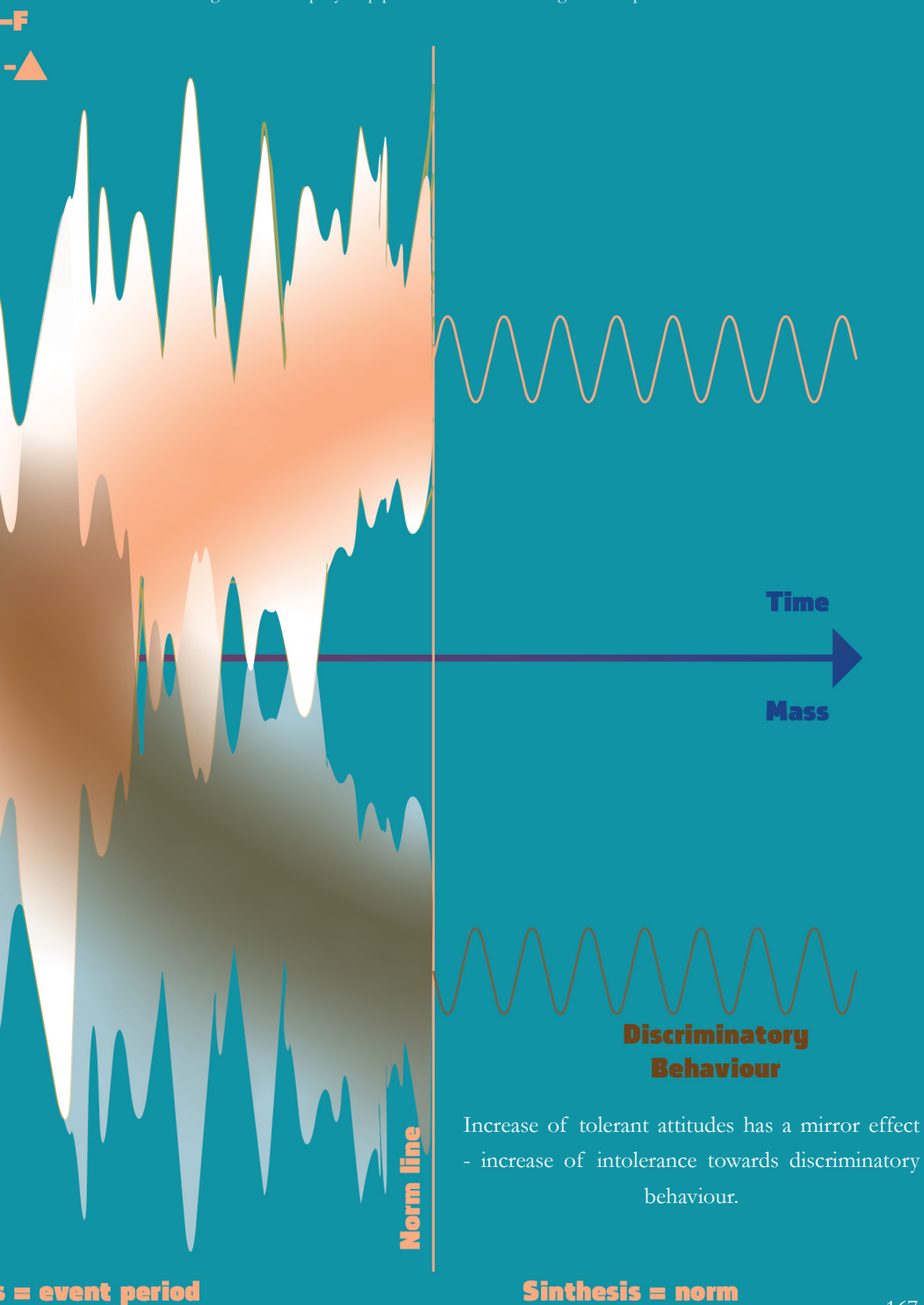Figure 5.39. Step-by-step process of attitude change after rupture until it becomes a norm.   165
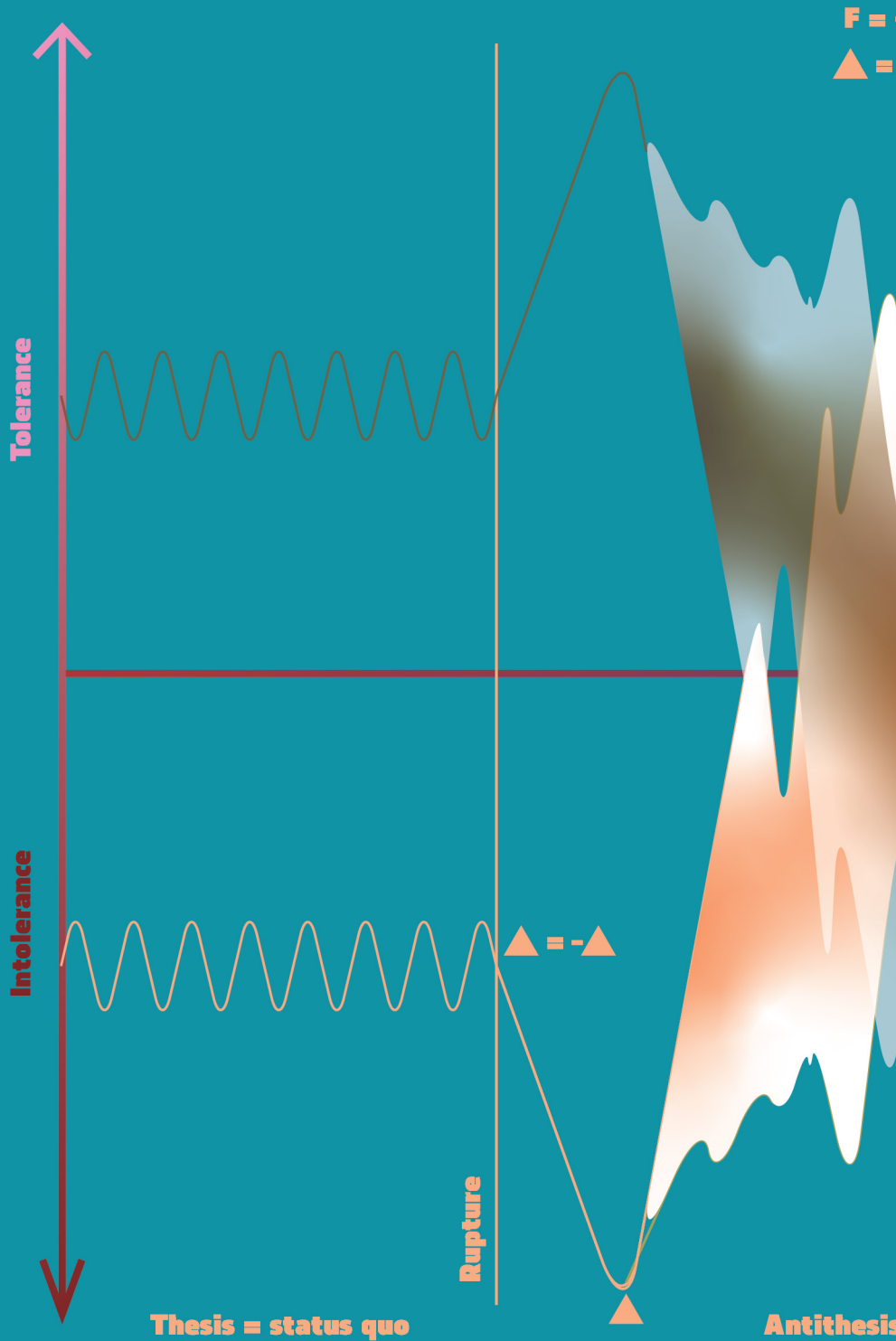
Figure 5.40. Step-by-step process of attitude change after rupture until it becomes a norm.

−F

−▲

Time

Mass

Discriminatory Behaviour

Increase of tolerant attitudes has a mirror effect - increase of intolerance towards discriminatory behaviour.

Norm line

s = event period

Sinthesis = norm

167

Importantly, as the comparison of the Baltic and Kaunas Prides shows, this affect has a spatial range. In Vilnius it became a city festival rather than a rupture already in 2019, when around 10 thousand people participated in the march with little to no opposition. In Kaunas still in 2021 it was a significant rupture of everyday, with only around 2-3 thousand participants and a large quantity of resistance.

Another vital aspect shown by Prides is that this transformation from rupture to the norm is never linear and straightforward. It is a highly kinetic and unpredictable change of states of being. A tolerance Event breaks existing patterns, provoking a strong reaction, which fosters another reaction and so on. In this process, more and more Tolerance Events occur in different locations and scales, pushing attitudes out of balance even more. Gradually this transformation increases everyday attitudes, finally becoming a norm. At the same time, an opposite process takes place, which makes negative discriminatory behaviour intolerable. There is always something that people do not tolerate (see "3.4. Conceptual limits", pages 76-79), yet it is imperative whether it is discriminatory or inclusive behaviour.

(Gelūnas, 2020)

Figure 5.41. Vilnius Pride 2010 location, depicting route of the participants, erected fences, and places where protestors gathered.
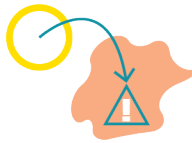
Norm space is critical

Norm Space is crucial to affect people's attitudes. It has a symbolic value, and occupying and showing presence in it represents legitimacy and strongly increases awareness. Consequently, for people with negative attitudes, protecting the Norm Space from being inhabited by discriminated communities is critical.

It is backed by the story of Baltic Pride 2010 and Kaunas Pride 2021. In both cases LGBTQ+ community had to go through many legal obstacles to host their marches in city centres, which due to monocentrism have massive symbolic value. Organisers had to fight municipalities in courts (see 1.1. Introduction, pages 32-33). On a citizens' level, discriminatory attitudes were represented by the massive attendance of anti-protesters and large-scale protection that were erected around the LGBTQ+ community and their supporters. The importance of symbols extends to the elements used by supporters and opponents. Such elements as national flags or coats of arms were used by both sides to expand the occupation of the Norm space and strengthen their legitimacy.
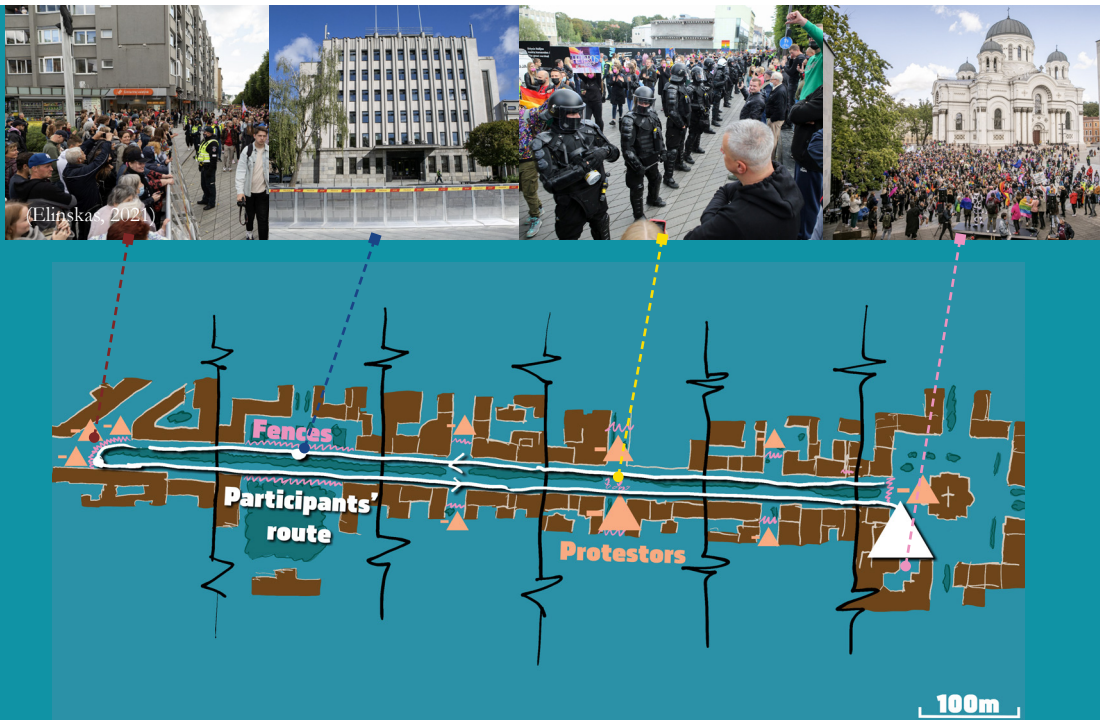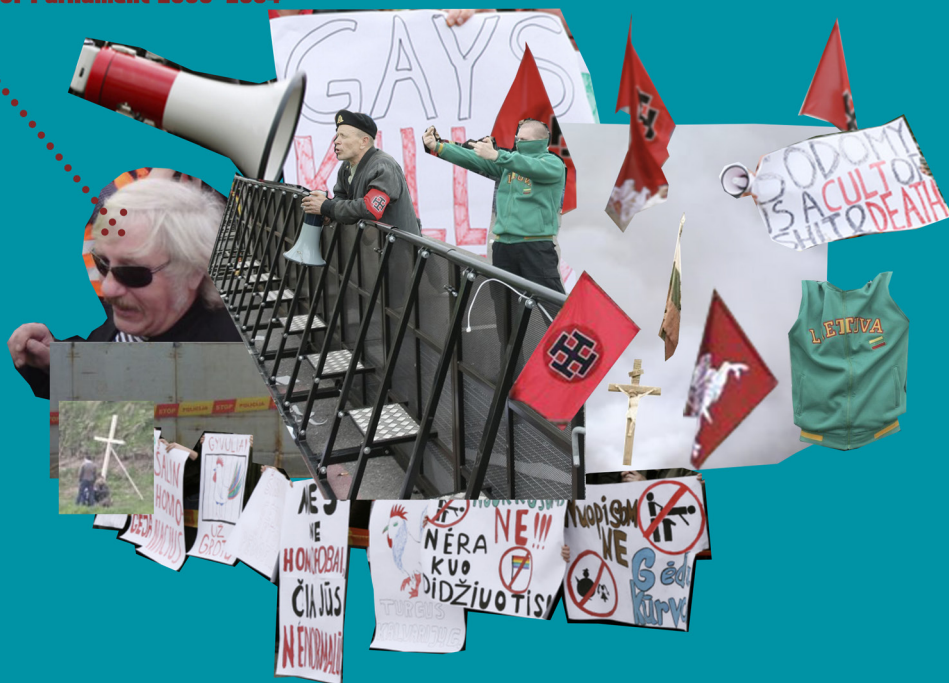

(Elinskas, 2021)

Figure 5.42. Kaunas Pride 2021 location, depicting route of the participants, erected fences, and places where protestors gathered.

BALTIC 2010
ANTI

170   Figure 5.43. Symbols used by supportes and protestors of Baltic Pride 2010 and Kaunas Pride 2021.

Member of Parliament 2004–2016

PRO

KAUNAS 2021

Member of Parliament 2020–

Member of Parliament 2016–

Rupture

Which needs to be addressed and mitigated

Negative Tolerance Events Creates Dangerous Dips

Norm line
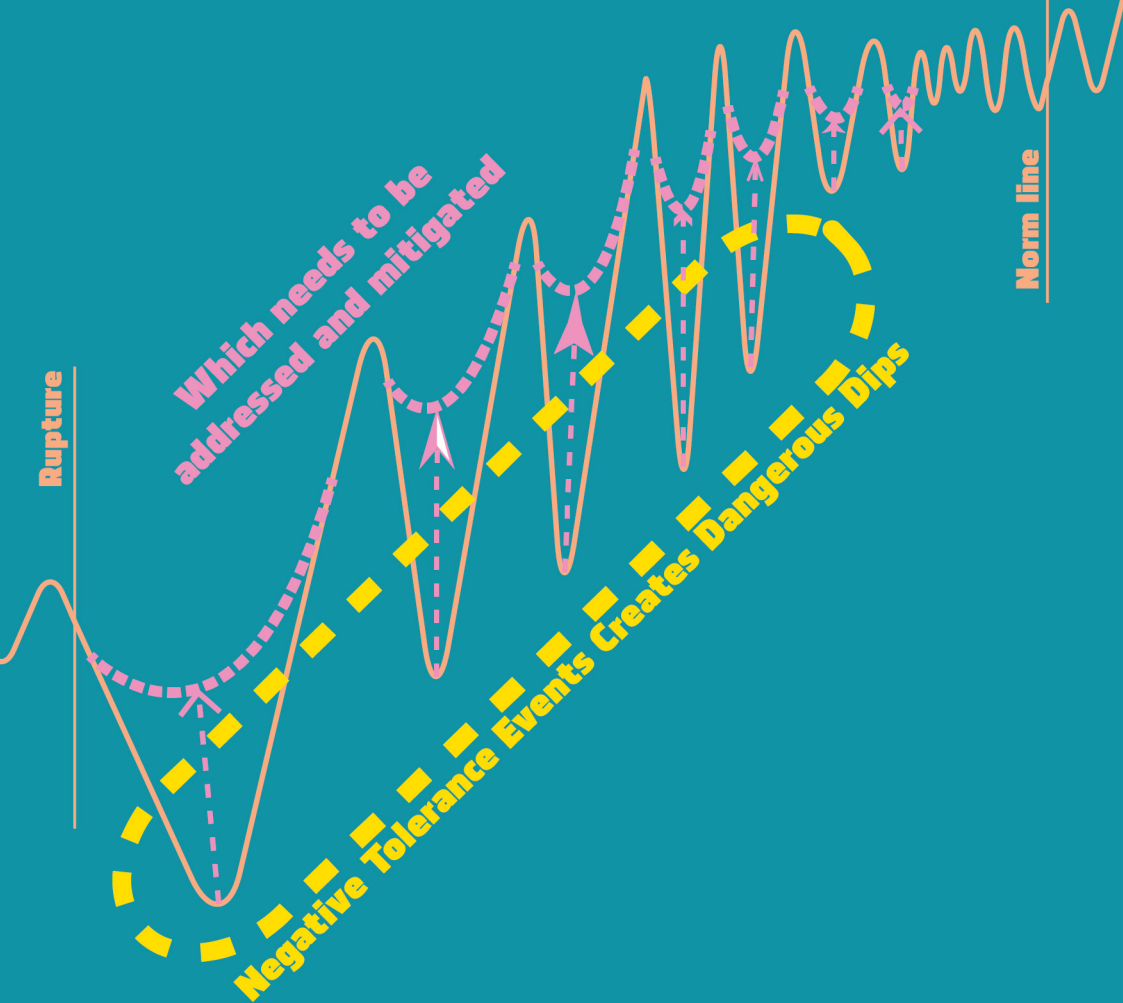
Figure 5.44. Potential dangers of the Tolerance Event.

172

Baltic Pride 2010

Kaunas Pride 2021

Safety first

Both Baltic Pride 2010 and Kaunas Pride 2021 depict a critical moment – that the Tolerance Event as a very strong rupture of the status quo can generate a powerful reaction in the form of a negative Tolerance Event. These reactions can be physically and mentally dangerous to less tolerated vulnerable groups. Keeping people unharmed and fostering a feeling of safety must be a priority. In both Prides, large groups of angry people protested against the LGBTQ+ community. And while subsequent Baltic Prides were less dangerous, what mattered was that in the first one, as well as in the Kaunas Pride 2021, institutions stood firm and protected vulnerable groups. Police considered their values "To defend. To save. To Help." above their individual attitudes and guarded participants from harm. This consequently fostered a feeling of safety for minorities and trust in institutions that increased participation in the following events. One respondent stated that during Kaunas Pride 2021 "a lot of police strengthened the feeling of safety. They were effective and objective." Another interviewee added that "there were questions about how police will act. But they made me feel safer."
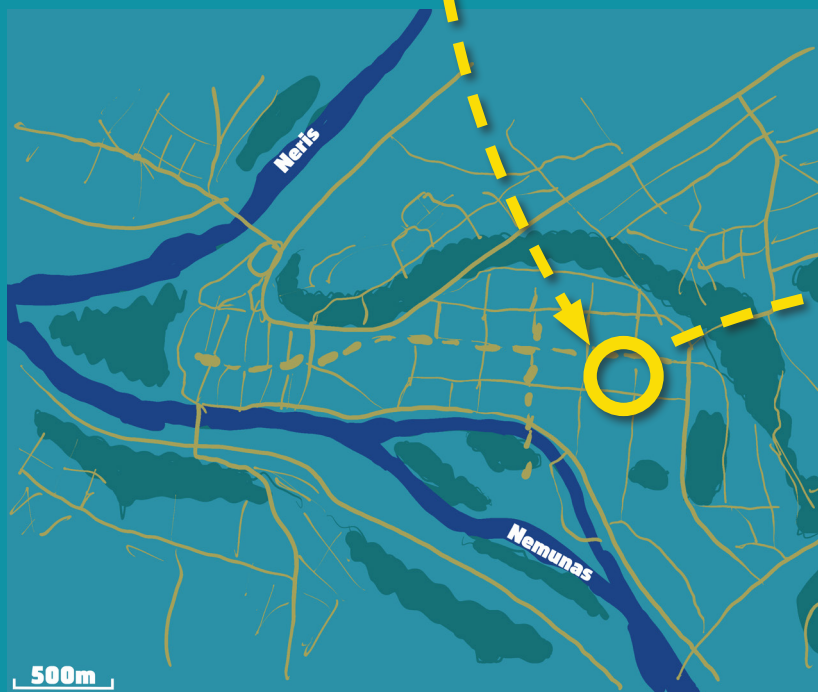
However, one institution cannot guarantee security for vulnerable communities during the Tolerance Event period. In the case of the LGBTQ+ community, the police stood firm during Baltic and Kaunas Prides. Yet when it comes to less physical and more verbal psychological offences, police are hesitant to prosecute people due to vaguely defined laws. As one interviewee noted, "police may not see hate crimes in homophobia".

Figure 5.45. Police protecting participants in Baltic Pride 2010 (Vaitkevičius, 2020) and Kaunas Pride 2021(Sidabras, 2021)

3
2
4
1

Autoethnography
Literature
review
Institutional analysis
Ethnography
Arts and culture
**Spatial
analysis**

Figure 5.46. Approach used for this case study.

2 km

Figure 5.47. Location of "Lizdas" club.


Neris

Nemunas

500m

Figure 5.48. Context of "Lizdas" club.

"Lizdas" club

"Lizdas" is a little nightclub established in 2015. At that time its location was relatively deserted since most of the citizens were going to Old Town rather than this end of the New Town. However, today in 2023, the area became one of the most popular places in the City. The establishment of this club and the Tolerance Events that it produced were partly responsible for the revival of the Independence Square zone. But even more importantly, the community's activities are responsible for increased awareness that ravers are not vampire-like drug addicts, and the electronic music scene is a culture rather than hedonistic anti-christian activity. In other words, the "Lizdas" club fostered more tolerant attitudes towards clubbers.
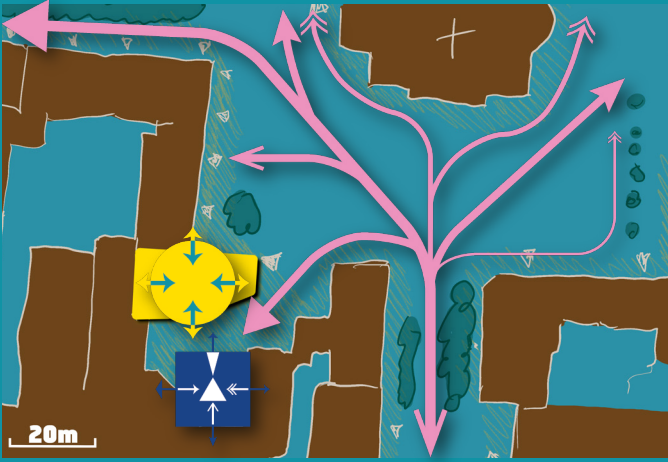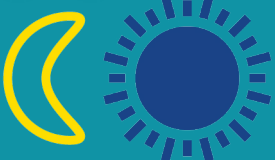

Figure 5.49. "Lizdas" club. 175
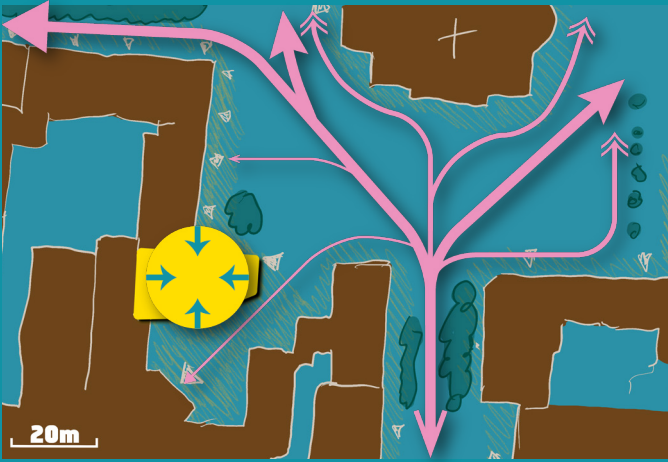
I–VII 07:00–22:00
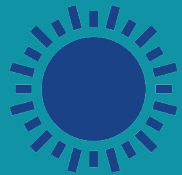
V–VI 22:00–07:00

**Summer
I–VII 18:00–24:00**

176   Figure 5.50. Spatial changes of "Lizdas" club regarding Tolerance connected to usage of environment narby.

Form follows event

Architecture matters for the openness of the facility and, consequently, the potential for tolerant attitudes. The design and type of the building can improve the visibility, accessibility, and inclusivity of the space and community. "Lizdas" club is a very hidden institution, located in the basement of the Art Museum. The only sign it has is a minimal club logo – a circle. To tackle physical invisibility, the community of "Lizdas" had to use various types of Tolerance Events, which affected people's attitudes.
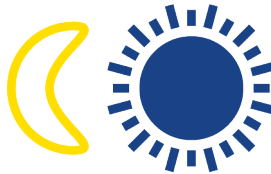

Time is of the essence

The time of the day, week, and year matters for the openness of the space. It can be more or less visible and accessible depending on the number of passers-by and how they use the zone: fast or slow, do they stop to sit or rush through (Gehl, 2011). Different people use space at various times. The "Lizdas" club is the least accessible during the daytime when only the logo is visible. However, that is the time when most people use the area. When it opens during the weekend nights, it becomes much more visible due to the lines standing outside, yet most people do not see this since they do not go there during the night. In the Summertime community hosts an open-air bar called "Laukas" and activities nearby, making it visible both for daytime and night-time users.

"Audra" festival 2021

"Audra" is a city festival organised by the "Lizdas" community. 2021 was the first edition of the now well-known Tolerance Event. It represents the increase of tolerant attitudes towards clubbers because while it started as a bottom-up initiative (with the help of Kaunas 2022 European Capital of Culture team), it is now supported and celebrated by the municipality. The Festival even received an award from the city administration, depicting the increase in tolerant attitudes (PILOTAS.LT, 2023).
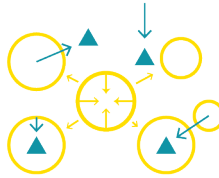
Diversify

To foster more tolerant attitudes, it is essential to diversify Tolerance Events and produce them at different times of the day, in various locations, and at diverse scales. It increases accessibility and the number of encounters. This is the reason for the success not only of the "Lizdas" club but of the "Audra" festival as well (Guttridge-Hewitt, 2022). For almost a week, organizers produced events in many diverse places in the city, both day and night, free and paid. They used all 4 types of relationships between spaces and Tolerance Events, hosting activities inside and outside the club, and collaborating with different actors for production.

Figure 5.51. Diverse happenings of "Audra" festival 2021.

Figure 5.52. Location of "Audra" festival 2021.

Figure 5.53. Context of "Audra" festival 2021. 179
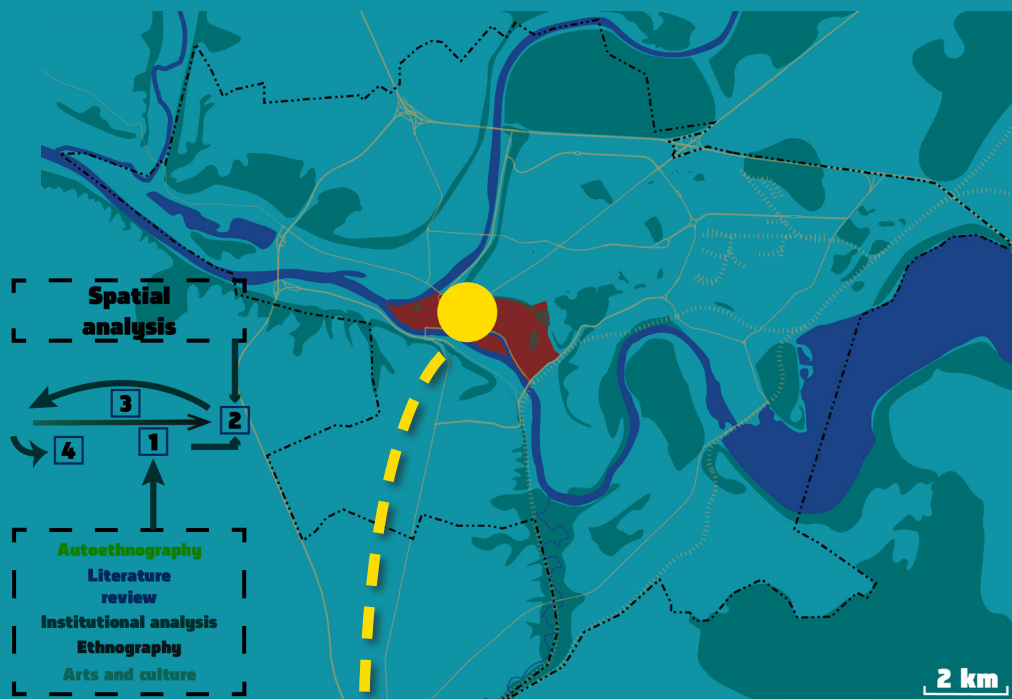
Figure 5.54. Approach used for this case study.

Figure 5.55. Location of the Courtyard Gallery.

Spatial analysis

3

2

1

4

Autoethnography

Literature review

Institutional analysis

Ethnography

Arts and culture

2 km

20 m

Figure 5.56. Courtyard Gallery.

Courtyard Gallery and festival

Courtyard Gallery is a small, free-to-enter, open-air Controlled Space that is constantly in development. The first artwork was painted in 2012 by a local inhabitant, and later area exploded into a multimedia showcase of collaborating and diverse artists as well as the local community (Jakas, 2022). In 2014 residents hosted the first Courtyard Festival – just a few people dining together. In 2017 it skyrocketed into a city-wide festival, where inhabitants from all around the city participated and broke bread together on Laisvės Avenue (Šileikė, 2022).


"The law of the few"

It is the name of the chapter in Malcolm Gladwell's book "The Tipping Point" (2012), in which he describes the importance of a few critical actors for the social epidemic (spread of culture, fashion, message, or in this case Tolerance Event). The instance of the Courtyard Gallery and festival depicts this very well. A local artist initiated a gallery, and other residents and external artists gradually joined in creating the art space. Yet the rupture created by the single artist made the difference. A similar story happened with the Courtyard Festival. Just this time initiators were the whole local community of the gallery.

Relevance of the support

Few people can single-handedly create ruptures, but it takes multilevel support to increase the range and strengthen the affect on people's attitudes. With help from different sectors – societal, private, public, budgetary, and knowledge – the rupture can become a norm. Backing from various institutions not only builds capacity in terms of finances or physical power but also fosters legitimacy and increases awareness. One artist started the Courtyard Gallery, but it took the whole community to make it as popular as it is now. The same community kickstarted the Courtyard Festival, but without the support from Kaunas Municipality and Kaunas European Capital of Culture 2022 it would not have exploded into a city festival.
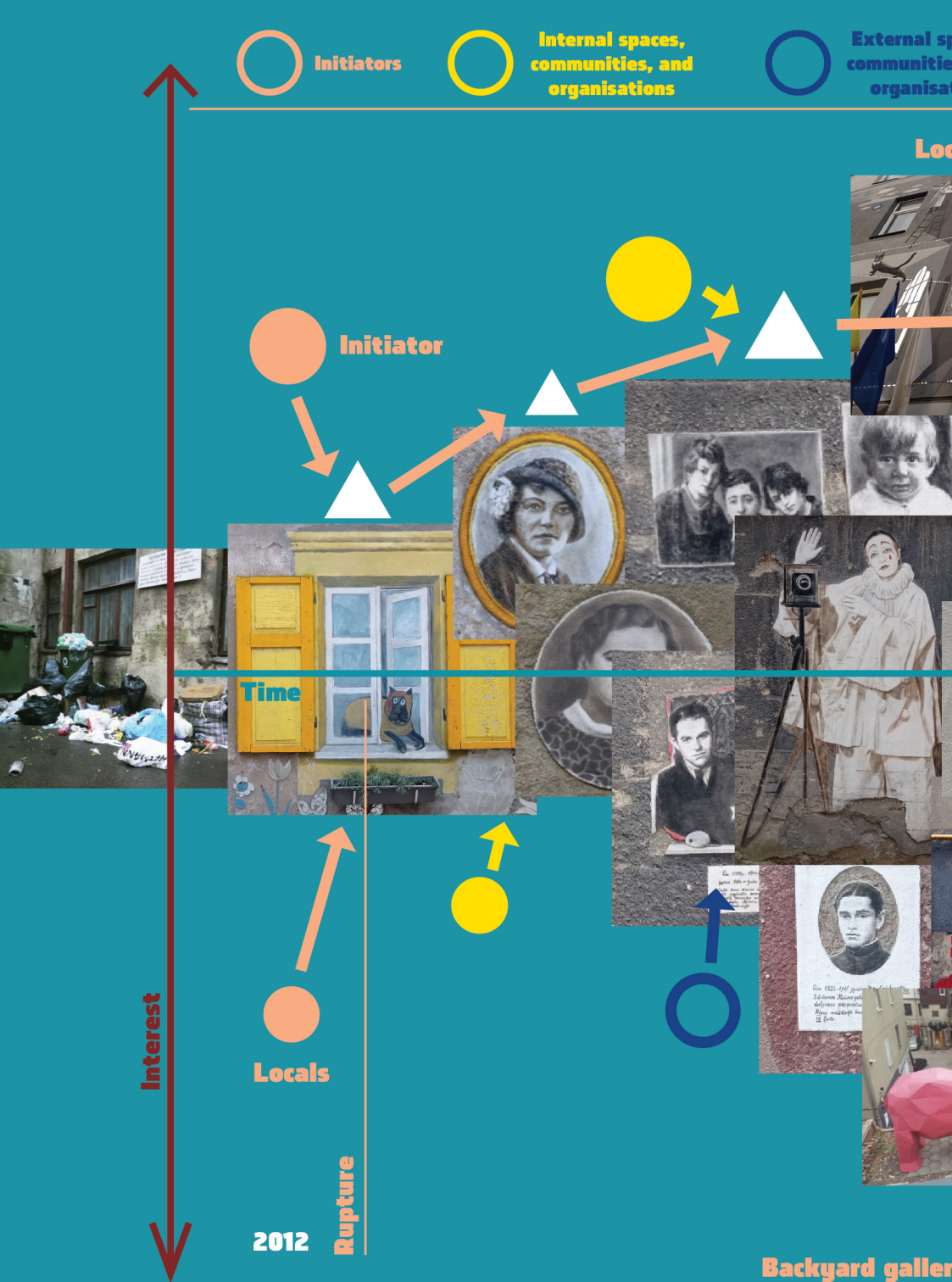
Figure 5.57. Chronological extension of the Courtyard Gallery and Festival connected to actors involvement.
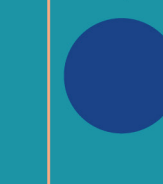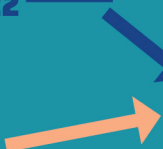
Controlled space Rule space Tolerance Event

Kaunas European Capital of Culture 2022

Municipality + eldersships

Kiemų švent

External communities

Norm line
Rupture

Norm line

2014

2017
Backyard Festival

Ramučiai community

Ramučiai is an old suburban neighbourhood in the Kaunas District. It is a case when an external Intolerance Event gathered the community together to react. This external happening was a significant increase in thefts in the area in 2014. This is a story of how the community acted to increase its safety but ultimately created a thriving, open, and tolerant neighbourhood.
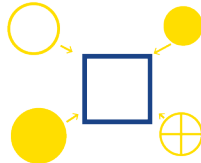
Where to meet?

A place for the community to meet and discuss was a critical spatial element that fostered comity. Increasing numbers of thefts provoked locals to react. However, the local cultural centre proved to be a crucial part of the reaction. There residents could meet and discuss throughout the year, invite external parties, such as Police Community Officers, and find solutions (Ramuciai.eu, 2014).

Figure 5.58. Ramučiai Cultural Centre.
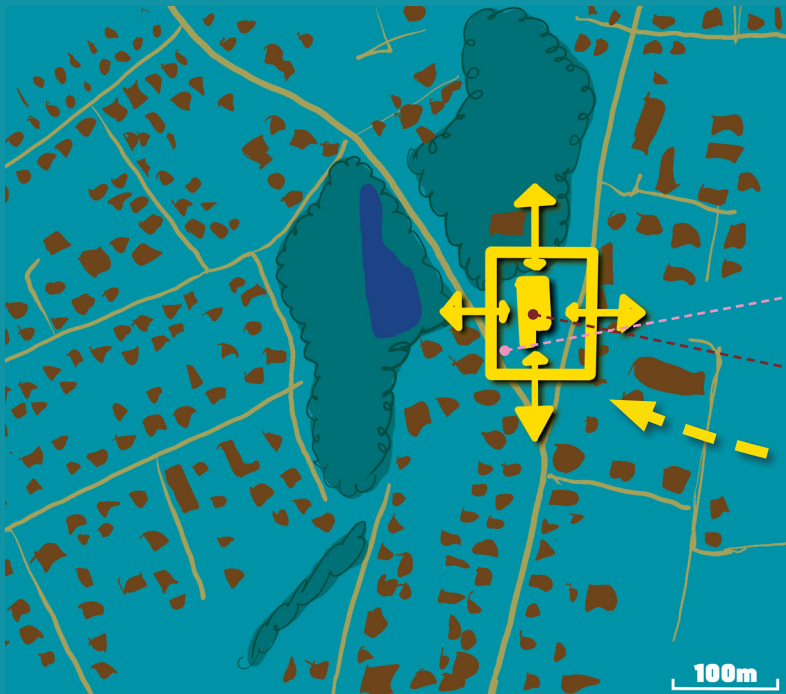
Figure 5.60. Approach used for this case study.

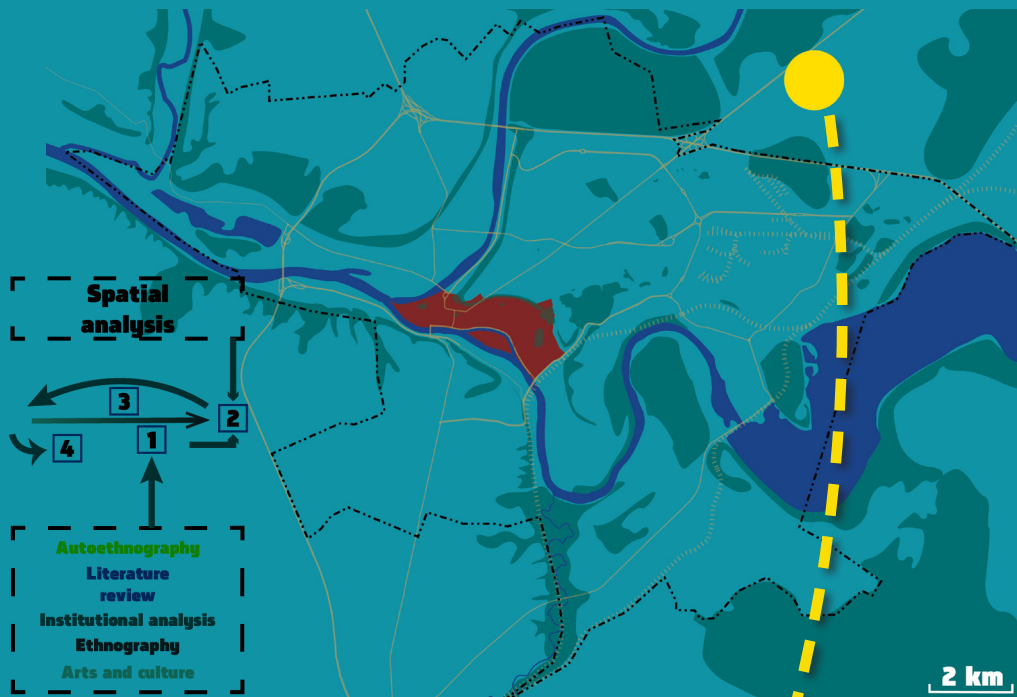Figure 5.61. Location of Ramučiai neighbourhood.

2 km

(Ramuciai.eu, 2014)

500m

Figure 5.59. Context of Ramučiai neighbourhood.   185

Top down legitimises

Support from the top-down helped locals with knowledge and capacity to create a safer settlement and legitimised a newly found legal body. Ramučiai community, led by an active leader, organised the first meeting in the cultural centre, where they met with Police Community Officers and Parish administration. The support from the latter two bodies proved to be critical for the formation of the community. The formed synergy helped locals with information, physical support, and financing. It strengthened the community so much that it started producing its own Tolerance Events, involving more and more people.

Ramučiai Community

Increased amount of thefts – Tolerance Event

Community gathers – negative Tolerance Event

Figure 5.62. Progress from Tolerance Event to increased comity.
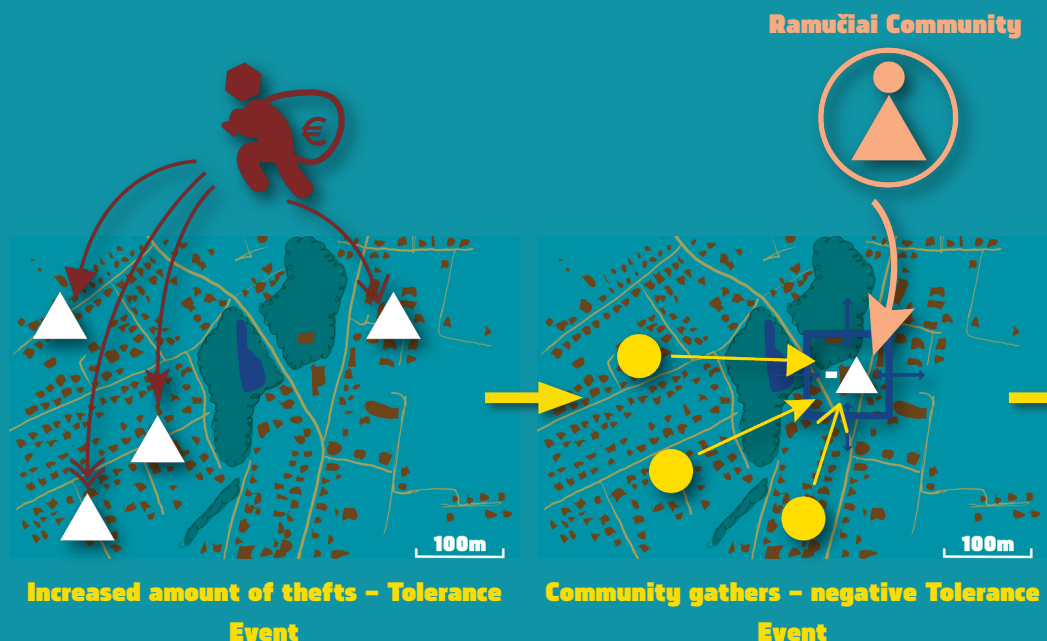
Participation

On the other hand, only public bodies could not have tackled increased numbers of theft. Their human resources would not be enough to oversee each street, and harsh security measures, such as cameras, cannot single-handedly prevent crime. The participation of the community was imperative for the creation of a safe, crime-free neighbourhood. The same can be said about fostering lively area with various Tolerance Events. Top-down could have produced few happenings, but in the end it was the participation of the community that fostered more consequent Tolerance Events.

