



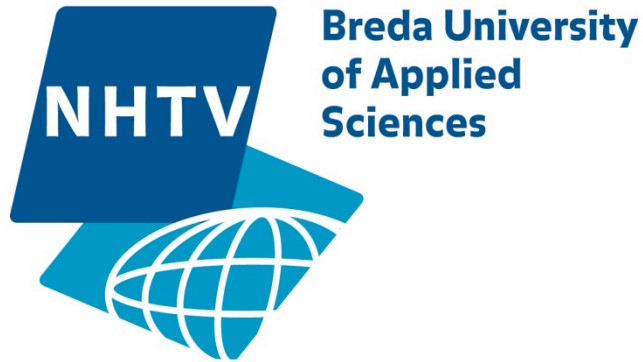
Outdoor gym as platform for social interactions

Applying the concept of play to three case studies in Warsaw

Master Thesis Leisure Studies

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Preface

Like a kaleidoscope which is every now and then given a turn, society arranges successively in different orders elements which one would have supposed immutable, and composes a new pattern.

Marcel Proust, *Within a Budding Grove*

With honor and pride I am presenting my finalized master thesis under the title “urban gyms as platforms for social interactions”. Throughout the time spent in Breda completing my master studies I had been given an opportunity to immerse in the leisure world so broad and all-embracing that it became a challenge to find this one, most preferable and also personal locus in all of the disciplines introduced and explored during the courses. What I considered most intriguing was the human factor –so present and powerful everywhere. The way in which people interact, behave and sometimes not particularly consciously make their decisions can change and reshape the surrounding making it more personal and meaningful. To choose the frames for my thesis, question still remained where is the place still not fully explored where I could look for and investigate diverse social behaviors. Even though I was born in Warsaw and almost all my life lived, walked, worked and shared common spaces with people from my city I never got the chance to fully understand them. Writing thesis about my hometown was therefore not only about exploration of different social behaviors but as well an opportunity to rediscover my own city from the street level, in particular in the context of urban parks where recreation and leisure is present everywhere. Decision to use outdoor gyms as a background of research comes from the fact that sport has always and always will be present and essential in my life and giving a chance for everyone to benefit from activities in an urbanized area for free and encouraging common people to live more actively seems like a good way to slowly change behaviors of people the way I intend to change them in the future. I personally believe that spending time in an active way together make people feel more connected to the city and to each other.

I would like to thank everyone who inspired me during this past year, especially my supervisor, Nienke, for constant support, interest in my research and dedication of time.

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Abstract

Human factor is an important force in urban design. Governments are taking into consideration the fact that people are the main recipients of any projects developed within the structures of the city. In 2013 Warsaw collaborated with its citizens and together they had developed a list of more than 100 urban gyms that later have been implemented in the framework of the city. Idea of introducing sport facilities goes along with the opinion of Henry & Gratton (1999) that sport creates opportunities for innovative urban infrastructure. Project is still fresh and people are constantly adapting to the idea of an active way of spending time outside using gym devices provided by the authorities. This all leads to the development of new social process between participants and as well their audience. Social behaviors in the public spaces have been studied by Stevens (2007) who connected them with the concept of play. His theory is linked with the case studies of this research. It tries to find a connection between placing a set of amenities and ability to ignite social interaction and what can it lead to. By the concept of play these interactions are recognized and their practices understood.

This study firstly asked the question:

How to understand social processes happening in the urban outdoor gyms in Warsaw?

Which was followed by the second one:

What kind of enduring processes can be developed from social interactions?

Literature review dealt with the concepts of interactions. It explained, that interaction happens when two or more people engage in an event, process or situation (Shin, 2002; Roblyer and Wiencke, 2003). Interactions can be illustrated by rituals (Collins, 2004) when emotional energy becomes an outcome of a collective practice. Furthermore, the distance becomes a factor, which can force or ignite an interaction between people. Different proximities and their influence on social behaviors were described, where “social distance” was believed to be the most preferable in playful social relations. Concept of play, which is a “freedom from the instrumental pursuit of social purposes”

(Stevens, 2007:30), was explained. Its four types have been stressed, namely: competition, chance, simulation and vertigo (Caillois, 1961). Because people use play as a practice in urbanized areas, the meaning and role of social spaces was provided. It has been underlined that everyone has a right to the city (Lefebvre, 1996) and public places such as parks bring people together. Consequently the role of neighborhoods was characterized by elements such as street patterns, social networks and interactions between people (Grannis, 1998). Neighborhoods were recognized to affect different social processes due to their diversity. All of the concepts explained in the theoretical background of this research led towards the assumption that diverse social behaviors contribute in the end to the development and strengthening of social bonds and the feeling of people that they need to belong to a certain group, society or culture.

In order to provide thorough analysis, which led to answering research questions, qualitative methods were applied. Combination of two qualitative methods complementing one another: ethnography, based on observations and short interviews, extended by individual in-depth interviews with outdoor gym participants allowed to understand social behaviors from different angles. Results began with the description of three different cases of outdoor urban gyms that have been examined. All of them had a diverse social composition and were situated in contrasting neighborhoods. Later practices of users were exemplified by the concept of play and all of different behaviors were adjusted to four elements of play listed before in the theoretical background. This was helpful to understand the meaning of interactions happening between participants. In order to draw conclusions five groups of gym users were specified and their interactions described. They included: individuals, neighbors, friends, family members and the audience. To link the presumption that proximity makes a difference in case of social interactions the influence of gym devices on social contacts have been explained. It turned out that the structure of a particular machine has an impact on different social behaviors. More negative aspects such as resistance to interactions, tensions and even social exclusion led to a finding that social interactions not always lead to something beneficial. The importance of outdoor gym as a significant medical

treatment has also been identified, which showed another perspective from the point of view of people who profit from the social amenities in a different way than the majority of users. Results were completed by the explanation of different social bonds that emerged in the contexts of gyms. They included friendships, neighbor recognitions, strengthening of bonds within family members and couples, even connections to the area of gym were visible when people were willing to take actions in order to repair destroyed devices. Research was concluded with the analysis of the findings obtained during observations and interviews. By recognizing play as a way of behavior of outdoor gym users diverse attitude of people towards practices in the outdoor gyms could be understood. Social behaviors were different for each one of the gym users, but the linking element was shown by the willingness to step out of the comfort zone and mix with other people. People wanted to connect with others and they all were considered a part of specific social groups within the contexts of different outdoor gyms. Also some people indicated that they feel like gym is “their” place, which gave an answer to the question about need to belong. Results led to the recognition of outdoor gym as a “third place”, according to Oldenburg (1989) “a generic designation for a great variety of public places that host the regular, voluntary, informal, happily anticipated gatherings of individuals beyond the realms of home and work” (p.19). This concept worked as a recap for the study of how people perceive outdoor gyms and underlined the importance of such places in the urban setting. Research ends with recommendations that have been identified in the process of gathering the data. They include promotion of outdoor gyms to attract more people, increase of monitoring to avoid misuse of the equipment, installation of temporal roof to make it possible to train in different weather conditions and cooperation with medical centers to help people with their rehabilitation process. Urban outdoor gym has proven to be a good idea and has marked its presence in the landscape of Warsaw. Social processes studied in this research led to the conclusion that people need places like outdoor gyms to play, enjoy and spend time with others.