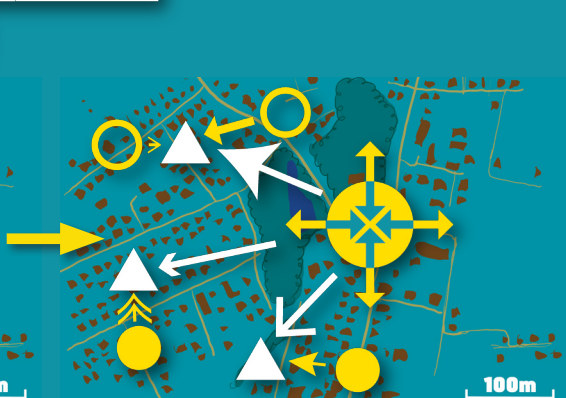**Community Police Officers**
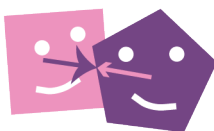

Kaunas District Municipality + Karmėlava Civil Parish

100m

100m

Synergy between community, police and local government to establish Safe Neighbourhood

Increased comity fosters more Tolerance Events

187

Show mutual goals and values

Based on all these cases, I can argue that mutuality connects different people. By having common elements, people can work together to protect or make them better (see also "3.4. Conceptual limits", pages 76-79). For example, Ramučiai community were united by a common goal – to tackle increased criminal activity. Inhabitants of the Courtyard Gallery were quick to join the artist in the production of the space since they were united by mutual values – the history of the area and culture. The "Audra" festival strongly influenced people's attitudes since it connected them with a common interest – a love for music and art.
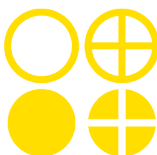
4 types of controlled spaces

Finally, there are 4 types of Controlled Spaces. I divided them into two axes. Vertical one depicts whether a dominating group is connected because of them as people (for example, ravers or people without homes) or based on place of living (Courtyard Gallery or Home for People with mental disabilities). The horizontal axis represents whether people chose to be in the community (ravers, Courtyard Gallery) or need to be together (people without homes or with mental disabilities). This is important because different controlled spaces have diverse issues to be addressed and various potentials to utilise.

Based on what?

Individual characteristics

Urban tribes
Subcultures

Socially vulnerable groups

Lizdas Club

Caritas Homeless Day Centre

Why?

Choice

Need

Courtyard Gallery

Vija Home for People with Mental Disabilities

Neighbourhood community

Segregated community

Place of living
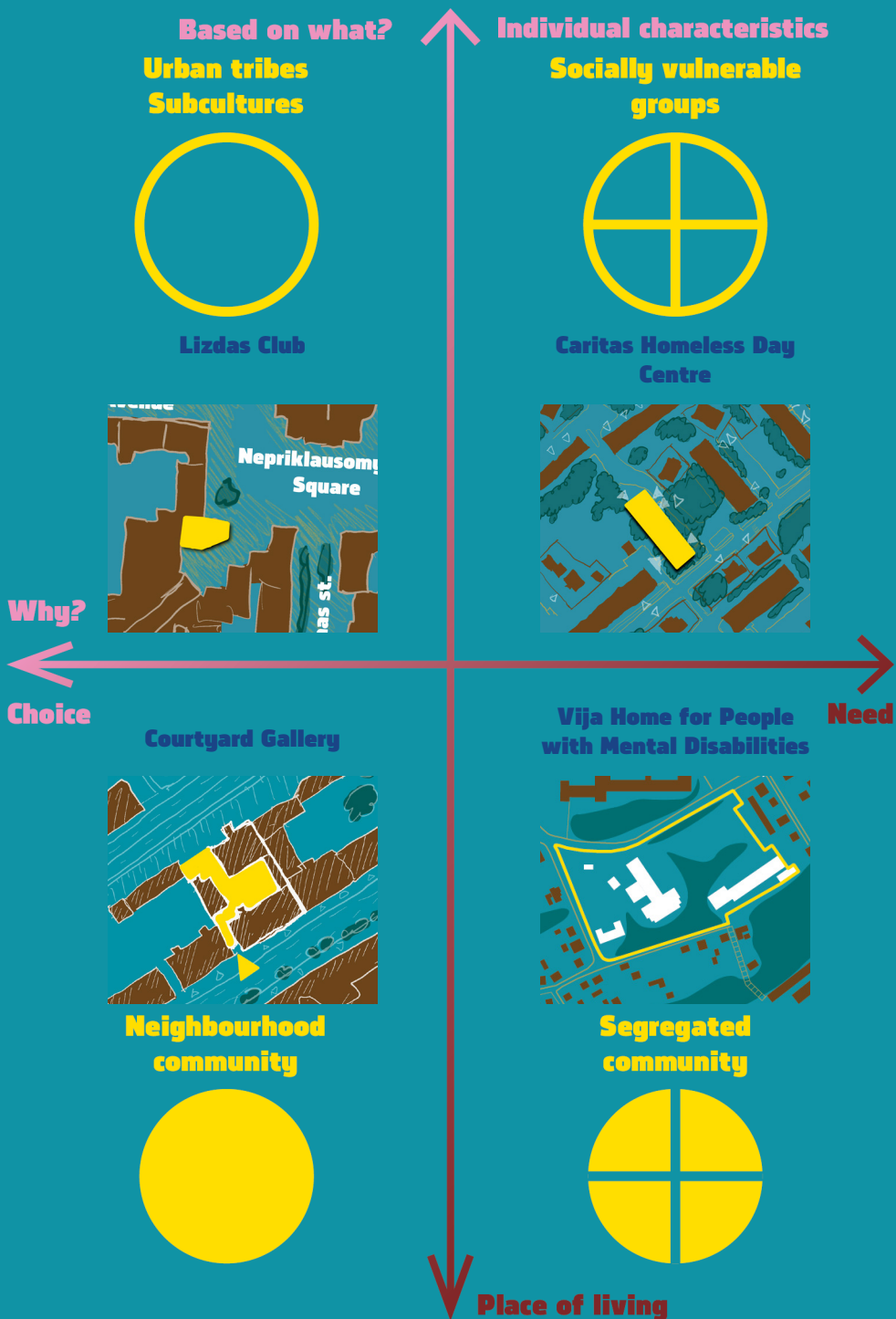
Figure 5.63. 4 types of controlled spaces.

5.7. Conclusion: the Conceptual Framework of Tolerance

To summarise this chapter, I produced the Conceptual Framework of Tolerance. In it I combined elements from the theoretical framework (pages 98-99) – namely "Deep story" of the society, perceived "ideal image", attitudes towards difference and overarching process of tolerance. In addition, I connected them with the conclusion from the empirical investigation – Tolerance Event. I used the reference of the steering wheel because I argue that Tolerance Events can steer the other elements of the equation and, through the process of tolerance, affect people's attitudes and reactions towards difference. The process of tolerance does not change, therefore it is located in the middle of the wheel. Tolerance Evens can steer not only attitudes but also affect the "deep story" and perceived "ideal image", making them more tolerant, inclusive, and open-ended.

Figure 5.64. Graffiti in Kaunas in an underground passage. It says:
I see people, but I do not see humanity.
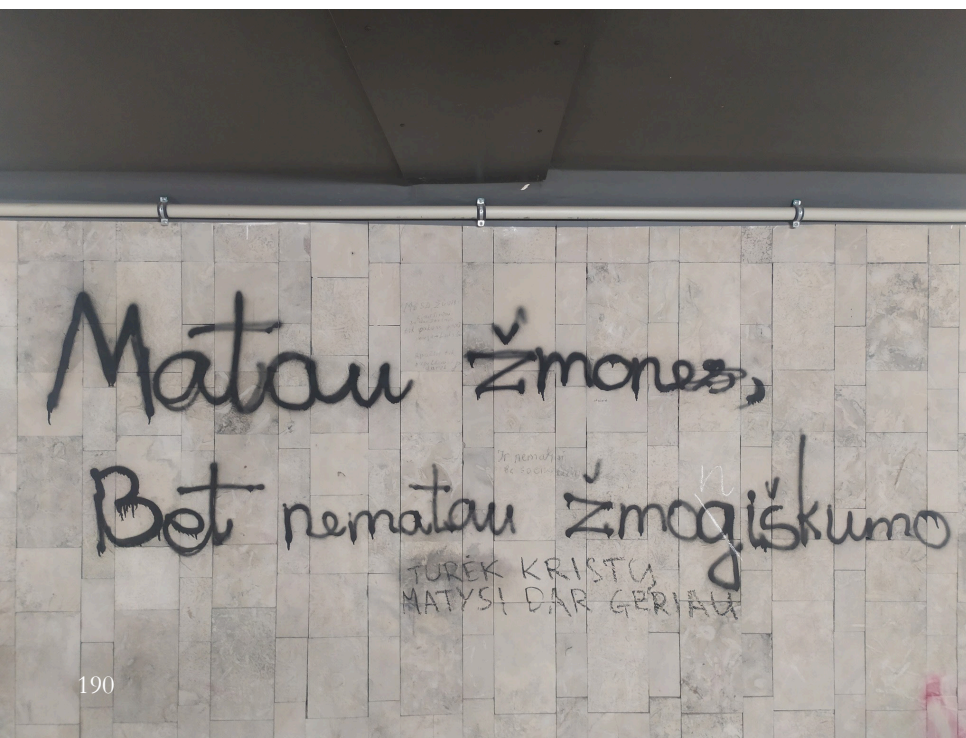
Figure 5.65. The Conceptual Framework of Tolerance.

6. FOSTERING TOLERANCE

MAKING BRAVE TOLERANT CITY

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter I will present an implementation of the conceptual framework of Tolerance in Kaunas. I will first outline the central vision, or one rule to guide the other 7 subrules. I will continue by discussing each subrule in more detail and showing examples of their implementation in Kaunas through policy and funding proposals, planning guidelines, and design interventions. While it is not a complete vision and masterplan for the city or a smaller area, it is a set of coherent, interconnected ideas. I did it deliberately because planning for tolerance cannot be a standalone project, therefore I sought to depict how the conceptual framework of tolerance could work with other strategies.

BRAVE
TOLERANT
CITY

=

MORE TOLERANCE = TOLERANCE EVENTS

Figure 6.1. Vision - one rule to guide them all.

6.2. Vision – one rule to guide them all

I propose one main rule that guides other subrules - to make a Brave Tolerant City one needs to produce more Tolerance Events. It is based on the Conceptual Framework of Tolerance, with the idea that Tolerance Events can affect people's attitudes, the "deep story" of the society, and the perceived "ideal image". To implement the main rule, I propose 7 subrules designed for Kaunas. These subrules cover policies, institutions, stakeholders, spatial planning and design. It also stresses the importance of working together with other planning and design documents. In the following pages, I will describe each subrule in detail. To ground ideas in a concrete location, I chose a place in the Eiguliai district in northern Kaunas. It can be described as a space of avoidance and there many critical elements are located – multiple bus stops, a planned high-intensity bus lane, parish administration, and a school where the community centre could be found.

Furthermore, to represent the connectivity and structure of the ideas of this thesis, I propose to use a diagram connecting the main rule with the following subrules and implementation with derived facts, fundamental features, and characteristics from theoretical and empirical analysis. The following system is formatted according to the structure of the book "A New Theory of Urban Design" (C. Alexander et al., 1987) (see Appendix, pages 342-343).
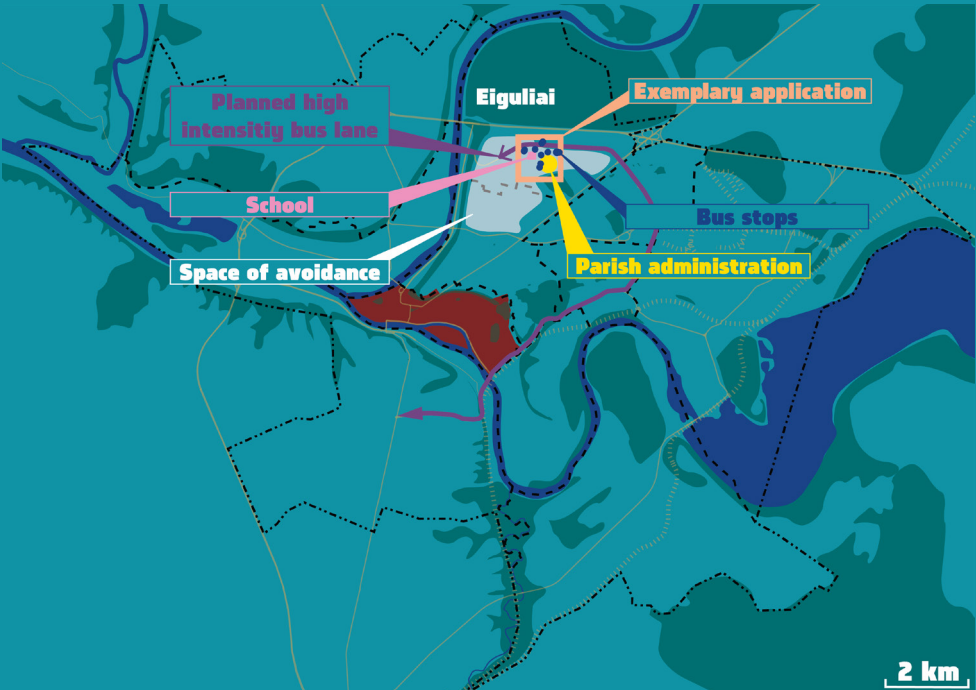
Figure 6.2. Examplary location of the proposed strategies application.

2. Part of the larger whole

1. Top-down support

Support
TOP-DOWN

MORE
TOLERANCE
EVENTS

BOTTOM-UP
Oversight

3. Diversify!

4. Create synergies

Norm

Rule   Controlled

5. Policentrism

**6. Protect.
Participate.
Evaluate.**

7. Power of the centre

Figure 6.3. 7 subrules.

360 building

School/

"Brave Tolerant Init
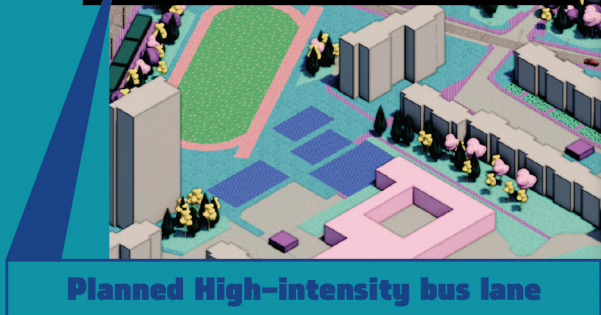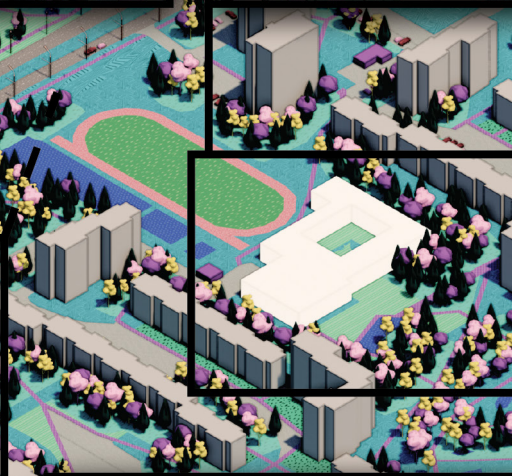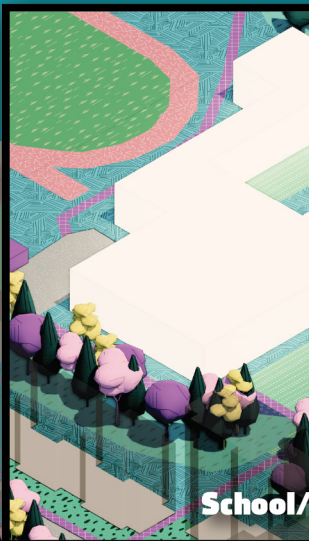
Planned High-intensity bus lane

Figure 6.4. Existing situation of the implementaton area.
Names of the zoom-ins corresponds to the strategies
implemented in respective places.

Plug-In Bus Stop

community centre

tiative"

Parish administration

199
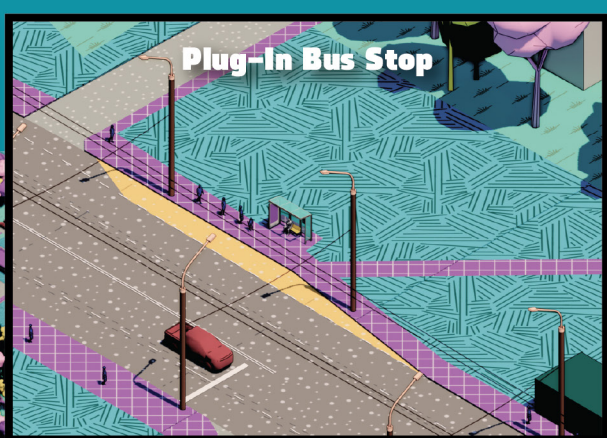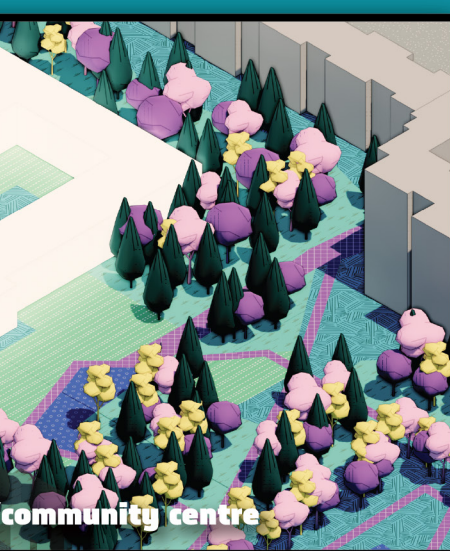
Fundamental features

Tolerance Event =

1. is an active, concentrated form of encounter

2. is a rupture of status quo

3. address deep socio-cultural and spatial issues

4. defamiliarises with existing norms and creastes new ones
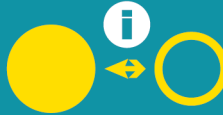
5. allows groups to get to know other groups

Safety first

Size matters

Participation

"The world will be saved by beauty"

Location, location, loca

Derived facts

Time changes spaces
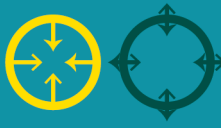
Closed/Open

4 types of controlled spaces
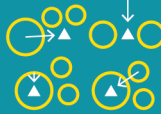
4 types of relationships

Rupture

Norm

From rupture to norm

Show mutual goals and values

BRAVE TOLERANT CITY = MORE TOLERANCE EVENTS

Figure 6.5. Diagram depicting connectivity between characteristics of Tolerance Event and Space and proposed implementation strategies.

Characteristics

Where to meet?

Time is of the essence

"The law of the few"

Multilevel marketing

Norm space is critical

Form follows event

Relevance of the support

$$F = -F$$
$$\triangle = (+-)\triangle$$

Reaction (+/−)

...tion

Diversify

Temporal/permanent

Top down legitimises

Who should/can do it?
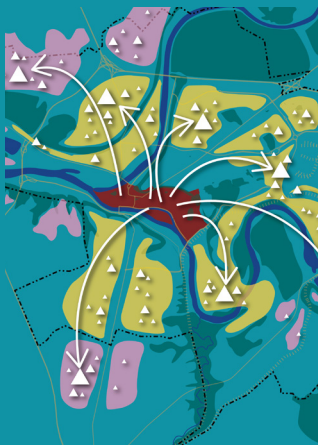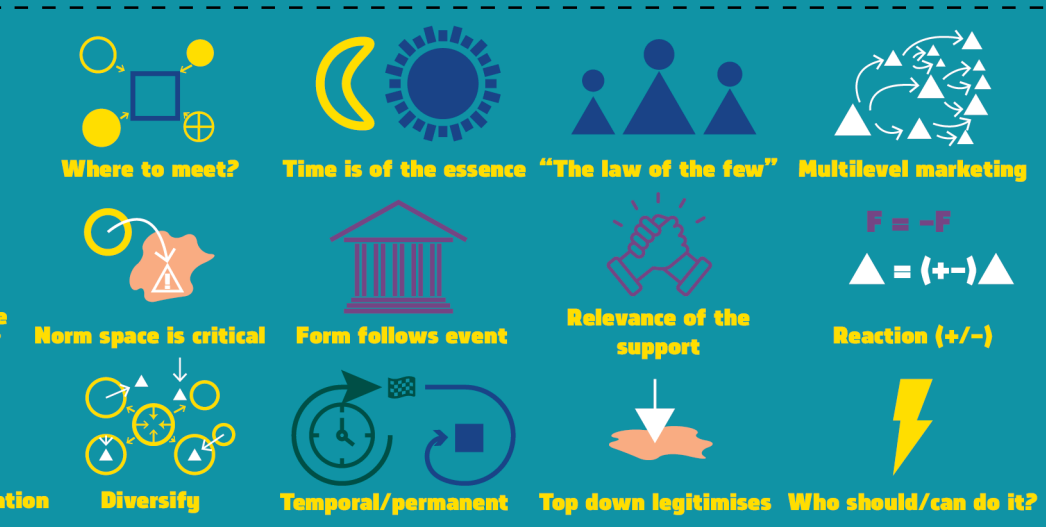
7 subrules

Design   Planning

1. Top-down Support

2. Part of the Larger Whole

3. Diversify
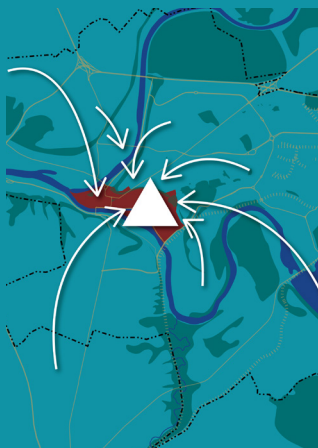
4. Create Synergies

5. Policentrism

6. Protect. Participate. Evaluate

7. Power of the Centre

Municipal ombudsperson

Events production process

Plug-In Bus Stops

Spaces for gathering

Localise funding

Prioritise spaces of avoidance

360 instead of 60

Tolerance Impact Assessment

Walk the line

201

Support
TOP-DOWN
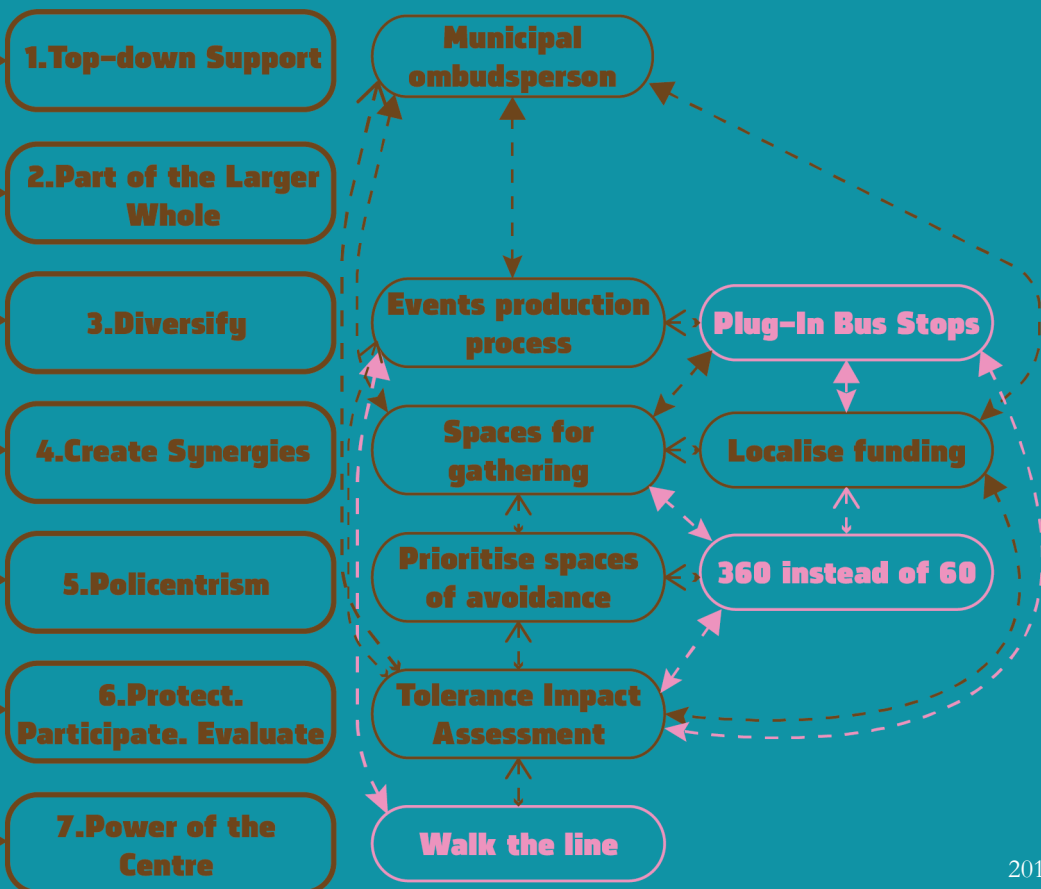
MORE
TOLERANCE
EVENTS

BOTTOM-UP
Oversight

Figure 6.6. Top-Down support.

6.3. 1.Top-down support

Top-down support is critical for Tolerance Events to happen and expand in range and power by providing legitimacy. At the embryo level, the help of public institutions can allow communities to produce more Tolerance Events and distribute this production more equally. In the later stages, institutions can increase the physical, knowledge, and financial capacity of others to act and expand. Furthermore, in cases when rupture-making is not the task of local groups, top-down can work in partnership with them to produce Tolerance Event and create mutual goals and values, therefore fostering more tolerant attitudes. Yet it is also critical for the communities to have the power of oversight over public institutions, thus reducing the ethical issue of biopower gathered at one level.

This subrule is connected to these characteristics of the Tolerance Event and Space:
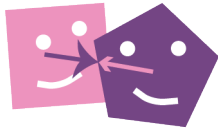
Show mutual goals and values
Page 188

Relevance of the support
Page 181

Top down legitimises
Page 186

Who should/can do it?
Page 155

Stakeholders

I propose categorising critical stakeholders for implementing my research into 4 groups. Civil society is formed by citizens, their communities, and non-governmental organisations, which I offer to divide into national and local groups. General and group-specific NGOs are based in the Capital and address discrimination problems through education, research, publicity, and legal support. Local NGOs are the ones based in Kaunas City. They deal with the everyday troubles of minorities, such as housing, hygiene, food, health support, etc. The civil sector has a lot of interest in the topic of tolerance but lacks power in the form of physical, institutional, and financial capacities.

The public sector is a multilevel government constructed from national, regional, municipal, and local institutions. The most interested and active is Parliament's Committee on Human Rights. Due to municipal centralisation, the most power related to the topic of this thesis is concentrated in the hands of municipalities. They oversee a large portion of the funding distribution and spatial policies. There is a lack of oversight and incentives for the administrations to foster communities and more tolerant attitudes. Civil parishes have the power and interest in strengthening communities and tolerance, yet it is limited due to the municipal centralisation.

The budgetary institution is a legal name for an independent organisation funded publicly. (Parliament of the Republic of Lithuania, 1995 [2023]). Police Community Officers can act on the local level, yet their interests lie in public safety rather than tolerance. The goal of Social Care Institutions is to support people with social vulnerability, not to foster tolerance.

The knowledge sector is formed by universities, namely their Social Science and Architecture departments. Their main power lies in research capabilities, however there is a lack of cooperation and synergies with other sectors to form a strong body.

This analysis shows that a critical issue to address is a lack of institutions with the power and interest to foster more tolerant attitudes. The public, budgetary and knowledge sector have the interest but lacks power, especially on the local level, where municipalities have the majority of strength but less enthusiasm for tolerance.
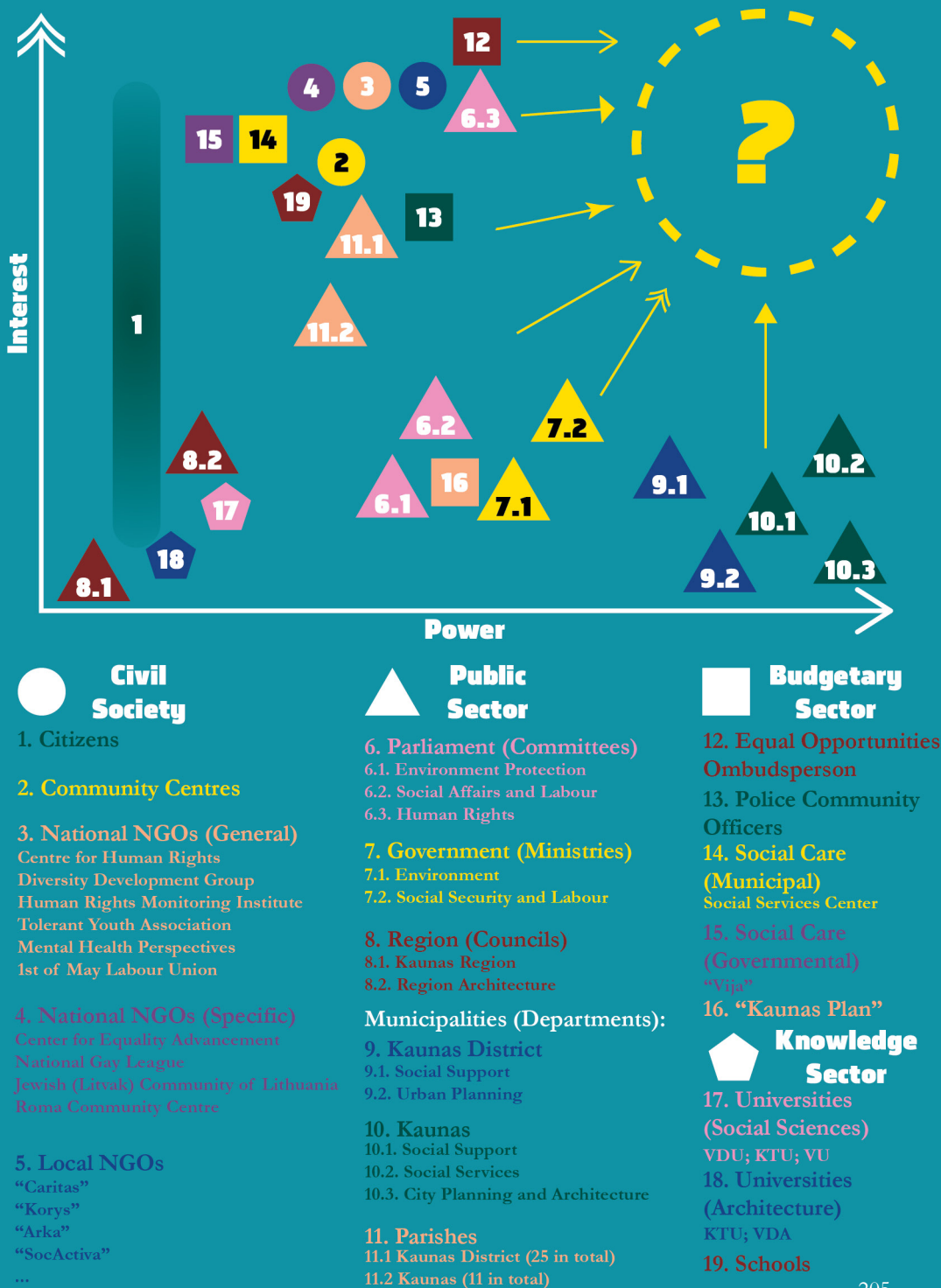
Figure 6.7. Relevant stakeholders positioned in the matrix according to their power and interest in Tolerance.

Interest (y-axis) / **Power** (x-axis)

⬤ **Civil Society**

1. **Citizens**

2. **Community Centres**

3. **National NGOs (General)**
Centre for Human Rights
Diversity Development Group
Human Rights Monitoring Institute
Tolerant Youth Association
Mental Health Perspectives
1st of May Labour Union

4. **National NGOs (Specific)**
Center for Equality Advancement
National Gay League
Jewish (Litvak) Community of Lithuania
Roma Community Centre

5. **Local NGOs**
"Caritas"
"Korys"
"Arka"
"SocActiva"
...

▲ **Public Sector**

6. **Parliament (Committees)**
6.1. Environment Protection
6.2. Social Affairs and Labour
6.3. Human Rights

7. **Government (Ministries)**
7.1. Environment
7.2. Social Security and Labour

8. **Region (Councils)**
8.1. Kaunas Region
8.2. Region Architecture

Municipalities (Departments):

9. **Kaunas District**
9.1. Social Support
9.2. Urban Planning

10. **Kaunas**
10.1. Social Support
10.2. Social Services
10.3. City Planning and Architecture

11. **Parishes**
11.1 Kaunas District (25 in total)
11.2 Kaunas (11 in total)

■ **Budgetary Sector**

12. **Equal Opportunities Ombudsperson**

13. **Police Community Officers**

14. **Social Care (Municipal)**
Social Services Center

15. **Social Care (Governmental)**
"Vija"

16. **"Kaunas Plan"**

⬠ **Knowledge Sector**

17. **Universities (Social Sciences)**
VDU; KTU; VU

18. **Universities (Architecture)**
KTU; VDA

19. **Schools**

205

Municipal Equal Opportunities Ombudsperson

The Equal Opportunities Ombudsperson is a fundamental institution in the field of tolerance, which provides legal support, educates and conducts research. It works on the national level, overseeing actions taken by Parliament and Government and cooperating with NGOs. It strengthens the link between citizens and authorities, distributing power more equally. However, as United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights noted, it still lacks "resources to carry out its mandate effectively". It should "be strengthened so it can discharge its mandate effectively and independently" (2023).

In line with these recommendations, I propose to increase the capacity of the Equal Opportunities Ombudsperson. However, I offer to do it not horizontally, as in strengthening the central office located in the Capital, but vertically – extending it to the municipal level. Currently, it lacks the capacity to operate locally, where large amounts of power are consolidated without oversight. Creating a network of small municipal Equal Opportunities Ombudsperson offices that are interconnected together and with the national central body would make a strong and high-capacity multilevel budgetary institution.

Figure 6.8. Proposed multilevel structure of Equal Opportunities Ombudsperson office.

Interest (vertical axis)

Power (horizontal axis)

12 · 4 · 3 · 5 · 16 · **M12**

Municipal Ombudsperson

Where I position myself

6.3 · 15 · 14 · 2 · 19 · 11.1 · 13 · 1 · 11.2 · 8.2 · 17 · 6.2 · 7.2 · 6.1 · 16 · 7.1 · 9.1 · 10.2 · 10.1 · 9.2 · 10.3 · 18 · 8.1

⬤ **Civil Society**

1. Citizens

2. Community Centres

3. National NGOs (General)
Centre for Human Rights
Diversity Development Group
Human Rights Monitoring Institute
Tolerant Youth Association
Mental Health Perspectives
1st of May Labour Union

4. National NGOs (Specific)
Center for Equality Advancement
National Gay League
Jewish (Litvak) Community of Lithuania
Roma Community Centre

5. Local NGOs
"Caritas"
"Korys"
"Arka"
"SocActiva"
...

▲ **Public Sector**

6. Parliament (Committees)
6.1. Environment Protection
6.2. Social Affairs and Labour
6.3. Human Rights

7. Government (Ministries)
7.1. Environment
7.2. Social Security and Labour

8. Region (Councils)
8.1. Kaunas Region
8.2. Region Architecture

Municipalities (Departments):
9. Kaunas District
9.1. Social Support
9.2. Urban Planning

10. Kaunas
10.1. Social Support
10.2. Social Services
10.3. City Planning and Architecture

11. Parishes
11.1 Kaunas District (25 in total)
11.2 Kaunas (11 in total)

■ **Budgetary Sector**

12. Equal Opportunities Ombudsperson
13. Police Community Officers
14. Social Care (Municipal)
Social Services Center
15. Social Care (Governmental)
"Vija"
16. "Kaunas Plan"

⬠ **Knowledge Sector**

17. Universities (Social Sciences)
VDU; KTU; VU
18. Universities (Architecture)
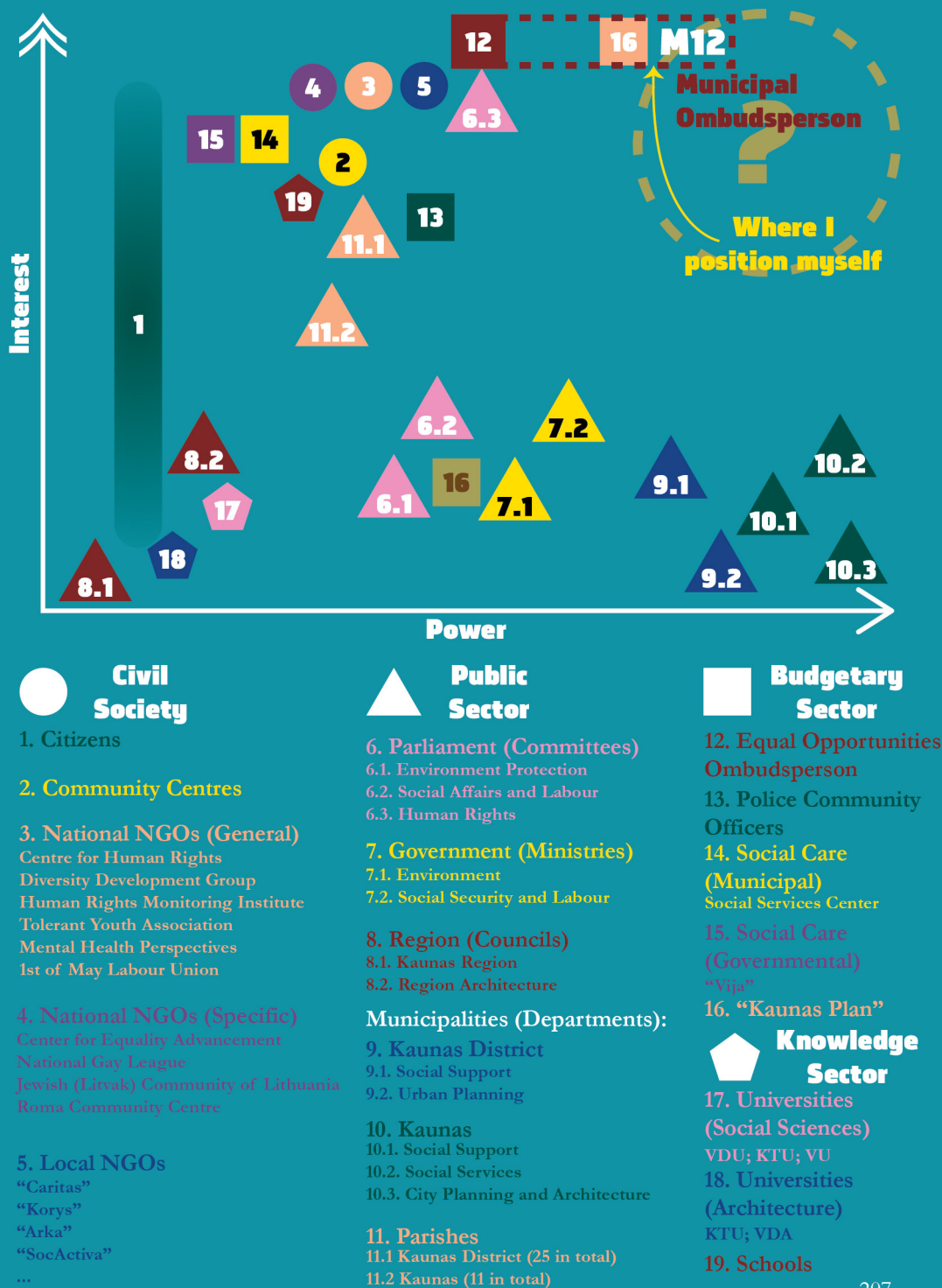KTU; VDA
19. Schools

Figure 6.9. Proposed Municipal Equal Opportunities Ombudsperson institution.

My suggestion is to expand and ground the tasks performed by the Ombudsperson to the local level. Therefore Municipal Office would support and cooperate with local NGOs and citizens, providing them with legal and advisory help. It would work with the knowledge sector to conduct research in the field of Human Rights. A critical task would be to extend oversight of public institutions from the national government to municipal administration – mayor, council and parishes. This would reduce the inequality of power caused by municipal centralisation. In light of the recent illegal council members' spending scandal (Tapinas, 2023), this seems more urgent than ever.

In addition to extending tasks, I suggest forming a strong collaboration between the Municipal Opportunities Ombudsperson and public planning offices (in Kaunas case it is the "Kaunas Plan"). As a result, this synergy would have implementation powers through spatial and policy planning as well as design instead of relying only on advisory roles. The different qualifications of these two institutions would strengthen each other. In this relationship I would position myself to implement the proposals of this thesis.
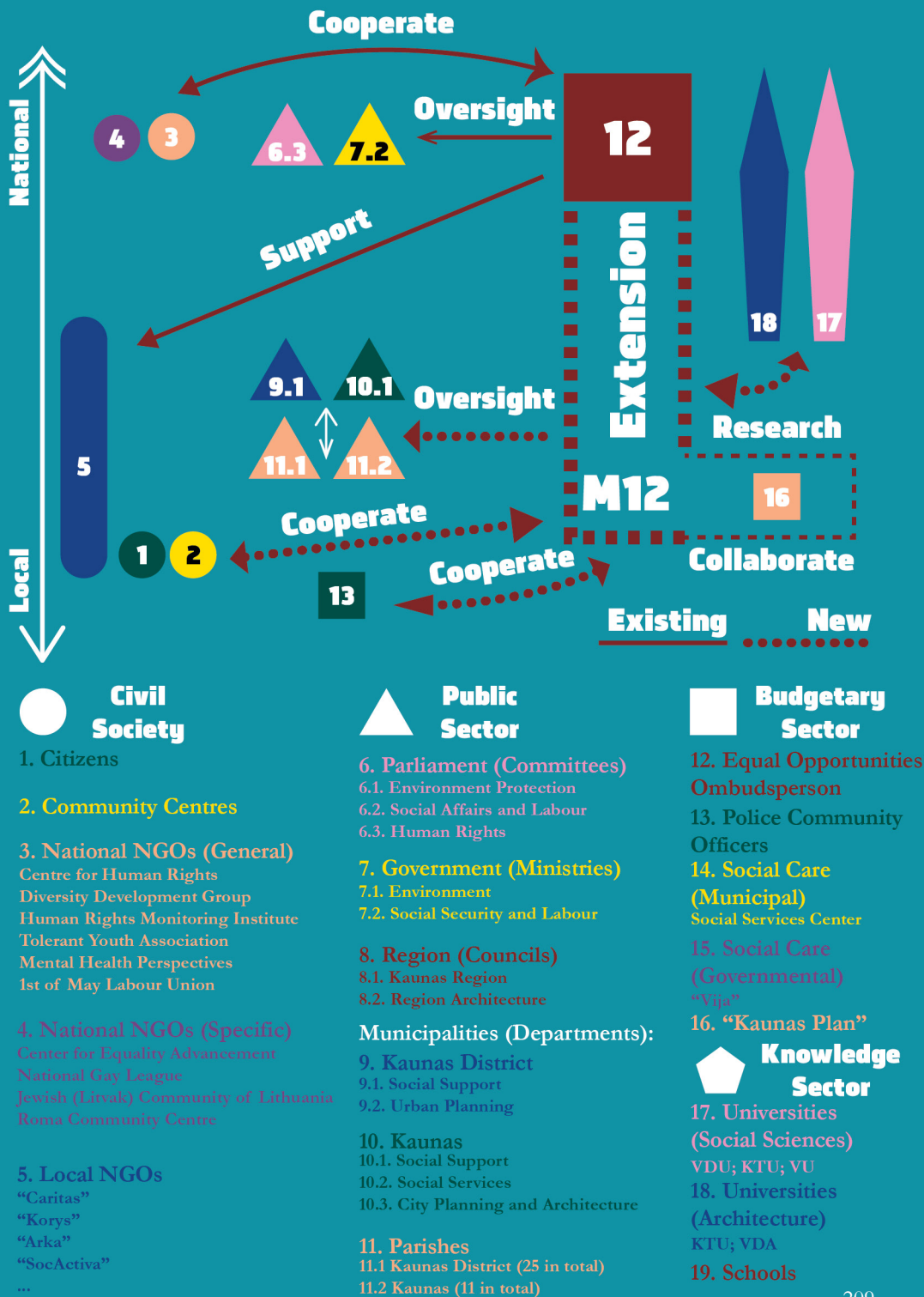
Cooperate

National

Local

4 3

6.3 7.2

Oversight

12

Extension

18 17

Support

9.1 10.1

11.1 11.2

Oversight

M12

Research

16

5

Cooperate

1 2

13

Cooperate

Collaborate

Existing **New**

Civil Society

1. Citizens

2. Community Centres

3. National NGOs (General)
Centre for Human Rights
Diversity Development Group
Human Rights Monitoring Institute
Tolerant Youth Association
Mental Health Perspectives
1st of May Labour Union

4. National NGOs (Specific)
Center for Equality Advancement
National Gay League
Jewish (Litvak) Community of Lithuania
Roma Community Centre

5. Local NGOs
"Caritas"
"Korys"
"Arka"
"SocActiva"
...

Public Sector

6. Parliament (Committees)
6.1. Environment Protection
6.2. Social Affairs and Labour
6.3. Human Rights

7. Government (Ministries)
7.1. Environment
7.2. Social Security and Labour

8. Region (Councils)
8.1. Kaunas Region
8.2. Region Architecture

Municipalities (Departments):
9. Kaunas District
9.1. Social Support
9.2. Urban Planning

10. Kaunas
10.1. Social Support
10.2. Social Services
10.3. City Planning and Architecture

11. Parishes
11.1 Kaunas District (25 in total)
11.2 Kaunas (11 in total)

Budgetary Sector

12. Equal Opportunities Ombudsperson
13. Police Community Officers
14. Social Care (Municipal)
Social Services Center
15. Social Care (Governmental)
"Vija"
16. "Kaunas Plan"

Knowledge Sector

17. Universities (Social Sciences)
VDU; KTU; VU
18. Universities (Architecture)
KTU; VDA
19. Schools

209

Figure 6.10. Goals and relationships of the proposed Municipal Equal Opportunities Ombudsperson.

Figure 6.11. Part of the larger whole.
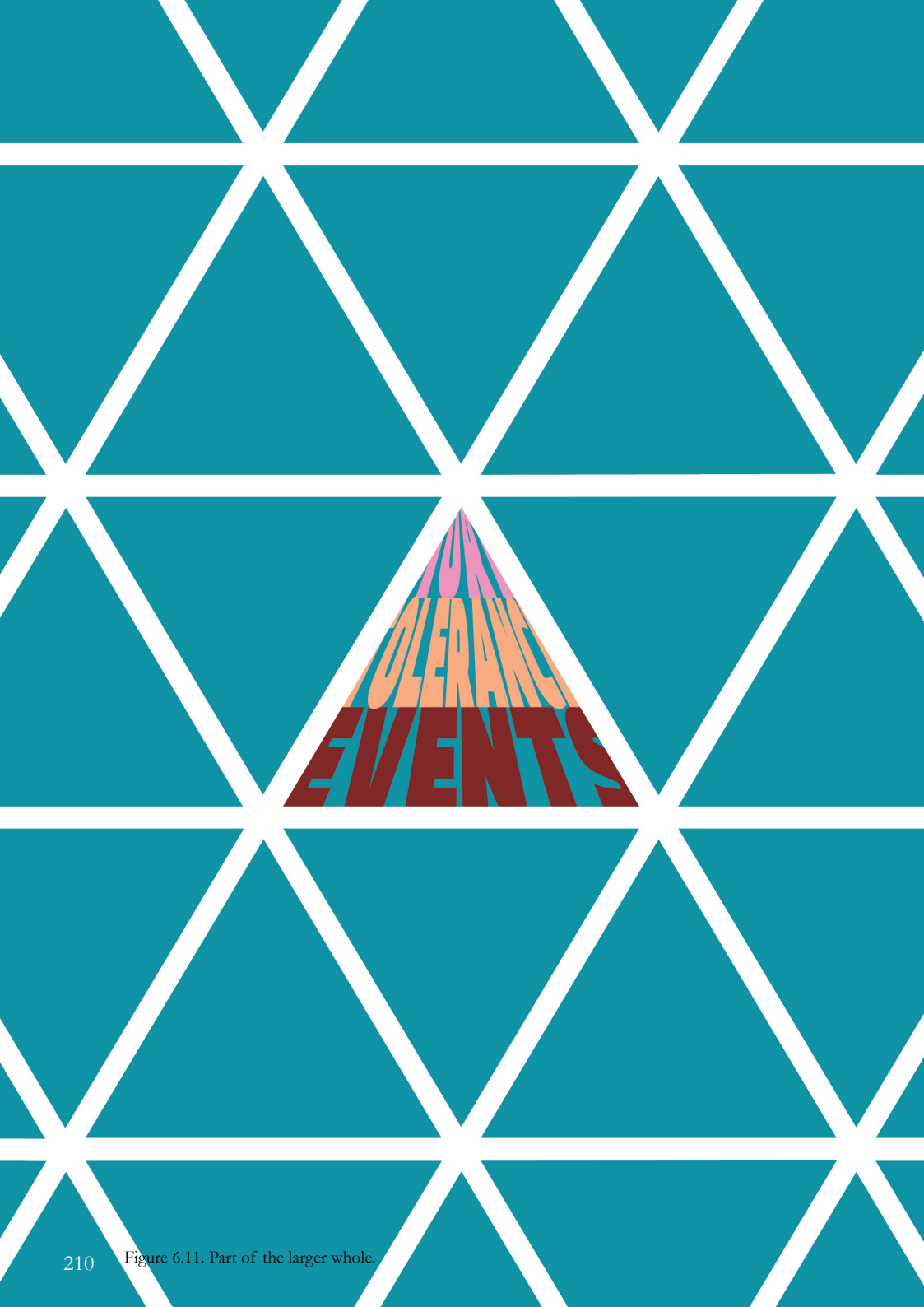
6.4. 2.Part of the larger whole

While planning and designing for tolerance, it is imperative not to forget other aspects of city life. An urban environment consists not only of social relationships but also of workplaces, ecology, movement, leisure, green areas, culture, etc. Therefore, all plans to foster more tolerant attitudes must connect with other planning and design documents to ensure strategic coherence and strengthen common goals and values. It would generate more support by extending the stakeholders' network. Furthermore, associating with other plans would direct more strategies towards fostering tolerance.

For this thesis, I selected two existing Kaunas planning documents: The Sustainable Mobility Plan (Civitta & PU-PA, 2019) and the Complex Transformation Strategies of Apartment Buildings Built in the Soviet Era (Marozas et al., 2022).

This subrule is connected to these characteristics of the Tolerance Event and Space:
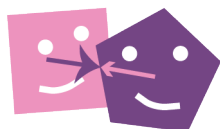
Show mutual goals and values
Page 188

Relevance of the support
Page 181

Figure 6.13. Complex Transformation Strategies of Apartment Buildings Built in the Soviet Era (Marozas et al., 2022).

Figure 6.12. Kaunas City Sustainable Mobility Plan (Civitta & PU-PA, 2019)

Figure 6.14. Diversify!

6.5. 3.Diversify!

For Tolerance Events to have a large-scale affect it is essential to have an extensive diversity of them. From small to large, from central to peripheral, from temporal to permanent, from bottom-up to top-down, and from taking place in Controlled Space to Rule and Norm Spaces. By opening up spaces and creating new relationships, the variety of Tolerance Events in itself fosters even more diversified production of them.

This subrule is connected to these characteristics of the Tolerance Event and Space:

"The world will be saved by beauty"
Page 152
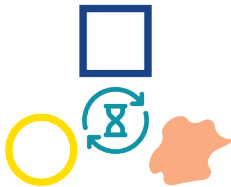
Time changes spaces
Page 150
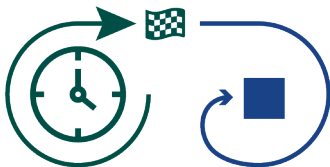
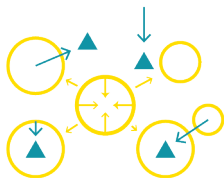**Temporal/permanent**
Page 149
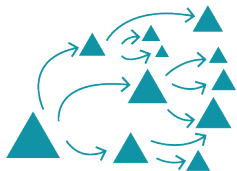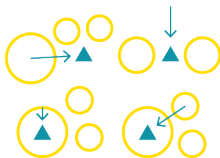
Multilevel marketing
Page 161

Diversify
Page 178

4 types of relationships
Page 158

Right to the production of the Tolerance Events

To increase the diversity of Tolerance Events, more people must participate in creating them. By paraphrasing Henri Lefebvre and his "The Right to the Production of Space", I argue that citizens of Kaunas need to get right to the production of the Tolerance Events. In this way, not only will the variety of happenings and encounters increase, but the citizens will gain more power and interest in flourishing tolerance conditions. To achieve this, I propose two strategies: more freedom of the event production process and Plug-In bus stops.

Freedom of the event production process. Currently in Kaunas organising events is a very bureaucratic, long, immunising, and limiting process. A permit is not needed only if less than 50 people gather for no more than 1 hour. In addition, there cannot be concerts, other events, commercial activities, obstructions or other type of disturbances. And even if organisers keep up to strict conditions, they still need to notify the municipality 3 days in advance and receive agreement from the police. In other cases they need to obtain a permit. It is an even longer and more exhausting process, requiring multiple documents to submit. This bureaucracy works as a mechanism of power, reducing the capacity of citizens to produce Tolerance Events.

I propose to open up this process by changing the current classification. First, I suggest that events under 50 participants require no prior agreement with the municipality if they do not erect their constructions and ensure public order. If there are up to 200 participants and only temporary small-scale structures, organisers must notify the municipality one day in advance. No agreement with the police is needed if producers already have a relationship with Community Police Officers through the Safe Neighbourhood program. For larger events I propose faster processing of the permit, less documentation if using municipal construction, and night events can be organised if locals agree. These suggestions would promote the diverse occupation of space, comity, and make the process faster and more flexible.

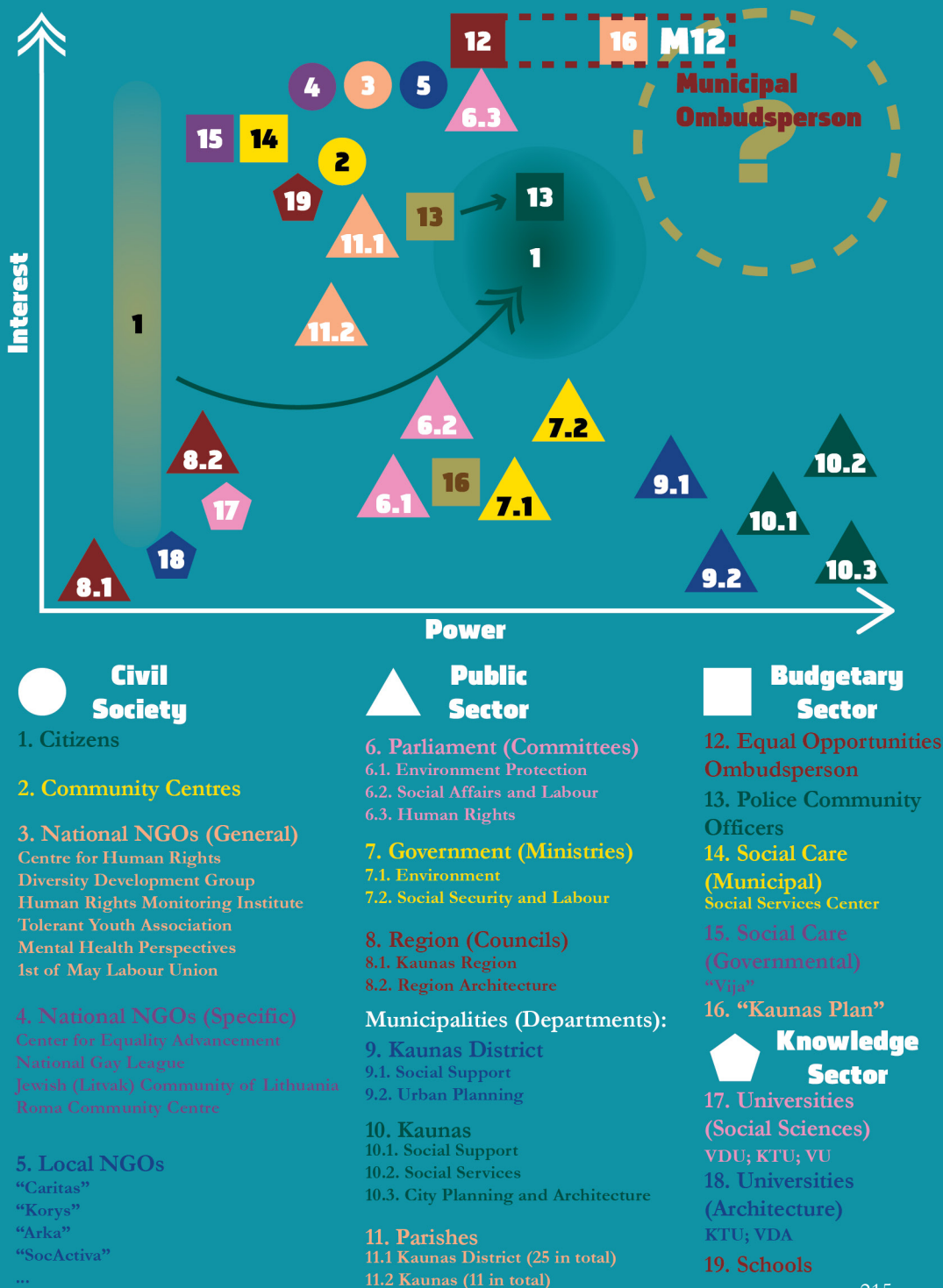Figure 6.15. Snapshot from the movie "Braveheart" (Gibson, 1995)

Interest (vertical axis)

Power (horizontal axis)

12 · 16 · M12 · **Municipal Ombudsperson** · ?

4 · 3 · 5 · 6.3 · 15 · 14 · 2 · 19 · 11.1 · 13 · 13 · 1 · 11.2 · 1 · 8.2 · 17 · 18 · 8.1 · 6.2 · 7.2 · 6.1 · 16 · 7.1 · 9.1 · 10.2 · 10.1 · 9.2 · 10.3

⬤ **Civil Society**

1. Citizens

2. Community Centres

3. National NGOs (General)
Centre for Human Rights
Diversity Development Group
Human Rights Monitoring Institute
Tolerant Youth Association
Mental Health Perspectives
1st of May Labour Union

4. National NGOs (Specific)
Center for Equality Advancement
National Gay League
Jewish (Litvak) Community of Lithuania
Roma Community Centre

5. Local NGOs
"Caritas"
"Korys"
"Arka"
"SocActiva"
...

▲ **Public Sector**

6. Parliament (Committees)
6.1. Environment Protection
6.2. Social Affairs and Labour
6.3. Human Rights

7. Government (Ministries)
7.1. Environment
7.2. Social Security and Labour

8. Region (Councils)
8.1. Kaunas Region
8.2. Region Architecture

Municipalities (Departments):
9. Kaunas District
9.1. Social Support
9.2. Urban Planning

10. Kaunas
10.1. Social Support
10.2. Social Services
10.3. City Planning and Architecture

11. Parishes
11.1 Kaunas District (25 in total)
11.2 Kaunas (11 in total)

■ **Budgetary Sector**

12. Equal Opportunities Ombudsperson
13. Police Community Officers
14. Social Care (Municipal)
Social Services Center
15. Social Care (Governmental)
"Vija"
16. "Kaunas Plan"

⬟ **Knowledge Sector**

17. Universities (Social Sciences)
VDU; KTU; VU
18. Universities (Architecture)
KTU; VDA
19. Schools

Figure 6.16. Empowerment of citizens and Police Community Officers.

Freedom of the event production process

Existing situation

No permit needed, if

<50 participants;
No constructions;

<1 hour;
No concert;
No commerce;
No other events;
No obstructions;
No disturbance;
Ensure public order;
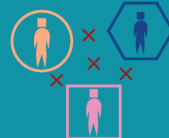No animals;

Notify municipality up to 3 days before

With permit:

Construction scheme;
If >2h – toilets needed;
Possibly fences needed;
Detailed description of the event;
Only during 8–22, unless exhibition;

Submit permit up to 10 days before;
Commision meets once per week; 5 extra days after agreement;

Agreement with the police

Limited occupation

Long process

Immunity (Esposito, 2013)

Locked and rigid

Proposed

No permit needed, if

<≈50 participants;
No self construction;
Ensure public order;

<≈200 participants;
Temporary constructions;
Ensure public order;
Notify municipality up to 1 day before

No agreement with the police needed if in permanent collaboration with police community officers

With permit:

Construction scheme, unless using municipal constructions;
If >2h – toilets needed;
Possibly fences needed;
Description of the event;
Only during 8–22, unless agreed with locals;

Submit permit up to 7 days before;
Commision meets once per week; immedeate digital permit;
Agreement with the police;

Diverse occupation

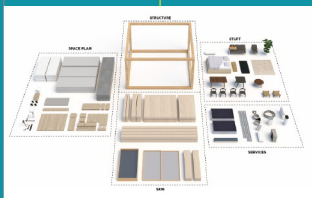**Fast process**

Comity (Esposito, 2013)

Open and flexible

Figure 6.17. Diagram depicting existing and proposed event production process as well as main reasons for the Plug-I

1km

Existing bus stops

2 km

Existing Infrastructure

Lack of identity

Everywhere
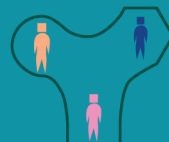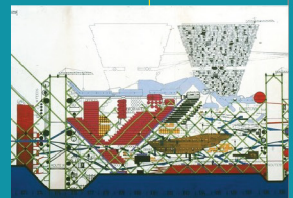
Modular sustainable construction (Effekt, 2018)

Flexible disruptive structure (Sendra & Sennett, 2020)

Archigram The Plug-In City (Merin, 2013)

Figure 6.18. Bus stops adjacent to planned new high intensity bus lanes. Based on Kaunas City Sustainable Mobility Plan (Civitta & PU-PA, 2019). See appendix, page 340.
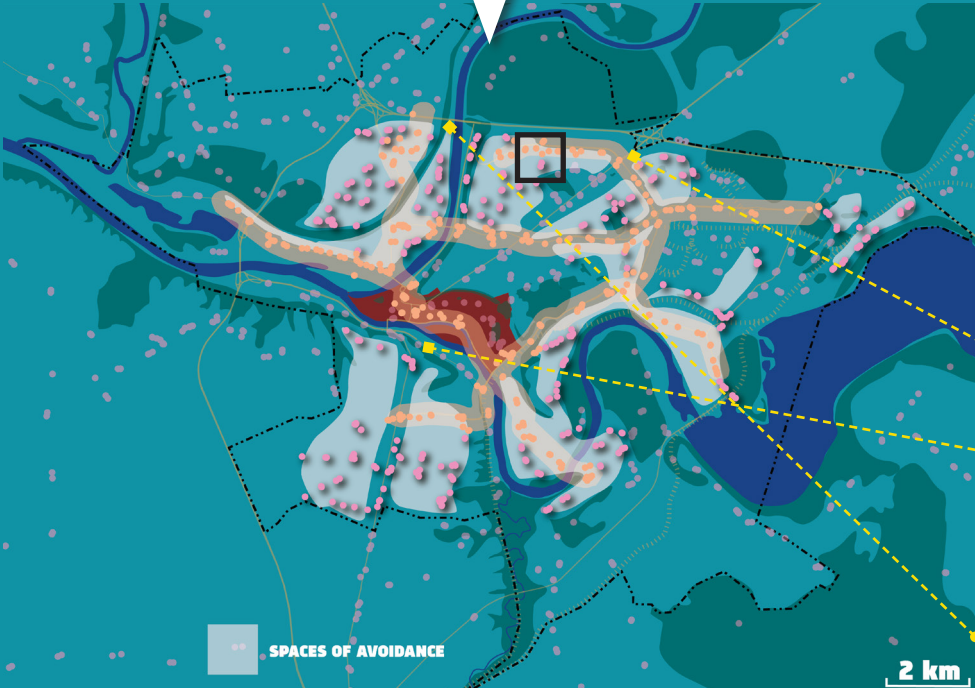
500m

2 km

SPACES OF AVOIDANCE

2 km

Figure 6.19. Next step of Plug-In Bus Stops implementation - spaces of avoidance and stops with poor or non-existing infrastructure.

(Birv

Plug-In bus stops. Access to infrastructure is essential for the more diversified production of Tolerance Events (Sendra & Sennett, 2020). It allows for various spatial occupations to happen, fostering more varied outcomes: from small concerts to community dinners, they all require structures. However, not everyone has the funds or physical capacity to provide it. On the other hand, there still needs to be control mechanisms to protect against anarchy. Therefore I suggest a concept of Municipal Construction. These are structures provided by municipalities with or without crowdfunding but maintained and used by locals. I argue that bus stops are the best places to implement this idea: they have existing infrastructure, such as electricity, they are everywhere, and currently, they lack identity. Based on Archigram's "Plug-In City", I call these structures Plug-In bus stops.

Instead of replacing existing ones, I offer to test this concept and implement it as an extension of existing ones where needed. It could be carried out first close to planned new high-intensity bus lanes. These will require new infrastructure and expansion of existing stops due to a higher amount of passengers (Civitta & PU-PA, 2019), and Plug-In bus stops could provide that. The next step would be to erect structures where there are no shelters yet, or existing facilities are not sufficient anymore. It is vital to prioritise spaces of avoidance because these places lack access to public infrastructure and Tolerance Events the most. Flexible Plug-In bus stops would foster local communities and increase their capability to act.

Due to their design and materiality, current bus stops are very rigid, unsustainable, and homogenous. Yet because of industrial production they are efficient, require minimum expenses, and are easy to maintain. To address the current issues by keeping the benefits of the existing stops, I propose a modular wooden design inspired by the Urban Village project by Effekt Architects and a simple pegboard. The structure that I suggest developing has only 3 necessary elements – two wooden pillars with holes in them and premade roof module, which dimensions are the same as 1/3 of the existing bus stop. All the other elements are additions connected to the main structure using 4 types of pegs. These pegs diminish any need for screws or nails, making the structure assembly fast and easy.

(..vinskas, 2017)   (Stažytė, 2023)   Google Street View.

Access to:
Electricity
Water

EXISTING
2.6 m
1.2 m
PROPOSED
2.4 m
1.2 m

Walls

Main Structure
Supporting Structure
Joints/Pegs
Additional modules
Horizontals

WC Shower
Gallery
Bench
Podium
Existing
+ Extension

Dining
Little stage
Vertical garden
Amphitheater
Playground

+ Covered Table
Existing
Outdoor gym
Playground

220   Figure 6.20. Structure of the Plug-In Bus Stop and catalogue of possibilities.

Plug-In Bus Stops can be industrially produced, reducing the production and maintenance costs, but can be combined into multiple different outcomes. The community closest to the new bus stop would be provided with a catalogue of producible elements with minimum requirements of the municipality. On top of that, they could select additional "Lego" pieces, creating an extensive assemblage around the bus stop. Locals could quickly rearrange it every time differently, creating a large variety of bus stops in Kaunas, increasing sustainability and local identity while keeping the practicality of existing stops. Due to municipal requirements, the shelter would be constantly provided. The placement of these new infrastructures would act as a Tolerance Event on its own, fostering comity and tolerant attitudes.

Figure 6.21. Pegboard reference (Williamson, 2015).
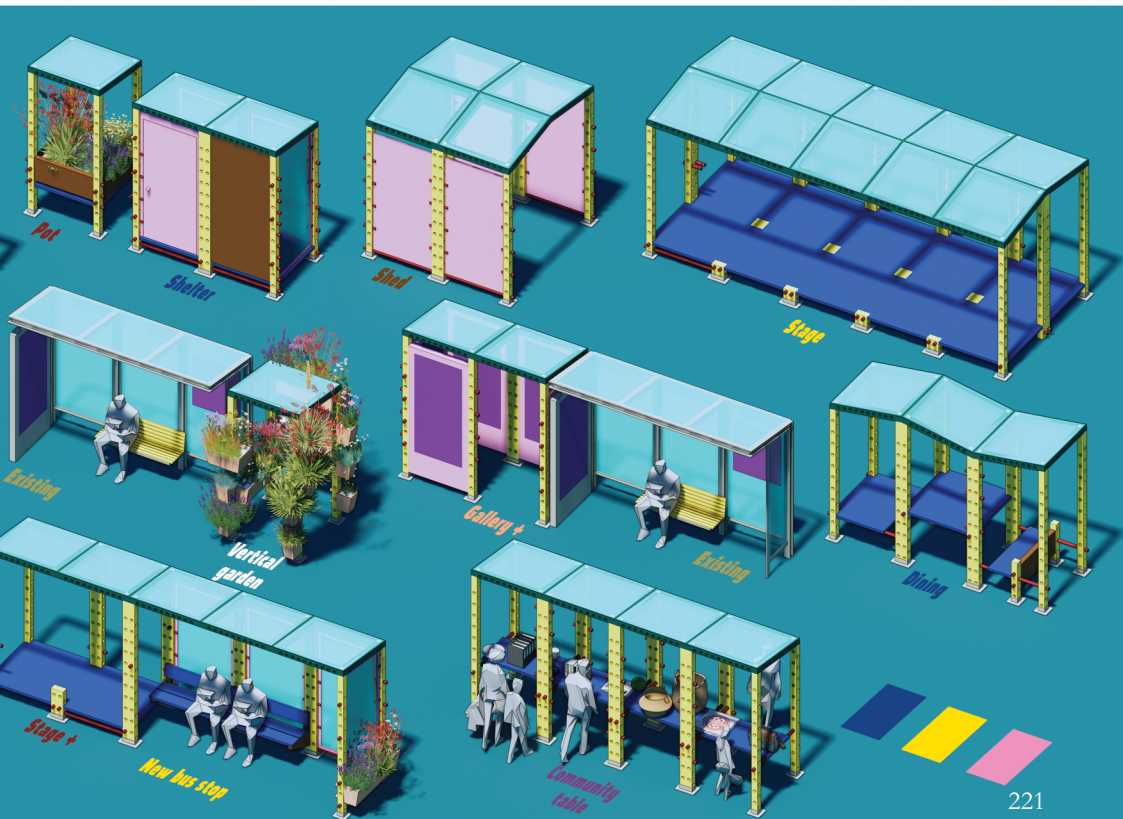
Existing stop

Community Tolerance Event

Plug–In Bus Stop

View Direction

External Tolerance Event
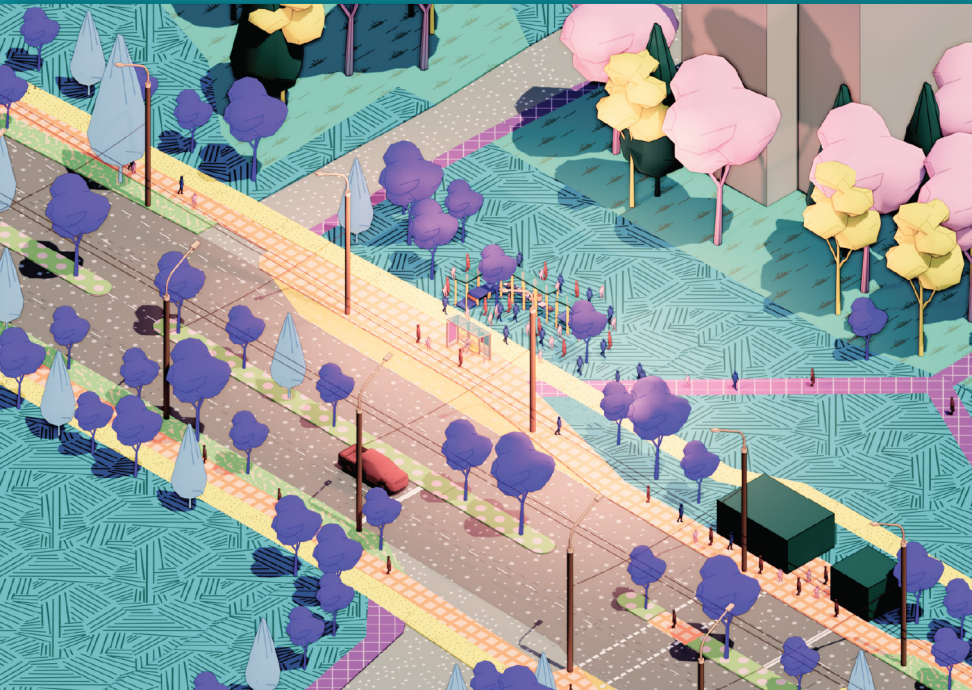
Figure 6.22. Axonometry view of the Plug-In Bus Stop implementation.

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KAUNAS FOR TOLERANCE

Figure 6.23. Illustration depicting the new Plug-In Bus Stop.

6.6. 4.Create Synergies

Forming new relationships and strengthening existing ones between actors and spaces empowers their capacity to act and produce More Tolerance Events. Increasing the number of stakeholders involved fosters task distribution. It reduces production time consumption for each party involved, allowing them to work on their primary goals. Moreover, synergies create new Controlled spaces and open existing ones, increasing the potential for encounters. These new relationships promote more diverse Tolerance Events.

This subrule is connected to these characteristics of the Tolerance Event and Space:
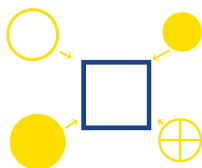
Where to meet?
Page 184
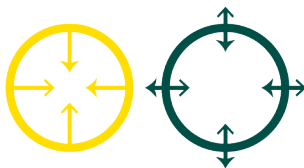
Closed/Open
Page 149
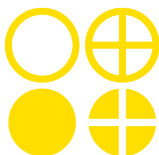
4 types of controlled spaces
Page 188

Who should/can do it?
Page 155
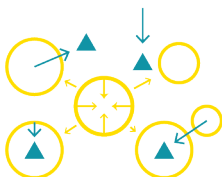
Diversify
Page 178

Location, location, location
Page 150

Norm

Rule

Controlled

MORE TOLERANCE EVENTS

Figure 6.24. Create synergies. 227

Figure 6.25. Strengthening of schools, Civil Parishes, and Community Centres.

Interest (vertical axis)

Power (horizontal axis)

Municipal Ombudsperson

Facilitate synergies

M12

● **Civil Society**

1. **Citizens**

2. **Community Centres**

3. **National NGOs (General)**
Centre for Human Rights
Diversity Development Group
Human Rights Monitoring Institute
Tolerant Youth Association
Mental Health Perspectives
1st of May Labour Union

4. **National NGOs (Specific)**
Center for Equality Advancement
National Gay League
Jewish (Litvak) Community of Lithuania
Roma Community Centre

5. **Local NGOs**
"Caritas"
"Korys"
"Arka"
"SocActiva"
...

▲ **Public Sector**

6. **Parliament (Committees)**
6.1. Environment Protection
6.2. Social Affairs and Labour
6.3. Human Rights

7. **Government (Ministries)**
7.1. Environment
7.2. Social Security and Labour

8. **Region (Councils)**
8.1. Kaunas Region
8.2. Region Architecture

Municipalities (Departments):
9. **Kaunas District**
9.1. Social Support
9.2. Urban Planning

10. **Kaunas**
10.1. Social Support
10.2. Social Services
10.3. City Planning and Architecture

11. **Parishes**
11.1 Kaunas District (25 in total)
11.2 Kaunas (11 in total)

■ **Budgetary Sector**

12. **Equal Opportunities Ombudsperson**
13. **Police Community Officers**
14. **Social Care (Municipal)**
Social Services Center
15. **Social Care (Governmental)**
"Vija"
16. **"Kaunas Plan"**

⬠ **Knowledge Sector**

17. **Universities (Social Sciences)**
VDU; KTU; VU
18. **Universities (Architecture)**
KTU; VDA
19. **Schools**

Spaces for gathering

Locations where people could come together are essential for comity. By occupying space they temporarily make it Controlled, fostering friendships and strong-tie relationships. It is where people get to know each other, increasing the complexity of understanding and, consequently, tolerant attitudes. Furthermore, gathering spaces allow communities to invite external parties to address common issues, have group meetings where direct democracy could be used, or produce their own Tolerance Events. In Lithuanian weather conditions, with cold, snowy winters, and rainy summers, shelters or enclosed spaces are critical for communities to gather all year.

Parish administrations, schools, and community centres are critical stakeholders in fostering tolerance. They are responsible for many local decisions, Tolerance Events, and synergies. These stakeholders are relatively interested in the topic of this thesis, since tolerant attitudes impact their immediate environment. However, they lack spaces for gathering. While parish administrations have offices in respective neighbourhoods, they are too small for communities to gather at large. In most cases, the latter have no place to meet at all (Inytė, 2023), which weakens their relationships and capabilities, reducing power and interest in tolerance.

While local communities have no spaces to gather, especially in the spaces of avoidance, numerous schools are located in every parish. They are large buildings, usually occupied only throughout the day and half-empty in the evenings. On the other hand, communities typically work during the daytime and meet in the evenings. Therefore I propose to use these spaces more flexibly, by allowing communities to gather there easily when pupil finish their classes. This can be achieved by creating synergy between parishes, schools, and community centres, which Municipal Equal Opportunities Ombudsperson and Community Police Officers could facilitate.

To roll out the spatial implementation of this I suggest prioritising schools close to the planned high-intensity bus lanes. In this way, reaching for locals and city residents would be easier. Multilevel accessibility is critical to foster people's involvement in comity and Tolerance Events. Furthermore, these are the areas where most Plug-In bus stops will be implemented. Consequently, it will provide easy-access structures for community centres and parishes. Plug-In bus stops would act as a design element uniting parishes, schools, and local communities.

Figure 6.26. Location of Civil Parish Administrations and Schools

Šilainiai

Eiguliai

Viljampolė

Dainava

Žaliakalnis

Petrašiūnai

Centras

Gričiupis

Šančiai

Aleksotas

Panemunė

● Civil Parish Administrations   ■ Schools

2 km

● Civil Parish Administrations   ■ Schools/ Community centres   • Plug-In Bus Stops

2 km
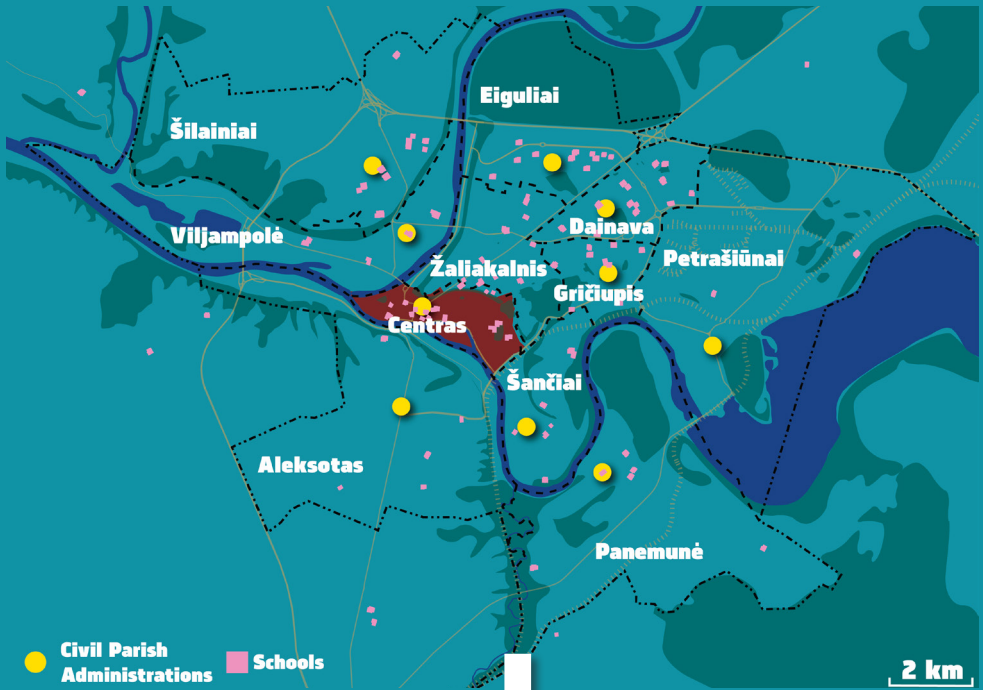
Figure 6.27. Synergies of Parishes, Plug-In Bus Stops and Schools/Community Centres located close to planned high-intesnsity bus lanes.

231

School/community centre

Figure 6.28. Axonometry view of the connection design between Civil Parish and School/Community Centre.

Plug-In Bus Stop

Parish administration

View Direction

Figure 6.29. Illustration depicting the new public area next to Civil Parish administration, where Plug-In Bus Stops are

The building facade reads: ALL FOR TOLERANCE, TOLERANCE FOR ALL
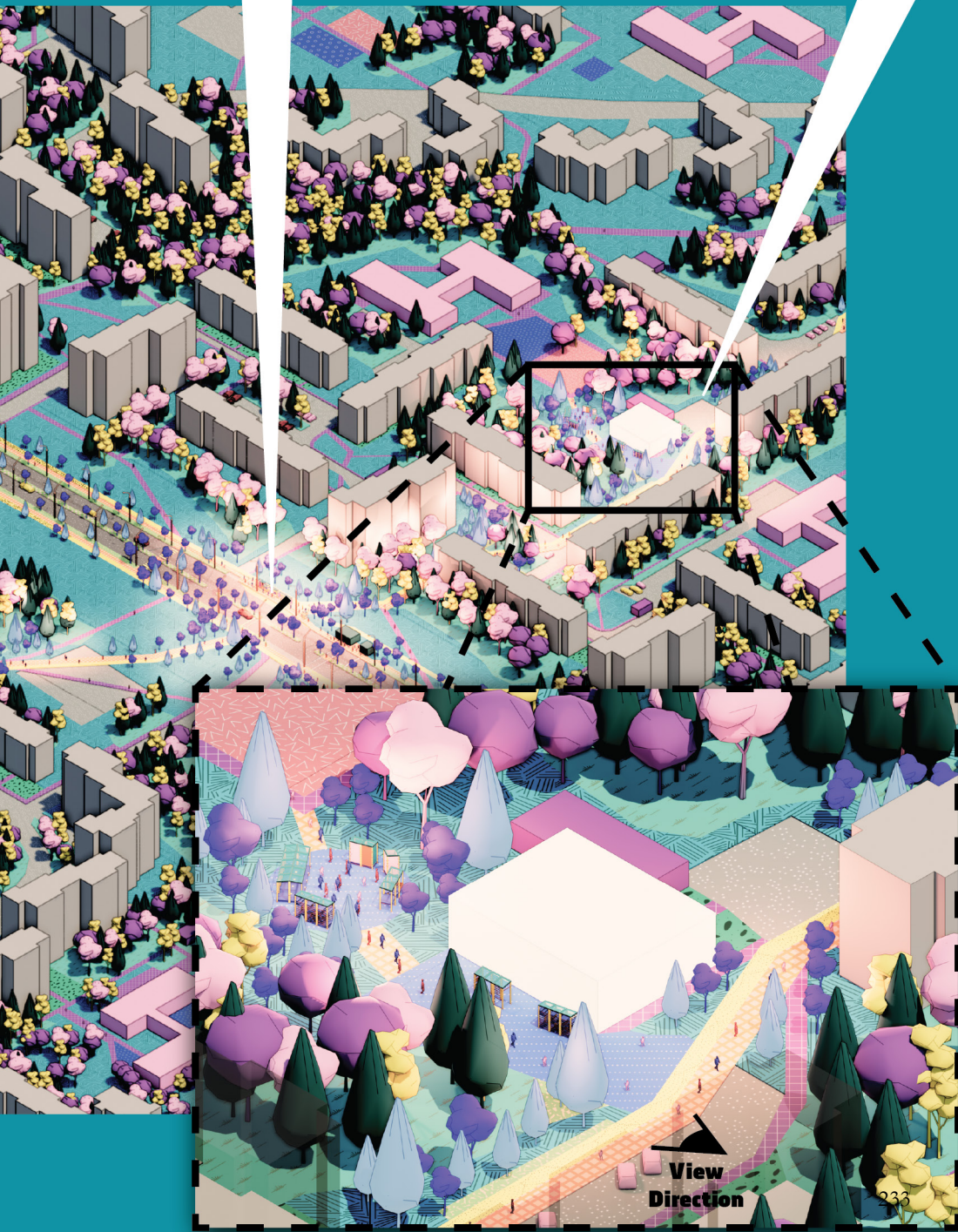
Localise funding

One of the most prominent issues for communities, parishes, and citizens is the lack of funds. Producing Tolerance Events could require extensive financial capabilities, from organising awareness campaigns to getting rewarded for time invested. Yet currently the majority of the finance and funding decisions are consolidated in the hands of municipal administration. It reduces the council's interest, which has no incentives to invest in fostering more tolerant attitudes. Furthermore, it reduces the power and involvement of local groups because they direct their limited budgets towards more urgent, everyday issues.

Today in Kaunas (and respectively in Kaunas District), there are two central funding systems for bottom-up initiatives. The first one is called "Kaunas Accents". It is an initiative open for submission all year round without any precise assignment. From 2016 (when it was established) it proved to be a great funding option for small-scale bottom-up initiatives, making a city an open-air gallery. However, it has multiple issues. Firstly, the municipal authorities make all the decisions, and neither parishes nor community centres have a say. Due to monocentrism, the municipality is primarily interested in funding projects in the city centre, avoiding other parishes. Furthermore, it consumes a lot of time for participants, who have to submit full proposals that can be rejected.

Interest (vertical axis)

Power (horizontal axis)

Municipal Ombudsperson

M12

?

⬤ **Civil Society**

1. **Citizens**

2. **Community Centres**

3. **National NGOs (General)**
Centre for Human Rights
Diversity Development Group
Human Rights Monitoring Institute
Tolerant Youth Association
Mental Health Perspectives
1st of May Labour Union

4. **National NGOs (Specific)**
Center for Equality Advancement
National Gay League
Jewish (Litvak) Community of Lithuania
Roma Community Centre

5. **Local NGOs**
"Caritas"
"Korys"
"Arka"
"SocActiva"
...

▲ **Public Sector**

6. **Parliament (Committees)**
6.1. Environment Protection
6.2. Social Affairs and Labour
6.3. Human Rights

7. **Government (Ministries)**
7.1. Environment
7.2. Social Security and Labour

8. **Region (Councils)**
8.1. Kaunas Region
8.2. Region Architecture

Municipalities (Departments):
9. **Kaunas District**
9.1. Social Support
9.2. Urban Planning

10. **Kaunas**
10.1. Social Support
10.2. Social Services
10.3. City Planning and Architecture

11. **Parishes**
11.1 Kaunas District (25 in total)
11.2 Kaunas (11 in total)

◼ **Budgetary Sector**

12. **Equal Opportunities Ombudsperson**

13. **Police Community Officers**

14. **Social Care (Municipal)**
Social Services Center

15. **Social Care (Governmental)**
"Vija"

16. **"Kaunas Plan"**

⬠ **Knowledge Sector**

17. **Universities (Social Sciences)**
VDU; KTU; VU

18. **Universities (Architecture)**
KTU; VDA

19. **Schools**

Figure 6.30. Reduced power and increased interest of the Municipalities.