1. Introduction

Cities are composed of people. This short and simple sentence, even though it is obvious, without a need for further examination shows an important and most crucial force in the process of the life in the urban area. Human factor. It is people who make a city alive, use public spaces, and contribute to its life and prosperity. People energize empty spaces, fill the air with conversations and by simply walking around, create a vibe that is driving others to go outside and use public places to spend their leisure time. There can be a lot to say about the role of different amenities, governments and non-governmental organizations in the way they are trying to bring life to the cities. Nowadays, a frequently asked question is how to keep people interested in the city life and how to cooperate with citizens to take and embrace the best out of them. In 1970, Linder introduced a term “the harried leisure class” which depicts a problem of people living constantly under a pressure of time. Even though his theory has been developed a while ago, the problem stated in his writing still exists and in order to confront it, there is a need to keep up with the increased pace of life. This issue is an opportunity for creative solutions in cities between municipalities and citizens and according to Stoker (1993), “it is clear that the need for some form of public-private cooperation exists in all advanced capitalist societies” (p. 54). High density of people living in urban areas is a natural resource, which could be used to energize public spaces and therefore to make city life more visible, distinctive and tempting for potential tourists and newcomers. A way to achieve this sort of bilateral agreement aimed at improving city life would be to increase the active participation of the citizens in all kinds of outdoor activities and, as proposed in Stevens’ work (2007), to encourage playfulness among people. To do so, cities need to become more creative and innovative because only thinking outside of the box may bring some fresh ideas and new solutions how to encourage people to become more socially active. This urban innovation implies a sort of change of structure of the existing system or as Henry & Gratton (1999) put it, “urban redefinition process”, where “individuals and new groups seek to redefine their identity, groups of actors in places (...) seek to reimagine the identity of place” (p. 7), therefore new solutions are needed. There is sort of a demand on the side of the people to be active, to

give something to the society. For instance Hemingway (1999) noticed a certain willingness of citizens to “involve themselves in the political process that they desire the contact with their neighbors into which this process will bring them” (p. 153). People in general are social and their social behavior, tolerance and trust lead them to new connections and to developing democratic attitudes (Putnam, 1993). One of the social practices which triggers people to become more democratic and playful in the context of the city is sport (Henry and Gratton, 1999), which provides as well an opportunity for an attractive infrastructure. The city of Warsaw found a way in which through the process of collaborative action with its citizens a new project has been established. Active cooperation led to the emergence of more than 100 outdoor gyms in specific places chosen by the local residents. Project has been developed under the supervision of the President of Warsaw, who believed that “the emerging places of recreation will contribute to the increase in the activity of Warsaw, will lead to local integration, and that Warsaw will like them”(Gronkiewicz-Waltz, 2013). This research, inter alia, encompasses the study of human interactions that could evolve into longer-lasting bonds and investigates whether this local integration desired by the President is noticed. Large part of the study is devoted to the concept of play related to the behavior of people in urban open spaces, which will be applied to the three cases that are functioning as a background for this research.

1.1. Problem definition

The importance of public spaces as platforms for social development and the pace of life, which has increased over the last century (Linder, 1970), both led to the assumption that there was and still is a need to answer the demands of people to gather publicly and spend their leisure time participating in the offerings of the city. The issue of urban integration is a recurring subject for social scientists – the challenge is to use and develop public space in a way, which would encourage people to socialize and feel certain connectivity to their city and neighborhood. In the context of this research, the issue of the evolvement of the outdoor gyms will be addressed in order to investigate how placing a set of new amenities can ignite social interactions between the users and lead to the development of social bonds. This study assumes that

interactions are present, thus their value will be studied and understood using the concept of playful behavior. The main problem is how simple social interactions can develop into more durable and meaningful relations and whether distinctive contexts can influence social bonding processes. It is assumed that the impact of different outdoor gyms on the social interactions would vary for different neighborhoods.

1.2. Aim of the research

This research tries to visualize the complexity of the connection between several factors compound in a process with the result of social bonds development. It wants to explore how outdoor gyms located in the urban parks work as platforms where people gather together to spend their leisure time and to understand how the process of interactions looks like.

In general, it tries to answer the research question of:

How to understand social processes happening in the urban outdoor gyms in Warsaw?

What follows is the second question:

What kind of enduring processes can develop from social interactions?

This research focuses on three cases, three different neighborhoods with diverse social structure, therefore another issue important for this research is the contrast between them. It may be assumed that the social surrounding has an impact on the way people behave and interact with one another.

1.3. Research objective

Objective of this research is to understand the social interactions in the context of the outdoor gyms and how they are initiated, in order to see whether and how people bond together, whether they feel a certain connectivity and belonging. It is assumed that different neighborhood profiles in Warsaw might have an impact on the social interactions occurring in the context of outdoor gyms.

1.4. Relevance of the research

Because of the need for people to redefine their identity (Henry and Gratton,

1999), new amenities in cities must be created for society to be able to enjoy public spaces and according to the function and designation of the municipalities to respond to the needs of citizens, it is the role of governance to provide new solutions to the newly emerged problems with insufficient number of places for people to gather. Municipalities try to justify that sport concern can bring many advantages, such as: “health benefits, reduction in crime, relief of neighborhood tensions, induction of economic regeneration or retention of human capital” (Sam and Hughson, 2011). Research on the social interactions occurring within the outdoor gyms located in the urban parks in Warsaw could test the significance of activities as a way for people to become healthier in a friendly, social atmosphere. Even though according to McCormack et al. (2010), “urban parks provide local opportunities for different types of leisure pursuits and play an important role in encouraging physical activity among various subpopulations” (p. 712), there are as well contrary findings. For instance, Santo and Mildner (2010) claim that the functions of urban parks nowadays serve more as a place for passive activities like picnicking, bird watching or just sitting. Testing this interesting contrast between passive and active time spent in parks and outdoor gyms could provide some valuable results when it comes to the role of public spaces. In order to overcome the possible passive behaviors, it would be wise to create this friendly and open surrounding where people should feel welcome and free to join anytime they want to and they should not feel excluded. Socially excluded people are the ones who were seen as ‘outside’ or apart from the mainstream society (Roberts, 2009), so in other words they can be referred to as social outcasts. This group of people is believed to have “inadequate social participation, lack of social integration and lack of power amongst local communities” (Bloyce and Smith, 2010). One way to change this situation and encompass these social outcasts into the community is to achieve it by sport and physical activities (CCPR, 1960; DCMS, 2000; Sports Council, 1982; Sport England, 2008b). The importance of social inclusion has been stressed by the European Parliament, which stated that tackling social exclusion within the EU is of high importance (Daly, 2007). Sport has been frequently identified as a central value for people to re-join the mainstream of the society, making them included (Bloyce and Smith, 2011:82). According to Noya & Clarence (2008), to create active social

policies there is a need on different levels: national, regional and local, including various actors throughout the process. This is the reason for this research: to look upon the social connections in the context of the outdoor gyms and to depict the possible tensions that may occur. In the case where the result of this study would show a significant barrier to outsiders, the idea of the outdoor gyms as a social place would stop being rational. Such findings could be beneficial to the municipality to impose changes in the way of using public spaces, and they could follow up the research on a larger scale to improve social inclusion.

1.5. Outline of the paper

In the following chapter the literature on issues connected with the aim of the paper will be provided to get a deeper insight of the elements and factors playing role in the research. The theoretical background will be given on the earlier studies that were elaborating the meaning and relevance of social interactions, the concept of playful behavior, meaning of places, the role of neighborhood and social bonding processes. Theory will end with a conceptual model depicting all of the elements important to answer the research questions. Chapter 3 will explain how methodology has been used to give a desired outcome, what kind of research instruments were applied in order to sufficiently explore the problem of the study. The results chapter will serve as an extensive study of what has been noticed during the research and will provide the comprehensive outlook needed to answer the questions of this study. Finally, the conclusion will sum up the whole research with an answer to the problem investigated in this paper. Last chapter, recommendations, is dedicated to the proposals that will emerge from this study and might be useful in the future for outdoor gyms development and maintenance.

2. Theoretical background

The following chapter will aim at explaining different theoretical concepts regarding this research study. It will start with a description of the social interactions as a basis for community integration, later exemplified by the concept of play as a form of social behavior. Furthermore, the role of public places will be presented and narrowed down to the core of the research

through the definition of specifics of the neighborhoods resulting with outdoor gyms as contexts of the social bonding processes inside of the city. Outcome of the theoretical background will be concluded by the conceptual model presented in the end of this chapter, connecting all of the given concepts into a comprehensible scheme.

2.1. Interactions

Interaction can be characterized as an engagement or exchange between two or more people (Shin, 2002); it can occur as an event, process or situation (Roblyer and Wiencke, 2003). According to Collins (2004), process of social interactions happens when at least two people are bodily co present and share the same focus of attention. His theory is comparable to the one developed by Whyte (1980) in his concept of triangulation, in which in order to ignite an interaction, an external stimulus is helpful. Two parties are then focusing on a performance, special object or something interesting to mention. It either makes people spend more time being next to each other, or can provide something to talk about and to base an interaction around.