237

"Kauno Akcentai" ["Kaunas Accents"]

Open all year;
Municipal commision meets
every month;
Free ideas;
Less funding;

1 month

Commission

Contract

Full project
submission
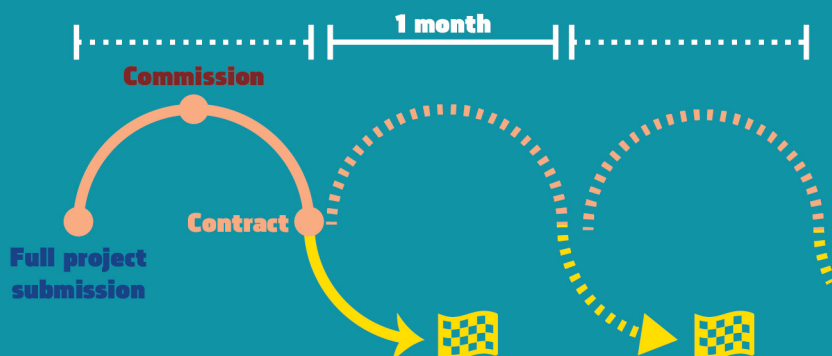
"Iniciatyvos Kaunui" ["Iniciative for Kaunas"]

Open only for calls
Once per year
Ideas on specific topics
More funding

iniciatyvos
KAUNUI

1 year

Kaunas
administration

Call
with a topic

Full project
submission

Select

Contract

Participants

Figure 6.31. Existing funding options for bottom-up initiatives in Kaunas.
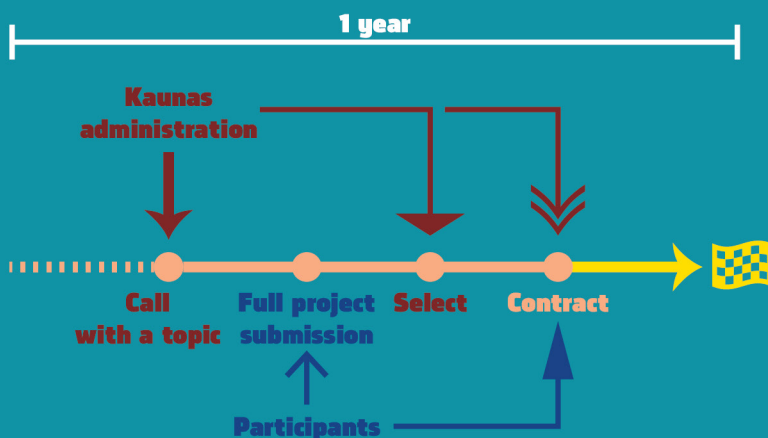
The second system is called "Initiatives for Kaunas". It has an 11 times larger yearly budget than "Kaunas Accents". Consequently, much larger projects can be funded. While the first initiative mainly focuses on public art and small-scale events, "Initiatives for Kaunas" can support city-wide festivals. However, it is call-based, where the municipality announces an invitation for proposals based on specific topics once or twice per year. This means that the power is consolidated in the council's hands even further.

To address the issues of the systems mentioned above, I propose to unite them in both Kaunas and Kaunas District municipalities under one initiative – "Brave Tolerant Initiatives". It would keep two financing options. However, I suggest that local parishes and communities would control the small-scale, monthly system. In this way, they could work together to distribute artistic objects and events evenly throughout the city, making the whole urban area an open-air gallery, not only the city centre.

Figure 6.32. Proposed new funding iniative by combining existing ones in Kaunas and Kaunas District.

239

1 year

Kaunas and Kaunas District administrations
Calls for large scale funding

Call with a topic

Potential for extra funding upon request

Municipal ombudsperson
Oversight

Proposals for large scale initiatives and feedback

Parishes and communities
Local small scale projects

Participants

Parish and community

Proposals

Extra funding

Full project

Contract

Project idea submission

Participants

Municipality

Parish   Community

Municipality

Parish Community   Municipal ombudsperson

Funding distribution

Parishes and communities

30%

Municipalities

40%

30%

Flexible, upon agreement

Figure 6.33. Structure of the proposed Brave Tolerant Initiative.

Furthermore, to make the municipality more dependent on local communities, proposals for large-scale, once-per-year initiatives would be provided by the parish and community hybrid. The municipality would still have control of the goals, direction and selection of the call, but the locals would select the applicants. Artists would not be required to submit complete projects but rather ideas which would be worked out with communities. Extra funding could be requested in case projects need to be expanded. Therefore I suggest 30% of the budget be flexible, on which distribution municipalities and parishes would need to agree with oversight of the Municipal Equal Opportunities Ombudsperson. It would make power more evenly distributed and increase municipalities' interest.

This suggestion would create incentives to plan projects in all of the Kaunas and Kaunas District. However, even around the city centre current objects and initiatives are distributed unevenly. Therefore, the oversight of 30% flexible funding that Municipal Equal Opportunities Ombudsperson has together with the "Kaunas Plan" allows them to foster more equally distributed proposals and produce planning guidelines and suggestions. In such a way they would advise and guide the municipalities and local organisations on where and what kind of projects would have the most significant impact.

Figure 6.34. Map of Art Objects and Street Art Paintings in Kaunas with a radius of 500 m., industrial areas, and neglected zones where funding could be prioritised. Based on (Gervė, n.d.).

241

School/community centre

Figure 6.35. Axonometry view of the Art project which could be implemented using Brave Tolerant Inititative.

"Brave Tolerant Initiative"

Parish administration
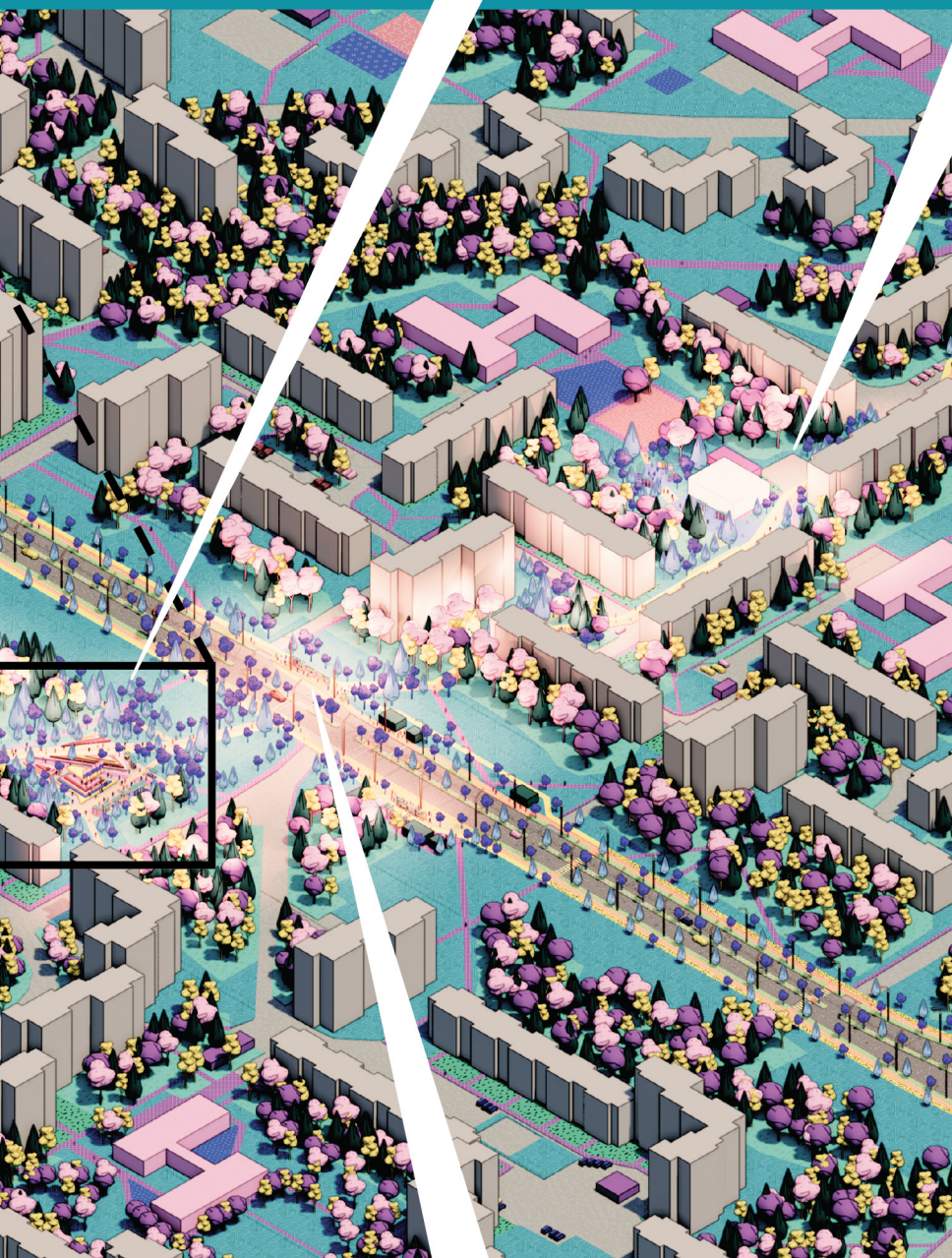
Plug–In Bus Stop

6.7. 5.Policentrism

This subrule is a spatial representation of suggestions depicted by other subrules. Tolerance Events cannot only happen in the city centre, which is largely the case today. It needs more diversified locations, which would increase the variety of people producing and attending Tolerance Events, facilitate more diverse encounters, and foster complex understanding and tolerant attitudes. In addition, this would open currently closed Controlled spaces and reduce the homogeneity of spaces of avoidance.

This subrule is connected to these characteristics of the Tolerance Event and Space:

Location, location, location
Page 150

Diversify
Page 178

Closed/Open
Page 149

Size matters
Page 149

"The world will be saved by beauty"
Page 152

Form follows event
Page 177
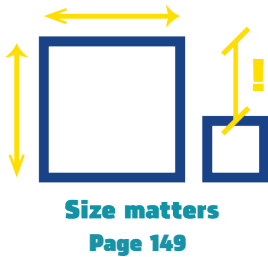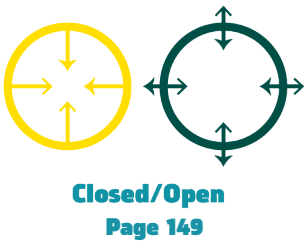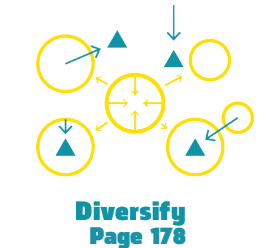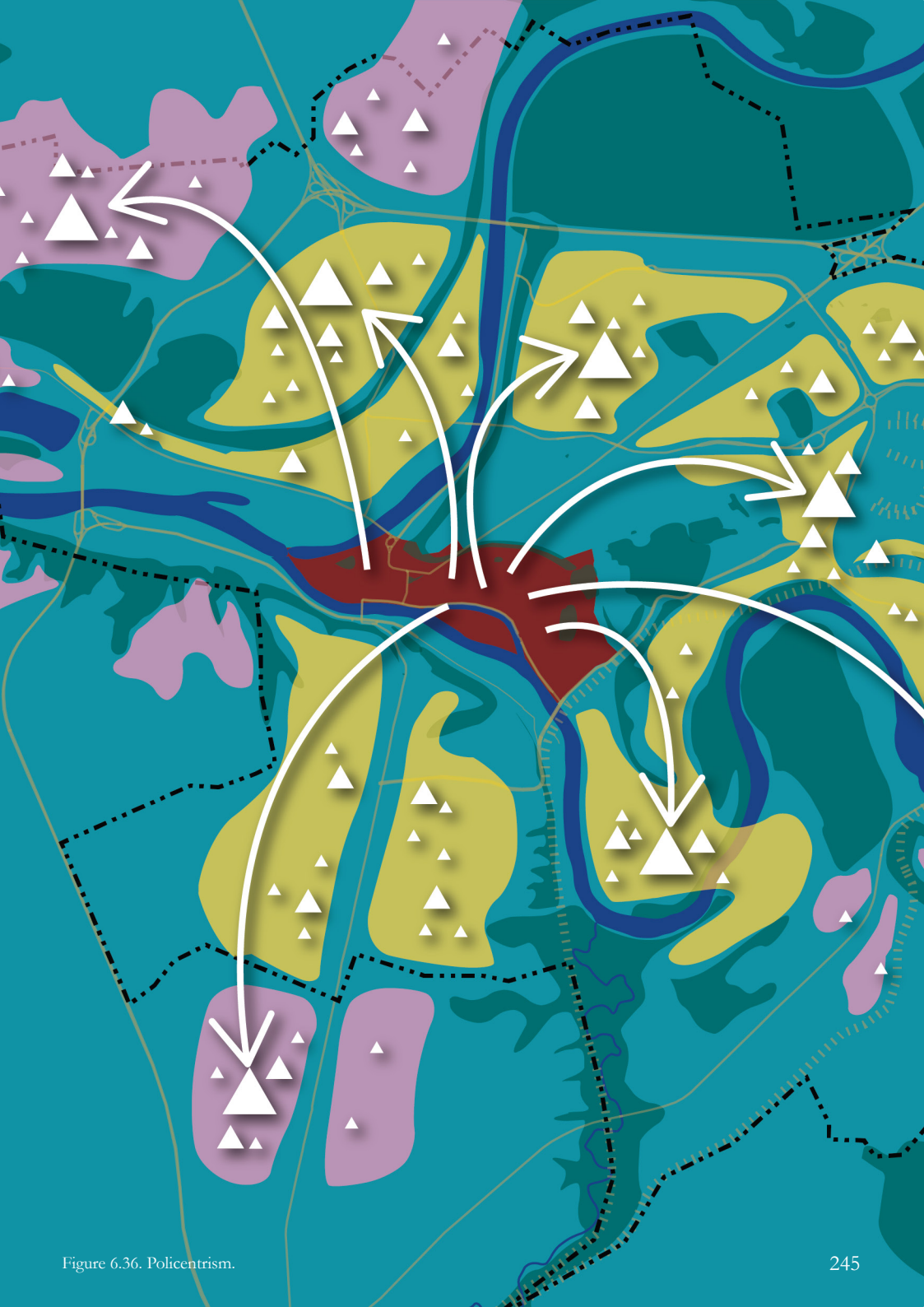
Figure 6.36. Policentrism.

Figure 6.37. Kaunas City local and micro centres. Based on Sustainable Mobility Plan (Civitta & PU-PA, 2019)

Local and specialised centres

Priority — Multifunctionality

Lacks:
Active public space and cultural facilities

+
Leisure and sports facilities

Micro everyday centres

Priority — Multifunctionality

Lacks:
Active public space and points of attraction

+
Workplaces and leisure activities

2 km

2 km

Figure 6.38. Priority for new developments and art projects.
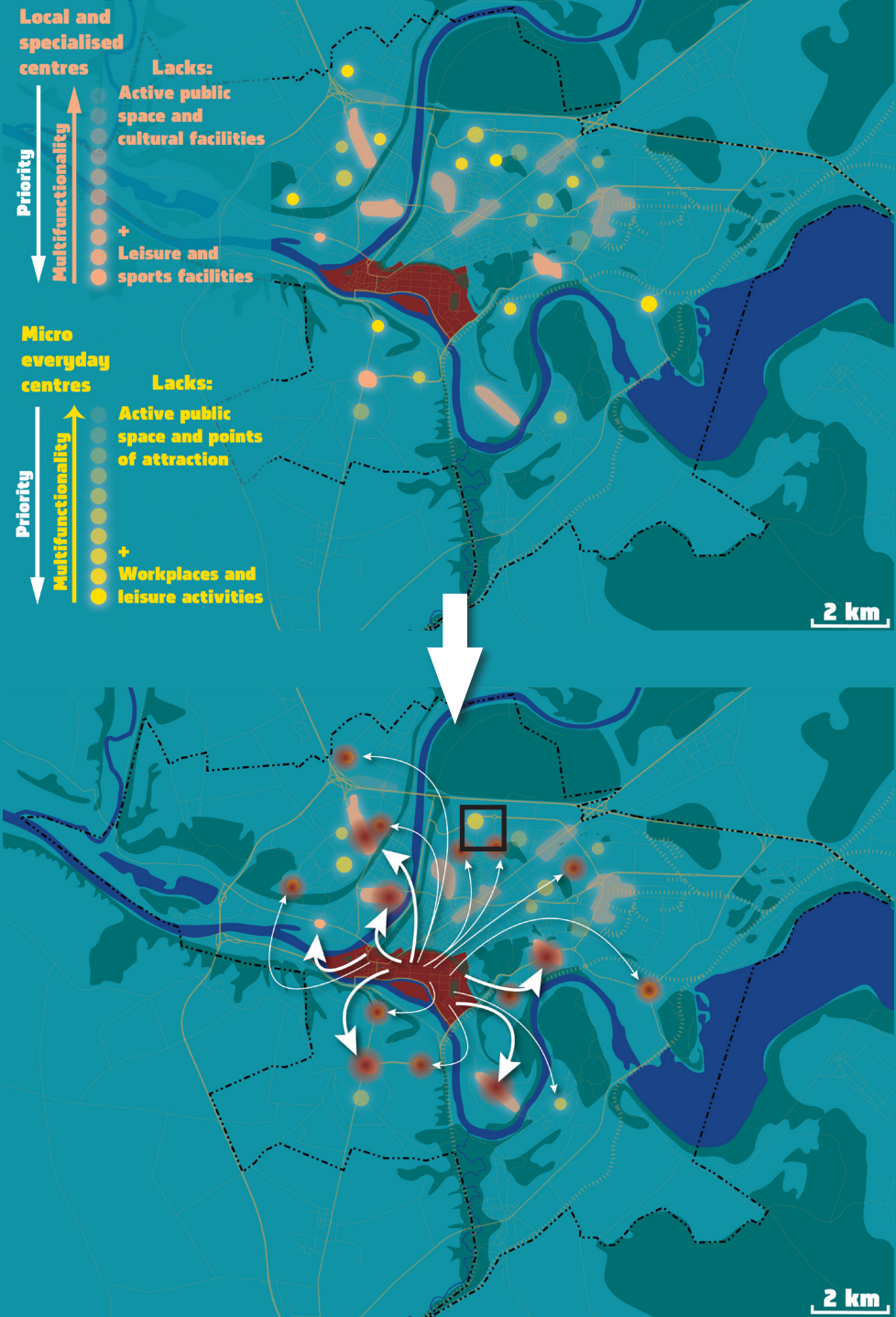
Prioritise spaces of avoidance for new developments and art projects

In 2023 a new strategy for Kaunas, called "Complex Transformation Strategies of Apartment Buildings Built in the Soviet Era" (Marozas et al., 2022), was publicly presented. It is a critical planning document stressing the importance of renovating buildings and public space systems in areas of post-war soviet housing estates built from the 1960s till the independence of 1990. These are the spaces which I describe as spaces of avoidance. According to the planning document, these spaces have many benefits, such as good access to public transport, a large number of green spaces, and high density, to name a few. On the other hand, issues such as parking and car traffic, uncertain public space, and lack of inclusive pedestrian infrastructure are predominant. Therefore, to address problems and highlight benefits, they propose a holistic planning strategy based on 10 main guidelines (see appendix, page 341).

I believe it is a comprehensive and coherent strategy covering multiple aspects of local neighbourhoods. In this thesis, I used it to inform my design decisions. However, it lacks a more multiscalar and regional approach. All suggestions are based on the scale of the house groups or neighbourhoods. Therefore I propose an additional 11th guideline, which states that spaces of avoidance should be prioritised for new developments and art projects. This suggestion explicitly connects to other proposals presented in this thesis, such as Plug-In Bus Stops, Spaces for Gathering, and Localise Funding.

To guide the implementation of this recommendation, I used analysis conducted by the producers of Kaunas Sustainable Mobility Plan (Civitta & PU-PA, 2019). They highlighted two parts of the polycentric Kaunas structure – Local Centres and Micro Centres. While they are evenly distributed around the city, they are primarily commercial or specialised centres, lacking multifunctionality and public space attractions. I suggest that public buildings, art projects, and Plug-In Bus Stops could address this uneven distribution. In addition, private developments suitable to fulfil missing functions should be encouraged in said centres while following the other 10 design guidelines. The Municipal Equal Opportunities Ombudsperson and the "Kaunas Plan" could work as advisors in this strategy, providing even access to functions and public life.

360 rather than 60

There are examples of my proposed 11th rule being implemented already. I already briefly mentioned one instance in the paragraph on spaces of avoidance (see pages 114-115). It is a case of Kaunas Ice Palace – public sports facility which opened for citizens in 2022 after a year of being a vaccination centre. It contains two ice rinks and a coffee place, significantly increasing the multifunctionality and attractiveness of the area. However, while it works on the neighbourhood scale, it has issues at an architectural scale. This building is mainly out of context. Post-war soviet housing estates were built in a modernist type of planning, with free-standing buildings between greenery areas. Therefore they have all sides publicly accessible. This newly built Kaunas Ice Palace ignores that by being functional only on 60 degrees rather than 360. It has one main entrance on the east side through the parking lot, and the other 3 sides are blank concrete walls, creating the effect of the gradient of avoidance. It became uncomfortable passages which not even locals use.

Therefore I propose a 12th guideline – new public buildings in spaces of avoidance should have 360 degrees of functional areas rather than 60. Existing structures should be adapted according to this standard. Even if there needs to be a logistics entrance, it should be provided in such a way that it creates a minimal gradient of avoidance. This rule does not mean that buildings have to have openings or shop fronts throughout all 4 sides. It means that in cases where it cannot, such as Kaunas Ice Palace, different functions should be provided to make a coherent public space, for example street art, green wall, climbing mountain, or squash area.

Figure 6.39. Gradient of avoidance.
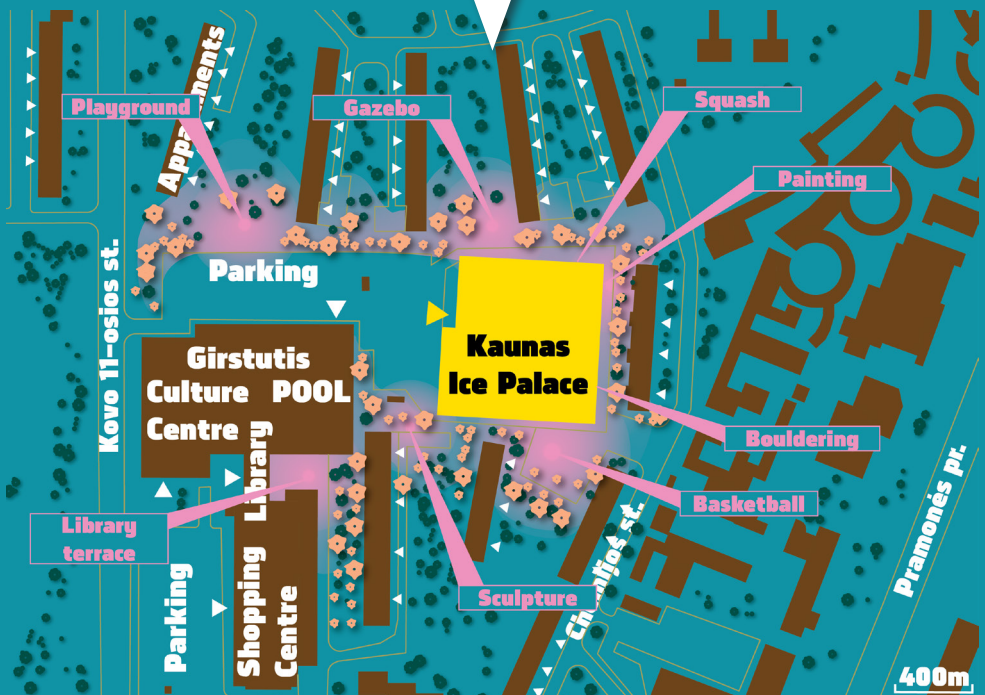
Figure 6.40. Diagram depicting possible solutions to the gradient of avoidance.

View Direction
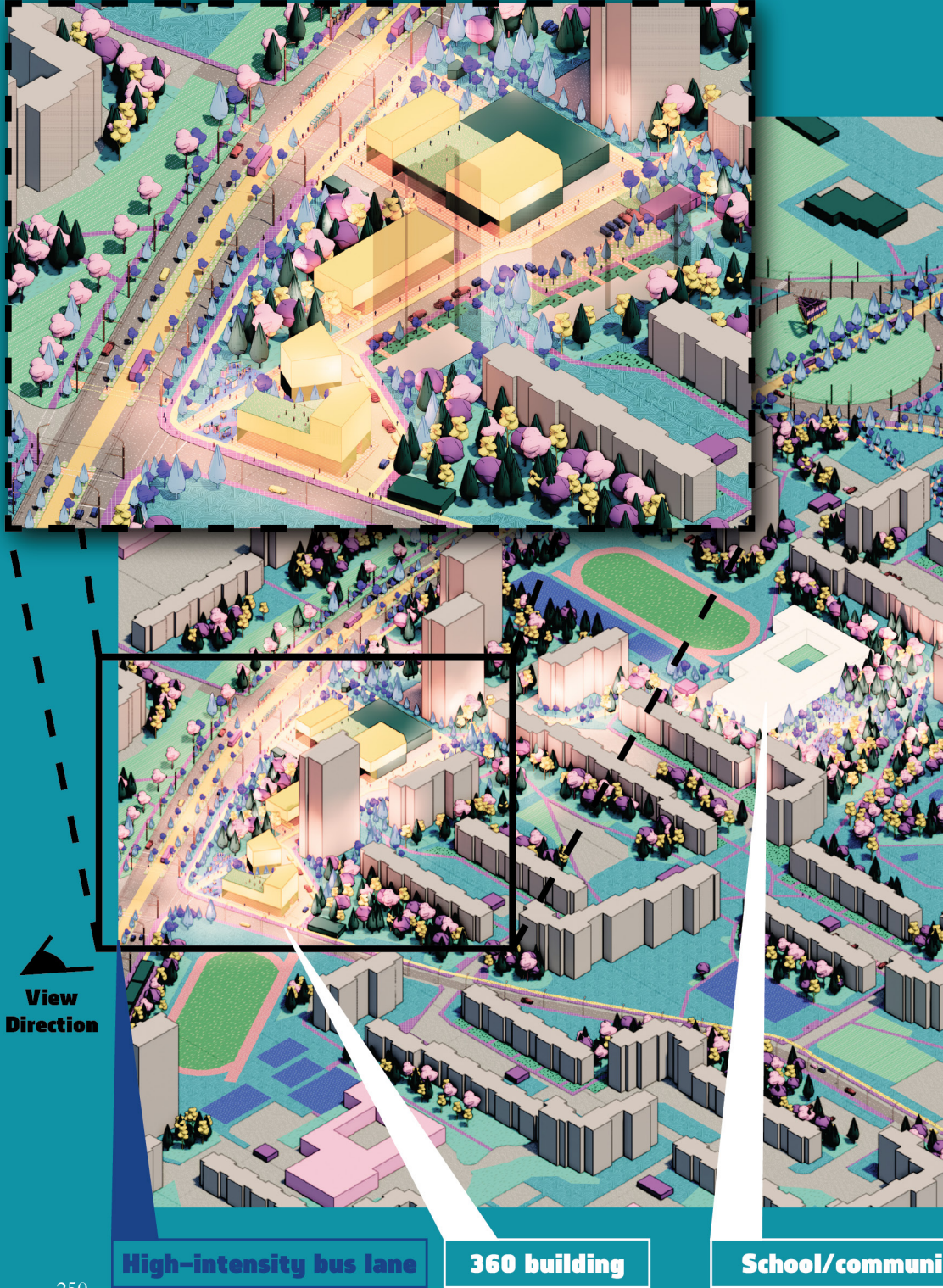
High-intensity bus lane

360 building

School/communi

Figure 6.41. Axonometry of the connection between Parish, Plug-In Bus Stops, Sc

"Brave Tolerant Initiative"

Parish administration

ty centre

Plug—In Bus Stop

hool/Community Centre, and 360 Building positioned in a Micro Centre.

Figure 6.42. Illustration depicting the new urban de

BRAVE
TOLERANT
KAUNAS

velopment as an example of 5.Policentrism subrule.
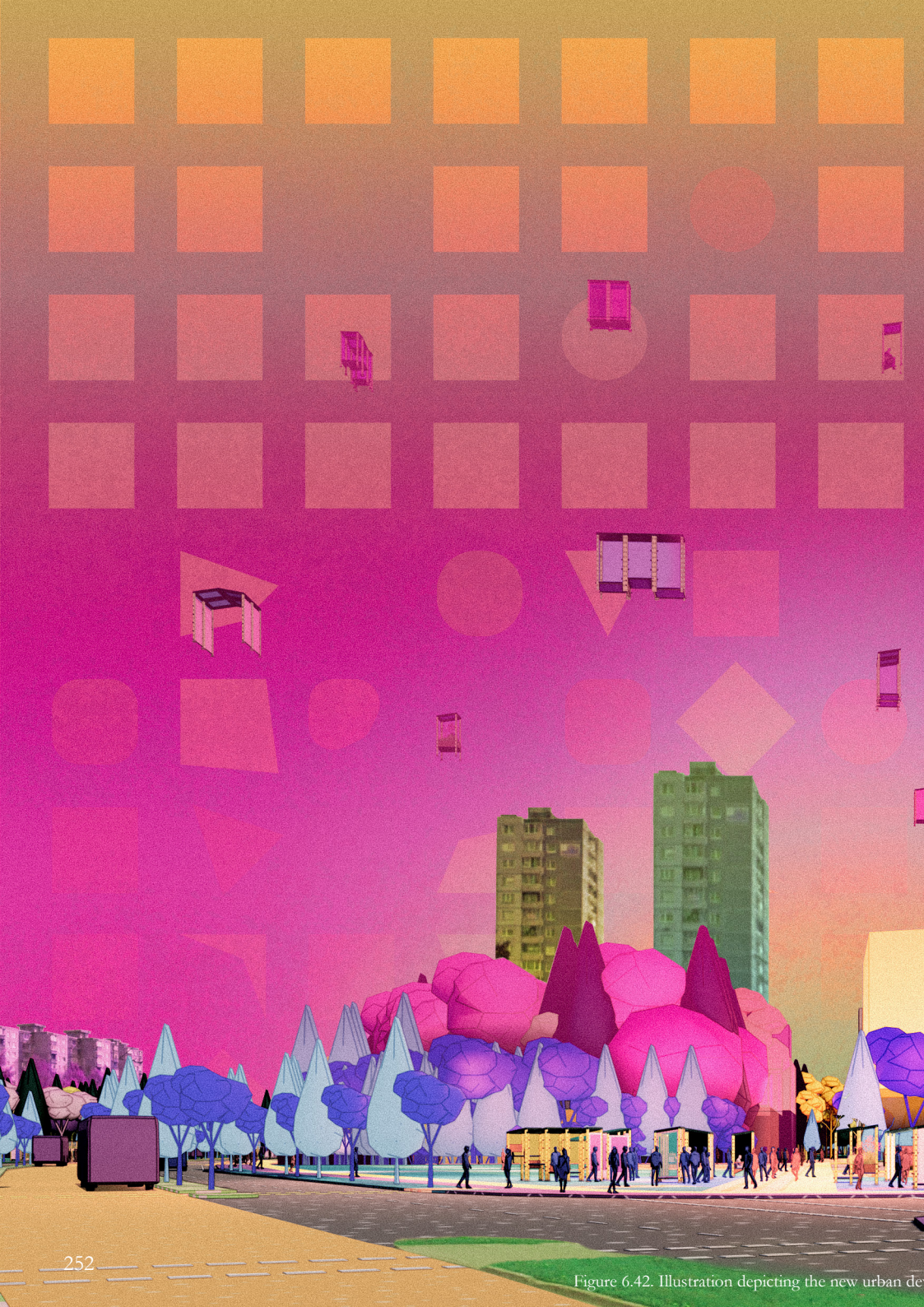
6.8. 6.Protect.Participate.Evaluate.

Implementing my proposals would foster More Tolerance Events and rupture the status quo, moving to event period. Consequently, most of the recommendations would cause reactions from people, of which in the beginning many would be intolerant. This could become explicit in various negative Tolerance Events, creating unsafe situations for communities. Therefore it is imperative to propose mechanisms that would protect vulnerable groups. However, these situations may not be known to external actors, therefore communities should be involved in the decision-making process to identify potential impacts. Since the event period following the rupture is uncertain and ambiguous, there need to be clear evaluation mechanisms to allow involved stakeholders to monitor the situation. In case of any potential damage to vulnerable groups, these mechanisms must allow to stop the implementation.

This subrule is connected to these characteristics of the Tolerance Event and Space:

Safety first
Page 173

Who should/can do it?
Page 155
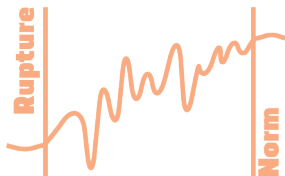
From rupture to norm
Page 161

Participation
Page 187

$$F = -F$$

$$\triangle = (+-) \triangle$$

Relevance of the support
Page 181

Reaction (+/−)
Page 149

MORE
TOLERANCE
EVENTS

Figure 6.43. Protect. Participate. Evaluate.   255

Interest

Power

12 16 M12
Municipal Ombudsperson

● Civil Society

1. Citizens

2. Community Centres

3. National NGOs (General)
Centre for Human Rights
Diversity Development Group
Human Rights Monitoring Institute
Tolerant Youth Association
Mental Health Perspectives
1st of May Labour Union

4. National NGOs (Specific)
Center for Equality Advancement
National Gay League
Jewish (Litvak) Community of Lithuania
Roma Community Centre

5. Local NGOs
"Caritas"
"Korys"
"Arka"
"SocActiva"
...

▲ Public Sector

6. Parliament (Committees)
6.1. Environment Protection
6.2. Social Affairs and Labour
6.3. Human Rights

7. Government (Ministries)
7.1. Environment
7.2. Social Security and Labour

8. Region (Councils)
8.1. Kaunas Region
8.2. Region Architecture

Municipalities (Departments):
9. Kaunas District
9.1. Social Support
9.2. Urban Planning

10. Kaunas
10.1. Social Support
10.2. Social Services
10.3. City Planning and Architecture

11. Parishes
11.1 Kaunas District (25 in total)
11.2 Kaunas (11 in total)

■ Budgetary Sector

12. Equal Opportunities Ombudsperson
13. Police Community Officers
14. Social Care (Municipal)
Social Services Center
15. Social Care (Governmental)
"Vija"
16. "Kaunas Plan"

⬠ Knowledge Sector

17. Universities (Social Sciences)
VDU; KTU; VU
18. Universities (Architecture)
KTU; VDA
19. Schools

Figure 6.44. Empowerment of NGOs.

Tolerance Impact Assessment

To implement this subrule in Kaunas instead of singular top-down benchmarks I propose to create an evaluation framework that stakeholders could use to assess each case - Tolerance Impact Assessment. It is based on the Social Impact Assessment, which is a practice of "analysing, monitoring and managing the social consequences of development." (Vanclay, 2003). This process should be participatory, connecting different stakeholders, strengthening their capacity to act, and giving more control over their environment. Human rights should be placed at the heart of the practice (Esteves et al., 2012).

In addition to these core principles, Tolerance Impact Assessment should contain conflict resolution mechanisms at its essence. Disagreements are unavoidable in an intolerant society, therefore they should be acknowledged, embraced, and managed to avoid escalation and boost positive benefits. Since tolerance is a subjective system of affects, stakeholders should be able to express their concerns and seek remedies together. I propose to achieve that through community-driven operational-level grievance mechanisms. Grievance mechanisms are processes which allow people to share their complaints directly, fostering mutual understanding and trust (Prenzel & Vanclay, 2014). Community-driven operational-level grievance mechanisms are non-judicial practices designed and conducted by the affected stakeholders rather than a third party (Kaufman & McDonnell, 2016).
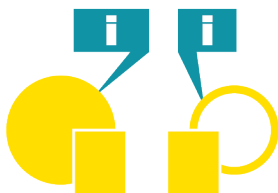
Get people together to evidence-based discussion

Human Rights as a base for discussion and assessment

Highlight and manage impacts

Give control to vulnerable groups

Conflct resolution as an essential mechanism

Capacity-building framework

Figure 6.45. Goals of the tolerance impact assessment.

Based on the goals mentioned above and references depicted in the figure x.x., I propose a framework for Tolerance Impact Assessment. At first, actors share information and description of projects and conduct impact identification which has multiple levels of extensiveness. Stakeholders start with Simple Screening and Appraisal and can continue towards more in-depth levels of mutual agreement. Each level has three main outcomes – the identification of impacts, complaints, and the affected actors', which should be involved in the process. Afterwards, the process follows with the Impact Management stage, where evaluation, reinforcement, mitigation, prevention, and monitoring processes must be considered. Grievance mechanisms are structured in between impact assessment and management, working in synergy with both steps. It allows participants to discuss concerns expressed in the assessment stage and seek common remedies. If there are unsolvable conflicts or vulnerable groups lack a feeling of safety, state-led remedial processes can be used. The appeal clause allows groups to defend their rights in a non-judicial manner. By agreeing on management strategies, stakeholders can form impact and benefit agreements and/or tolerance impact management plans (Esteves et al., 2012).

Figure 6.46. References of impact assessment frameworks related to tolerance.

Equality Impact Assessment, United Kingdom

Description — Data and evidence — Actors' identification

Impact assessment — Addressing impact — Involvement and consultation

Based on: (University of York, 2018)

A general framework for the precautionary governance of food safety

Design, development and oversight

Evaluation

Preventive measures

Instruments

Unrestricted activity

Screening — Appraisal — Management

Based on: (Stirling et al., 2006)

Equity–focused health impact assessment

Screening

Scoping

Impact identification

Assessment of impacts

Recommendations

Monitoring and evaluation

Based on: (Simpson et al., 2005)

Data, information, and desription

Stakeholder 1 ⟷ **Stakeholder 2** ⟷ **Stakeholder n**

Impact Identification

Impacts

Simple Screening and Appraisal

Complex Screening and Appraisal

Complaints

Extensive Screening and Appraisal

Affected actors' identification

Overseer

For conflict resolution, capacity building, advice

For example: Municipal Equal Opportunities Ombudsperson; Community Police Officers;

State-based remedial mechanisms

Community-Driven Operational-level Grievance Mechanism

Remedy

Appeal

In case Operational-Level Grievance mechanisms do not provide effective remedy, stakeholders can seek support in external institutions

Impact management

Evaluation

Reinforcement

Mitigation

Prevention

Monitoring

Impact and Benefit Agreement

Tolerance Impact Management Plan

Figure 6.47. Proposed tolerance impact assessment framework.

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Figure 6.48. Power of the centre.
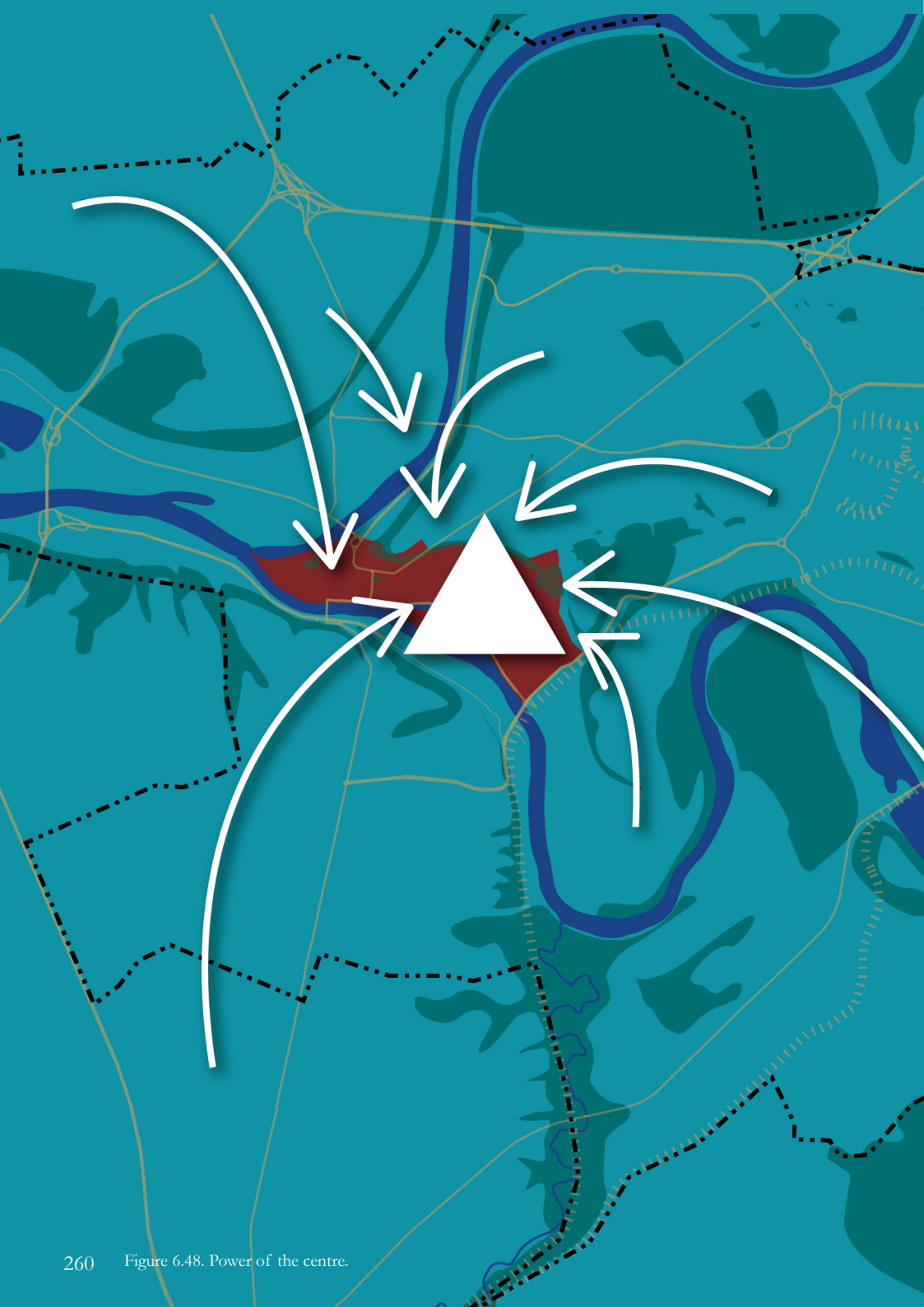
6.9. 7.Power of the centre

Although other subrules stress the importance of spreading Tolerance Events spatially throughout the city, the city centre should not be forgotten. Due to the "deep story" of Lithuanian society (see "Monocentrism", pages 110-111), Kaunas Centre has multiple significant powers concerning Tolerance Events. First, it has the widest variety of functions, work and leisure activities, and the biggest diversity of people. Therefore it can be regarded as the most extensive Norm Space in the city, which stays uncontrolled most of the time. The visibility of Tolerance Events in the city centre heavily increases due to amount of people. Furthermore, there is the largest quantity of passive encounters in everyday life, and active Tolerance Events can harness this power to increase its effect. It would act as a spark lighting already existing fuel.

Another important aspect is the symbolic value of the city centre. Accordingly, as a few case studies demonstrate (see "Baltic and Kaunas Prides", pages 160-173; "Audra" festival 2021", pages 178-179; "Courtyard gallery and festival", pages 180-183), temporary occupying city centre increases the legitimacy of the Tolerance Event and attracts more participants. Evident in the Baltic and Kaunas Prides case is a strong reaction provoked by the occupation of the symbol (whether space, such as the city centre, or object, such as the national flag). It can be positive or negative, but it is an active reaction, fostering the rupture of the status quo and affecting people's attitudes further.

This subrule is connected to these characteristics of the Tolerance Event and Space:

"The law of the few"
Page 181
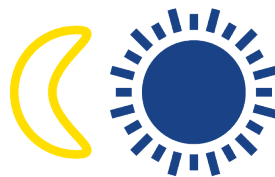
Time is of the essence
Page 177
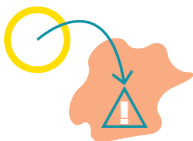
Norm space is critical
Page 169

$$F = -F$$

$$\triangle = (+-)\triangle$$
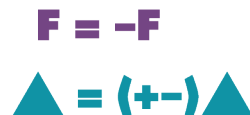
Reaction (+/−)
Page 149

Walk the line

To show how the "Power of the centre" subrule could be implemented, we (me together with a performer) produced a small-scale Tolerance Event instead of proposing planning, design, or policy guidelines. This Tolerance Event, captured in a video format, was partially a reenactment of the Kaunas Pride 2021. We walked the same route as the LGBTQ+ community in 2021 – from Independence Square to the end of Laisvės Avenue and back again. The medium of walking was chosen because it is a common element in the discussion of tolerance – from the expression "Walk the mile in my shoes" or Depeche Mode song "Walking in my shoes", to multiple respondents mentioning either the importance of walking, marching, or running, for the occupation of space and comfort.

The first part of the route the performer walked in his everyday clothing, the second – in drag clothes. In this way, it served not only as a production of the Tolerance event, but also as a test of hypothesis – we were able to compare two different reactions. Nobody reacted to us on the first part of the route, while we received much more looks and verbal outcomes on the second part.

Figure 6.49. Location of the walk performance.

(Elinskas, 2021)
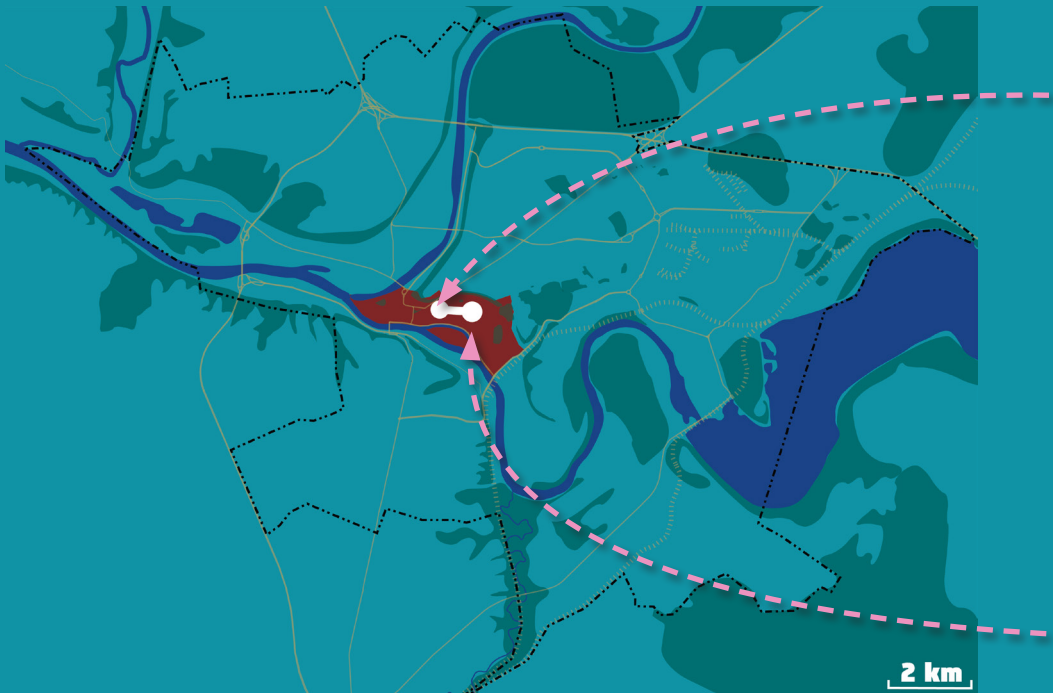
2021/09/04

2023/05/02

14min 29s

16:25
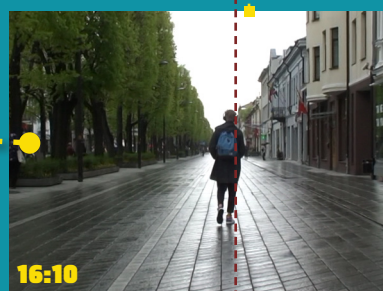
16:10

14min 57s

17:50

18:05

100m

Figure 6.51. Snapshots from "Walk the Line" video.

It is important to mention that I was walking about 15 meters behind the performer with a visible camera. Almost nobody looked at me with the camera at the first part of the route, while plenty of people did at the next stage. Sometimes visible camera acted as an excuse for the rupture of the status quo – people were estranged, but everything seemed normal to them when they saw the camera.

The soundtrack also plays an important role. I chose a modern electronic interpretation of a traditional South Lithuanian folk song "Žalioj girioj stadalėlis [A whippletree in the green woods]" (Saulius Spindi & Zalanskas, 2017). First, its words act as a metaphor for fighting for your rights "Even if you'll cut and chop, I will only keep on flourishing". Secondly, this folk song has a symbolic value. Intolerant, homophobic people in Baltic and Kaunas Prides used National and traditional symbols to legitimize themselves. Using folk song gives this traditional Lithuanian element, a strong part of the culture, to the LGBTQ+ community. In addition, it shows the potential of traditions to strengthen cultural identity, reduce uncertainty, and therefore enhance conditions for tolerance.

Link to the full video:
https://youtu.be/2INIpUVHZM8

Žalioj girioj stadalėlis -	*A whippletree in the green woods -*
Tai slaunas medelis, tai slaunas medelis	*Now that's a splendid tree.*
Pas motulį, pas širdelį -	*At the mother's place, at the dearest -*
Tai slauna dukrelė, tai slauna dukrelė	*There's a splendid daughter.*
Aukštas dangus, šviesios žvaigždės,	*- The sky is high, ye bright stars,*
Švieskit man kelelį joti pas mergelę	*Light up the way for me to ride to the maiden!*
Eršketėli garbuonėli,	*Ye curled thornbush,*
Nestovėk prie kelio, nestovėk prie kelio	*Don't stand in my way,*
Kaip inširsiu, tai iškirsiu,	*Or I'll get angry and cut you down*
Per tvorų išmesiu, per tvorų išmesiu	*And chuck you over the fence!*
Nors tu kirsi, nors kaposi,	*- Even if you'll cut and chop,*
Dar geriaus bujosiu, dar geriaus bujosiu	*I will only keep on flourishing.*
Kai tu josi pas mergelį,	*When you will be riding to the maiden*
Kelalį pastosiu, kelalį pastosiu...	*I will stand in your way...*

Saulius Spindi, Petras Zalanskas, based on traditional Southern Lithuanian folk song "Žalioj girioj stadalėlis [A whippletree in the green woods]" (2017)
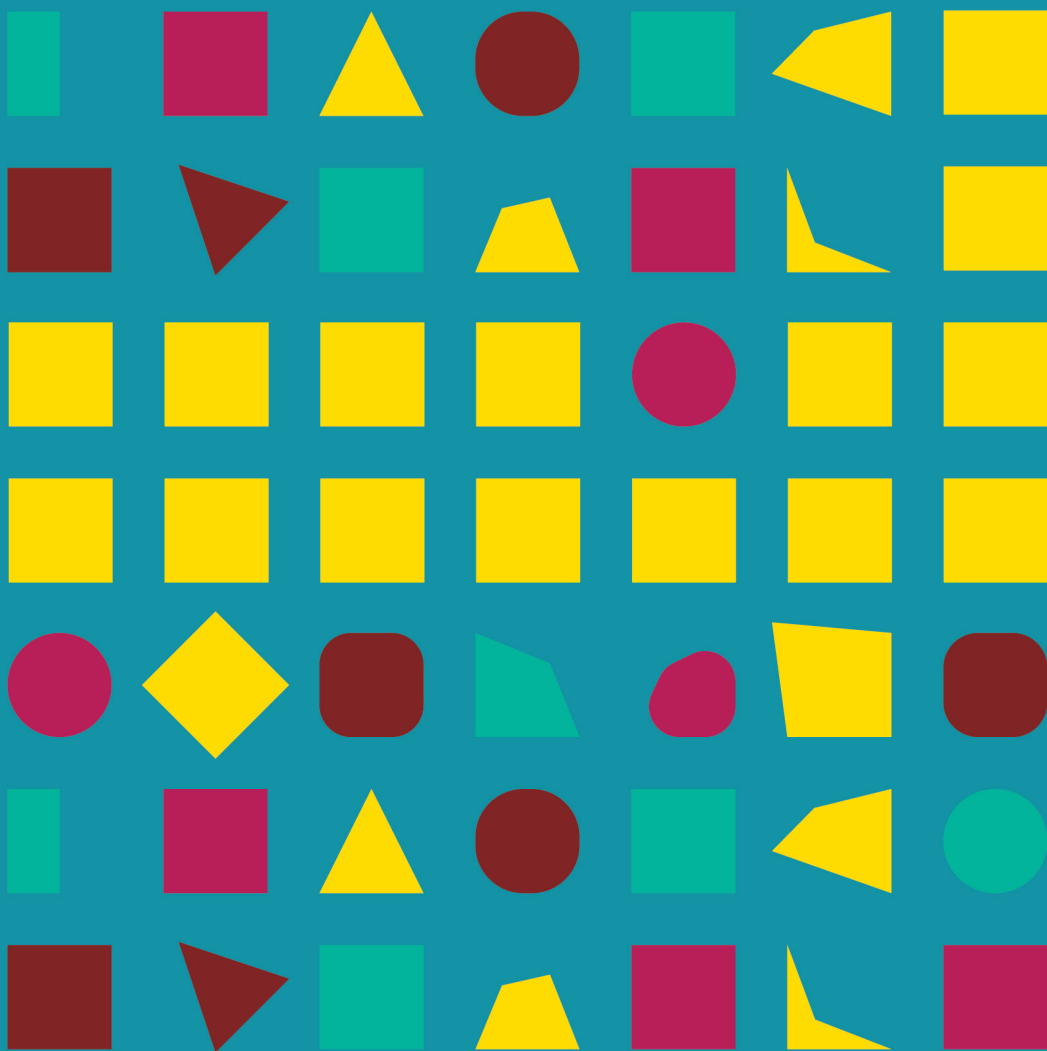
BRAVE MEANS A NEVER-ENDING BATTLE

7. TO CONCLUDE

7.1. Introduction

In this final chapter, I will conclude the year-long research by summarising answers to the research questions and discussing the project's scientific and societal relevance. I will continue with proposals for future research, the potential for transferability of the results, reflection on the wider Master's programme, ethics, personal and professional growth, and the pros and cons of the approach I took throughout the year. Finally, I will finish the main body of the thesis with some personal final thoughts.

7.2. Remember, remember the search for tolerance

In this section, I aim to summarise the answer to the main research question **"How can spatial and policy planning be used to foster more tolerant attitudes towards difference in everyday Kaunas?"**. The essential element to affect people's attitudes towards difference is the Tolerance Event. Therefore to reach Brave Tolerant City the task of the spatial and policy planners is straightforward: to produce and allow others to create more tolerance events. I will break down this notion by concluding answers to the following research sub-questions.

BRAVE MORE
TOLERANT = TOLERANCE
CITY EVENTS

Figure 7.1. Vision - one rule to guide them all.

1.1. What is tolerance? What are its history, definition, and limits?
Pages 70–99; 298–331

At the beginning of the research, I concluded that tolerance is defined as positive inaction or action towards diversity despite disagreement, dislike or disgust with it. However, through theoretical and empirical investigation, I understood that it is limited and heavily criticised by scholars such as Herbert Marcuse (1965) and Laurynas Peluritis (2013, 2014). I argue that such terms as feeling, emotion, or attitude are not sufficient to describe tolerance and that affect theory (Kıvılcım Sözgen, 2022; Thrift, 2008; Wells et al., 2020) represents the contemporary understanding of tolerance in Lithuania better. Therefore I propose a new definition of the concept:

Tolerance is an affective process through which a socially or biologically constructed non-representational and unconscious state of being is constructed, through an encounter with diversity, to another reactive, unstable, conscious, and representational state of being, which in turn affects social and biological preconditions. Both states of being determine whether it can be called tolerance or intolerance.
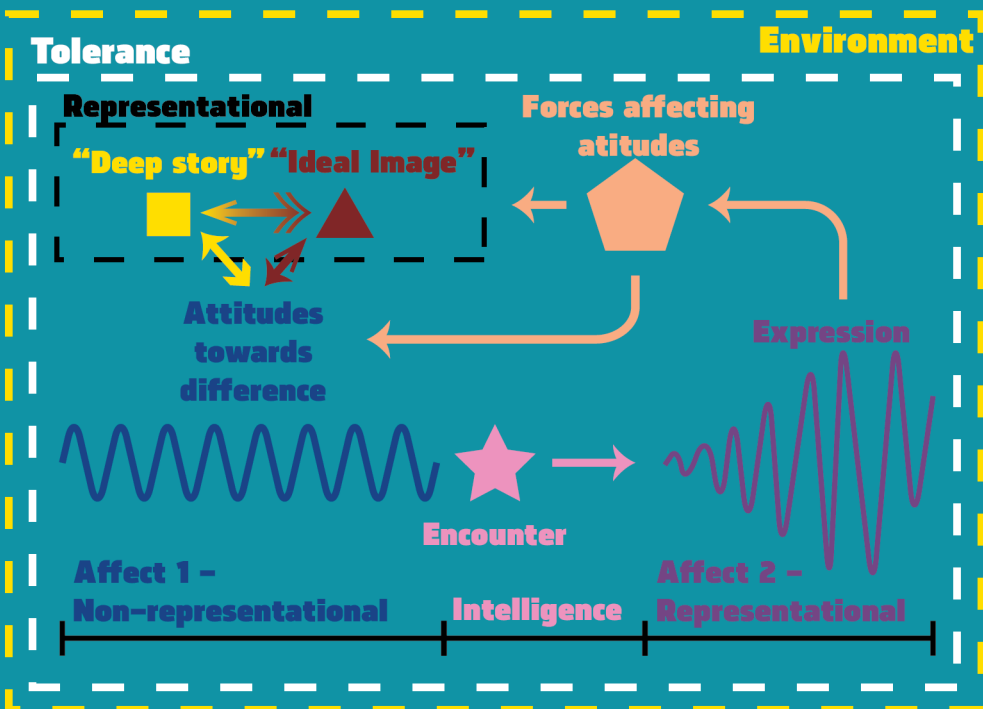
Figure 7.2. The theoretical Framework of Tolerance.

1.2. How tolerance for difference relates to other concepts of inclusivity?
Pages 72–75

My proposed new definition for tolerance represents the fluctuating nature of the concept and suggests that tolerance includes other concepts of inclusivity, such as respect, acceptance, and kindness, rather than being separate from them. This notion is backed by data gathered through interviews. I noticed that people associate tolerance with the concepts above. Therefore I argue that tolerance is a synonym for inclusivity. It has a gradient of constantly changing activeness, meaning that the same people can have different attitudes towards other groups depending on the time of the day, week, month, etc.

Figure 7.3. Tolerance and other concepts of inclusivity.
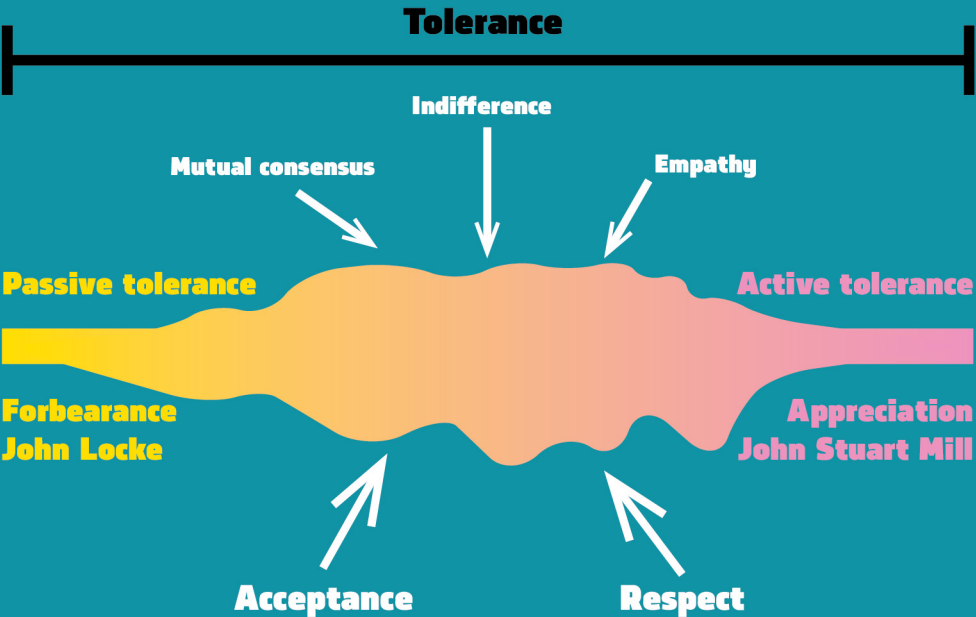
1.3. What is the relationship between tolerant attitudes for difference and the environment? *Pages 126–129; 144–189; 332–335*

I classified the relationship between tolerance and space into three categories based on who is predominant in the place and has control over it:

1. Controlled Space is where one group is predominant and controls the place through explicit rules and implicit norms. It can be closed (inward-looking, reducing encounters and, consequently, tolerant attitudes) or open (outward-looking, fostering contact and tolerant attitudes).

2. Rule Space is where a third-party group controls the place through rules according to which people are filtered.

3. Norm Space is where no group has complete control, and implicit norms are predominant means of social control. This space has an imperative symbolic value.

Controlled space	Rule space	Norm space
Spaces controlled by one predominant group	Spaces controlled by third party, which sets up rules others follow	Spaces where no group has direct control, therefore norms are a dominant mean of social control
Can be semi-private (bars, community centres), can be private (homes), can be semi-public (skateparks)	People are filtered based on rules	Has a symbolic value, over which battle occurs

Figure 7.4. Categorisation of Tolerance and Space.

2.1. What is the socio-cultural and spatial "deep story" of the specific society being investigated? *Pages 102–119*

Based on conducted mixed-methods research, I argue that Lithuania has a deep cultural trauma, which cultivates mistrust, uncertainty, polarisation, and passivity. In addition, in Kaunas neo-agrarianism and monocentrism (both spatial and institutional) are prevailing elements, which increases the perception of fear and seeking of escape. This results in large city areas that could be called "spaces of avoidance" (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001). Importantly, it renders the passive encounters irrelevant or minimal for changing people's attitudes.

Encounter

Tolerance Event

Attitudes towards difference

Mistrust, uncertain identity, polarisation, passivity, perceived fear, escapism

"Deep story"&"Ideal image"

Expression; Affected people's attitudes

Figure 7.5. "Deep story" and perceived "ideal image" of Lithuania locking the affect of passive encounters.
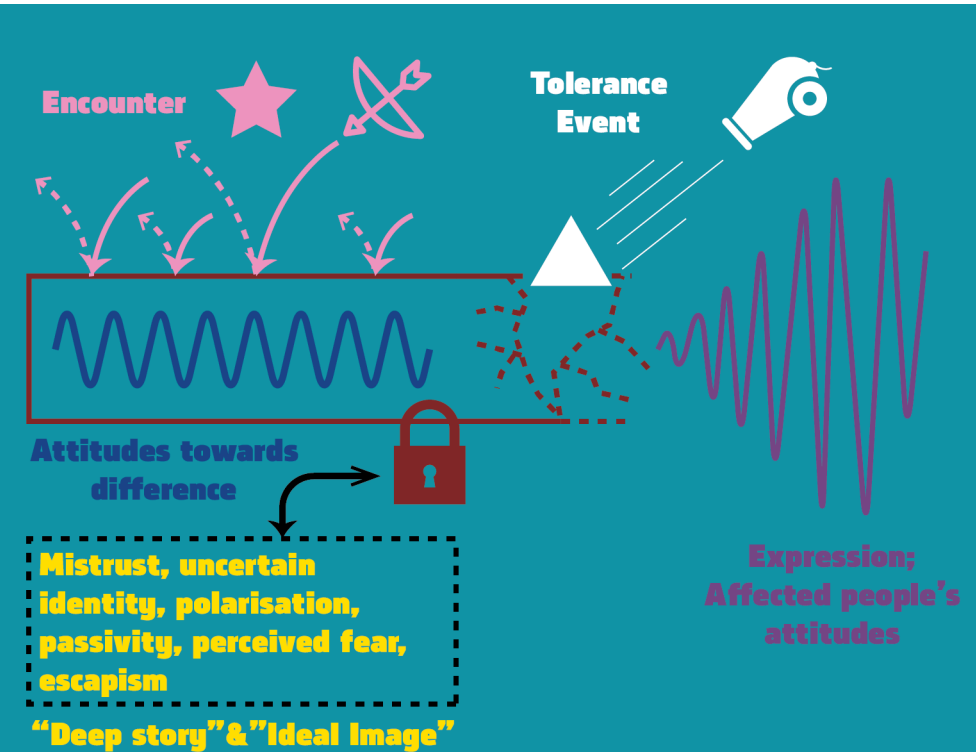
2.2. What is the perceived ideal "image of the conventional society"?
Pages 120–121

By summarising data gathered through multiple approaches, I conclude with a few bullet points representing what would be ideal and therefore the most tolerable Lithuanian. The goal is not to foster this image but to defamiliarize it (Popa, 2022) and inform planning decisions.

Has a job

Clean and well dressed

Educated

Smells good

Higher salary = hgher status

Keeps distance

Looks local (regarding both city and country)

Noiseless

Sober

(Strong) Man

Heterosexual

Middle-aged

Figure 7.6. Perceived "ideal image of the conventional Lithuanian society".

3.1. What are the forces affecting people's attitudes?
Pages 130–133; 144–189

I uncovered one strong force affecting people's attitudes in Lithuania – the Tolerance Event. It is a very active, concentrated form of encounter, allowing people to get to know other groups and stimulating positive or adverse reactions. It is a force that rises from deep socio-cultural and spatial issues, rupturing the passive status quo. Consequently, it defamiliarises with existing social norms and establishes new ones. Tolerance Event can take many forms, but in this thesis I focused on the spatial form of it, which defines encounters that occupies space.

Tolerance Event

Is an active, concentrated form of encounter

1. Event is a rupture of status quo.

2. Event adress deep socio-cultural and spatial issues.

3. Event defamiliarises with existing norms and creastes new ones.

4. Event allows groups to get to know other groups

Figure 7.7. Defition of the Tolerance Event.

3.2. How to use attitudes–affecting forces to foster more tolerant attitudes towards difference? *Pages 190–265*

Tolerance Events affect the "deep story", perceived "ideal image", and people's attitudes towards difference. This conceptualisation leads to a simple conclusion – to achieve Brave Tolerant City it is vital to have More Tolerant Events. To show how this main rule could be implemented in the city of Kaunas, I propose 7 subrules, each with different but interconnected strategies that cover funding, policy, institutions, design, planning, and artistic proposals.
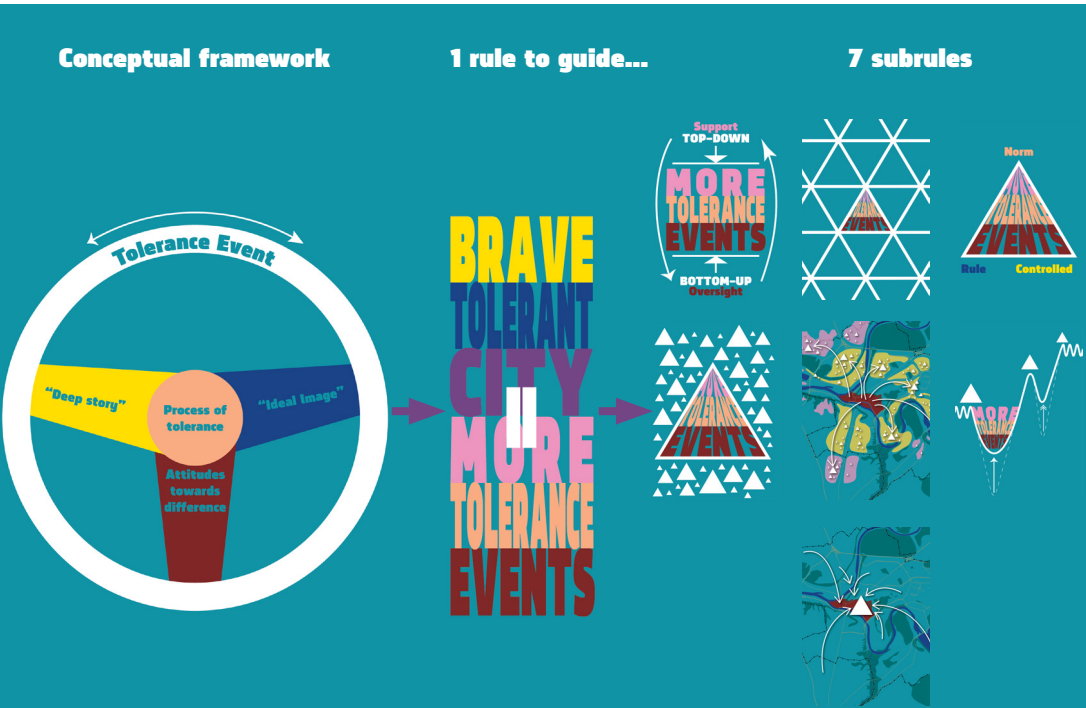
Figure 7.8. Structure of the implementation - from Conceptual Framework to the main Vision and 7 subrules.

7.3. Relevance

Scientific relevance

Addressing the missing link. There is a missing link between tolerance for difference and spatial planning research. A few papers cover this relationship (Bannister & Kearns, 2013; Huggins & Debies-Carl, 2015; Kent, 2022), but mainly it is discussed by political theorists and sociologists. Therefore extensive research on the relationship between tolerance and space presented in this thesis is an essential step towards increased understanding and awareness.

Holistic theory. There are multiple theories and documents related to tolerance, but they are not interconnected. Therefore a significant achievement of this thesis is a comprehensive combination of related theories and documents into one paper. This is implicit in the grounding of the outcomes and explicit in the history and bibliography of tolerance (see Appendix, pages 298-311; 344-347).

Unique approach. Another relevant element of this research is the unique approach that I used. Tolerance is subjective, kinetic, and partly non-representational – attitudes before encounters are unconscious and precognitive. Therefore to investigate it I combined multiple methods - from spatial analysis and unstructured interviews to an artistic investigation - iteratively and cyclically. Moreover, I incorporated knowledge from diverse scientific and artistic disciplines – from urban planning, psychology, and philosophy to novels and films. This approach is relevant as an example for future research.

Tolerance Event. The critical outcome of this thesis is a comprehensive description of the Tolerance Event. It combines existing theoretical knowledge with my empirical investigation and provides new information on what affects people's attitudes. The characterisation and conceptualisation of the Tolerance Event that I present in this thesis are extensive and can be used to inform further research.

Lithuanian context. The location of this study – Kaunas – is unique compared to other studies on tolerance or related concepts. It provided this thesis with an unparalleled Lithuanian view on tolerance, both historical and contemporary. Lithuanian scholars built an uncommon view of tolerance, which I merged with Western ideas to propose a new definition. In addition to the theoretical importance of this location, my investigation provides empirical knowledge from a less researched post-soviet location.

From theory to practice. Finally, in this thesis, I present not only theoretical and empirical analysis, but also practical holistic implementations of it. This gives theory grounding and makes it functional and operational.

Societal relevance

Kaunas Tolerance Conditions. In this thesis I provide a comprehensive understanding of tolerance in Lithuania and Kaunas. Through mixed-methods analysis of the "Deep Story" and perceived "Ideal Image", I highlight the sociocultural and spatial issues that need to be addressed to foster a more tolerant society. Combined with theoretical insights, it provides unique and evidence-based conclusions. Moreover, I holistically analysed 8 case studies that provide an understanding of tolerance conditions and potentials with local examples.

Tolerance Event as a tool. The conceptualisation of the Tolerance Event is an imperative outcome both scientifically and societally. I produced an exhaustive characterization of Tolerance Event and Space based on theoretical and empirical analysis. These characteristics are operational recommendations and can be used by top-down planners or bottom-up activists to test and update them as well as to produce More Tolerance Events. Consequently, this thorough understanding presented by my research can increase the capacity for others to act.

Vision. The vision, its 7 subrules, and planning, funding, policy, institutional, and design proposals are very relevant outcomes of this research. They not only ground theoretical and scientific insights but also show concrete actions that can be taken to foster more tolerant attitudes in Kaunas. Notably, while they are all interconnected and require top-down interventions, some (such as Plug-In Bus Stops) could be constructed and tested by communities, NGOs, or designers.

Figure 7.9. Example of the intolerant maintenance of space.

277
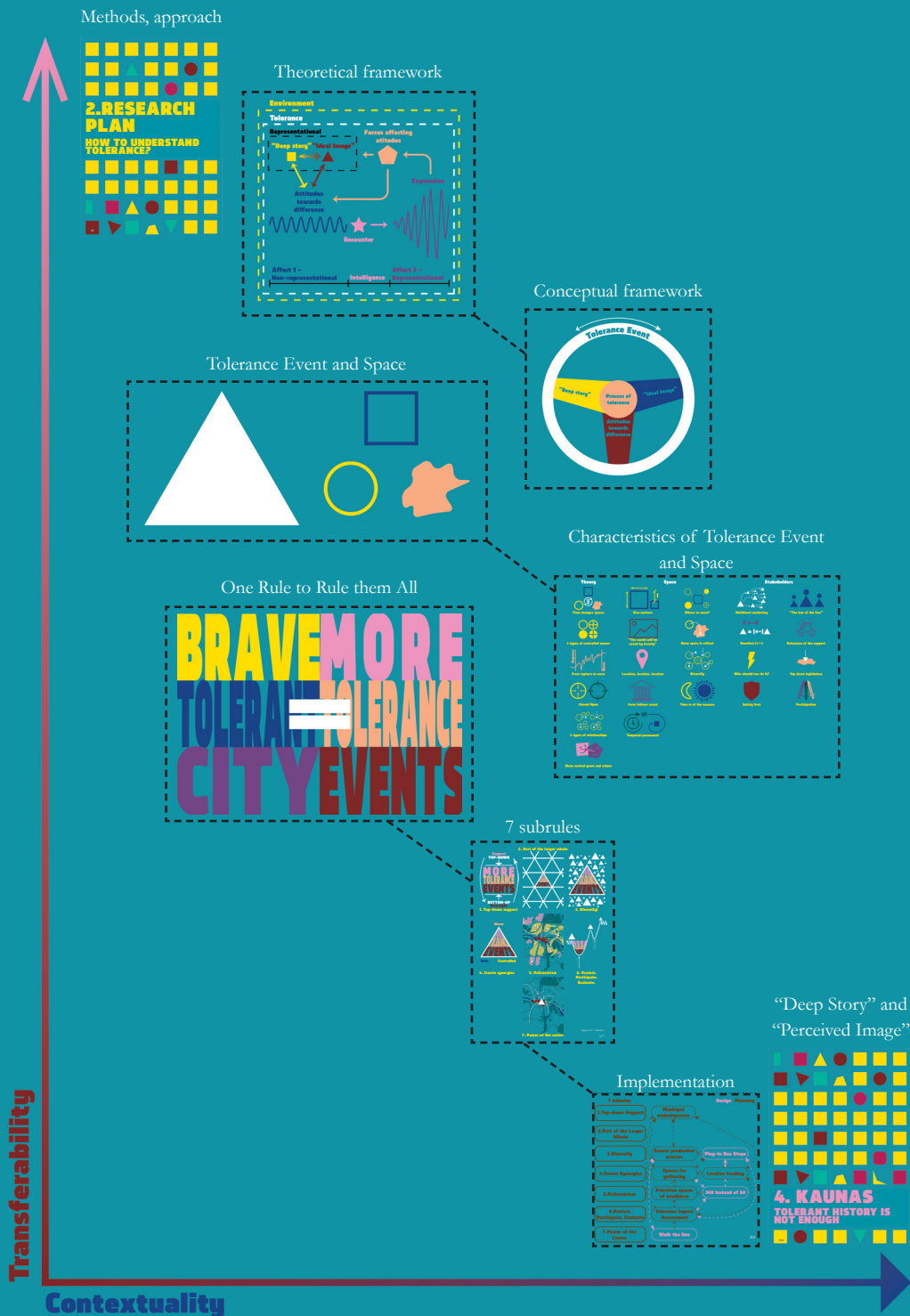
Figure 7.10. Transferability and contextuality of the main outcomes of this thesis.

7.4. For future researchers

This research could not focus on all the issues regarding tolerance towards difference. In addition, the knowledge gap that I faced meant that many questions were not addressed. Hence, my initial goal was to provide theoretical and empirical insights for further discussion, research, and implementation projects. In this section, I will summarise the limitations of this project and propose trajectories for future researchers.

Global Theory
In this thesis, I primarily investigated Western and Lithuanian theories and philosophies of tolerance. This can be expanded by investigating tolerance in the other continents' literature and arts, looking at historical and modern associations.

Conditions for Tolerance
In this thesis, I present a thorough analysis and conclusions on the Lithuanian socio-cultural and spatial "Deep story" and the perceived "ideal image". The findings are less transferable, but the process can be adapted to other areas without many changes. By using the same holistic mixed-methods approach, future researchers can analyse conditions for tolerance in different contexts.

Tolerance Event
Through my extensive research, I present valuable and comprehensive characteristics of the Tolerance Event. However, it is connected to the socio-cultural context of Lithuania. I draw conclusions from 8 case studies located mainly in Kaunas. They provide a broad understanding of Tolerance Event but by no means a complete account. Future researchers should test and update by looking at other case studies and areas in Lithuania and abroad.

Tolerance and space

In this thesis I propose a classification of the relationship between Tolerance and Space. I provided a thorough understanding of three categories – Controlled, Rule, and Norm Spaces – which are a valuable addition to other classifications, such as public/private gradient. However, this categorisation is mainly from the people's perspective and how their occupation affects place, social relationships, and tolerant attitudes. My project lacks a more in-depth analysis of vice-versa –the role of aesthetics, representations, functionality, and form of space.

Through the investigation process, I found some directions I would like to highlight. It would be crucial to look at how visual representations, such as hostile and fearful architecture, homogeneity, or lack of functionality, impacts tolerant attitudes. Furthermore, I suggest continuing research on how space allows, fosters, and represents (in)tolerance (for a wider discussion, see Appendix, pages 332-335). Finally, I advise investigating deeper into Pierre Bourdieu's discussion on how the place is associated with a group and fosters mutual intolerance and avoidance (Bourdieu, 1999).

People affect space (this research)

Rule

Controlled

Norm

Space affe (for future

Form supports (I

Allows (In)tolerant Activity

Image promotes (In)tolerant activity

Im Fos (In)to

Figure 7.12. Three categories of Tolerance and Space.

Figure 7.11. Aspects of
Based on (Montgomery, 1998)

DELIBERATE HOSTILITY

LACK OF OBJECTS

Ex chess table
ex basketball court
Ex tennis court
ex basketball court
ex stadium
ex basketball court

MOBILITY

Figure 7.13. Collages made during initial exploration phase regarding spatial impacts towards people's attitudes.

ATHEISM WAS AN OFFICIAL RELIGION

CULTURE OF FEAR

SPACE OF HOMOGENEITY

...cts people
...e research)
...n)tolerant activity

Form Represents (In)tolerance

Form as an (in)tolerance image

...age
...ters
...lerance

SPACE IS AVOIDED

GROUP IS UNTOLERATED

SPACE IS "CLEANED"

GROUP OCCUPIES SPACE

SPACE IS UNTOLERATED

SPACE IS ASSOCIATED WITH THE GROUP
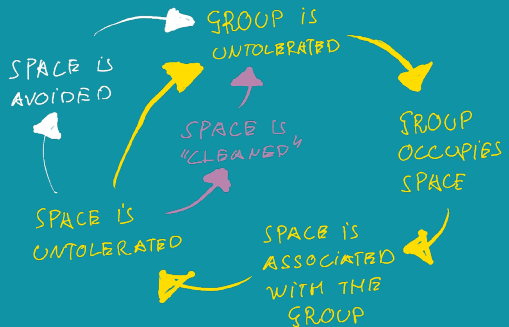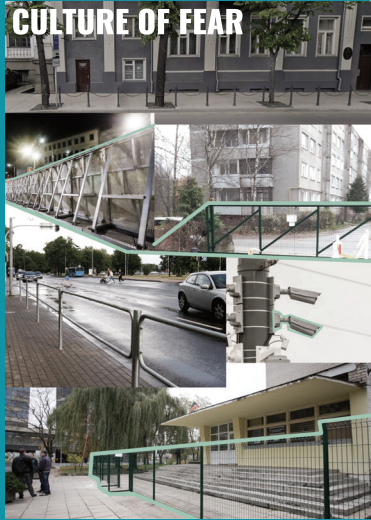
Figure 7.14. Viscious circle of intolerance. Based on (Bourdieu, 1999).

...f the (in)tolerant place.
See Appendix, pages 332-335.

Interviews

For this research, I conducted 17 unstructured and deep interviews. It was a critical element of my investigation because by combining it with prior theoretical analysis I conceptualised Tolerance Event and Space theory. I focused on people with the most encounters with (in)tolerance: statistically the most discriminated people, social workers, experts on human rights, or security personnel. However, tolerance is a relationship between the tolerator and the tolerated one, and I focused on the latter in my thesis. Therefore for future researchers I would suggest to extend this analysis and interview intolerant people. This inquiry would provide critical comparative information.

Survey

In addition to the unstructured interviews I conducted extensive media review. I looked at already existing interviews with various groups. While both of these methods heavily supported my investigation and provided me with deep knowledge, it lacks comparability and reproducibility. Therefore I advise future researchers to conduct a wide survey to achieve more comparable information.

Indifference and apathy

To answer one of the main research subquestions I connected the concept of tolerance to other key notions of inclusivity. Based on extensive empirical research, I argue that people in contemporary Lithuania associate tolerance with kindness, empathy, respect, and acceptance, while intolerance they correlate with oppression, discrimination, and hate crimes. Therefore tolerance today acts as a synonym for inclusivity. Nevertheless, two ideas are important for this debate that I did not include in this research – indifference and apathy. As one respondent noted, "Indifference is a utopic state <…> it's not equal to apathy". Investigating these concepts and what makes people indifferent or apathetic in diachronic (from the first writings of Georg Simmel) and synchronic ways would add critical information on the debate of people's attitudes towards otherness.

Implementation

I propose local strategies to solve national issues based on theoretical and empirical findings. It has different levels of transferability. The main vision and its subrules can be applied to all Large Lithuanian cities, while concrete strategies are mainly based in Kaunas. In addition, since my focus was to address the knowledge gap between tolerance and urban planning, planning and design form a smaller part of this thesis. Therefore future researchers could extend the implementation in Kaunas, use the main vision and its subrules to propose planning and design strategies in other Lithuanian parts, or explore their potential in entirely different environments.

Performance

The visual walking performance that I executed and filmed with an artist is a great artistic research tool representing people's reactions towards the Tolerance Event. In addition, it is a useful example of how the vision of this project could be implemented by a few people organising a small-scale Tolerance Event. It could be replicated and expanded by future researchers. I would suggest reenacting the same type of performance multiple types to increase comparability. It could be improved by hiding the camera. In our case, people noticed visible filming equipment, which limited their reactions. In addition, we only performed in the centre of the city. Expanding to other areas would allow for greater comparisment, increasing research and impact value.

Tolerance Impact Assessment

I suggested the Tolerance Impact Assessment framework to evaluate my and future proposals. Its role is to allow stakeholders to identify the risks of each specific case themselves and create management plans, involving mitigation, monitoring, and protecting vulnerable groups from potential harm as well as increasing possible benefits. Since conflict is unavoidable after the rupture caused by Tolerance Event, I propose to include grievance mechanisms at the heart of the practice, through which stakeholders could express their concerns and seek common remedies. However, my suggested structure of the Tolerance Impact Assessment is meant to highlight the most important goals and form the outlines of it. Future researchers could detail each step by analysing existing literature and practice of Social Impact Assessments and Grievance Mechanisms. I would suggest making it accessible and inclusive by creating guiding questions and testing them through implementation.

7.5. Reflection

On wider programme

My motivation and experience have led me to investigate tolerance and its relationship with inclusivity and the right to the city in Kaunas, Lithuania. These complex concepts and diverse research locations are at the heart of Planning Complex Cities studio. Consequently, my thesis is heavily connected to the trajectory of the studio. It is about addressing systemic societal and scientific issues holistically and interdisciplinary. Because of the complexity of the task, the research group supported diverse and innovative research and planning methods, which were essential to my investigation. Tutors and peers aided me with comprehensive theoretical and practical knowledge and discussions. Moreover, I looked not only into urban design and its relation to tolerance but also at how spatial planning, institutions, and policies influence it. This diversified approach is largely linked to Planning Complex Cities approach.

In addition, my research is heavily connected to the Urbanism Masters programme. I followed iterative, multiscalar urban planning and design methods practised in TU Delft. Tolerant attitudes toward difference are influenced by national, regional, and most local socio-cultural and spatial elements, therefore working through scales is critical to influence social relationships. Through different scales, I was increasing understanding and awareness of inclusivity, with solutions proposed at the local level. Think nationally, act locally.

Nevertheless, my project is mainly theoretical which is not usual for this master's programme. I did not intend to use design or planning as an end but as a means to show how the theoretical part could be implemented. Therefore my approach was cyclical, but switching constantly between theoretical-empirical-conceptual strands instead of research-design iterations. Furthermore, given the limited theoretical and conceptual literature on urban tolerance, the use of research by design as a method was very constrained for this thesis. Now that theoretical, conceptual, and empirical foundations have been established, future researchers could use the research-by-design approach more extensively.
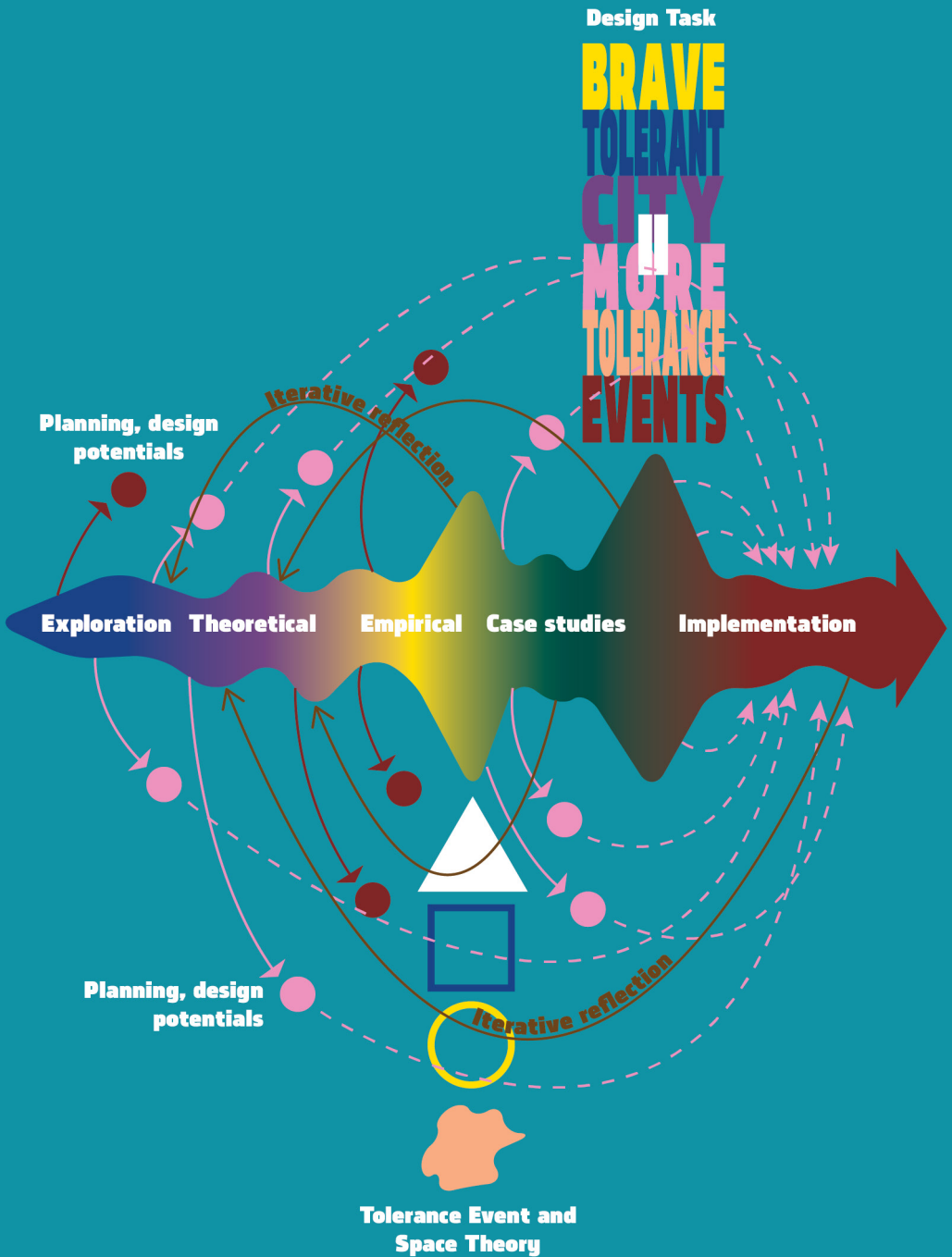
Figure 7.15. Diagram depicting interconectivity of the approach used in this thesis.

On ethics

Since I am local to the case study area, it allowed me to extensively use autoethnographic methods, conduct interviews in respondents' native language (which made speaking for some interviewees easier), and increased access to information. However, it brought me certain biases that I need to acknowledge. As a local, I did not have an "outsider's perspective". My insights could lack critical thought, which a stranger would have. Moreover, my feelings for the city – love, remembrance, or mere nostalgia – could have created a "veil of perception". Throughout the thesis, I tried my best to address the biases mentioned above.