Development of the notion of interactions is illustrated by rituals (Collins, 2004) that might be applied to almost any social situation; case of outdoor gyms is not an exception. One and the most important outcome of a ritual is called *emotional energy*. In order to obtain emotional energy, some ingredients must be taken into consideration. Firstly, the group of people must be present and separated from the outsiders; they need to have a mutual focus of attention and should share the same mood. This stimulates the emotions and intensifies the feelings of being a part of a certain group. Furthermore, through the collective effervescence, the action results in the ritual outcomes. Durkheim (1921) explained the term collective effervescence as a central feature of group gatherings that can lead to the arousal from the collective performance of various ritual practices. His point of view was later broadened by Collins (2004), who focused his theory more on the outcome part of the ritual by saying that the most important feature of a ritual is the creation of the emotional energy that links people together and creates the desired result, exemplified for instance by increased confidence, strength, enthusiasm or initiative of a person to take actions. Context-related outcomes include the creation of symbols such

as special words or gestures and the feeling of morality. People taking part in a ritual derived from interaction can be divided into four groups: insiders/outsideers and leaders/followers, depending on their level of involvement. Collins (2004) states that because rituals are creating a sense of solidarity among participants, they hold the society together. It is an important finding, which justifies the concept of outdoor urban gyms as contexts for interactions between people. Rituals can be exemplified to a large extent by the concept of play, which will be elaborated in this research because it perfectly reflects the theory introduced by Collins and Durkheim and will aim to depict the peculiarities of the interactions among gym participants.

There are some examples of behaviors that can work as igniters for interactions, such as being occupied with the same thing or just sitting next to each other. According to Stevens (2007), "In the 'lateral' (side-by-side) position, people's personal boundaries are less clear" (p.59) and being in a close proximity with strangers makes people more inclined to start a conversation (Gehl, 1987). There have been researches investigating the impact of peoples' arrangement when it comes to interactions. The outcome was that people in general prefer to conduct conversations with others sitting in a diagonal position, they feel less threatened and once two persons are already acquainted they tend to sit adjacent (Hall 1966; Sommer 1969). According to Stevens (2007), "seating which orientates people face-to-face with strangers is confrontational, best suited to competitive encounters." (p.60). The practice of interactions in a close proximity is to be found in the contexts of gyms as well, where due to the structure of the gym devices people are placed in a forced setting. It is interesting to investigate what kind of interactions might be noticed in the place originally devoted to leisure and activity, since according to the theories presented above, not all of them lead to entirely positive encounters. In some situations such as working out face-to-face or side-by-side, different outcomes are expected to occur.

Interactions might take place in an almost unnoticed way as well. Jacobs (1961), for instance, described a situation from her neighborhood depicting the issue of strangers in the city. Even though people seemed not to know each other walking the same pathways everyday, in the situation of danger

surprisingly they could collaborate and help one another. An interesting remark showing the connectivity between potential strangers was made by Jacobs (1961): “when you see the same stranger three or four times on Hudson Street you begin to nod. This is almost getting to be an acquaintance, a public acquaintance, of course” (p. 70). Certainly, the example of her neighborhood could be applied to other cases and might be interesting in the social situation of public gyms, where people unavoidably are going to see each other more often. This sort of connectivity exemplified by a simple nod is more than nothing; it shows belonging, recognition and attachment. In a big city, as Jacobs noticed, “to any one person, strangers are far more common in big cities than acquaintances” (p.38); therefore arranging public spaces to encourage people to stay together in the same area could lead to a development of certain sense of belonging and initiate interactions. Presumption of this research is that in a confined space people are inevitably noticing presence of others. The way in which they react to one another portrays what is happening in these contexts. To see how proximity affects different social situations, the spatial features of interpersonal distances are presented below.

2.1.1. Spatial constraints for interactions

Hall (1966) distinguished four types of spacing between people: intimate, personal, social and public. His findings are working as a representation of the social interactions associated with proximity of participants of the outdoor gyms. *Intimate* distances between people are considered to have less than 0.5m and according to Hall (1966), within this stretch “it is taboo to relax and enjoy bodily contact with strangers”. Thus application of this narrow distance to this research might show an interesting outcome, since generally people should use outdoor gyms as a form of relaxation but on the other hand, they could be forced by the nature of gym devices to work out arm in arm with strangers creating a conflicting perception of leisure. The next example of distance introduced by Hall (1966) is called *personal*. Length in this case varies between 0.5 to 1.2m, sustaining certain privacy but still “people remain bodily aware of the possibility of touching or holding the other person.” (Stevens 2007:56). The most desired and usually chosen distance for strangers according to Hall’s

research is between 0.8 and 1.2m. *Social* distance is most common in the informal public leisure, where “contact remains a possibility” (Stevens 2007:57) and is ranged between 1.2 – 3.6m. As reported by Hall (1966), this sort of proximity creates a situation where people may or may not engage in a direct contact, it all depends on their will. Playful social relations (described later in this research) occur mostly within this distance, because it “allows the balancing of safety and personal control over one’s level of involvement” (Stevens 2007:58). An ideal distance for people for informal and unforced social encounter is believed to be 3m. Finally, when radius is bigger than 3.6m according to Hall (1966) called *public* –there is no expectation of interaction among people, it is “outside the circle of involvement” (p.116). Approximately 25m is a maximum span where strangers can develop “an adequate recognition of what is going on in a public social setting” (Stevens 2007:59). In the context for this research, the distances between people will be limited by the area of an outdoor gym and should not exceed the social distance, which means that the social encounters including interactions are assumed to be happening. The justified resemblance of what happens in these urban areas can be exemplified by the concept of play. Rationale behind the decision to link play with the behavior of gym participants derives from the specifics of the practices of people in a situation of activity in an already provided urban terrain, since “the design of urban space can reinforce the notion that a simulative play event is occurring by structuring of participant and audience” (Stevens 2007:41). In the case of play, not only spatial constraints are believed to have an influence on the types of interactions, but social conditions are significant as well: “the density and diversity of people, the mixing of their activities, the unpredictability of their behavior, their differing expectations and the unfamiliarity of their expressions” (Lefebvre 1996:129). To sum up, play is a kind of an interaction, which leads to the development of the emotional energy – the ultimate outcome to be achieved by persons involved in an interaction ritual.

2.2. Play

Concept of play can be referred to as one of the explanations of behavior of people in different social settings. It is considered important to this research because one of the examples of play could be found in participation in urban outdoor gyms. Playfulness has been vastly elaborated by many researchers (Stevens, 2007; Huizinga, 1955; Caillois, 1961), who were trying to explain the way in which people act in different settings, especially in public spaces in cities. These urbanized areas combine masses of people put together in a spatial constraint and one of the features of cities are unavoidable tensions resulting from the density of their citizens. An answer to this problem, according to Stevens (2007), is play, which he considered to be “a key to understanding the dynamic tensions which shape everyday life in public”.

To understand what “play” would mean in the context of urbanized spaces, firstly the definition of the term should be provided. According to Stevens (2007), play is in opposition to normal behavior, which he describes as “everyday, conventional, expected, calculated, practical, constant” (p. 26). Confirmation of his claim is found in the work of Lennard & Lennard (1984), who said that “play allows people to ‘step outside themselves’ and their everyday instrumental goals” (p.34) and therefore play is believed to be unusual and different. The word “freedom” is recurring in the interpretations of play: Spariosu (1989) describes it as “purposeless, free from the ‘pitfalls of teology’ ” (p.90) and Stevens (2007) as “freedom from the instrumental pursuit of social purposes” (p.30); it also has to be voluntary. Huizinga (1955), generalizing the term, claims that play can be defined just with the word “freedom”. There is a common assumption that play is for children, however, due to the fact that adults are more knowledgeable, experienced and have higher level of freedom to undertake own actions, they are more inclined “to play in times and places and in ways which are not available to children, and this is particularly true of public spaces in the inner city” (Stevens 2007:27). This study will investigate whether Steven’s expectation towards greater flexibility of adults can be verified in the context of urban gyms. To contrast the general positiveness associated with the word “play”, some more pejorative explanations are found in the works of Caillois (1961) where he links the term

with misuse, saying that “play is an occasion of pure waste: waste of time, energy, ingenuity, skill, and often of money” (p.5). Example of outdoor gyms should contradict his opinion because people who actively spend time in the fresh air, taking advantage of the devices provided by their city, are rather developing their skills maybe in exchange of the price of time, but still association with waste should not be justified in this case.