Vulnerable minorities, during exposure, can experience high feelings of unsafety and physical threats. These issues are mainly unknown to me since I am one of the lucky majority - a white, heterosexual male from a middle-income Eastern European family. Therefore I did my best not to patronise or generalise other groups and sought to understand from primary sources their opinions and how intolerance makes them feel. That is why, instead of top-down monitoring frameworks, I proposed the Tolerance Impact Assessment as an evaluation and self-protection mechanism, which is meant to give vulnerable groups a voice and control over decision-making.

Furthermore, tolerance tends to be a topic connected to political ideologies. Mostly it is related to progressive ideas, and people who follow them are more likely to stress the importance of tolerance. Being one of those people makes me biased. Deep inside, even unconsciously, I believe in the power of tolerance and want it to be an essential virtue for humanity. I believe inclusivity and equity are more critical for society than many other aspects. Most likely, if I were more conservative-leaning, I would critique and look at tolerance from different angles than I do now. This is a deep, political construct, which is hard to overcome, but very important to mention.

Finally, this thesis is connected to the broader discussion of biopolitics. This paradigm, which Michel Foucault initiated, describes the "point of intersection between law and biology" (Esposito, 2013). It is a process during which people's (un)consciousness is changed using various tools intentionally. Affecting people's attitudes through planning and design is a clear case of biopower. Therefore multiple structures, such as global capitalism and state apparatus, need to be considered to continue or implement this research. This is a reason why I stress the importance of bottom-up oversight and reduction of municipal centralisation in the case of Kaunas. In addition, the grievance mechanisms that I suggested as part of the Tolerance Impact Assessment are critical in reducing power inequality by strengthening information spreading (Prenzel & Vanclay, 2014). For a fair and just implementation of tolerance biopolitics, the tools must be distributed equally.

Figure 7.16. Snapshot from the film "The Hobbit: The Desolation of Smaug" (Jackson, 2013).

On personal growth

One of the personal developments was a new understanding of Lithuanian society and therefore myself. I learned many things and explanations of my own life. During this research, I traced how invisible historic cultural traumas still affect me and other Lithuanians today. For example, I realised why so many people, my friends included, seek to live in suburbia. The answer lies in escapism – seeking to avoid contact, that comes from occupation and repression traumas as well as neo-agrarianism. Or I understood why people are afraid of some places, while statistically there is nothing to be fearful of. It results from the traumas left by the transition period of the 90s and common mistrust. I learned why national symbols, such as language or historical monuments, have so much importance in public debate. It is a consequence of cultural uncertainty.

Furthermore, the last 2 years at TU Delft were imperative for me to understand the importance of spatial justice. Before coming to study here, I did not even hear the term, and now I worked the whole year in a similar direction. I became so interested in spatial justice and tolerance that I am willing to continue this debate in the future. Even on an everyday level, I started noticing small acts of intolerance in my behaviour and in others. I began to detect how people (myself included) avoid others, how they scan diversity, but at the same time avoid eye contact. I noticed the wording we use to describe others and started unconsciously using more inclusive terms. For instance, instead of "homeless" or "disabled" I started using "person experiencing homelessness" or "person with disabilities", respectively.

To paraphrase Jan Gehl: people, situation, and aspects — in this order, please.

Finally, I learned to organise myself better and consequently cope with stress. I used to be, and to some degree still am, a very anxious person, constantly overthinking every detail. Majority of the year I was doing the same thing, which I tried to use as a motivational tool. Yet, in the sunset of the thesis, I learned how to structure my working hours better, produce faster, and calm myself.
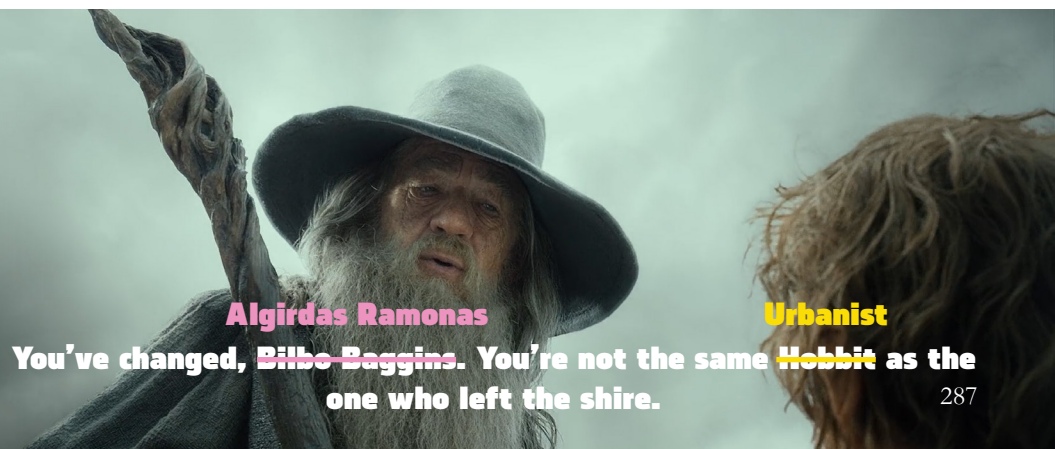
Algirdas Ramonas   Urbanist

You've changed, ~~Bilbo Baggins~~. You're not the same ~~Hobbit~~ as the one who left the shire.

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4

1st year

Q1 — Interscalar research and design essentials; history and theory

Q2 — Strategic thinking, planning, and design

Q3 — Territorial planning, vision–making, governance; spatial justice and ethics

Q4 — Stakeholders engagement, public participation and design

Together with Oliwia Jackowska and Miriam Schoemakers

Together with Anna van den Berg, Nicole Chang, and Kemeng Zhao

2nd year

Personal organisation and curating, research plan; planning and governance theory, academic writing

Research plan and methods, in–depth literature research and extrapolation

People research ethics, interview preparation and execution, explorative on–site analysis, language ethics

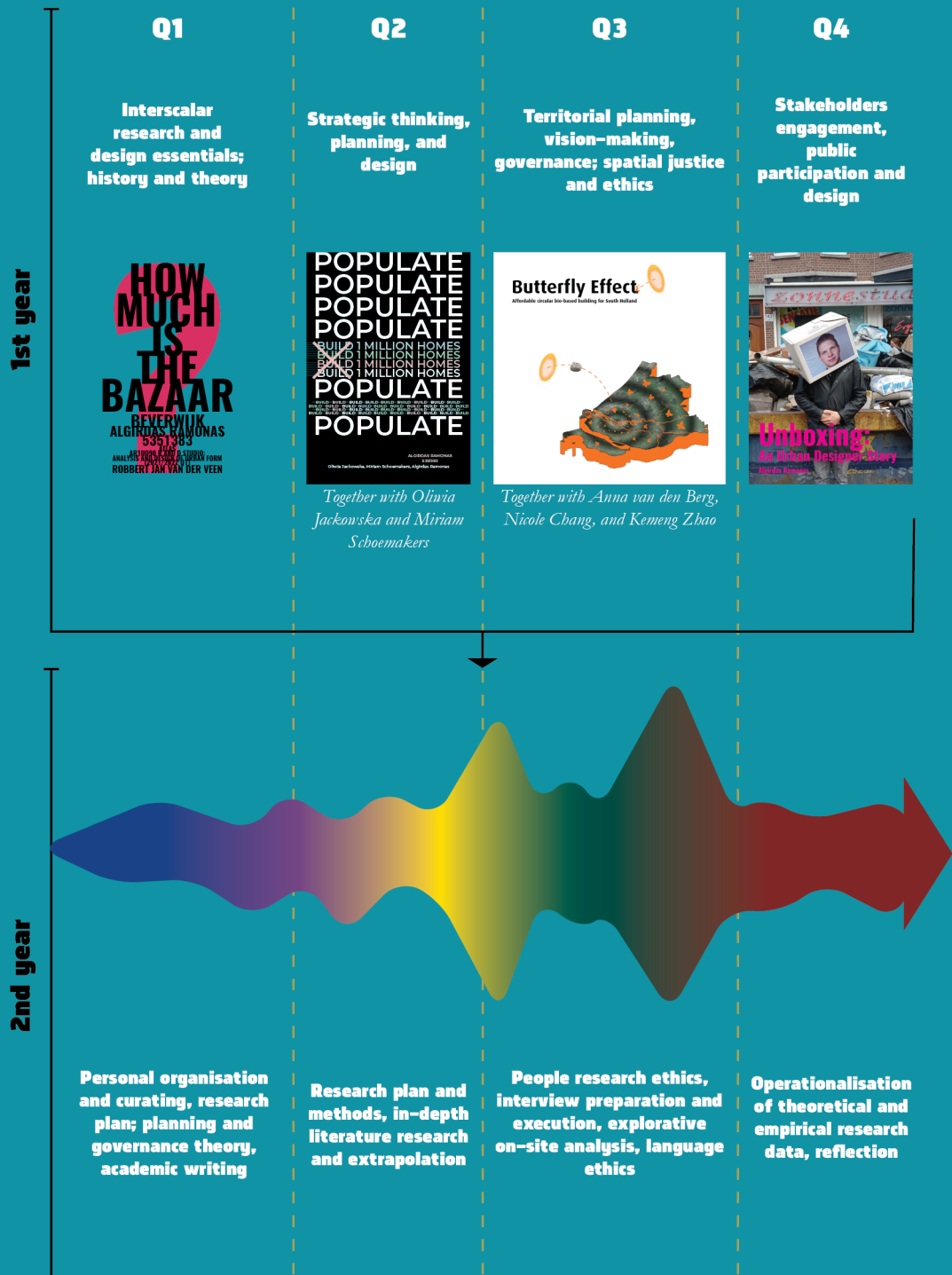Operationalisation of theoretical and empirical research data, reflection

Figure 7.17. Projects and professional lessons learned during Master's studies.

On professional growth

One of the reasons I enrolled in this master's course was to experiment with different working approaches, scales, and types and learn more traditional and essential urbanism methods and trajectories. After many years working in architecture, I wanted to expand my understanding of different scales and methods. During the first year of my studies, I learned this in 4 diverse quarters, each time trying to explore different potentials. In the first quarter, I learned basic urban research and design approaches, with an explorative "city portrait" method and additional historical and theoretical support. Further, I continued with learning strategical thinking (on a neighbourhood level) and small sustainable design implementations both underground and overground, with a spin on flexible public space and policy solutions. The third quarter greatly increased my understanding of spatial justice relevance in combination with regional planning and circular economy knowledge, in which we explored diverse presentation solutions with a group. During the first year's final quarter, I learned about built environment economy basis and worked in a large and complex stakeholders group (in a role game) to produce a multilevel project, for which we proposed innovative solutions (with a unique graphical approach which I am proud of).

I am thrilled that I could continue this exploration/essentials combination for my thesis year. For a long time I was very interested in theoretical and historical approaches towards shaping the built environment (that is why another program that I applied to was "History and Theory of Architecture" in AA School). Therefore, with the great help of my mentors, I embarked on this journey using an unusual, sometimes even poetic, approach. Consequently, I could learn so much that I did not get during the first year of my studies. I have never investigated in this way before, trying to combine a large quantity of theoretical information with spatial knowledge. Producing a research plan for a long-term process was also new to me. In addition, it was the first time I conducted interviews (and learned the importance of ethical research)., As a result, my academic and planning skills significantly increased. This satisfaction makes me consider pursuing an academic career.

On approach and process

I took this unstructured, explorative, even poetic approach for this research. Two reasons were critical for this choice. First was the missing link between tolerance for difference and urban planning. These were largely uncharted waters, and I did not know what questions to ask and where to look for answers. Therefore floating through multiple methods, looking for clues, and then digging into them felt like a possible way of research. I opted to use a wide variety of methods to look at tolerance through different angles - literature, media, institutional, and spatial analysis, as well as cultural production, such as novels. The second reason was that tolerance is very subjective by nature and, as I later found, partly non-representational affect. Therefore I understood that the answers would not be lying in plain sight and would have to be interpreted and combined. In this paragraph, I will briefly discuss the benefits and issues I faced using this approach.

Firstly I believe it was a success. I managed to incorporate multiple methods, connect them to space, and propose the theory of Tolerance Event, which I could translate into vision, planning guidelines, and design. An essential part of this accomplishment was an approach that I took. I did not even know about many of this thesis's most critical outcomes at the beginning of the year. They were uncovered by allowing the investigation to guide me instead of me driving the research. For example, Tolerance Event and Space concepts came only through deep, unstructured interviews, where I allowed participants to talk freely. If I had structured the questions, I probably would not have found this pattern. The second part of the success was hard work. Due to poetic exploration, I encountered plenty of dead ends and cul-de-sacs. In addition, it required thorough sorting and constant reflection, questioning "if this new information is important or irrelevant to my topic". This filtering was a significant learning curve for me and required a lot of working hours. This iterative reflection, ironically, sometimes meant that there was no time for reflection.

The explorative approach I took had a few issues as well. Firstly, even if it was relatively unstructured, it required many organisation skills, which I lacked in the beginning. With this type of poetic process, it is very easy to get stuck in one method or area of investigation, circling like a raven and not accomplishing anything. Thanks to my mentors, I understood that what is critical for this approach is the constant switching between methods because, in this way, one can reflect, filter, test, and combine results easier and better. I required quite a few pushes from my tutors. Secondly, the research questions I created for the mid-term P2 presentation were flawed, which slowed me down. My initial research plan was incomplete, resulting in plenty of mistakes. As I see now, both questions and theoretical framework did not guide me towards further investigation. Another reason for this was my lack of experience with curating this long and profound research. While I finally reflected on these issues and updated the research plan, I recommend that those who dare to embark on poetical scientific explorations make a great research plan from the start. It is like a game of chess: you need to know multiple potential moves in advance, otherwise it is easy to run into personal struggles like I did. Unstructured needs to have some structure.

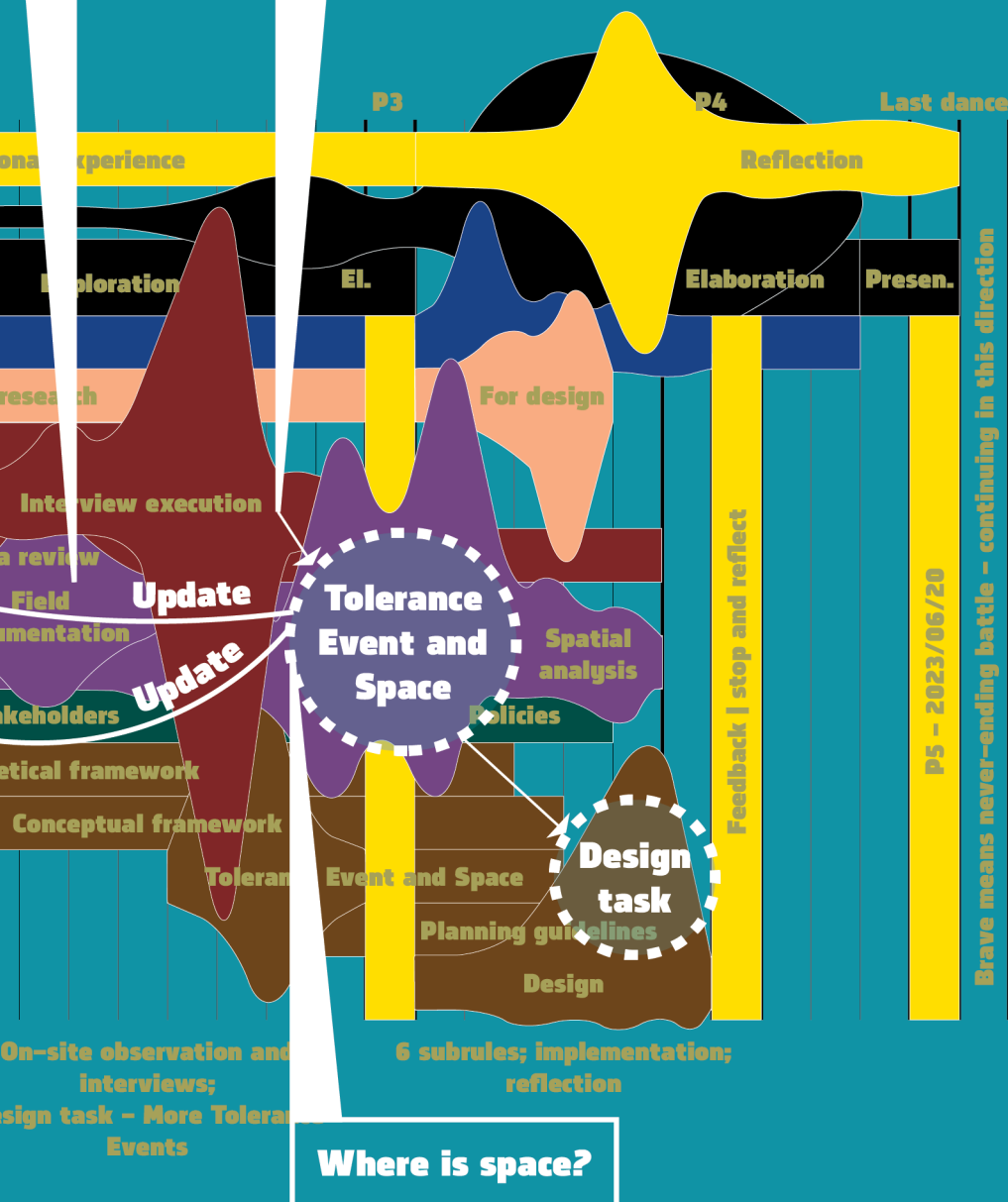Figure 7.18. Example of the intolerant production of space.

Too much into theory.
Mentors help.

Where is si...
observatio...

Initial research plan had issues
and missing questions

Rock'n'roll   P1   ...hristmas   P2

Memories   Pers...

Exploration   Research plan   Report writing

                                                      EI.

                    Literature review

                                         Arts & Culture   For...

                                              Interview prep.

                                                      Medi...

                                                      docu...

Feedback I stop and reflect

                    Governance   Theoretical   Sta...
                                      framework   Theore...

                                                  Feedback I stop and reflect

Intensive
courses

Theoretical exploration

                    Research plan
                    Extensive literature ana...is

                                                      De...

Not operational.   Pe...
                                                  to c...

Figure 7.19. Thesis timeline diagram representing different intensities of methods at various
periods and issues of approach and personal organisation.

Too much into interviews.
Mentors help.

P3

P4

Last dance

...onal experience

Reflection

...oloration

El.

Elaboration

Presen.

...resea...ch

For design

Interview execution

...a review

Update

Field
...umentation

Update

Tolerance
Event and
Space

Spatial
analysis

...akeholders

...etical framework

Policies

Conceptual framework

Design
task

Tolerance Event and Space

Planning guidelines

Design

On-site observation and
interviews;
...sign task – More Toleran...
Events

6 subrules; implementation;
reflection

Feedback | stop and reflect

P5 – 2023/06/20

Brave means never-ending battle – continuing in this direction

Where is space?

...rsonal struggle – how
...operationalise theory?
Mentors help.

7.6. Final thoughts

It was the best year, it was the worst year, it was the time of the most interesting project, it was the time of exhausting work, it was the season of finding myself, it was the season of getting lost, it was the period of creativity, it was the period of mistakes, it was the course of hope in tolerance, it was the course of despair due to intolerance – in short, it was a great and stimulating year, which I am finishing with a result that I did not imagine or believed to achieve in the beginning, but a one of which I am happy and satisfied.

Is it finished? Of course not. How do I imagine the finished project? When we reach a utopian state of tolerance. What that could be? It's a great question, for which I half-dreamed the answer. Why half-dreamed? Because I did not come up with it, it was already created by George Lucas in his Star Wars universe. Why Star Wars? Because in a galaxy far far away diversity is so prominent in everyday life, that no matter if they are without legs, or with purple skin, or with 50 eyes, or speaking a distinct language, they still sit in one cantine without questioning their diversity since it became "natural". Can we reach that in our society? I believe yes. Maybe I am naïve, but I truly believe we can. Yet even if we reach it, the fight for tolerance cannot stop. It is too fragile, as the rise of the Empire and the replacement of peace by fear show in Star Wars. Making Brave Tolerance City means a never-ending battle.

"<…> I see a beautiful city and a brilliant people rising from the abyss, and, in their struggles to be truly free, in their triumphs and defeats, through long years to come, I see the evil of this time and of the previous time of which this is the natural birth, gradually making expiation for itself and wearing out.
<…>
"It is a far, far better thing that I do, than I have ever done, it is a far, far better rest that I go to than I have ever known."

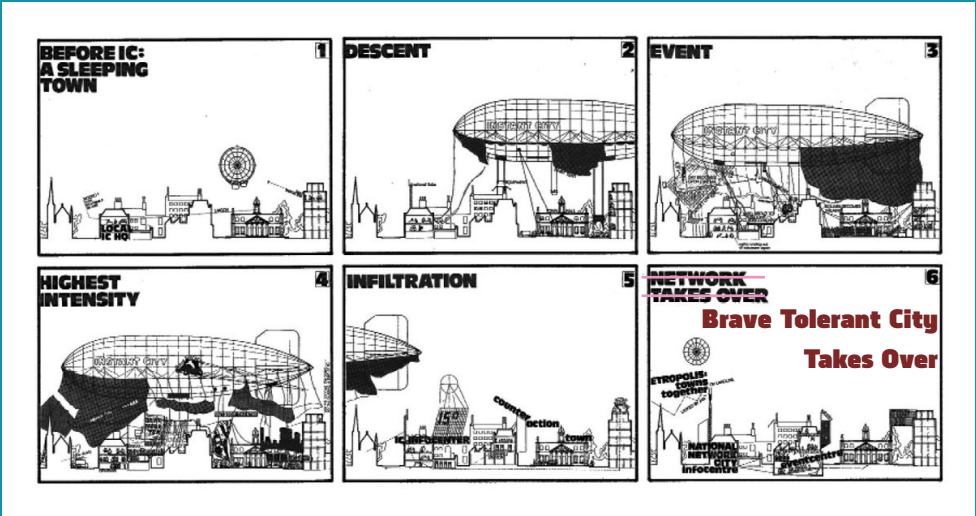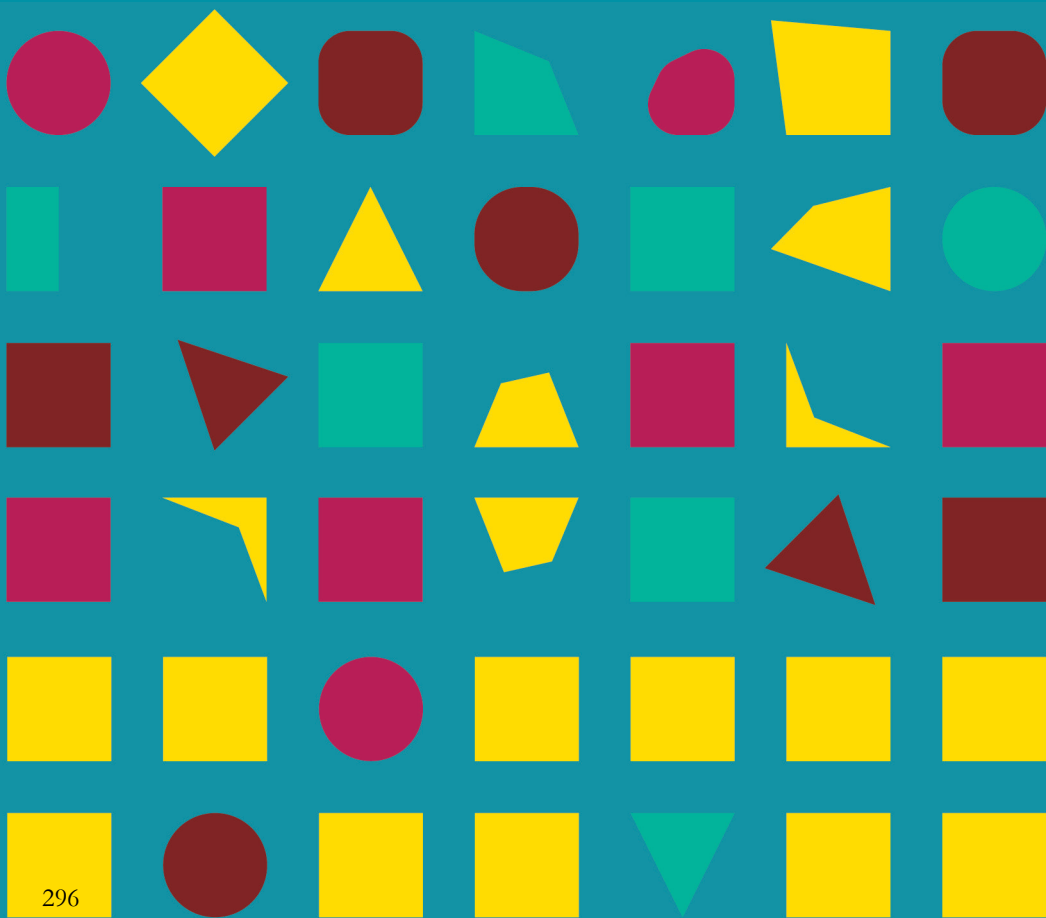Charles Dickens, "A Tale of Two Cities", (1994 [1859]; Chapter XV)
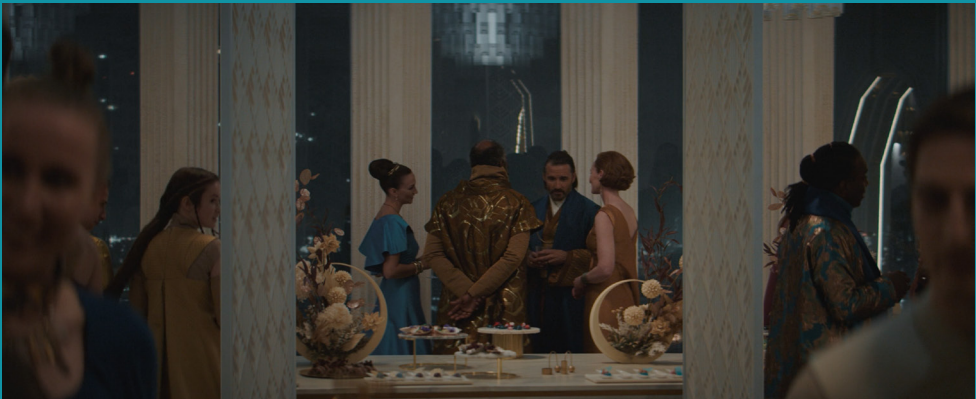
Figure 7.20. Snapshot from the TV Series "Andor", Episode 8 "Narkina 5" (Haynes, 2022).

Figure 7.21. Archigram. Instant city sequence. Source:

APPENDIX

In the appendix, I combined sections that are not critical for the main body of the thesis yet are still relevant and provide background information for the notions expressed in the research. Moreover, this extra information represents the investigation process, depicting its explorative nature. I referred to chapters of the appendix where applicable in the main part of the thesis. In addition, in the appendix, the reader can find the bibliography and bibliography of tolerance – a specific list of literature in which I combined all the references on tolerance that I found during my investigation. I noticed that many vital sources were hard to find or not related to each other. Therefore with the bibliography of tolerance I aim to help further researchers so that they would not need to go through the same problems as I did. In the final part of appendix I included respondents' responses to questions about tolerance.

Brief History of Tolerance

History of tolerance can show how the concept changed throughout the year, the reasons for tolerance, and its limits and problems. This information can provide valuable guidelines for the idea of tolerance in the 21st century. Moreover, by connecting it to socio-political environmental backgrounds it could be possible to describe how one influences the other. Due to time limitations and case-study area, I narrowed my research on the Western and Lithuanian history of the concept. This allows future scholars to expand by connecting with a broader range of history.

Western
Tolerantia Begins

In around 3d century B.C. Hellenistic Athens descendants of Socrates thought established a philosophy school. Based on the location of their lectures – stoa close to Athens' Agora – they named themselves Stoics (West, 2013a), and to this school of thought the concept of tolerantia (this is a more common term used to describe tolerance in the period before Locke), can be traced (Bejczy, 1997). However, stoic tolerance is mostly individual, tolerating burdens of the human body, and based on personal acceptance. "And this acceptance of everything that happens to you, the acceptance of your fate, is a hallmark of stoicism" (West, 2013b).

Conceptually Stoic tolerantia does not extend to acceptance of differences in others. However, it could be argued that the virtues of personal acceptance and self-control can make people more tolerant. (Peluritis, 2014) (It also connects to the third type of tolerance described by Michael Walzer, which will be described in the following chapter). This is especially visible in early Christendom. Stoicism's thought of personal acceptance extends to the beginnings of Christianity (West, 2013a), which they expanded with religious connotations. This combination, and the need for survival during Roman persecutions, formed liberty of conscience as a main line of thought for the early Christians. "<…> was the statement in the First Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians that conscience, even though erroneous, obliges, and that no one must force another to violate his conscience" (Trimble, 1957). Moreover, this is an early example of environmental impacts towards tolerance. In this case, biblical toleration and religious liberty of conscience were outcomes of the survival mode that early Christians were in. But everything changed after the Edict of Milan in 313 A.D. (ibid).

Medieval Tolerantia

Edict of Milan (A.D. 313) and Edict of Toleration (A.D. 311) are the first "preserved Roman legal document[s] in which the idea of toleration was formulated in almost modern terms" (Orlin, 2015, pp. 286–287). These documents can be considered a birth of institutional tolerance that resulted from the loss of power of the emperor and the unsuccessful persecutions of Christians by the state (if you cannot win, join them). Full religious tolerance was especially visible in the Edict of Milan, in which the idea of the free choice of faith was introduced (ibid).

These edicts changed the Christianity approach to tolerance. Now granted with civil power, Christians came to believe that it should be used to suppress dissent. (Trimble, 1957) In the second millennium, when religious thought became more written and judicial, the concept of tolerantia became more evident. While there was no acceptance of interior heresy (and homosexuality), other religions (mostly Jews) and people with their allegedly bad habits (for example prostitutes, lepers, insane, and beggars) were treated with tolerance. "Tolerantia was a way of walking honestly towards outsiders; towards insiders, strictness prevailed" (Bejczy, 1997).

There are multiple important aspects of medieval Christian tolerantia. Firstly, it represented the asymmetrical powers and hierarchy of tolerators and those being tolerated. Christians had the societal capability to accept or neglect other, marginalised groups who had no such capacity. Second, tolerance was applied to something that was considered evil to prevent greater evil or create greater good (Bejczy, 1997; Trimble, 1957). In essence, these groups were still considered deviant but remained unpunished as long as they keep the Catholic order intact (Peluritis, 2013). Medieval tolerantia was a very pragmatic, almost mathematical application of tolerance.

In the late medieval ages, at the dawn of the Reformation, humanism ideas were spreading exemplified by Desiderius Erasmus' thought. These ideas counter-intuitively did not expand the concept of tolerantia, but tried to remove the need for it by obtaining uniformity of orthodoxy, achieving "diminution of the points of controversy" (Trimble, 1957). Later medieval Catholicism sought to remove cultural differences, trying to achieve concordia instead of tolerantia (Bejczy, 1997). Maybe this reduction of societal tolerance was a reason why reformation produced so many armed conflicts?

Medieval hierarchic and pragmatic tolerance was possible as long as Catholics maintained their civil power, which was shaken by Martin Luther when he started the reformation movement in 1517.

John Locke and reasonable toleration

Reformation brought large scale-scale and long-term religious wars in western and central Europe, most strongly exemplified by the Thirty Years War (1618-1648). The cruelty and savagery of the conflicts in addition to the dangers to monarchs provoked a search for peace and conflict resolution by the state (Trimble, 1957). Tolerance, therefore, "emerged as a mechanism of internal conflict resolution" (Karstedt, 2007). Its main embodiment was the Edict of Nantes (1598), which similarly to the Edict of Milan, put tolerance into civil law. However, this progressive document was short-lived, as it was revoked in 1685.

In 1689 John Locke to tackle religious intolerance wrote his seminal text "Letter Concerning Toleration" (toleration was the term loved by philosophers used instead of tolerance, which came later). In this text, Locke argued for tolerance to prevent armed conflicts. There are thoughts, that this reason for toleration is similar to medieval tolerantia – tolerance to prevent greater evil (Peluritis, 2014). However, there are more nuanced notions in this text. First of all, Locke argued for a clear separation of religious and civil powers and their domains, where the civil magistrate controls the "sword" and does not intervene in religion unless threatened (Locke, 2003). He based this on the idea that true belief cannot be forced and must be freely chosen. Intolerance, therefore, is irrational, because it cannot achieve its own goals (Mendus, 1989).

"Letter Concerning Toleration" is a seminal text, because it described passive tolerance – inaction despite disagreement, not only based on pragmaticism and power but also on reason, that to do otherwise is irrational. Later Voltaire, another enlightment thinker, in his "Treatise on Tolerance" expanded on this concept and moved toleration from a tool for peace to a virtue in itself (Voltaire, 1912). For him, toleration was a tool to fight religious intolerance and should be universal (West, 2014). It is an important difference because it expands religious toleration to a wider concept.

Both Locke and Voltaire argued for basic universal human rights (life, liberty and property), and freedom of belief. As Susane Karstedt (2007) argued, in this period "Tolerance emerged as a core concept and value in the formation of modernity and modern societies"

Figure A.1. François Dubois: St. Bartholomew's Day massacre. Painting depicting a pinacle of the Religious Wars in the Western Europe. Source: Wikimedia Commons

Mill and diversity

The establishment of the United States of America and its Constitution institutionalised the concept of tolerance. It was the first pluralist democracy, where the individual or collective idiosyncrasies, were not only cherished but also the base of the state. In addition, liberty, especially the liberty of belief, was intrinsic to society. These ideas are embodied by John Stuart Mill and his seminal essay "On Liberty". According to him, individual liberty is a sanctuary and untouchable, as long as it does not harm others (Mill, 1998; R. P. Wolff, 1965).

Moreover, for Mill truth was an essential goal of society. Being in majority does not mean being right. Plurality can bring more opinions and society closer to the truth (Peluritis, 2013). Therefore diversity is a value in itself, because it brings progress. Every subject should actively encourage difference, hence it can be called active tolerance. It is an active engagement with and for diversity, where passive tolerance is counted as intolerance. Inaction is not the empowerment of diversity, and therefore not seek for truth.

Tolerance in times of uncertainty

In the XX and XXI centuries, the interest and literature on the concept of tolerance skyrocketed. It moved from the philosophical and religious domain to sociological, psychological, historical and political theory studies (for example, most of the psychological studies on tolerance were published in recent years (Dijker & Koomen, 2007; Kossowska et al., 2020; Verkuyten, 2022; Witenberg, 2019)). In my opinion, the reason for this is democratisation, globalisation, and diversification of societies, in addition to World Wars and other large-scale conflicts. These increases the necessity for peaceful co-living tools in the same way religious wars did in the XVI century. For example, multiculturalism and later interculturalism, two directions highly connected with tolerance, were adopted at the end of the XX century (Kent, 2022).
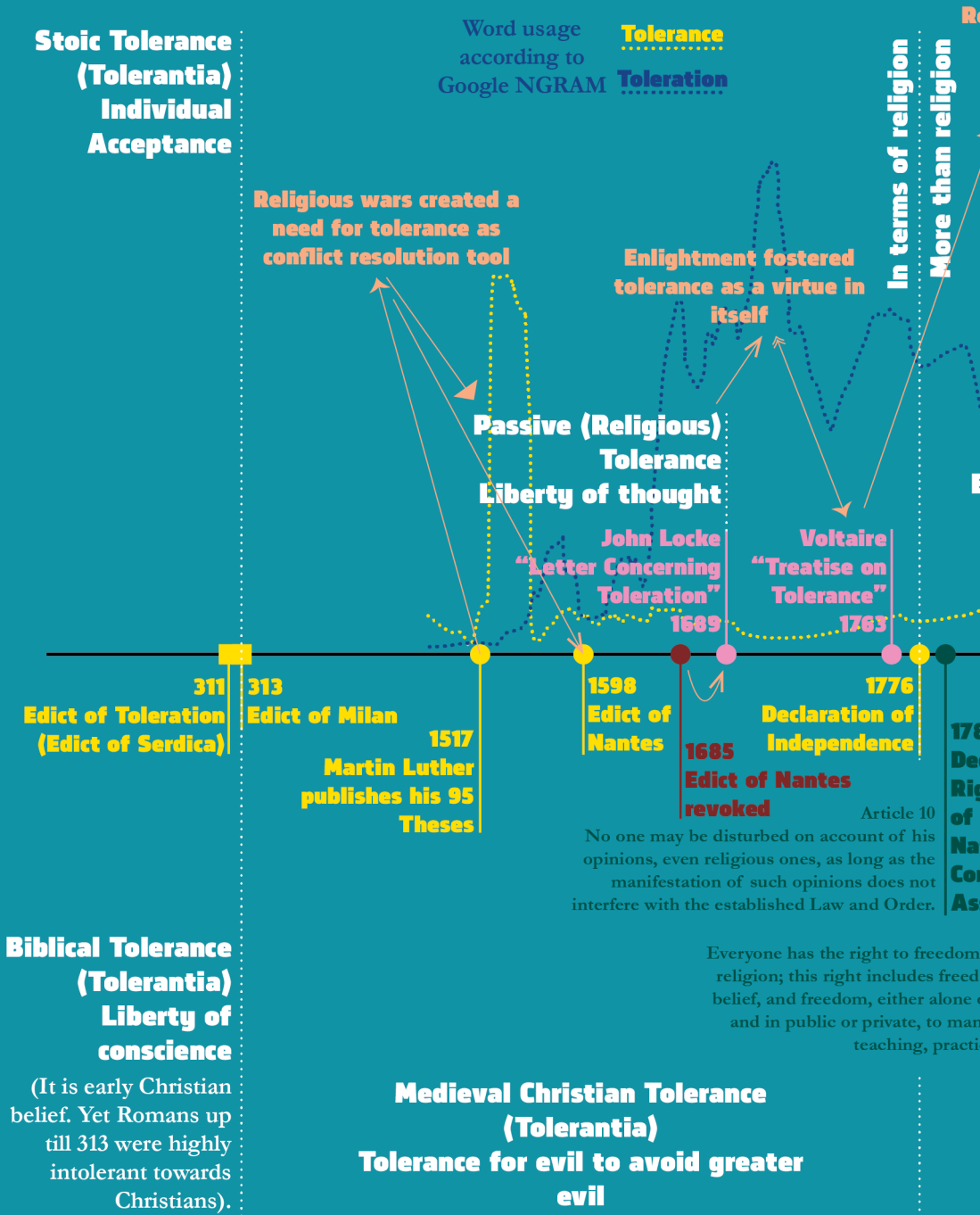
This increase in interest brought a few essential outcomes. First of all, there appeared multiple conceptual and practical critiques of tolerance. First and one of the most famous is the book "Critique of pure tolerance", in which Robert Paul Wolff critiqued the concept (especially active tolerance) that it is too limited and becomes culturally relative (R. P. Wolff, 1965). In the same book, Herbert Marcuse argued that pure tolerance is impossible because people's opinion is always preconditioned by culture and societal structures. Moreover, he added that tolerance is a tool to keep the status quo alive (Marcuse, 1965). In a way, it is anti-revolutionary. Another important critique came from political theorist Wendy Brown, who argued that tolerance as inaction is insufficient and demeaning towards those who are tolerated.

Another outcome is the institutionalisation of tolerance and the expansion of its outreach. Tolerance became an underlying concept under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (2015). Declaration of Principles of Tolerance (1995) and the European Council on Tolerance and Reconciliation (established in 2008) are a document and an institution designed for tolerance itself. In addition to these outbreaks, expanded discussions on the concept and broadened tolerance from religious and political to other forms of diversity: sexuality, ethnicity, and deviant forms of behaviour (Karstedt, 2007).

Figure A.2. Example of the intolerant occupation of space.

Stoic Tolerance (Tolerantia) Individual Acceptance

Word usage according to Google NGRAM — **Tolerance** / **Toleration**

Religious wars created a need for tolerance as conflict resolution tool

Enlightment fostered tolerance as a virtue in itself

In terms of religion

More than religion

Passive (Religious) Tolerance Liberty of thought

John Locke "Letter Concerning Toleration" 1689

Voltaire "Treatise on Tolerance" 1763

311 Edict of Toleration (Edict of Serdica)

313 Edict of Milan

1517 Martin Luther publishes his 95 Theses

1598 Edict of Nantes

1685 Edict of Nantes revoked

1776 Declaration of Independence

178 De Rig of Na Co As

Article 10 — No one may be disturbed on account of his opinions, even religious ones, as long as the manifestation of such opinions does not interfere with the established Law and Order.

Everyone has the right to freedom religion; this right includes freed belief, and freedom, either alone and in public or private, to man teaching, practi

Biblical Tolerance (Tolerantia) Liberty of conscience

(It is early Christian belief. Yet Romans up till 313 were highly intolerant towards Christians).

Medieval Christian Tolerance (Tolerantia) Tolerance for evil to avoid greater evil

Figure A.3. History of Tolerance in the West.

recognition of the human rights and increasing secularity fostered diversity as a societal value

Gordon W. Allport "The Nature of Prejudice" 1954

Richard Sennett "Respect in the World of Inequality" 2007

Maykel Verkuyten "The social psychology of tolerance" 2022

Repressive Tolerance as Power Tool

Michael Walzer "On Toleration" 1997

Malgorzata Kossowska, Ewa Szumowska, Paulina Szwed "The Psychology of Tolerance in Times of Uncertainty" 2020

Susan Mendus "Toleration and the Limits of Liberalism" 1989

Wendy Brown "Regulating Aversion" 2006

Anton JM Dijker, Willem Koomen "Stigmatization, tolerance and repair" 2007

Active Tolerance Encouraged Diversity

Susan Mendus "Justifying Toleration" 1988

Rivka T. Witenberg "The Psychology of Tolerance" 2019

John Stuart Mill "On Liberty" 1859

Herbert Marcusse "Repressive Tolerance" 1965

1948
Universal Declaration of Human Rights; United Nations

2008
European Council on Tolerance and Reconciliation; 2015
A European Model Law For The Promotion of Tolerance and The Supression of Intolerance

89
claration of the ghts of Man and the Citizen; tional nstituent sembly

1995
Declaration of Principles on Tolerance; UNESCO

Article 18
of thought, conscience and om to change his religion or or in community with others ifest his religion or belief in ce, worship and observance.

(d)Tolerance is derived from recognition of the inherent right of every person to be different within pluralistic society.

2015
The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development; United Nations

1.1 Tolerance is respect, acceptance and appreciation of the rich diversity of our world's cultures, our forms of expression and ways of being human. It is fostered by knowledge, openness, communication, and freedom of thought, conscience and belief. Tolerance is harmony in difference. It is not only a moral duty, it is also a political and legal requirement. Tolerance, the virtue that makes peace possible, contributes to the replacement of the culture of war by a culture of peace.

36. We pledge to foster inter-cultural understanding, tolerance, mutual respect and an ethic of global citizenship and shared responsibility. We acknowledge the natural and cultural diversity of the world and recognize that all cultures and civilizations can contribute to, and are crucial enablers of, sustainable development.

Lithuania
Peaceful Coexistence

The Lithuanian story of tolerance was largely different from that of the Western world. That is due to a few reasons. Firstly, the state of Lithuania was formed only in the XIII century mainly on Baltic paganism traditions. Christianisation, which started with the first King Mindaugas, was only finished in 1413. Catholic religious orthodoxy was not the interior condition, but rather the exterior enemy in the form of Teutonic knighthood. Consequently, a heterodoxic religious environment could be considered highly tolerant when compared to the situation in western Europe (Potašenko, 2020). Monarchs separated civil power and religion, leaving every group to practice their own beliefs. It is visible, for example, in Duke Gediminas' letters (1323) where he invited all the people of the west to come to Lithuania despite their beliefs, or Great Duke Vytautas' privilege for Jews (1388) (Donskis, 2008) and invitation for Crimean Karaites to settle in Lithuania. While it was still hierarchical and passive tolerance based on inaction, it still allowed many groups to freely practice their beliefs.