To define and explain how play might be perceived by different people and what makes concept of playfulness enjoyable, Caillois (1961) distinguished four forms of play: competition, chance, simulation and vertigo. These forms had been analyzed by Stevens (2007) and are explained below. Reason for the following distinctions of play being important to this research is that they could work both as a motive and a cause for participants in the offerings of outdoor gyms.

(1) *Competition*— competitive behavior comprises different ways of exploitation of both knowledge and skills such as “strength, agility, refinement, intellect and allure” (Stevens, 2007:37). It is about testing human limits and works as well as a demonstration of possessed skills in front of public. Situation of competitive behavior provided by Stevens (2007) happens when the urban setting draws players –participants – with appreciative audience to show off their skills. Furthermore, different meanings of public spaces are considered to shape the way participants perform.

(2) *Chance* –is not driven by effort, experience and skill but, according to Stevens (2007), “offers a momentary possibility of breaking free from the predetermined cycle of production and consumption” (p.38). Moreover, urbanized context gives a chance to escape from the routine, for instance by spontaneous behavior. Stevens (2007) states as well that both competition and chance are to be seen in a public arena together in a spontaneous situation when individuals are testing their standards or limits.

(3) *Simulation* – according to Stevens (2007), simulation occurs when individuals are pretending or imitating one another. Examples of simulation include illusion, theatre or spectacle. It can be described as a sort of a scene with actors on one side and audience on the other. Urban setting fosters this

kind of situations, as Stevens (2007) explains, “numbers and diversity of people using urban public spaces maximize the likelihood that there will be something interesting to watch” (p.40).

(4) *Vertigo* – one concept of vertigo implies an escape from normal bodily experience (Stevens, 2007); it can be explained as a feeling of shock, changed perception, and instability. To encounter the feeling of vertigo in an urban setting, usually equipment is necessary; examples given by Stevens (2007) include skateboards, in-line skates and bicycles. Another definition is more connected to the morality. A person is able to experience vertigo while having the “desire for disorder and destruction, a drive which is normally repressed” (Caillois 1961: 24). For this research it would mean misbehaving and rebellious attitude towards the rules prevalent in outdoor gyms.

Each one of these concepts of play highlights the importance of liberation from the routine in life. As an essential ground for play Stevens (2007) lists an improvisation of practice, a certain freedom from predetermination. He claims that play underlines the power of the urban experience by encouraging activities, creativity and public behavior, and since “the city is a space for the play of possibility” (p.14) and “multiplicity, ambiguity and contradiction, the unpredictable and the unfamiliar” (p.25), public places should work as an arena for people to be able to be themselves. Therefore the above-mentioned forms of play are examples of how urbanized context can initiate unexpected experiences with strangers.

2.3. Meaning and role of public spaces in the city

Public spaces are perfect contexts for people to gather; what this research will search for in the upcoming study is the recognition of social interactions and the development of bonds between people. The concept of play and its different forms are framed by the city because it “brings together and multiplies the diversity of social life and social values, and thus public play in cities usually combines several forms” (Stevens 2007:36) and the way they appear will be investigated by this study. Every city consists of a numerous public spaces for gathering and exchanging thoughts, thus naturally they can be considered as platforms for social interactions because, as Stevens (2007) mentions, the

urban life increases the exposure to strangers. According to Lefebvre (1996), everyone has the “right to the city” and “places and objects must answer to certain ‘needs’ generally misunderstood, to certain despised and moreover transfunctional ‘functions’: the ‘need’ for social life and a centre, the need and the function of play, the symbolic function of space” (p.195). City provides plentiful arenas for people to use and participate in, for instance “in the parks, plazas, markets, waterfronts, and natural areas of our cities, people from different cultural groups can come together in a supportive context of mutual enjoyment” (Carr et al., 1993), therefore maintaining these places is important to keep the positive and meaningful atmosphere inside of the city. Since this research is focused on the social aspects of the public places, it would be important to pay attention to the liveliness inside of the city. One of the ideas of how to enhance this liveliness is to offer a healthy and active environment for the citizens to play in. By such actions the idea given by Stevens (2007) could be supported that “urban public spaces provide new experiences and produce new social relations, which are often non-instrumental, active, unexpected and risky” (p.196). It is believed that urban areas can contribute to the daily physical activities (Santo & Mildner, 2010). Of course, the challenge of encouraging citizens to be more active cannot be done overnight and long-lasting projects would have to be introduced to overcome the problems of the idle population. According to C3Health report (2011), changing the behavior of individuals is not sufficient enough, therefore more effective way of implementing active and healthy behavior is to address to the wider, population-level factors. Later in the same report, it is written that “changing the overall environment makes behavior change more sustainable” (2011), so in other words, rearrangement of the public spaces may become a starting point in the long-lasting change process in peoples’ active behavior. It is observed that sport has increased its meaning when it comes to the urban policy initiatives (Sam and Hughson, 2011), therefore using public spaces as platforms for activity is one of the consequences of such a process. One of the areas that can be designated as places where people can become physically active are parks. Role and importance of urban parks is widely explained by many researchers (McCormack, 2010; Shores, 2010; Peters, 2010). The characteristics of a park, such as “location, size, function, amenities and design” (p.125), are influential

for the decisions of people of how frequent and for how long use it for their purposes and are based upon the need to gather together in order to experience the mutual connectedness. Shores et al. (2010) mention that the decision of a person visiting urban park is likely to result in a physical activity. Peters (2010) elaborates on the meaning of parks as facilitators of social cohesion because of the fact that they create a space for social interactions. Parks are important to address in this research because they are sort of a background to the examined outdoor gyms. As it was mentioned before, environment can encourage social networking, hence public places such as parks bring people together and by placing a gym next to the commonly used path in the park, they can pull the passers-by to see and maybe participate in the social activities taking place there and fight with the opinion that passive activities are more commonly seen nowadays.

2.4. Role of neighborhoods

Neighborhood is inscribed in a particular space, making it impossible to recreate in a different setting. De Landa (2002) explained the concept by saying that “a space is not just a set of points, but a set together with a way of binding these together into neighborhoods through well defined relations of proximity or contiguity” (p.22). Every part of the city, including urban parks, is located in a different surrounding. It affects this study because differences between these settings are believed to influence the visual and social aspects of outdoor gyms. Definition of the neighborhood is given by Park (1916), who explains it as a part of a larger community consisting of people and institutions that are both occupying a certain space influenced by different forces like culture, ecology or politics. Another explanation given by Grannis (1998) puts a social aspect of the neighborhood as an important factor to depict its boundaries. He claims that the street patterns, social networks and interactions between people define what the distinct neighborhood is, which is confirmed by the belief of Bernard (1973), who said that boundaries designate who is included or excluded in the social situation and in the case of the distinctive neighborhoods, these boundaries might be recognizable only by the local residents. This explanation gives an outlook on why the neighborhood profile is important to this research. Since people are defining borders of their

neighborhood and are creating a social profile distinctive in every area, it will be them who will have an impact on the different social processes taking place in outdoor gyms. In 2013, Statistical Office in Warsaw published a report with an aim to visualize and contrast different districts of the city due to their stereotypical outlook, development in all sorts of factors like infrastructure, education, health, labor market and the overall attractiveness. The findings from the report showed that the location matters when it comes to the behavior of citizens, so for instance in the districts with older population, social relations were not as recognized as they were in the newly inhabited areas.