In the XVI century, when Lithuania grew closer to Poland and established Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth in 1569, it became the European centre of tolerance. While before tolerant decisions were coming from monarchs, tolerance was institutionalised in the Confederation of Warsaw (1573), which "is one of the earliest documents of (religious) tolerance guaranteed by the state" (Karstedt, 2007). This document soon was followed by the Third Statute of Lithuania, signed in 1588. An important aspect of the tolerance in these documents is that the power relationship was horizontal. Tolerance was an instrument of peace institutionalised by mutual, in a sense almost proto-democratic, agreement in the Parliament of the Commonwealth (Potašenko, 2020). Religious orthodoxy was weak, the aristocracy was increasing in power, and to avoid interior conflicts they agreed not to persecute each other based on belief. It was a collectively pragmatic approach.

Uncertainty brings intolerance

The 17th and 18th centuries in Lithuanian history mark what historian Grigorijus Potašenko calls the "sunset of tolerance" (Potašenko, 2020), where interior conflicts, political polarisation, and a rising geo-political enemy (russia) reduced tolerant attitudes. These issues brought uncertainty to the state, which overcame traditions of tolerance. Nevertheless, at the end of the 19th century, Lithuania came out as a tolerant, although not liberalism tolerant, nation-state. What happened? I would argue that in the same way as religious wars brought the conceptualisation of tolerance in the West, threats of survival brought unity and the need for tolerance in Lithuania. Just in this case tolerance was not a tool for peace, but an instrument for unity. Both at the end of the 18th and 19th centuries, when the threat to the state was dire, the need for unity made people more tolerant. It is again a pragmatic attitude to tolerance, that essentially comes not for the concept itself, but for practical reasons why it is better to collaborate than to fight.

An interesting case of this would be the birth of the nation-state at the end of the 19th century when Lithuania was occupied by tsar russia. It is a period when intolerance was fastly overcome with tolerance. A newly born understanding of nationality created what philosopher Vytautas Kavolis called fanatism because of uncertainty (Kavolis, 2006). People were not sure yet who they are, and that created strong negative attitudes to groups considered threats, one of which was Jews (Venclauskas, 2008). It grew into active discrimination with physical conflicts, even supported by thinkers of the time. However, everything changed when the trajectory of the nation became clear – seeking independence required collaboration, hence tolerance towards Jews increased.

Two sides of the Atlantic

After the 1st soviet occupation in 1940, the Lithuanian story of tolerance was divided into two trajectories - interior and exterior of the state. Inside the country, at the beginning of the occupation, tolerance was impossible due to repressions and war-like conditions, and tolerance is impossible during the war (Klumbys, 2008). Under the regime, tolerance became an officially non-existing concept. In theory, everybody was equal in the Soviet Union, therefore there was no need for tolerance. Without difference, tolerance is an impossible concept. The same is with freedom of thought – if there is no free will, tolerance cannot exist. However, the regime did not reach a dystopia of uniformity, and especially in private life tolerance was a possible and important unofficial concept (Klumbys, 2008). In a way, stoic individual tolerance became critical to surviving state oppression (Potašenko, 2020).

On the other side of the Atlantic, in the United States of America, Lithuanian expats had two important historic aspects. First of all, their relationships show once again that uncertainty (and therefore fanatism) creates intolerance and conflict. Uncertain nationality and position in the new environment in addition to the unclear trajectory of the homeland created interior problems. Newcomer expats were conflicting about Lithuanian language usage with older emigrants, who were already assimilated and spoke mostly in English (Bučinskytė, 2008). Another conflict was due to different approaches to fighting for Lithuanian independence when one group was more radical and energised than the other (Janauskas, 2008). Second, in Lithuanian expats' writings, it is the first time when the concept of tolerance is used and debated. Before, even during the golden age of tolerance in the 16th century, it was always an unwritten and underlying tool rather than an explicit concept. In expats' writings, such as texts by Vytautas Kavolis (2006), tolerance was highlighted. As a consequence of the environmental conditions, these first writings combined Mill's idea of active tolerance, which was prominent in the country they lived in, and Lithuanian historic tolerance tradition, which was important to protect own identity. In this case, tolerance becomes not only a virtue but a historic tradition.

Tolerance as a national policy?

During the dawn of independence in the 9th decade of the 20th century, tolerant attitudes became public and more prominent. The mixture of stoic individual tolerance, the certain trajectory of the state and expats' writings created a mutually respectful environment. It was a time of not only pragmatic but value-based tolerance, similar to the ideas of John Locke and Voltaire. This period can be embodied by National Minorities Law, passed in 1989, which truly empowered ethnic minorities, and the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania, accepted by a national referendum in 1992, which grants freedom of belief and thought to everyone.

However, this period was short-lived. The transition from a planned economy to capitalism was painful, creating a lot of inequalities, uncertainties, and polarization. This resulted in increased intolerant attitudes, represented by the cancelled National Minorities Law in 2010. Moreover, the concept of tolerance itself became unclear, in popular thought usually associated just with political correctness, almost a burden, then with more advanced theoretical concepts as described by Locke or Mill (Donskis, 2008). In most cases, it became an empty political slogan (Donskis, 2011), critiqued exactly for its emptiness (Peluritis, 2013, 2014). Therefore the future of tolerance in Lithuania is unclear. But what the history produced is a mixture of western and Lithuanian concepts, which interestingly combines the passive tolerance of John Locke, where one disagrees but does not act, with active tolerance of Mill, where one actively fights not for the belief of others, but for the tolerance itself.

Conclusion

The history of tolerance shows a few important things. Firstly, the increased research and discussions on the concept once again showcase how important it becomes to the world in times of globalisation and polarization. In the same way as religious wars did in the late Medieval Ages, intensified public and private conflicts encourage a search for tools of peaceful coexistence. Secondly, this brief history outlines a few important definitions, types and reasons for tolerance, which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. (For the overview of the literature related to the concept of tolerance, see Appendix, Bibliography of Tolerance).
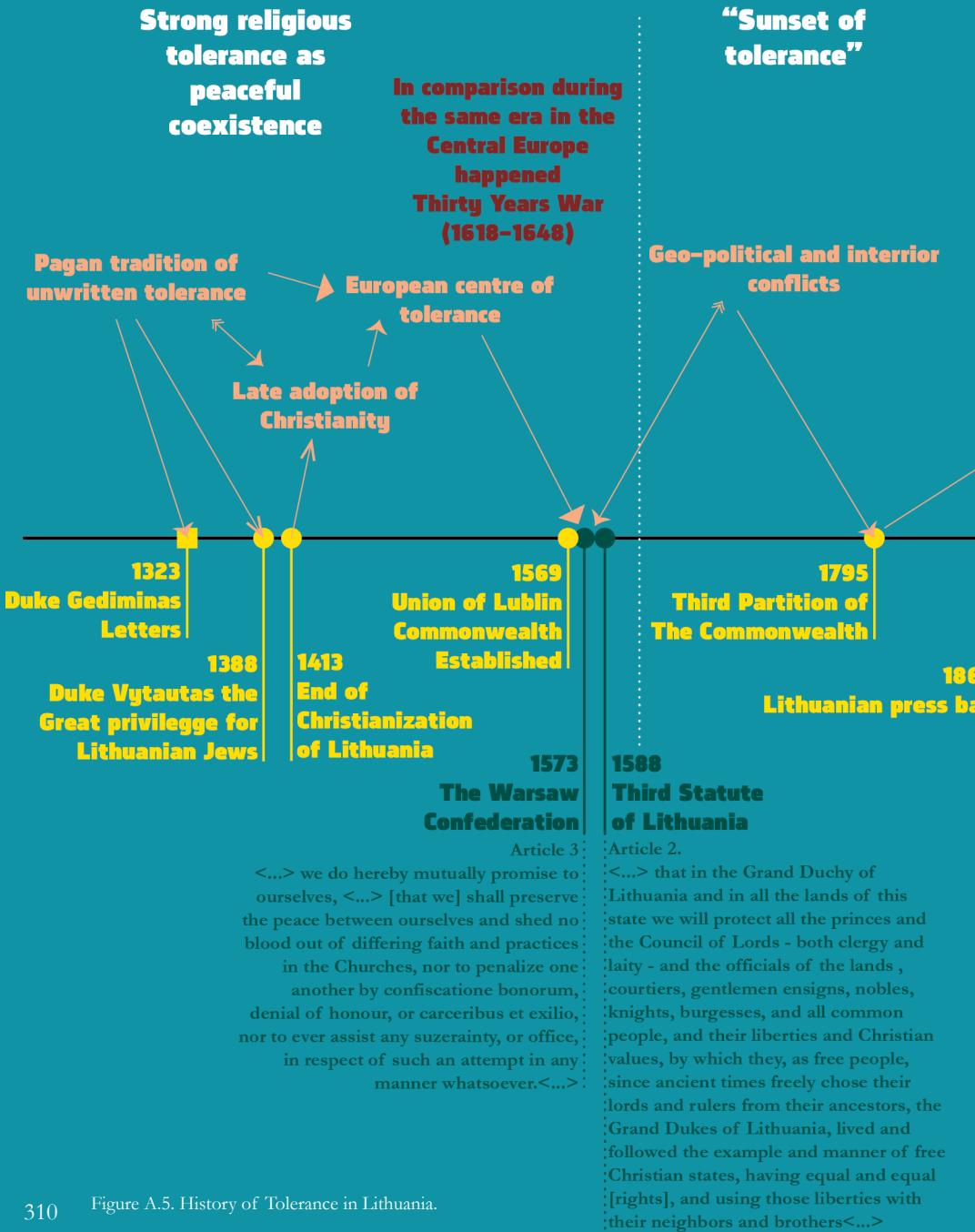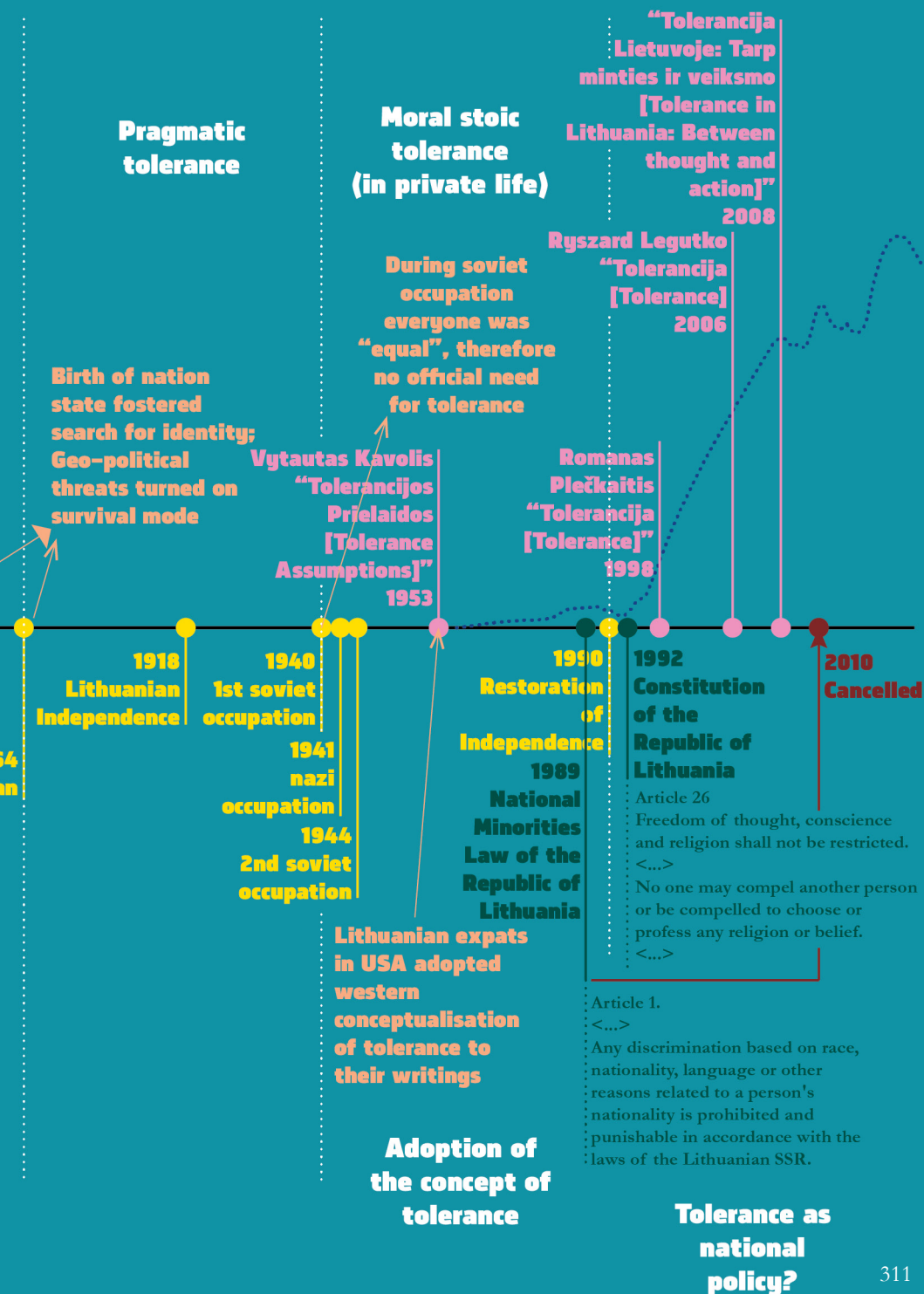
Word usage according to Google NGRAM

Tolerancija

Strong religious tolerance as peaceful coexistence

"Sunset of tolerance"

In comparison during the same era in the Central Europe happened Thirty Years War (1618–1648)

Pagan tradition of unwritten tolerance

European centre of tolerance

Geo-political and interrior conflicts

Late adoption of Christianity

1323 Duke Gediminas Letters

1569 Union of Lublin Commonwealth Established

1795 Third Partition of The Commonwealth

1388 Duke Vytautas the Great privilegge for Lithuanian Jews

1413 End of Christianization of Lithuania

186 Lithuanian press ba

1573 The Warsaw Confederation

Article 3

<...> we do hereby mutually promise to ourselves, <...> [that we] shall preserve the peace between ourselves and shed no blood out of differing faith and practices in the Churches, nor to penalize one another by confiscatione bonorum, denial of honour, or carceribus et exilio, nor to ever assist any suzerainty, or office, in respect of such an attempt in any manner whatsoever.<...>

1588 Third Statute of Lithuania

Article 2.

<...> that in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and in all the lands of this state we will protect all the princes and the Council of Lords - both clergy and laity - and the officials of the lands , courtiers, gentlemen ensigns, nobles, knights, burgesses, and all common people, and their liberties and Christian values, by which they, as free people, since ancient times freely chose their lords and rulers from their ancestors, the Grand Dukes of Lithuania, lived and followed the example and manner of free Christian states, having equal and equal [rights], and using those liberties with their neighbors and brothers<...>

310   Figure A.5. History of Tolerance in Lithuania.

Pragmatic tolerance

Moral stoic tolerance (in private life)

"Tolerancija Lietuvoje: Tarp minties ir veiksmo [Tolerance in Lithuania: Between thought and action]" 2008

Ryszard Legutko "Tolerancija [Tolerance] 2006

During soviet occupation everyone was "equal", therefore no official need for tolerance

Birth of nation state fostered search for identity; Geo-political threats turned on survival mode

Vytautas Kavolis "Tolerancijos Prielaidos [Tolerance Assumptions]" 1953

Romanas Plečkaitis "Tolerancija [Tolerance]" 1998

54 n

1918 Lithuanian Independence

1940 1st soviet occupation

1941 nazi occupation

1944 2nd soviet occupation

1990 Restoration of Independence

1989 National Minorities Law of the Republic of Lithuania

1992 Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania

Article 26
Freedom of thought, conscience and religion shall not be restricted.
<...>
No one may compel another person or be compelled to choose or profess any religion or belief.
<...>

2010 Cancelled

Lithuanian expats in USA adopted western conceptualisation of tolerance to their writings

Article 1.
<...>
Any discrimination based on race, nationality, language or other reasons related to a person's nationality is prohibited and punishable in accordance with the laws of the Lithuanian SSR.

Adoption of the concept of tolerance

Tolerance as national policy?

311

Tolerance dichotomies

In this section, I will break down step-by-step characteristics of tolerance. Based on theoretical research, I formed three initial aspects of tolerance that I revised later:

1.There needs to be diversity.
2.There needs to be disagreement, dislike or disgust with that specific diversity.
3.Despite the disagreement, dislike or disgust one should choose positive inaction or action towards diversity.

It means that tolerance would not exist if the world were uniform. As Michael Walzer precisely stated, "Toleration makes difference possible; difference makes toleration necessary" (Walzer, 1997, p. xii). I will discuss other parts of tolerance in a few dichotomies.

Individual vs. Collective

From the historical analysis, I deduced that tolerant attitudes could be achieved individually and collectively. In stoic thought, early Christiandom, or under repressive regimes, private and individual moral strength and acceptance increase tolerant attitudes towards difference. Collectively tolerance can become a defying element of the nation, as in the case of the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth in the 16th century, it could be institutionalised top-down, as in the case of Medieval Catholic Tolerantia, or it could be emphasised bottom-up as in the case of Lithuania in the years before independence. What is important is that both these forms are not mutually exclusive and can support each other.
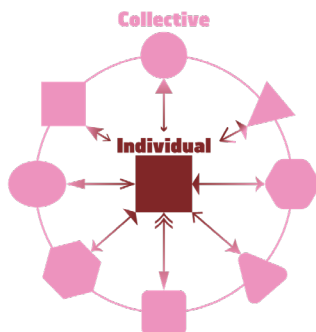
Figure A.6. Relationship between individual and collective tolerances.

Static vs. Kinetic

Tolerance is not a final, static state that stays the same for long periods. Instead, it is kinetic and constantly changing, affected by societal conditions, the mood and biology of individuals, and spatial context. It can change many times during the same day. However, the shorter the period, the smaller the amplitude of the transformation. Imperative changes in attitude can happen only in the long term, which also means that the change is never definitive and can be reversed.
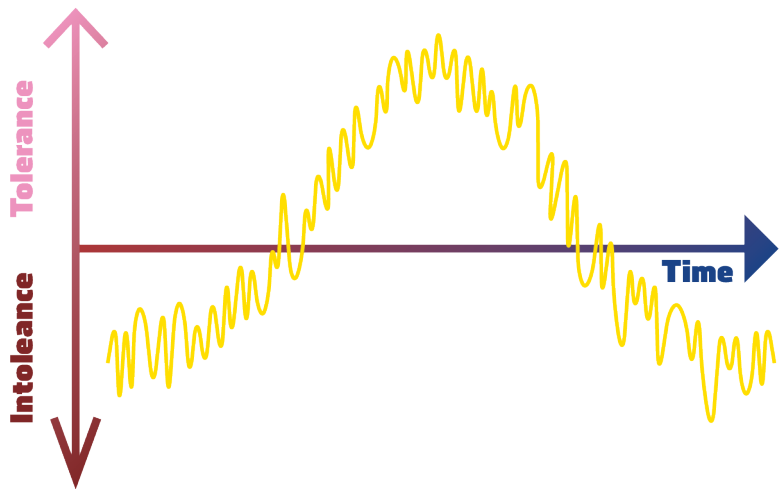
Figure A.7. Dynamics of tolerance.

Figure A.8. Physical representation of intolerance.

Pragmatic vs. value-based

Tolerant attitudes can be based on pragmatic reasoning, where one group weighs the pros and cons of tolerating another group (for example, to prevent greater evil). Tolerance could also be achieved by value-based decisions to emphasise human rights or tolerance itself. For example, John Locke's ideas are in the middle of this gradient because he simultaneously argued for the practical irrationality of intolerance and the protection of basic human rights.
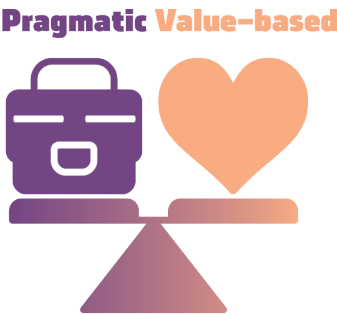
Figure A.9. Pragmatic vs. Value-based reasoning tolerant attitudes.

Vertical vs. horizontal

Many authors (for example (Brown, 2006; Mendus, 1989; Peluritis, 2013; R. P. Wolff, 1965)) argue that for tolerance it is necessary to have the power to influence the behaviour of the tolerated subject. Hence it should be a top-down vertical process. However, as history shows, in reality, this is an oversimplification. The decision to not act does not mean that action will have influence and does not mean that it needs to come from a position of power. For example, in the 16th century Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth signed documents promoting tolerance because aristocrats were equal, and therefore decided to reduce conflict using tolerance (Potašenko, 2020).
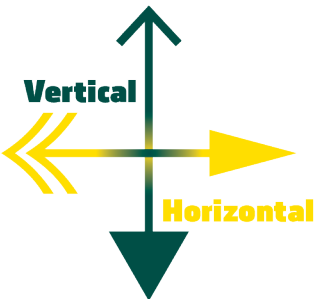
Figure A.10. Tolerance power trajectories.

Tool vs. virtue

There is a compelling argument that tolerance is an empty concept because what matters are the reasons for tolerating other disliked subjects (Peluritis, 2013; Potašenko, 2020). In this case, tolerance would be a tool for peaceful coexistence. Essentially modern tolerance was born because of the necessity for peace during times of religious wars and intolerance (that was why Locke and Voltaire wrote their essays). Nevertheless, the reasons for tolerance were different and separate from the concept. Therefore when thinking about tolerance as a tool it would be helpful to think of a nail gun, where tolerance is just a mechanism to use nails – reasons for forbearance or appreciation.

However, tolerance can be an individual or collective virtue in itself. In this way tolerance as a cultural existence or tradition would be a reason for forbearance or appreciation. It would become a glue gun, sticking together the diverse subject of society. In this line of thought, Lithuanian Philosopher Romanas Plečkaitis, in his seminal book "Tolerancija [Tolerance]", described tolerance as a principle that proclaims the obligation of every person to value others positively and allow them freedom of views (Plečkaitis, 1998).

Tool = Nail Gun   **Virtue = Glue gun**
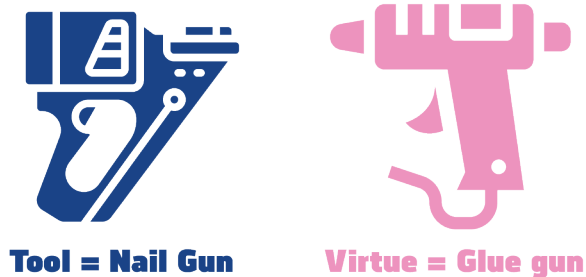
Figure A.11. Tolerance as tool and as a virtue.

Critique of tolerance

There are a few main critiques of the concept of tolerance. In this section, I will try to briefly outline them and argue how they could be addressed.

Tolerance is too much

There is an active debate that tolerance in general is too much (Verkuyten, 2022, pp. 28–35). It is argued that mindless tolerance brings cultural relativity, destructed identity, and violation of societal values in the West (Kent, 2022). This critique, while sometimes valid, only stresses the importance of being critical and drawing the line on what cannot be tolerated in each case.

Active tolerance is limited

Active tolerance – or engagement of diversity – is limited in its coverage because practically nobody can actively encourage everything. That would mean that a person or a group has no beliefs on its own. In even worse cases, it would lead to orthodoxy and oppressive uniformity, similar to the one practised in Soviet Regime (Potašenko, 2020). Hence it needs to be considered that active tolerance cannot be addressed to all diversity. Therefore in this research, I focus on both passive and active tolerance and fluctuating nature of the two.

Passive tolerance is not enough and demeaning

There is a compelling argument that forbearance is insufficient to bring social justice. It is just inaction despite disagreement, while more inclusive forms of social relationships are needed to empower truly (Bannister & Kearns, 2013). In addition, some scholars argue that it can even be demeaning for those being tolerated, because tolerance as inaction still can seem like intolerance (Brown, 2006; Peluritis, 2014).

Figure A.12. Example of intolerant production (maintenance) o

Tolerance maintains status-quo

In one of the most famous critiques of tolerance, Herbert Marcuse argued that it is a concept that helps keep the status quo because it depoliticises opposition (Marcuse, 1965). In this thesis I turn this argument around and propose to use the rupturing of the status quo as an essential part of tolerance and a process to achieve a more tolerant society.

Tolerance is a washed-up concept

Tolerance is becoming a buzzword which often is used without deeper consideration and meaning (Donskis, 2008, 2011; Gritėnas, 2021), which public figures use as a go-to term to "ask for unity". Either way, the meaning of tolerance in public discourse tends to be downplayed to mere political correctness. Defining and raising awareness of tolerance is one of the main aims of this research.

f space.

The classless society would be one which both possessed and acted upon plural values. Were we to evaluate people, not only according to their intelligence and their education, their occupation, and their power, but according to their kindliness and their courage, their imagination and sensitivity, their sympathy and generosity, there could be no classes. Who would be able to say that the scientist was superior to the porter with admirable qualities as a father, the civil servant with unusual skill at gaining prizes superior to the lorry-driver with unusual skill at growing roses? **The classless society would also be the tolerant society, in which individual differences were actively encouraged as well as passively tolerated, in which full meaning was at last given to the dignity of man.** Every human being would then have equal opportunity, not to rise up in the world in the light of any mathematical measure, but to develop his own special capacities for leading a rich life.

Michael Young, "The Rise of the Meritocracy", (1961, p. 169) [1958]

Figure A.13. René Magritte, "The Treachery of Images", 1928-1929. Source: (Pound, 2017).

The benefit of tolerance

Imagine sitting on a café terrace. Although you lived in this city for a long time, it is your first visit to this place. It's a lovely Summer Sunday afternoon. Sun is shining on the pedestrians passing on the sidewalk. Barista comes to take your order. Surprisingly you know what you want. The day seems to be beautiful. But the barista is dressed somehow inappropriately. Somehow too warm. Somehow different from the others. Like hiding something. And barista is also rude. Rude in a way improper for this sunny Summer afternoon. You are a little bit shocked. What do you do? Do you judge immediately that the person is a terrible professional? Do you say something negative? Or do you think that because it is the first time you see this barista, it can be that there are personal issues that affect this person's behaviour and the next day the mood of the barista could be completely different?

If you choose the last option, you give the barista a benefit of the doubt. This idiom is important because it represents what in my opinion utopian tolerance could be. This idiom gives a concrete field of reasons to tolerate someone. Cambridge Dictionary defines "benefit of the doubt" as "to believe something good about someone, rather than something bad when you have the possibility of doing either" (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.). I believe, that this doubt can play a critical role in a truly tolerant society.

One of my personally most beloved paintings is "The Treachery of Images", popularly known as "This is not a Pipe". It is a philosophical painting with a trick, one that questions our perceptions. The trick is that while it depicts a pipe, it still says that this is not a pipe. And, actually, it is true - it is not a pipe, it is a painting of a pipe. Nevertheless, it is easy to think that without a doubt you see a pipe. What this painting (see also "The Key of Dreams") represents for me is that we need to doubt everything we perceive. Or rather, not to become orthodox sceptics, give a benefit of the doubt for our perceptions when it relates to difference. Image can deceive us, especially in complex social contacts which we do not wholly understand. Doubt can make us not only more tolerant but also more critical.

Tolerance based on doubt is neither passive tolerance, which would mean inaction despite disagreement nor fully active tolerance because it does not require engagement. This type of tolerance based on the benefit of the doubt would be similar to as described by Kavolis or Plečkaitis: passive inaction combined with an active fight, or belief, for tolerance (Donskis, 2011; Kavolis, 2006; Plečkaitis, 1998). This type of tolerance is also described in the dystopian novel "The Rise of the Meritocracy" by Michael Young (1961, p. 169). It is a utopian goal, which I will call the benefit of the tolerance.

Initial framework of tolerance

English art critic John Berger in his famous book "Ways of Seeing" discussed how we perceive paintings and the world around us. "The way we see things is affected by what we know or what we believe" he wrote (Berger, 2008). In addition, already mentioned Herbert Marcuse critiqued tolerance that it is never fair and always preconditioned. In a less literal way than in "1984", tolerance is affected by the multi-scalar socio-cultural and spatial environment in which a person lives. In my opinion, this is an opportunity to create a society which is more tolerant towards differences. While it is not possible to force people to be tolerant directly, it is possible to create better conditions for it. It is possible to strengthen doubt, or in other words, just for a moment turn the telescreens.

In general, to foster tolerant attitudes towards difference, interventions have to be directed towards increasing the usage of doubt and the benefit of the tolerance. Doubt does not mean neither mistrust nor insecurity nor destroying own beliefs and "ideal image of the society". In my opinion, strengthening doubt means fostering flexibility and open-mindedness, intensifying beliefs to reach safe uncertainty, and supporting the understanding that there are more diverse worldviews. Then, in my opinion, the perceived image of the "ideal society" would be elastic and incorporating, yet safeguarding traditions and culture.

To do that, it is important to understand what affects tolerant attitudes. Perceived "pure image" is very context specific. Lithuanian image differs from German. Even in the same country, it differs between cities and villages. Mažeikiai' "image" is not the same as Kaunas'. Hence in every place different structures emerge. Therefore I propose a tool to investigate those structures – the framework of tolerance. It depicts one momentary decision and what influences it. Because tolerance is a cognitive process, this framework is linear in time, divided into pre-tolerance, tolerance, and post-tolerance elements.
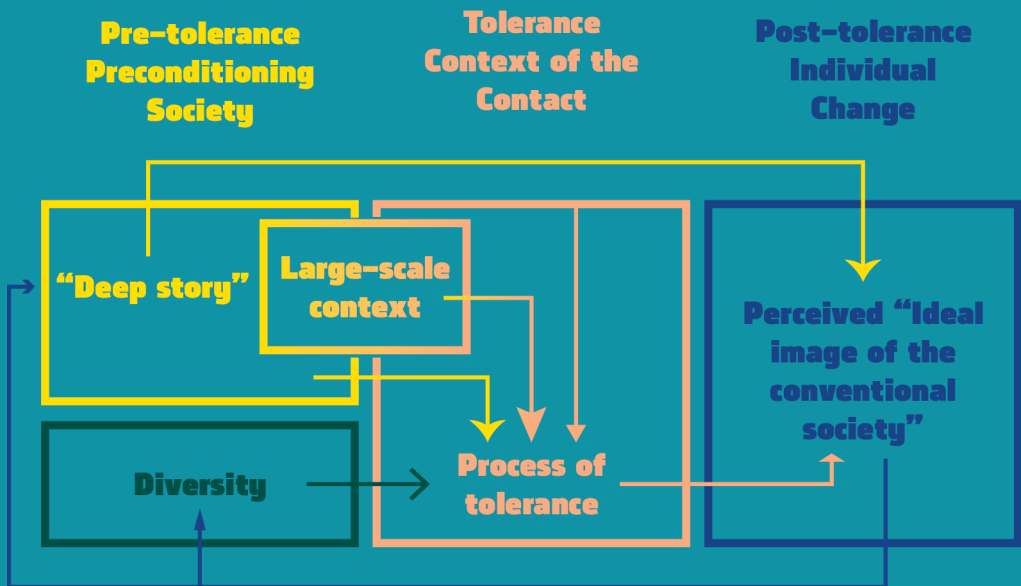
Figure A.14. Initial Framework of Tolerance.

Pre-tolerance Preconditioning Society

Tolerance Context of the Contact

Post-tolerance Individual Change

"Deep story"

Large-scale context

Perceived "Ideal image of the conventional society"

Diversity

Subcultures; Spatial diversity; Institutions and policies of diversity

Process of tolerance

Necessary

Empowered by
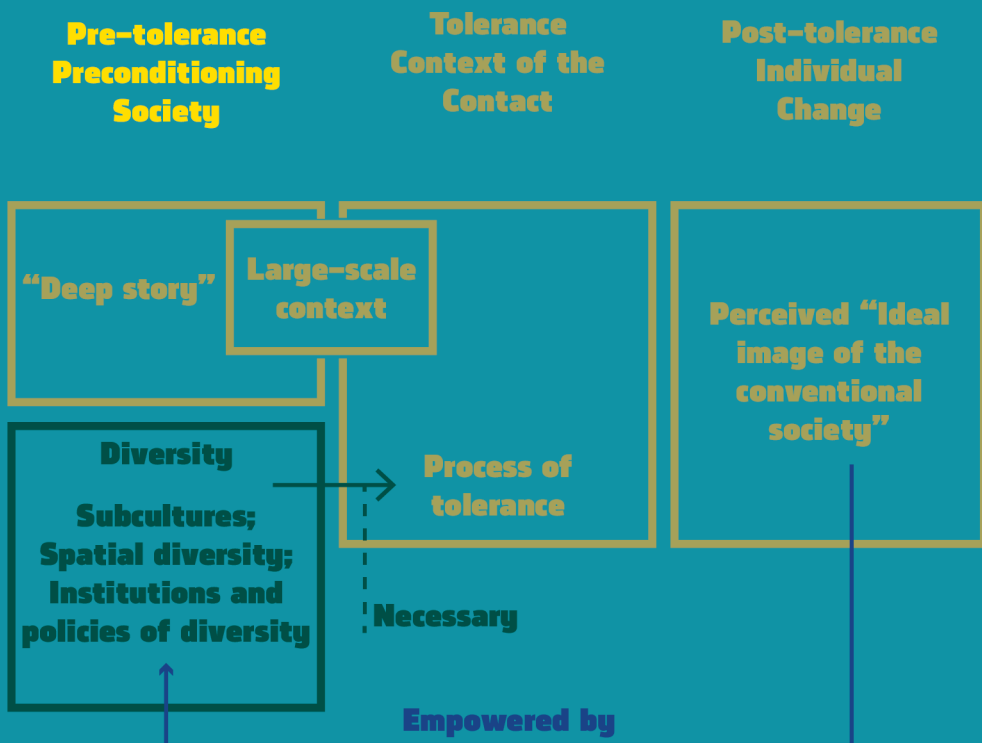
Figure A.15. Initial Framework of Tolerance. Diversity.

Pre-tolerance, or preconditioning society
Diversity

Firstly, diversity by definition is a necessary element for tolerance to occur. If society would be uniform, there would be no need for tolerance. Not only variety of people have an effect, but also a difference in space. Everything counts which creates active objections, where a person needs to not only use his gut feeling but also reason. Then the diversity challenges beliefs, which needs to be defended.

I believe that not only diverse subcultures but also spatial elements can also influence tolerant attitudes. Diversity can be represented in space by the use of symbols. If the built environment is visually homogeneous, it will not foster active consideration of diversity (Juocevičiūtė, 2022). On the other hand, heterogeneous space could precondition individuals to be more open-minded.

Institutions and policies are formal representations of diversity It can foster a very indirect but active contact, where people are eager to debate the pros and cons of proposed changes. For example, the ratification of the Istambul Convention sparked large-scale public debates in Lithuania (Garnienė, 2021). Moreover, as argued before, the law is essentially a depiction of what society considers to tolerate or not (West, 2014). Hence legalisation of specific diversity (for example homosexuality) can influence how people feel towards that diversity. However, there is a compelling argument that laws are not enough, because it merely forces people to hide their true views (Valentine & Harris, 2016).

"Deep story"

The national socio-cultural environment has a huge preconditioning force. Even diverse ethnicities living for a long time in a foreign country at least partly are shaped by local context. To describe it, I use the term "deep story", which was used by sociologist Arlie Russell Hochschild (2016; cited J. Alexander & Conrad, 2022) to describe Tea Party members' feelings and worldviews. In this essay I use the term to describe the intangible cultural context that shapes people's attitudes toward each other. It consists of historically formed political, social and cultural elements that influence identity, moral values, and social norms. It largely influences the automatic cognitive system. While I am well aware that these elements are hard to almost impossible to change directly, understanding of them should play an extensive role in decision-making.

History is a major element in the construct of the "deep story". Past events shape who we are today (Gailienė, 2021). It frames certainties and uncertainties in people's lives. Therefore it is critical to look at what historic elements are still relevant today. Major traumatic events are long-lasting and can survive multiple generations (Gailienė, 2015). It is important to understand history not only for its influence but also for the potential that can be harnessed.

Political culture is highly relevant as well. Liberal democracy would have different human rights, norms and potentials for contact than dictatorship. Political culture not only shapes attitudes towards difference but also can be a representation of that. The geopolitical situation can have a major influence towards people's attitudes, especially towards ethnical minorities. For instance, currently happening russian war in Ukraine widely shapes opinions towards russians. In addition, the dominant market system is an important aspect as well. Neoliberalism, for example, can be attributed to the growth of individualism and the destruction of the "common goods".

Finally, as the history of tolerance shows, religion can play a critical role in shaping tolerant attitudes towards difference. Religion can build uncertainties and narrow-mindedness, it largely influences the perceived "ideal image" of society. Even if the nation is largely secular, religious context still can shape moral values and norms.
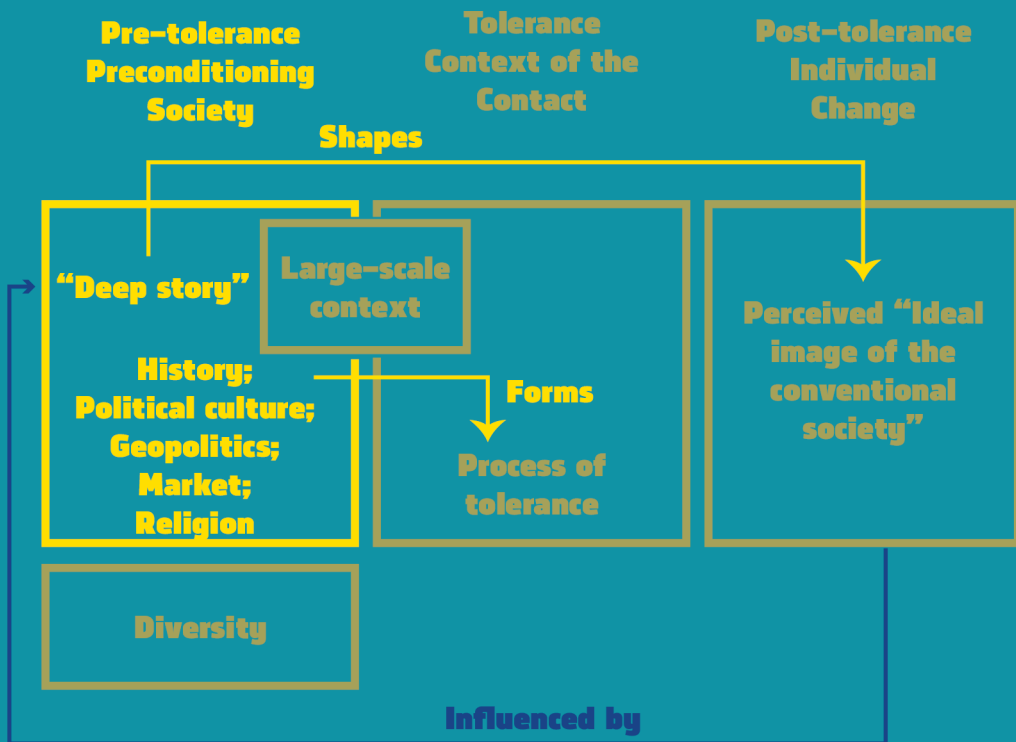
Figure A.16. Initial Framework of Tolerance. "Deep story".

Tolerance, or context of the contact
Large–scale context

The large-scale regional socio-spatial context has multiple tolerance formation points. First of all, "deep story" plays a role here too. It influences how people feel in the environment. Regarding cities, based on socio-cultural influences, people can thrive there or be anxious (Williams, 2005, pp. 1–7), and want to escape from others, (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001; Sennett, 1970). The market situation can exploit and commodify the city (Harvey, 2012; Zukin, 1998), standardising and homogenizing it. Local institutions, which are a direct outcome of national politics, have a strong influence on tolerance. For example, the form and functioning of the local municipality can strengthen the "us" versus "them" mentality.

The large-scale socio-spatial environment can foster contacts and shape attitudes towards difference itself. Mobility is an important element – when people walk or use other forms of soft transportation they are more likely to meet diversity than when travelling by private car. The functional distribution can assemble or disperse people (Gehl, 2011). Journalist and urban activist Jane Jacobs in her seminal book "The Death and Life of Great American Cities" argued that there are four principles to foster diversity: a mix of uses; short blocks; a mixture of new and old buildings; dense population (Jacobs, 1961). Sociologist Richard Sennett argued, that to nudge for disorder and conflicts (strong, active contact), three conditions are important – density, diversity, and decentralisation of institutions and governance (Sennett, 1970).
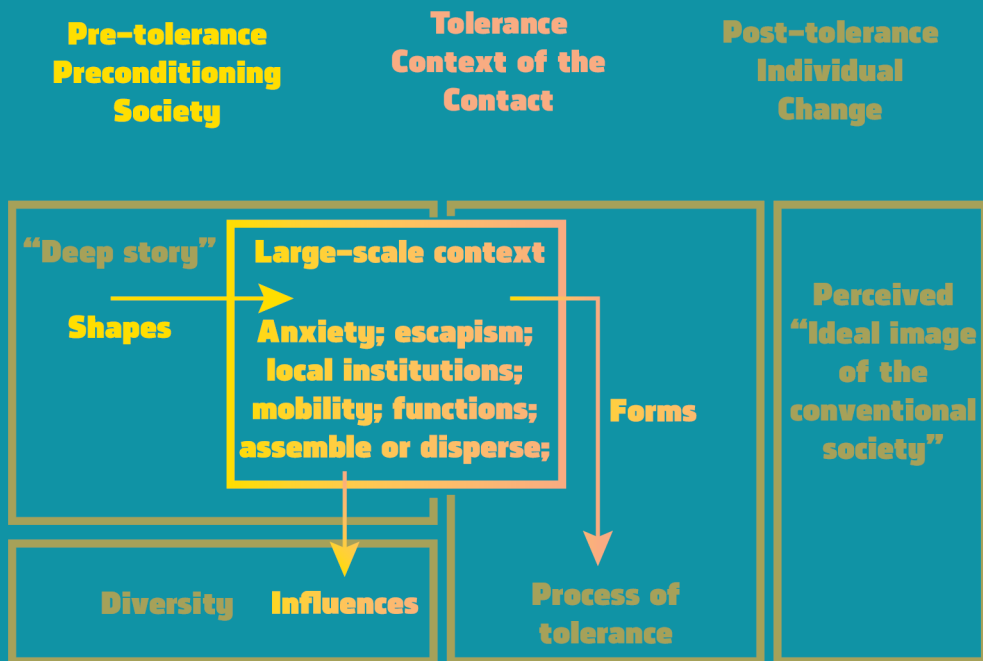
Figure A.17. Initial Framework of Tolerance. Large-scale context.
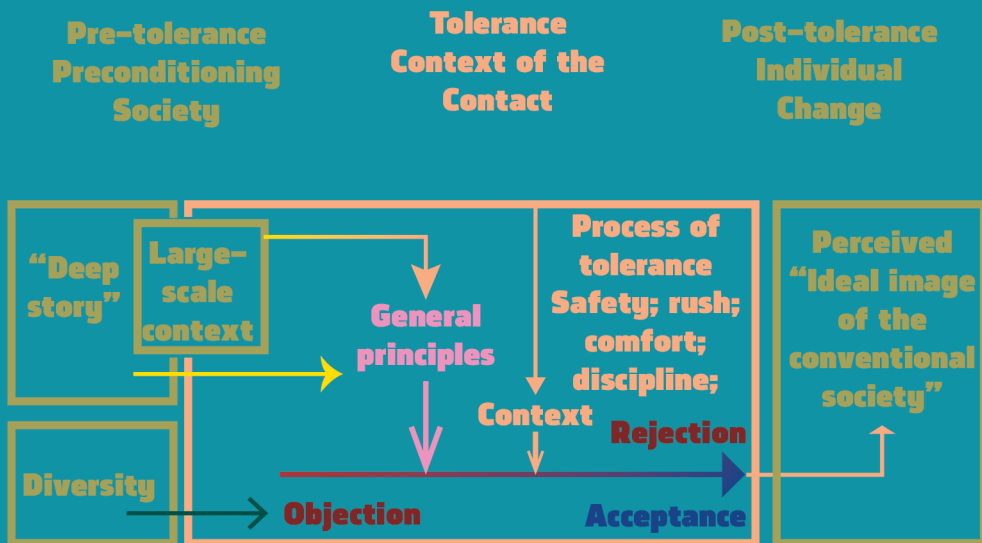
Figure A.18. Initial Framework of Tolerance. Local Context.