2.5. Social bonds, strengthening of bonds and need to belong

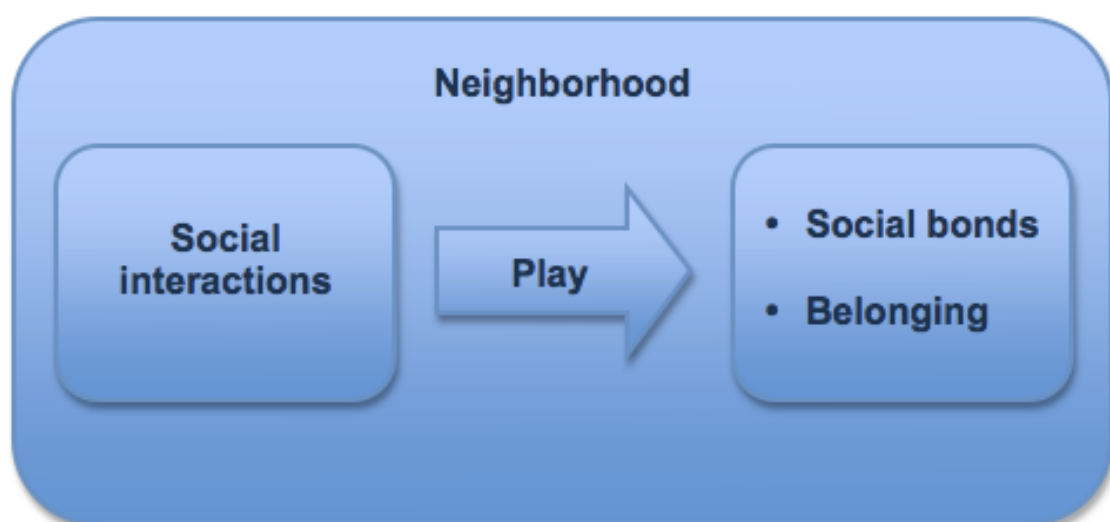
The value of an interaction is difficult to be measured because of its intangibility. However, it can be noticed in the development of social bonds and in the sense of belonging that could last longer than one-time encounter or might create a certain meaning for people involved. According to McMillan (1976), if a person feels that he or she fits a certain group and can sense the acceptance, it indicates the sense of belonging and identification. As it was mentioned before, urban outdoor gyms are arenas for diverse social interactions and by the concept of play people are entangled into a group of strangers. According to Huizinga (1955), play has and always will be considered central to the formation of culture, so even if participants of the outdoor gyms are not familiar with each other – if they play, they bond because they are participating together in a certain situation. An example of a playful behavior is sport, which “may help to instill a sense of belonging and a common identity” (Williams, 1995:184). Huizinga (1955) elaborated the notion of the peculiarities of social bonds development saying that “the feeling of being ‘apart together’ in an exceptional situation, of sharing something important, of mutually withdrawing from the rest of the world and rejecting the usual norms, retains its magic beyond the duration of the individual game” (p.12). The word ‘magic’ used in this case is unambiguously related to the concept of emotional energy underlined by Collins (2004). Both of these terms try to work as an explanation of something intangible, out of order and can be applied in the situation where social bonds occur. Two researchers, Baumeister & Leary (1995), have also been broadly examining the Importance of social bonds.

They examined how the desire for interpersonal attachments is linked to human motivation, and extensively studied the belongingness among people. An interesting outcome was that “the need to belong can be directed toward any other human being, and the loss of relationship with one person can to some extent be replaced by any other” (p. 500). Weak point in this bonding process is the time one needs to sacrifice in order to get acquainted with someone. People in general tend to group and according to Mann (1980), every society consists of small primary groups in which people need to face each other and get involved in personal interactions. The way in which social bonding occurs is a long-term process: “First, there is a need for frequent, affectively pleasant interactions with a few people, and, second, these interactions must take place in the context of a temporally stable and enduring framework of affective concern for each other’s welfare” (Baumeister and Leary, 1995:497). There is noticeable connotation between social bonds, the need to belong and the process of the development of social capital, which according to Putnam (2000), is a combination of “social networks and interactions that inspire trust and reciprocity among citizens”. Moreover, social capital has a spatial dimension and interactions or rather ties occurring within the context of a certain action might be strong or weak, depending on the durability of connections between people (Rutten et al., 2009). These connections are the core of the social capital and might lead to the development of norms and values shared among people. Additionally, distance is of high importance when it comes to the development of the need to belong; according to Festinger, Schachter, and Back (1950), when people live in a rather close proximity, they seem to form social bonds just because they are near each other. In this regard, the role of neighborhood is an important factor to investigate how different settings influence the social processes between residents living in the same area. The specifics of the structure of urban outdoor gyms within these neighborhoods would have an effect as well, because according to Leyden (2003) “the way in which surrounding environment is built can affect people’s involvement in their communities; it can encourage social ties and bonds” (p. 1546). In their study about the sense of community, Riger & Lavrakas (1981) came across the characterization of the social bonding. According to them, factors included in the recognition of social bonds consisted of the capability to

identify neighbors and a feeling of attachment to the neighborhood. Applying these findings into the study of behavior of outdoor gym participants would mean that one simple interaction would not lead to a social bond and further to the development of the social capital, however when people would get to know each other, recognize people around them, especially their neighbors, and notice the absence of acquaintances, it would indicate that these social bonds have been created.

2.6. Conceptual model

Model shown below represents the relations between different concepts this research tries to examine. Firstly, it focuses on the social interactions in the outdoor gyms. It will be explored whether such interactions take place and what types of interactions are noticed. In order to identify interactions, Collins' (2004) theory about rituals will be applied. To understand the interactions, the concept of play will be confronted with the way participants of outdoor gyms behave. Neighborhood and social composition as contexts for the study are supposed to moderate the differences between the outcomes of the research of three outdoor gyms because of the differences in the social structures and surroundings of the examined places. Finally, it will be explored whether interactions can lead to something that could last longer such as social bonds or the sense of belonging.



3. Method

The following chapter includes the description of the method used to investigate issues connected to the research problem. Consequently, it outlines the strategy of the research underlying the importance of choosing qualitative research method as a primary source. Later the study population, sample needed for the particular area of examination, explanation of the cases and research instruments that were used to gather the data are outlined. This is followed by the operationalization scheme used to itemize and translate the theoretical background into a rational and feasible structure for the upcoming ethnography research and interviews. Data collection with the particularities of the data gathering has been written and finally, the analysis of the study is presented. The aim of the method part is to create a solid design, which leads to the thorough and meaningful answer to the research questions.

3.1. Research strategy

Applying qualitative method seemed to be suitable in the case of examining social interactions between participants of the outdoor gyms. Bryman (2008) stated that qualitative research is “concerned with small-scale aspects of social reality, such as interaction” (p. 394), thus this sort of method suits the purpose of the following study because it is able to provide deep and rich data. Since this research is trying to investigate and understand interactions among people, qualitative information where emotions and feelings play a substantial role is a reasonable choice. According to Lapan et al. (2012), “qualitative research is always theoretically guided”, therefore the theoretical background and the model resembling theory has been developed in the previous chapter in order to construct a design for the study.

To find proper background for the paper the exploratory desk research has been conducted. Information gathered has been written in the literature chapter enabling the structure to be developed and the proper introduction to be created. Given the background, the strategy for the research process has been constructed as a combination of two qualitative methods complementing one another: ethnography, based on observations and short interviews, extended by individual in-depth interviews, organized for three different outdoor gyms in

Warsaw. Choosing triangulation as a way to combine gathered information seemed a reasonable choice, as according to O'Donoghue & Punch (2003), it makes it possible to "cross-check data from multiple sources to search for regularities in the research data" (p. 78). The process of gathering data involved more than one case study within a limited time; therefore its design can be referred to also as a cross-sectional research (Bryman, 2008).

3.2. Study population

This research is supposed to give an outlook at the social as well as contextual aspects of outdoor gyms, interactions and social behaviors, therefore it is considered important to present viewpoints from people actively participating in the offerings of these gyms and living in the area closely linked to the matter of investigation. Sample used for this study consists of users of three outdoor gyms in Warsaw located in the different neighborhoods. A total number of observations adds up to approximately 200 cases including not only individuals but as well pairs and groups of participants. Because of the differences between selected cases, some gyms turned out to be more crowded than the others. As the main focus of this research is on the interactions occurring in the area of outdoor gyms and not on the social profile of the whole neighborhood, a convenience sample has been used (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003), where participants were selected due to their accessibility and proximity to the researcher. Number of gym users invited for the second phase of the research consisted of 18 people who took part in the individual in-depth interviews.