Figure A.19. Example of intolerant production of space. See how individualism and escapism divides public space into narrow passages.

Local contex

It is a place where the moment of tolerance happens. It is influenced by larger-scale elements: socio-cultural and spatial environments influence general principles and specific values. Yet the local design strongly forms possibilities of acceptance and rejection. In other words, it can nudge people to tolerate differences (for a larger discussion on the power of nudge see: (Thaler & Sunstein, 2009)).

For tolerance, safety is highly important (Verkuyten, 2022). In addition, if people are in a rush they are less likely to see or tolerate others (Zeeb & Joffe, 2021). Therefore, as sociologist William H. Whyte (2001) argued, if space is comfortable for walking, standing and especially sitting it will become more lively. He also introduced an important concept of triangulation, where one activity would bring two exterior subjects into closer contact because of their shared interest. On this smallest scale, the disciplinary elements of space are mostly visible. Space can informally create norms which can reduce tolerant attitudes towards difference. For example, people can be informally partitioned (Foucault, 1995) to use the space as assigned, and when somebody breaks this pattern it can be considered deviant. The same with laws applied to specific places. (For more specific examples of how local context can influence tolerant attitudes, see Appendix, List of Trivial Situations).

Post–tolerance, or individual change

At this moment long-term individual (and consequently collective) change can happen. If, as argued, contact is strong enough to involve both automatic and reflective cognitive systems, it can change tolerant attitudes in the future. It can happen in a few ways: deprovincialisation, challenging moral values, and spill-over effect.

As argued before, deprovincialisation means understanding that there is more than one culture and perceived "ideal image" of the society (Verkuyten et al., 2022). In this way, a person does not destroy his own beliefs, but rather makes them more open and flexible. This leads to challenging moral values. After strong contact, the individual needs to argue either internally or externally about their own choices, which leads to "stronger affirmation of own-group standards" (Fischer, 1975). (See also "Illusion of explanatory depth"). This might help the individual to reduce uncertainties and strengthen beliefs making them more open and flexible. Finally, when this happens, it is possible to expect a spill-over effect. It can happen, for example, when a tolerant person discusses diversity with a group of friends, or when he starts arguing for tolerance as a virtue publicly. It can be described as an "extended contact hypothesis" (Kent, 2022) or even as a "social epidemic" (Gladwell, 2012).

Pre-tolerance
Preconditioning
Society

Tolerance
Context of the
Contact

Post-tolerance
Individual
Change

Shapes

"Deep story"

Large-scale context

Diversity

Process of tolerance

influences

Perceived "Ideal image of the conventional society"

deprovincialisation, challenging moral values, and spill-over effect

Allows

Strenght of the belief
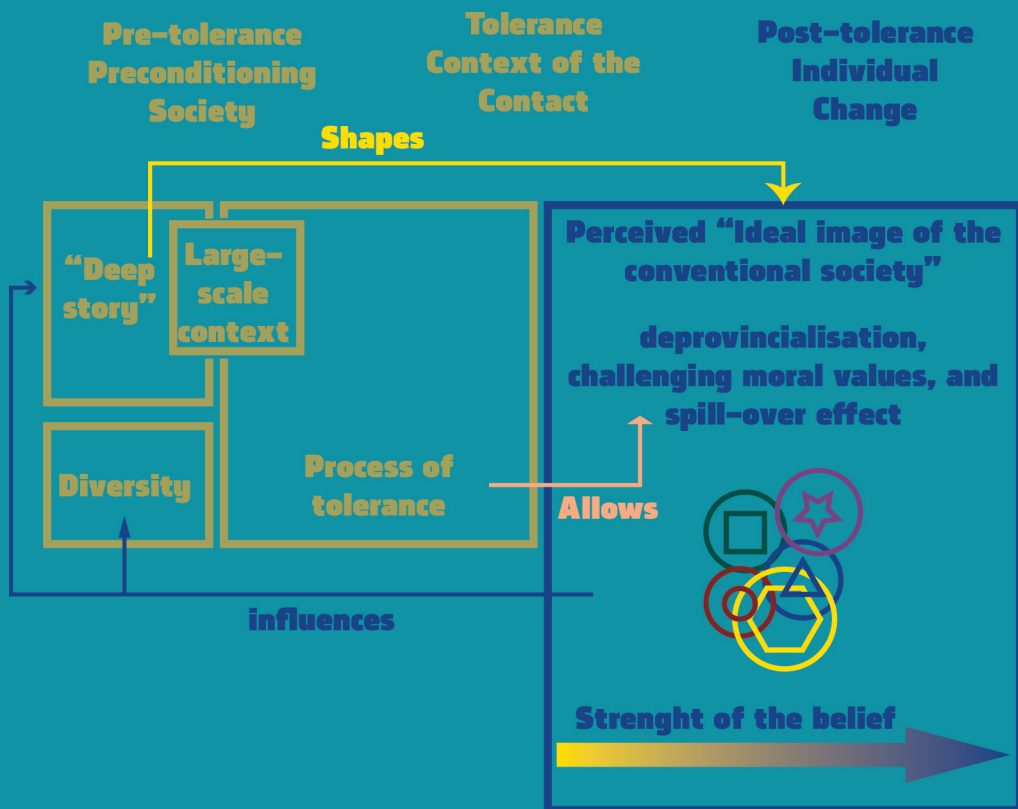
Figure A.20. Initial Framework of Tolerance. Post-tolerance.

Activity

Form

Place

Image
(Cognition, perception & Information)

Figure A.21. Diagram depicting aspects of the production of place (Montgomery, 1998).

(In)tolerant place

Form supports (In)tolerant activity

Allows (In)tolerant Activity
(Allows active contact)

Form Represents (In)tolerance
(Is made because of (in)tolerance)

Image promotes (In)tolerant activity

Form as an (in)tolerance image

Image Fosters (In)tolerance
(Cognition, perception & Information)

Figure A.22. Aspects of the (in)tolerant place.
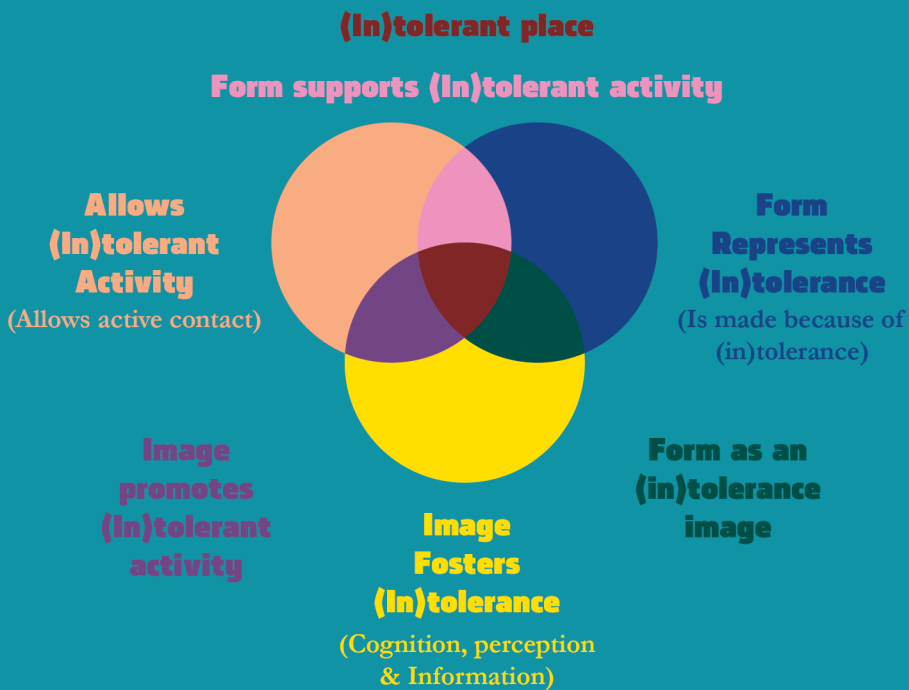
Additional discussion on Tolerance and Space

The framework of tolerance highlights different ways physical space relates to (in) tolerance. To categorise it, I adapted the diagram proposed by John Montgomery (1998). With it, the author opted to describe what elements produce place. I adjusted it to represent what aspects contribute to the production of a tolerant place. There are three main components:

Space which fosters (in)tolerance

It is a symbolic, perceived aspect of space. In my opinion, for a place to be tolerant, it needs to be diverse. Homogenous space indicates one perceived "ideal image", making people more narrow-minded. On the other hand, heterogeneous space influences the automatic cognitive system, making people's beliefs more flexible.

Space which represents (in)tolerance

It is a physical form that is made because of (in)tolerance. It matters whether the space is inclusive or exclusive, and what is prioritised and maintained. In this way, the production of space represents the attitudes of those who produce it. For example, if there is no accessibility for people with disabilities in public spaces, it shows the mindset of the municipality towards this subculture.

Space which allows (in)tolerant activity

It is space that is occupied because of (in)tolerance. Tolerance allows for different groups to co-exist in the same place. On the other hand, a tolerant, inclusive space invites diverse activities and subcultures to use it increasing active contact.

Form as an (in)tolerance image is when decisions of the producers of space have a symbolic value, influencing the attitudes of others. In the case of people with disabilities, if there are no spatial elements designed to include them, it can indicate to others that this subculture is not worth to be tolerated. On the other hand, varied symbols in space and inclusive form can support a socio-spatial environment for the diversity to thrive. All these spatial elements of tolerance combined can create the tolerant place.

Figure A.23: Examples Tolerance and Space.

Outcomes of the municipal centralisation

Control of narratives

Municipal centralisation allows for the administration to build its narratives. Especially in times of economic growth, it is easy to use any development as "PR-chitecture" (Wagner, 2020). Spreading flashy renders through media creates an image of growth, economic opportunities, and happiness. Fancy images are much easier to understand and comprehend than complex questions about the environment or social justice. This reduces civility and activity in public, therefore affecting tolerance. Even with all the scandals, Kaunas Mayor was still re-elected in March 2023 (Jastramskis, 2022b).

Good vs. Bad

A centralised system and its image intrinsically are very homogenous. Lack of diversity becomes a city-wide illusion. The resulting situation is that everyone who is for or like the mayor is "good", and everything different becomes "bad". Reduction of pluralism in this case indirectly increases intolerance.

Homogenisation of space

Two conditions play a role in the top-down homogenisation of space. First of all, clear market orientation from the municipality leads to the neglection of communities and neighbourhoods' identities in exchange for private developers' wishes. Historical urban fabrics are demolished or built over with standard glass buildings, reducing social diversity. This way of building is much faster, resulting in immediate gratification and stronger narratives. Secondly, this is influenced by "a degree of inertia and path dependence" (Stead, 2021). In Kaunas' centralised municipality system it is typical to keep the same, well-known, and easy solutions. Moreover, many new solutions are denied arguing that the outcomes are unknown or potentially negative. In space this results in standard bus stops, playgrounds, etc.

Lack of public involvement

The Ministry of environment sets up only minimum requirements and recommendations for public participation practices. And while many in the private sector, especially the young generation of urbanists, are heavily pursuing stronger engagement practices, municipalities tend to avoid it. It makes the process longer and riskier, and there is small accountability for not doing that. Protests are mostly ignored.

Figure A.24. Public participation today. Minimal requirements for public participation rests on three categories: informing, consultation, involvement. It is not hard to judge which is the most popular.

Figure A.25. Homogenisation of space.
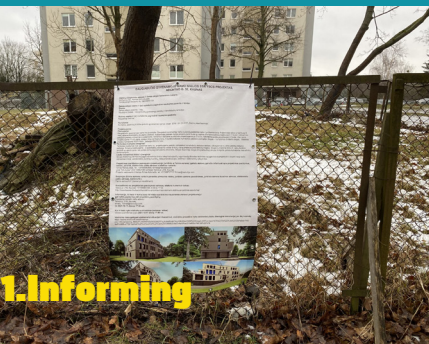
1.Informing

2.Consultation

3.Involvement

Figure A.26. "Pr-chitecture" (or "propoganda architecture" in Kaunas. Source:Auga.Kaunas.lt

INDUSTRIAL ZONES

POPULATION DENSITY: 10 PEOPLE PER GRID

POPULATION DENSITY: 662 PEOPLE PER GRID

100M 100M

2 km
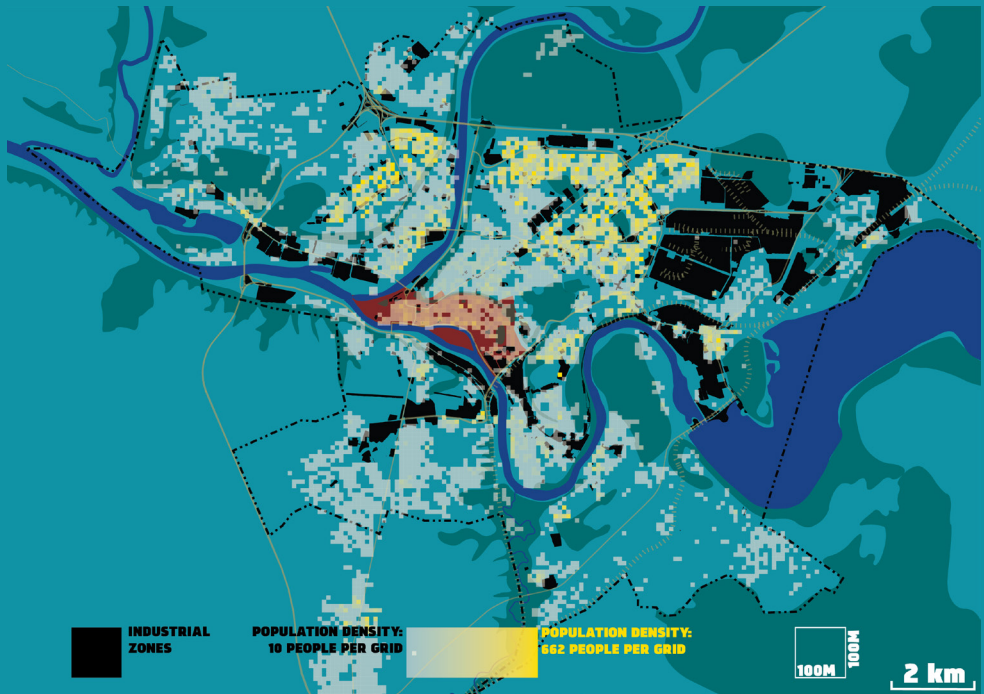
Figure A.27. Map depicting population density and industrial zones in Kaunas.

PEOPLE WITHOUT JOB: 10 PEOPLE PER GRID

PEOPLE WITHOUT JOB: 64 PEOPLE PER GRID

100M 100M

2 km
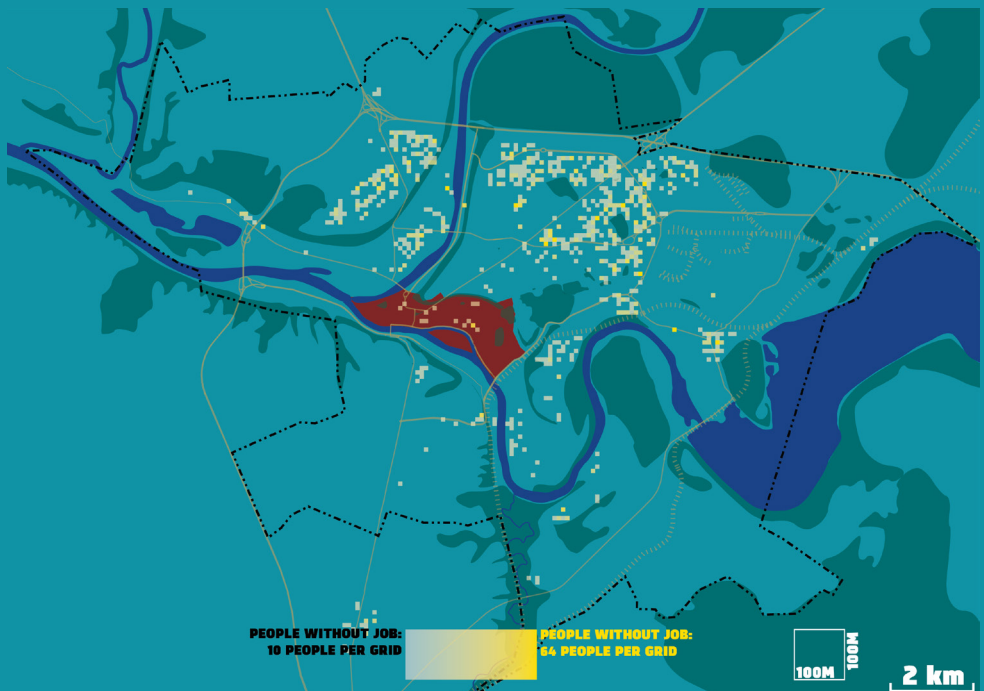
Figure A.28. Map depicting where people without jobs lives in Kaunas.

RETIRED POPULATION (65+):
10 PEOPLE PER GRID

RETIRED POPULATION (65+):
166 PEOPLE PER GRID

100M
100M

2 km
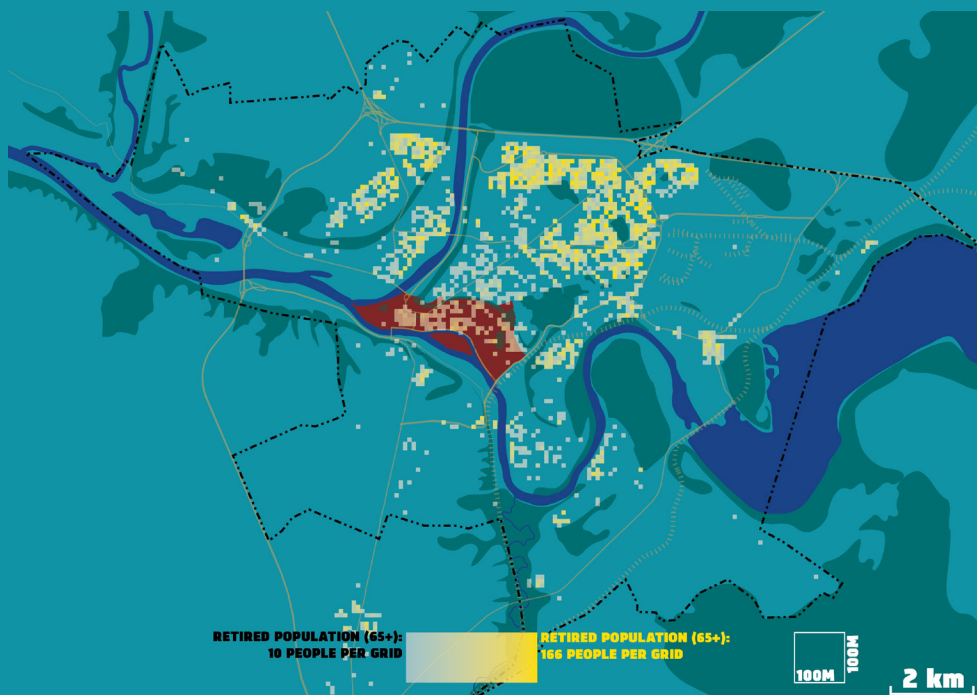
Figure A.29. Map depicting where retired people live in Kaunas.

ROAD
INTENSITY

2 km
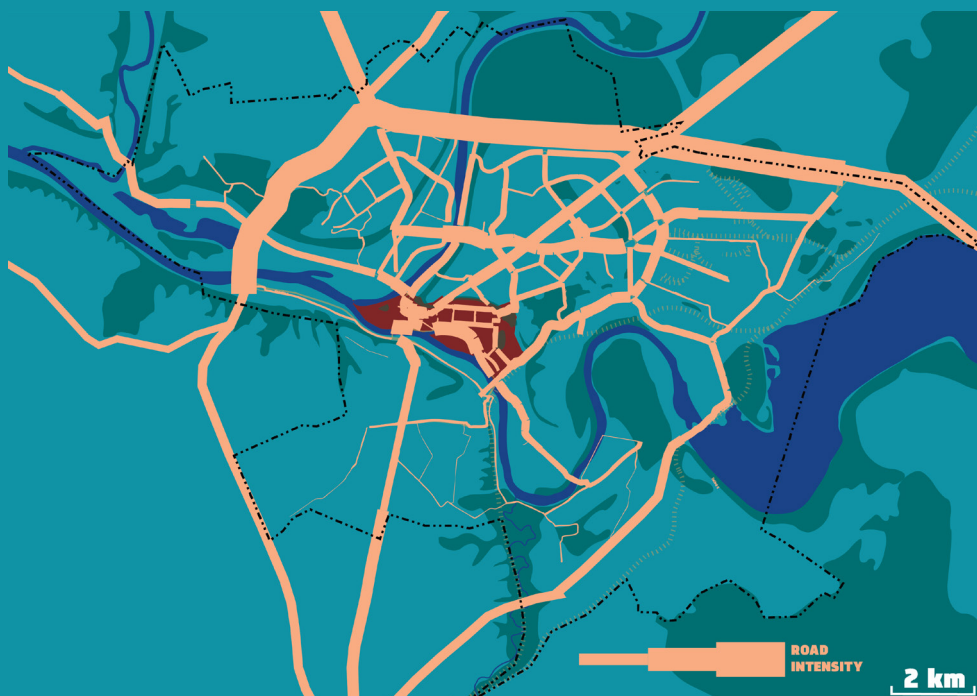
Figure A.30. Map depicting road intensity in Kaunas.

Figure A.31. Planned new high intensity bus lanes with my proposed extension. Based on Kaunas City Sustainable Mobility Plan (Civitta & PU-PA, 2019)

Proposed extension

3 planned high intensity bus lanes with my proposed addition

2 km

● **Micro everyday centres** ● **Local and specialised centres**

2 km
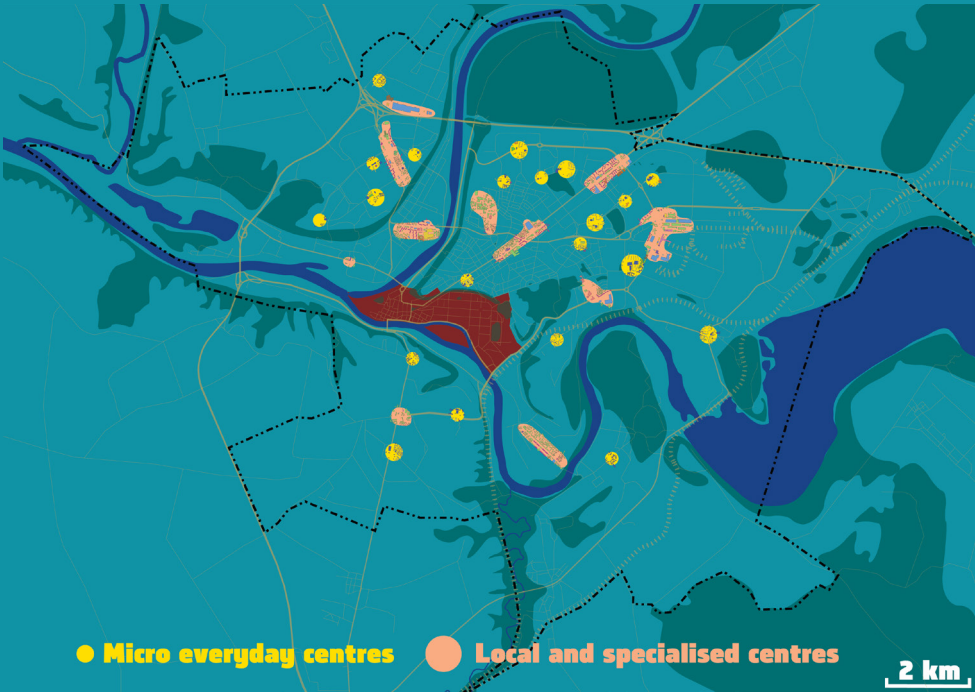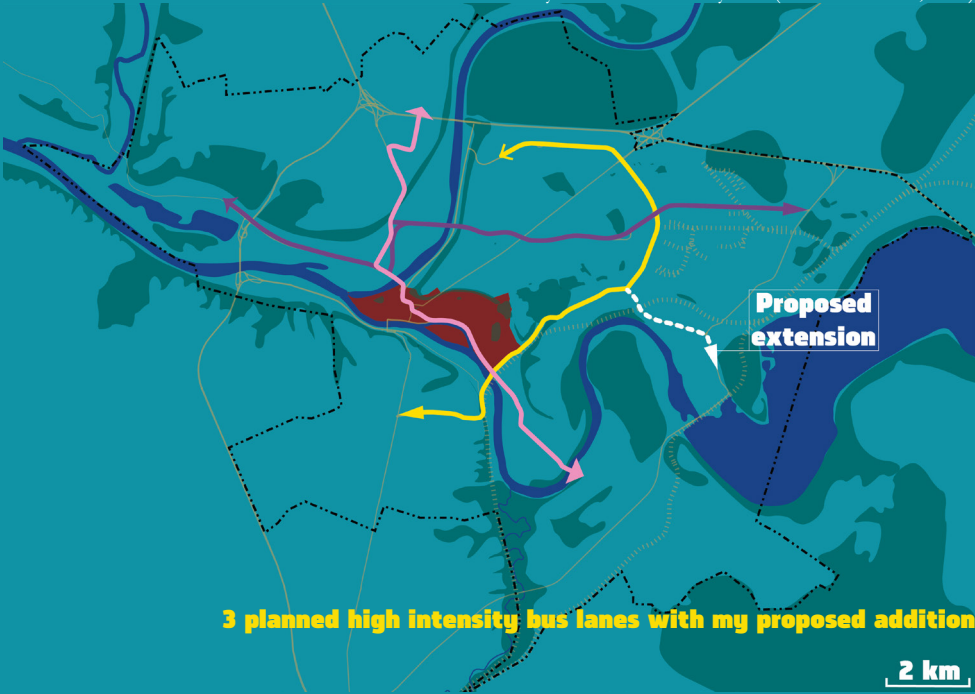
Figure A.32. Kaunas City local and micro centres. Based on Sustainable Mobility Plan (Civitta & PU-PA, 2019)
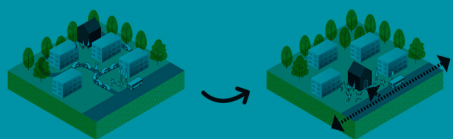
1. Social infrastructure must be clearly and easily accessible
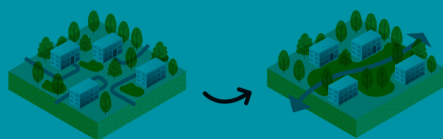
2. Public space and access to buildings are decided on the scale of house groups
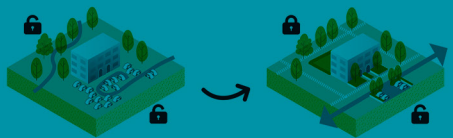
3. The front facade of the apartment building is public, the rear facade is private
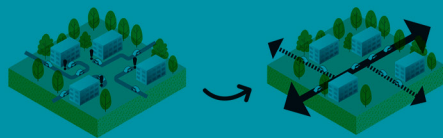
4. Car traffic, resolved on a block scale. A seamless network is created between home groups
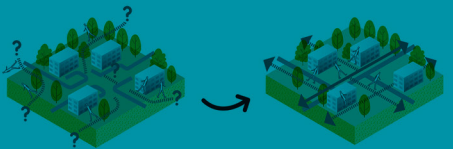
5. In the neighbourhood a maximally effective pedestrian network is ensured. Streets help to orient
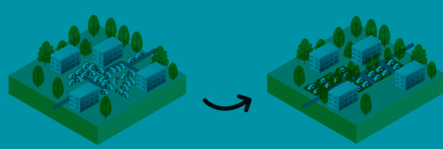
6. Parking is addressed on the scale of house groups
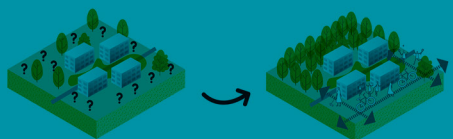
7. In free spaces priority is given to recreation and strengthening of the natural framework
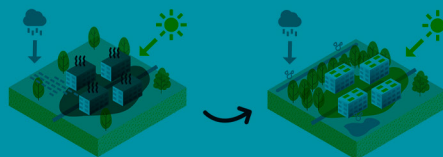
8. Application of nature-based solutions in newly formed or reconstructed infrastructure
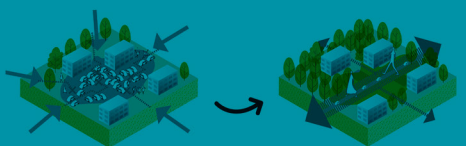
9. Hierarchy of public space in courtyards, giving priority to pedestrians and green space
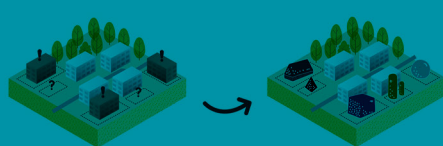
10. Priority for new typologies (no more appartments).

Figure A.33. 10 guidelines for microrayon transformation strategies proposed in "Complex Transformation Strategies of Apartment Buildings Built in the Soviet Era (Marozas et al., 2022)".

Reference – A New Theory of Urban Design

One concrete outcome could be a planning, policy, and engagement framework according to which others could prepare designs. Manifesto-like guidelines could be then used by anyone bottom-up. Design in this thesis would be used as an example of how the framework works, not as a tool itself.

One reference of a similar framework is set up by Christopher Alexander in "A New Theory of Urban Design", where he together with other scholars propose guidelines (or rules) on how every new design could "produce wholeness in the city" (Alexander et al., 1987).
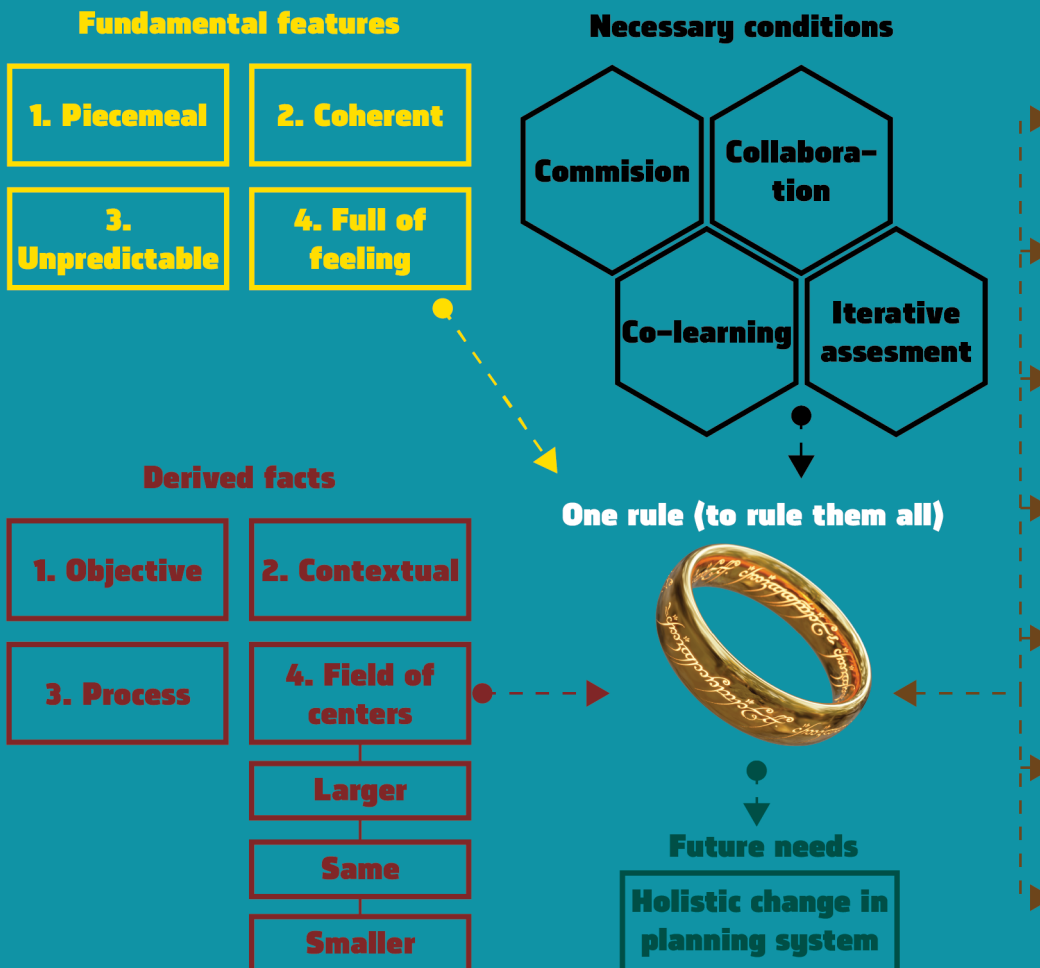
Figure A.34. Diagram depicting planning framework proposed in "A New Theory of Urban Design".
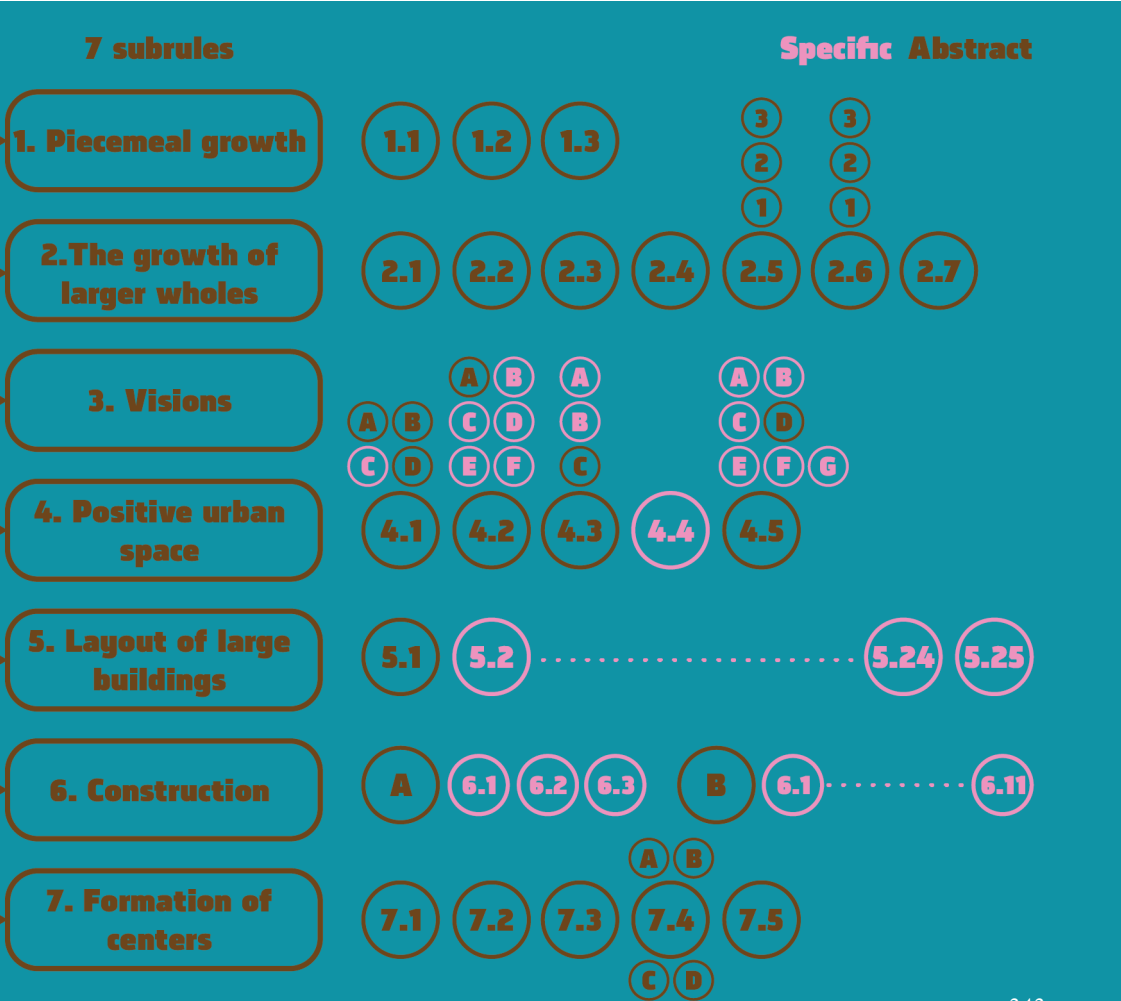
Bibliography of tolerance

During my research, I encountered scattered literature on the concept of tolerance. For example, it took me a few months to find out about Voltaire's "Treatise on tolerance", or that there is a European institution dedicated to the spread of tolerance. Therefore I decided to systematically combine various literature on tolerance that I encountered so that future researchers would have a head start. This bibliography is on purpose arranged based on the time of publishing.

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Respondents talking about tolerance

What do you think when you hear word tolerance? What does it mean to you?

R1 *Tolerancija – priimtinumas kitokių negu Tu.*
Tolerance is the **acceptance** of those who are different from you.

R2 I do not know how to describe tolerance. But Lithuanians are pretty tolerant. They do not create a general image. They **do not generalize**.

R3 *Tolerancija – pagarba tam, kuris visuomenėje identifikuojamas kaip kitoks. Ir priėmimas tokių, kokie jie yra.*
Tolerance is **respect** for someone who is identified as different in society. And **acceptance** of who they are.

R4 *Tolerancija tai supratimas, kad mes visi esam skirtingi. Kaip pievoje yra dalelės – nėra vienodų dalelių (gelių). Ir tai turim priimti. <…> Italijoje žmogų priima toks, koks jis yra. Aš jo pakeisti negaliu ir neturiu teisės. Esam visi molekulės ir su savo trūkumais ir pozityviais dalykais. <…> Ir reikia duoti galimybes, sąlygas, kad jis iš tos situacijos išeitų, bet mūsų visuomenė neatleidžia. <…> Būti tuo, kuo esi – nėra nuodėmė. Veiksmai yra nuodėmė. <…> Man jei ant galvos nelipa, tegul jie džiaugiasi.*
Tolerance is **understanding that we are all different**. As there are particles in the meadow - there are no equal particles (flowers). And we have to **accept** that. <…> In Italy, people are **accepted** as they are. I cannot and do not have the right to change them. We are all molecules with our flaws and positives. <...> And it is necessary to **give opportunities and conditions** for him to get out of that situation, but our society does not forgive. <…> Being who you are is not a sin. Actions are sin. <…> If it doesn't get on my head, let them be happy.

R5 Tolerance – to **stand up for somebody**, to make their burden easier. To **accept**. Lithuanians are tolerant, they **accept, support**, and try to be tolerant. Young people are trying.

R6 *Tolerancija – tarpusavio vieno kito supratimas. Kai žmonės elgiasi normaliai, pagarbiai. Kaip Tu taip ir Tau. Visada norisi, kad žmonės būtų labiau tolerantiški.*
Tolerance is **mutual understanding**. When people behave normally and **respectfully**. As you behave, so others behave the same with you. Always wish people were more tolerant.

R7 *Tolerancija – labiau su LGBTQ+ siejama. Lietuvoje yra netolerancijos. Tolerancija yra visiems žmonėms. Tolerancijos diena – gyvojoje bibliotekoje. Kur gali juos [atstovus] pakalbinti, susipažinti. Puiku būtų su reivu susipažinti.*

Tolerance - more associated with LGBTQ+. There is intolerance in Lithuania. Tolerance is for all people. Tolerance Day - in the living library. Where you can talk with them [representatives], get to know them. It would be great **to get to know, understand** rave.

R8 *Tolerancija – pagarba ir priėmimas kito žmogaus.*
Tolerance – **respect and acceptance** of another person.

R9 *Tolerancija – toleruoti ir priimti viską, kas yra žmoguje, neišskirti žmogaus. Jo elgesio. Būna girdime piktų žodžių [kaip socialiniai darbuotojai], bet svarbu prisimint kad ne jum sako, o žmogus išsilieja ant aplinkos. Nereikia priimti asmeniškai.*

Tolerance means to tolerate and **accept** everything that is in a person, not to single out a person. His behavior. Sometimes we hear bad words [as social workers], but it is important to remember that it is not to you the person is saying it, but spills it onto the environment. No need to take it personally.

R10 *Tolerancija tai nesibaigianti meilė ir nesibaigiantis palaikymas. Tai nėra, kad Tu esi ir aš toleruoju, tai yra veiksmai. Ekonomiškai gali remti, pagalba, back and forth [abipusiai]. Aš pasirodau, man paploja, nusifotografuoja.*

Tolerance is **endless love and endless support**. It's not that You exist and I tolerate it, it's the actions. **Support** can be economical, can be physical help, back and forth [mutually]. I perform, people applaud me, take pictures.

R11 *Tolerancija – pagarba kitam žmogui, kad ir koks jisai būtų. Leidimas kitam būti toks koksai nori. Neužgožimas žmogaus. Savo išankstinių nuostatų neprimetimas. Atvirumas kitoniškumui.*
Tolerance is **respect** for another person, no matter who he is. **Allowing** others to be who they want to be. **Not obscuring** a person. **Not imposing your own prejudices**. **Openness** to otherness.

R12 *Tolerancija – priėmimas kitokių. Net pats žodis neteisingas. Kito priėmimas nevadinant kito kitokiu. Šitoje Žemėje visiems vietos užtenka. Mes vertiname pagal savo "teisingą" prizmę. Kai kuriuos žmones sunku toleruoti. Tai reikalauja darbo su savimi, savi refleksijos. Nesmerkimo.*

Tolerance - **acceptance** of different others. Even the word itself is wrong. Accepting the other without calling the other different. There is enough room for everyone on this Earth. We judge according to our "correct" prism. Some people are hard to tolerate. It requires work with yourself, self-reflection. **Non-judgment**.

R13 *Tolerancija – aš išklausau ir manes išklauso. Bendras sutarimas. Randi aukso viduriuką. Elgesiu, žodžiais, praktika. Išsakai savo nuomonę.*

R14 Tolerance - **I listen and I am listened to**. **General consensus**. The middle ground. Behavior, words, practice. Express your opinion.

R15 *Tolerancija – aš nelabai vartoju. Savo praktikoje naudoju [terminą] "priėmimas" (acceptance). Tolerancija man yra basic - aš toleruoju, kas man nepatinka. Tai yra kažkoks atstumas. Prieš kelis metus atrodė kad tai yra not fine. Dabar suprantu, kad kartais tolerancijos užtenka. Tačiau man labiau norisi priėmimo. Su žmogum kuri toleruoju, nežinau ar sėdėčiau prie vieno stalo. Sėdėčiau su žmogum kurį priėmu. Man norisi priėmimo, žmogiškumo, empatijos. Priėmimas skatina susipažinti. Tolerancija yra apie atstumą. Aš žinau žmonių, kurie vartoja [terminą] "tolerancija" ir kitaip, labiau įtraukiai.*

Tolerance - I don't use much. In my practice, I use [the term] **"acceptance"**. Tolerance is basic for me - I tolerate what I don't like. This is some distance. A few years ago it seemed that it was not fine. Now I understand that sometimes tolerance is enough. However, I prefer **acceptance**. I don't know if I would sit at the same table with someone I tolerate. I would sit with someone I accept. **I want acceptance, humanity, empathy**. **Acceptance encourages getting to know each other.** Tolerance is about distance. I know people who use [the term] "tolerance" in other, more inclusive ways.

R16 *Tolerancija – galiu toleruoti viską, kas neįžeidžia ir nekenkia kitiems. Yra tolerancijos ribos. Tai turi nesukelti blogų padarinių.*

Tolerance - **I can tolerate anything that does not offend or harm others**. There are limits to tolerance. It must not cause bad effects.

Tolerancija – empatija, įsiklausymas, išgirdimas kitų. Priėmimas. Nenorėjimas pakeisti žmogaus pagal save. Unikalumo pastebėjimas. Įvairovės pastebėjimas. Supratimas kad gali pakeisti savo pažiūras, bet ne kitų. Pagarba. Gali nepritarti, bet gerbti.

Tolerance - **empathy, listening, hearing others**. **Acceptance**. Reluctance to change the person according to yourself. Spotting uniqueness. Spotting diversity. **Understanding** that you can change your views, but not others'. **Respect**. You can disagree, but still respect it.

Figure A.35. Images that I produce and distributed in order to invite participants for the interviews. Background image - snapshot from the film "The Lord of the Rings: The Return of the King" (Jackson, 2003)

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