3.3. Selected cases

There are three cases examined in this research. Since neighborhood is assumed to affect the behavior of the citizens (Statistical Office in Warsaw, 2013), it was considered interesting to choose three different places as an arena of investigation. Cases selected for this research consist of three outdoor gyms located in three distinctive districts in Warsaw, Poland. The argumentation for choosing Warsaw derives from the personal attachment to the city, interest in its development and the need for a study, which would assess the current sociocontextual aspects of the recently built and opened outdoor gyms. Last decades full of advancements, investments and improvements in the city marketing made Warsaw a vigorous and appealing

place to present as an arena where different social processes are beginning to emerge. Reason for that lays in the historical background, which influences the diversity between generations and results in various interesting outcomes. Cultural divergence, which only recently became an issue due to the rupture with communism and inability for people to travel beyond the Polish borders before 1990s is another motive to consider Warsaw as an interesting case for the research. For the purpose of this study the districts were chosen based on the findings of the report of the Warsaw Statistical Office (2013), which aimed to contrast different neighborhoods on the basis of their different overall profile.

3.3.1. Śródmieście

Śródmieście is placed in the center of the city and is known to be the oldest district, with the Old Town in the middle. An unofficial name, 'the heart of Warsaw', derives from the fact that it is a place where the majority of offices, museums, galleries, theatres and cinemas are located. Due to the high level of urbanization, the number of new infrastructural investments is low, resulting in the saturation of residents and subsequently in the process of aging of the population. Outdoor gym in Śródmieście is located in a relatively big city park (4,66 ha) surrounded by old communal buildings and in a close distance to the large Marketplace Halls.

3.3.2. Białoleka

Białoleka is located peripherally to the city center and is known as a district with the youngest population in Warsaw. Because of the growing demographic potential, it improves social infrastructure and the market float. The image of a modern, dynamic and exuberant area with active and young society is believed to reflect in the attractiveness of living conditions for society. Outdoor gym in this case is located in a park next to a newly built residential complex.

3.3.3. Ursynów

Ursynów is commonly referred to as a bedroom of Warsaw due to the large amount of residential buildings, where people who work in more central part of the city come back to rest and run their households. It is one of the largest districts and the location next to a large forest creates more pleasant and relaxed atmosphere. It is as well more silent compared to other two cases due to the greater proximity to the congested roads. Outdoor gym in Ursynów is

placed in a park with other amenities such as playground, workout facilities and a hill usually used by mountain cyclists.

3.4. Research instruments

Research consisted of two phases. Firstly, observations took place supplemented by short interviews with gym participants and afterwards, participants were invited for the in-depth interviews to complement the findings of the observations stage. Each of these phases required essential instruments to gather data and help with further analysis. For the observation part the list of themes has been developed (see Appendix 1). The researcher during this phase noted the observations in the notebook supplemented by the opinions from the short-interviews with the users of the outdoor gyms (see Appendix 2), where participants were asked about their experiences and own remarks. Once all of the measures were collected, the final product emerged out of the first phase of this research in the form of the cultural portrait (Creswell, 2007), in other words “a holistic way to incorporate the views of the participants (emic) as well as the views of the researcher (etic)” (p. 72). Such a portrait was used as a ground base for the further exploration. In order to test and to complement the outcome of the first phase of the research, individual in-depth interviews with outdoor gyms participants were conducted. The researcher used a questioning route printed out with the outline of the meeting, helpful not to deviate from the main points of the study; in order to register these interviews, a voice recorder had been used.

3.5. Operationalization and measurement

Concepts shown in the conceptual model presented in Paragraph 2.4 needed to be operationalized and in order to do so, the method of ethnography had been chosen. It has been proven that ethnography is a proper method in researching social interactions (Reeves et al., 2008; Desmond, 2014). Ethnographic research was used as a starting point in the data collection process, because it focuses on the total cultural group rather than on the individual. Ethnography is a qualitative way to get immersed in the processes of people’s behaviors and results in an outcome, which gives a valuable result for the purpose of this research. As reported by Creswell (2007), people who use ethnography as a source for the study need to look and observe “the meaning

of the behavior, the language, and the interaction among members of the culture-sharing group” (p. 68-69). The collection of detailed interviews and observations of the actions of people as well as the nature of location they occupy is believed to be the aim of ethnography (Reeves et al., 2008). Processes taking place in outdoor gyms required the researcher to stay in the background and to report on the facts and observations noticed in the place of investigation objectively, therefore the type of ethnography chosen for the purpose of this study is called the realist ethnography, where the person examining the interactions cannot impose any personal insight to the people involved in the research.

3.5.1. Observations and short-interviews

Firstly, the fieldwork took place, where the information about the examined group – users of the outdoor gyms – had been gathered by observations. To supplement the observations, short interviews were conducted with randomly chosen participants in order to understand the specifics of the gyms. These interviews worked as well as a process of recruitment for the further individual interviews. According to LeCompte & Schensul (1999), observations and interviews are parts of organizing ethnographic data. The obtained results gave an insight of what kind of people visit outdoor gyms, their short description and specifics of the interactions taking place.

The purpose of this paper is to see and understand the social interactions between participants of outdoor gyms and how, given the context, and whether are they developing into social bonds and creating sense of belonging. By using ethnographic research, the factors and specifics of the social interactions occurring in the context of the outdoor gym were examined.

The list of additional themes this ethnographic research focused upon included:

- The profile of participants (age, gender, outstanding specifics such as special clothing or symbols of participating to the cultural group)
- Number of participants
- Number of interactions between participants
- Nature of interactions between participants
- Distance between place of living and the specific gym

- Differences between active or passive behaviors of participants
- Social networks noticed between friends
- Social networks noticed between strangers
- Signs of exclusion
- Other emerging observations related to the further study

3.5.2. Individual in-depth interviews

The choice for in-depth interviews as a method to understand the processes observed by the ethnographic research comes from the belief that approaching people individually contributes a more detailed data on the subject of this research. People who were interviewed had a possibility not only to answer the questions prepared earlier (appendix 2) but also to provide the meeting with their own contribution. It had been noticed that a clear, open and friendly atmosphere helped in this case to give enough space for interviewees to think about their opinions.

The data gathered during interviews was coded in a way to seek for the patterns, explanations and theories within the sample (Richards and Morse, 2007). To collect the essential parts from the interviews, the axial coding had been applied – the themes from the conceptual model were categorized by adjusting the labels to the specific words within the transcripts. Once the parts of the interviews were fragmented and separated from each other, they were placed in a specially introduced matrix in order to integrate them together and explore the connections between different concepts and their relatedness. Because after the first phase of the research, ethnography, the scheme of topics was created, later it became important to adjust to it the results of in-depth interviews. Basing on the matrix it was possible to draw conclusions needed to evaluate the outcome and for the research to be completed.

3.6. Data collection

At the beginning of the research process, each one of the outdoor gyms was supposed to be observed for five days, three days during the working week and twice on the weekend. However, due to the uneven proportion of people training in the gyms, additional sessions had been organized and observations were prolonged to obtain sufficient data for the research. Gyms had been

observed during similar times of the day, so the schedule was adapted due to this restriction and it had been, more or less, conducted as shown below in the table.

Observation days/time	7:00-10:00	12:00-15:00	17:00-20:00
Working day 1	1 st Gym		3 rd Gym
Working day 2	2 nd Gym	1 st Gym	
Working day 3	3 rd Gym		1 st Gym
Working day 4		2 nd Gym	
Working day 5		3 rd Gym	2 nd Gym
Saturday 1	1 st Gym for 4h		
Saturday 2	2 nd Gym for 4h		
Saturday 3	3 rd Gym for 4h		
1 st Gym → Śródmieście			
2 nd Gym → Białoleka			
3 rd Gym → Ursynów			

During the observation part of the research, participants were invited for the individual in-depth interviews. Meetings took place close to the area of investigation, usually on the nearby benches. Participants were asked to devote up to half an hour of their time to answer questions regarding the research, the anonymity of the recording had been assured. In rare cases, participants were answering questions in pairs.

3.7. Data processing and analysis

The language in which the interviews were conducted was Polish. All of the interviews were recorded and in order to avoid omitting the results, they were transcribed (appendix 3). The anonymity of the participants had been ensured.

Firstly, the data gathered through observations was coded using the main theoretical concepts discussed in the 2nd chapter and inserted into a matrix. The in-depth interviews were as well based on the main theoretical concepts discussed before and these concepts were translated into codes. The structured data was then conveyed into a matrix, where it was made possible to interpret, compare and align gathered responses to what has been found through the first phase of the research. The matrix had been explored in order to give an answer to the research questions, so the social interactions occurring in the gyms were analyzed. Three cases were compared as well to see the similarities and contradictions between different socially structured profiles of participants.

4. Results

The following chapter aims to discuss and analyze the assumptions of the theoretical background using the data obtained during qualitative study. The results are based on the multi-approach method consisting of observations, short and in-depth interviews. Theoretical background of this study assumed that concept of play can work as a representation of practices occurring between gym participants and this perception helped to identify interactions. Once this step has been outlined, the broader evaluation showed that there is a connection between interactions and longer-lasting bonds. The results of the study go in accordance with the conceptual model presented earlier and are trying to give a thorough ground for the research questions to be answered. As an introduction into the study of social behaviors, this chapter starts with the description of three different neighborhoods that worked as contexts for the research.

4.1. Neighborhoods

On the basis of the theory of the importance of space, it can be seen that gym, like any other facility in the city, has its specific audience and is treated differently by its participants. Of course, the appearance of any place is affected by many factors – in this research, the main element is the specificity of the location of a particular gym, and thus, the neighborhood influence, behavior and the age of users. One of the assumptions of this study was to see

whether distinctive neighborhood influences the social structure and, what follows, whether the practices and interactions vary in a different setting. It has been noticed that three districts do have different visitors and there is a contrast in behaviors that take place there. Location of the cases is shown on the map below (pic. 1) and as it can be seen, each one of the selected gyms has been built inside of a park, although these parks are different when it comes to their purpose, structure, surrounding environment and, of course, visitors participating in what these spaces have to offer. In order to picture the context of diverse background of outdoor gyms, the description of all of three cases has been developed.



Pic. 1

4.1.1. Ursynów

Ursynów is a district located on the verge of Warsaw. There is a prevailing opinion that people who work in the hasty and noisy center prefer to live in a neighborhood, which is more calm and family-oriented. Ursynów is a place with a lot of greenery, parks, sociable places like swimming pools, football fields and cafeterias. It has been observed that compared to other districts, the pace is slowed down there and people tend to spend their leisure time in a more active way than in the city center – for instance, more cyclists and rollerbladers were seen in the time when observations took place. The outdoor gym built in Ursynów differs as well from the two other cases when it comes to the specifics of location – it is placed further from the streets, inside of a green area between one hill and residential buildings (pic. 2, pic. 3). In the close distance, up to 20 m from the gym, there is one playground and a place for more advanced athletes with special ladders and rods used for workouts. The area can be referred to as a place for relaxation because of the number of benches, where people often sit talking and admiring the view as seen in the photo (pic. 2).



Pic.2



FIG.3

The park is animal friendly – people walk their dogs there as a form of daily routine, sometimes run with them, which contributes to the definition of the area as an active spot. The observations showed that gym participants take more time to practice in Ursynów than in other districts. The profile of users could be described as more diversified, age range was wider and the purpose of visiting the gym was not always connected to activity, which will be described later in the results part. In general, outdoor gym in Ursynów was not always filled with participants but the engagement of its users seemed to be higher than in the other two cases, which is assumed to be connected to the fact that the surrounding park is more of a leisure space rather than a “place on the way”, so visiting the gym was mostly a destination in itself.

4.1.2. Śródmieście

Śródmieście, which in other words is called the center of Warsaw, has always been a hasty place, mostly designated for service sector with skyscrapers located in the middle. As mentioned before, this is the oldest district in Warsaw with high density of people, numerous offices around and many streets, major intersections and squares. Due to the small amount of green in the center, people are looking for places where they can relax at least for a moment and get away from the perpetual hustle. One of these places is a park located next to a shopping hall (pic. 4), with numerous paths and benches around. This park

is smaller than the ones in Ursynów and Białoleka but big enough to escape from the view of traffic and the omnipresent noise (pic. 5).



Pic.4



Pic.5

The gym in this park is placed next to the largest path and is visible from a distance, which results in attracting locals as well as other people who are just walking around. The park is used also as a passage linking two rather large streets, thus along with leisure-oriented people, there is a number of people just passing by, some of whom are being drawn by the gym. What has been noticed in the area is that there is a distinction between age groups, where

younger people seem to be rushing all the time working in the neighborhood, and elderly calmly spend their leisure time in the fresh air, shopping, meeting friends and exercising in the gym. The biggest group working out is composed of retired people who live in the neighborhood. In the center, more than in other two districts, the sociable aspect was also visible. Participants more often indicated that they recognized others who were using the gym and sometimes were training together with their neighbors. The amount of greetings in the city center was higher as well, compared to the other cases. The gym in Śródmieście is the most dense when it comes to its users, which was visible during the observation period, when each one of the devices was occupied and much more people wanted to train than the place originally was intended for. When the area was crowded, the adjacent benches were used as the resting/waiting places, which enhanced people to speak to each other, although if the number of benches would be higher and they would be placed closer to the gym, it would answer the actual demand, which seemed to be higher than the quantity of existing benches. The outdoor gym located in Śródmieście could be described as a social spot mostly for elderly, where people relax both actively and passively, talk a lot and use the prevailing atmosphere to strengthen ties between each other.

4.1.3. Białołęka

On the upper right side of Warsaw, far from the busy center, there is the newest district with the largest group of young citizens. The observations had confirmed the assumptions that recently married people with children tend to inhabit the area of Białołęka. Neighborhood consists of new residential buildings, shops, cafeterias, bike lanes, parks, the tranquil atmosphere and the general silence – so different from the urbanized area of Warsaw; it all seems to encourage people to spend more time outside. People seen in the surrounding environment were younger than in the other parts of the city. The conspicuous group of local residents noticed in the area consisted of young mothers with infants and school-aged children. The large number of children might result from the proximity of the gym with basketball court in the middle (pic.6).



Pic.6

The park in which the gym is located is a place where people tend to walk – with dogs, with families and mostly with children. Far from the busy streets, the park fits into the landscape of tranquility and relaxation. Time is also an important factor influencing the situation in the gym: different people work out in different time periods. For instance, in the morning gym is usually almost empty, with one or two participants training intensively before they go to work. Midday seems to be perfect for mothers or babysitters with children until the usual ending time of school, around 5.00 p.m., when local children start to use the gym as sort of an extension of the basketball court – as a playground. It was observed that at this time, other gym participants felt less welcome there and some of them resigned from practicing. The interesting remark was that in this particular district, elderly people were rarely seen. One of the users of the gym who took part in the interview, a woman in her seventies, indicated that even though she tried, she never noticed people her age around. All of these factors made Białółka a curious case, the most vibrant, dynamic and heterogeneous one among all of the cases.

4.2. Practices

Assumption presented in this paper indicates that gym is supposed to enhance social contacts due to the common practices of people. Observations combined with interviews gave an insight into what kind of practices take place in the

outdoor gyms and whether these sport objects indeed fulfill their purpose – local integration within Warsaw.

The main finding concerning the behavior inside of the gym was that most people, accordingly to the prime destination of gyms, do exercise there. What will be explained in more detail later in the study, the concept of play suits the behavior of participants of gyms. In general, users could be divided into three different types according to their attitudes. The largest representation of the participants shown by the observations would be people who visit outdoor gyms just for a little while, up to ten minutes, to use it as a form of a quick activity. They were almost never dressed up in special sport uniforms, some women were training in dresses – the least expected type of clothing to be used in a gym. This group of people was recognized as socially interactive – a short stay at the gym and not serious approach towards exercises enabled them to exchange thoughts, to talk and to spend time together. Less social group of users are those who were attending gyms with a clear purpose to train there. They used to come for at least 20 minutes, in special sport clothing and it has been noticed that their pace of training made it difficult to talk in between. It was seen that those kind of visitors tend to wear earphones, inclining they would not want to engage in any type of interaction with other participants, they seemed to prefer training by themselves. Apart from the obvious usage of the gym as an activity platform, some of the users treated it rather as a social space to talk and to relax as well. Therefore, the third group of participants could be described as passive or slightly interested in the gyms as sport objects, treating them as a playground – for children, place to rest – for people on the way, or something to “keep hands and legs busy”, as indicated by one of the interviewed people. This group is the one with most interactions among themselves; less active behavior gives more time to talk and to interact. Nevertheless, this sort of people often come to the gym in a pair or a group, and since they already know each other it is unlikely that they would notice other gym users. These three types of gym participants are of course not homogeneous. To understand why they use gyms and how their behaviors could lead to social bonds, it was necessary to spend more time observing them in order to draw conclusions about the practices. Interestingly, what

occurred during the study was that all of them could ideally fit into the description of playful behavior.

4.3. Play

As indicated before, play was supposed to be a representation of what is happening in the urban gyms. It has been noticed that people who visit gyms use their leisure time to enjoy the possibilities gyms offer, which goes along with the meaning of play as an escape from daily routine. It was visible that gyms maintained a certain frame providing various opportunities to immerse into an active platform with many possibilities for playful behavior. Retracing to the distinctions of play, all of them: competition, chance, simulation and vertigo have been recognized. When it comes to the concept of creativity, which was strongly underlined by Stevens (2007) as an underlying power of the urban experience, the context of gym might have slightly decreased its level, although given the freedom of choice how to behave in this particular setting, people tended to use their imagination and gym devices were not limiting their actions. To sustain the theory about different types of playful behavior, all four of them have been identified and are presented below accordingly to the frequency of occurrence. The most visible type was competitive behavior and the least noticed one was the concept of vertigo.

4.3.1. Competitive behavior

Serious approach towards gym has been recognized within people who were actively exercising using gym as a training spot, which according to the definition worked as a demonstration of acquired skills in front of the public. Participants showing competitive behavior used to wear sport clothing, they spent more time on every device and some of them used gym as a part of the larger training – interruption from their jogging routine. They seemed to show less interactions and their attitude gave an impression of creating borders between “them” and “others”. During one of the interviews in Ursynów, the participant described the situation as follows: “there is one girl I see quite regularly, but this is one person and just at that gym. She jogs there and runs towards the gym, trains for a little while and then goes back jogging as well. Twice a day.” Another interviewee said that she jogs in the neighborhood and this gym is on the way. She comes as well sometimes on the way to work, but

mostly on weekends. There was one woman as well, who trained nordic walking with a group of friends and they all treat outdoor gym as a place to warm-up before the walk. Remarkable finding has been provided by another interviewee about one woman training at the gym: “when I was here on Saturday one old lady got me surprised. She looked as if she was 70 years old, but por half of the day she was sitting at the rower (name of one of the devices) and trained so hard and I could not believe it”. Serious activity was noticed as well at the gym located in Ursynów by one of the interviewed women. She said: “yesterday there was an ex-sportsman and he did some flourishes, there are some gymnasts coming, they stretch there and it is visible that they are on a higher physical level than we are”. Saying this she admitted comparing herself and other gym users to the group of more sport-oriented people. Based on the results, it can be understood that people who use gyms for their activity training tend to do it by themselves and are not willing to interact with others. It might seem like competition is not the driving force of these people, but exercising publicly in front of the others creates the scene that could be compared to actors playing and audience watching. These most active gym users were visibly in the center of attention and people passing by were noticing them. An interesting finding was that these active people were less willing to take part in the interviews as they were focused on their training. Some of these gym users had their headphones on, which created a sort of a border between them and the rest of the gym. Even though the competitive behavior implies playing with or challenging others, noticeable remark was the lack of sport groups (except for one instance of the nordic-walking people) who would train together. Whenever people were seen with a more serious attitude toward using the gym devices, they were by themselves. The role of neighborhood had an impact as well – central part of Warsaw turned out to be less used for trainings, while Ursynów and Białołęka had a higher number of sport-oriented people. Surrounding had an effect because of the age of participants as well: younger people seemed to be more active – meaning that they spend more time exercising – while elderly looked mostly as if their training was not tiring.

4.3.2.Chance

Research showed that there were a lot of people who treated outdoor gyms as a part of their daily routine, journey. Adjusting it to the theory of play, it was seen as a chance to do something, step out of the predefined path. One lady said that she walked into the gym every time she went to the pharmacy. Another example was given by two mothers who used to stop at the gym with their children on the way back from the nearby kindergarten. In Białoleka there was a boy who came to the gym right after school to work on his homework because it was on his way back home. He indicated that it was a spontaneous decision. In the case of chance behavior an interesting context is the gym located in the center. As it was mentioned before, there is a large shopping hall right next to it and the proximity has a big influence on the choice of people to enter the gym. Observations enabled to see that many people, especially women, had shopping bags with them, which indicated that they had just been shopping and took a break on their way somewhere else. One of the interviewed woman said that she used two different gyms: “when I shop in ‘Piotr i Paweł’ [name of the shopping mall] and this one is then too far, then I go to another one to exercise. It depends which place is more convenient for me.”

4.3.3.Simulation

The nearby benches placed next to the urban gyms are a perfect answer to the simulation concept of playful behavior. It was noticed during the observation period and was later confirmed by the interviews that there is a specific sort of people who come to the gym just to sit nearby and watch. In this case people who train at the gym are becoming a part of a certain spectacle. As mentioned by Stevens (2007), “diversity of people using urban public spaces maximize the likelihood that there will be something interesting to watch” (p. 40) and indeed this has been proven by the women interviewed in the center, who said that “there is a special group of women, older women, who like to sit here on the bench and watch. They know each other, because this is the place where they spend most of their time”. Observations showed that some of the people who sit nearby are willing to use gym devices after a while, as if they were simulating something seen before. Another example of a simulative behavior would be between family members. It was frequently encountered that mothers,

fathers and grandparents instruct children how to use gym devices properly. Children would watch and later copy the moves of elders.

4.3.4. Vertigo

The last form of playful behavior was rarely seen due to the fact that nothing seriously unexpected is likely to happen in the contexts of urban gyms. However, misuse of the devices could indicate that some people bend the general rules of behavior and this not proper attitude can be perceived as a desire for disorder and destruction. An interviewed woman noticed one of the examples, saying that she “was really deplored when these young people, because they could not be older, scribbled on the information signs.” The observations also led to a finding that it is usually the children who visit the gym with a purpose to have fun in their own way. To give an outlook at the problem, one situation could work as a description of misbehavior. There was a group of four middle-school aged children at the gym in Białoleka. Once they were asked to answer several questions concerning social behavior at the gym and what it is that they usually do there, one of them started jumping around and with his friend they both showed their own style of practicing at the gym. It seemed rebellious and the overall impression was that in order to impress other two girls standing by, they were willing to behave in a funny way, which could have led to an accident. This worked as a driver for them, both to show off in front of a public and to sense this feeling of instability on the devices. It was not the only instance of vertigo behavior; it has been noticed two more times, in a similar situation within a group of children.

4.4. Interactions

It has been proven through the observations that outdoor gym can be called a meeting place. Different social encounters seemed to be happening whenever there were two or more people around. Neighborhoods have confirmed to have a great influence on the number and manner of interactions because of the divergence in the density and age of users. All of the selected cases had one thing in common – proximity to the social spaces such as playground, park or basketball court. It was mentioned numerously during the short interviews that gym is a better place to spend time with children than playground; it is not that crowded and not only children can enjoy it. Other example provided by an

interviewee shows gym as an alternative: “these children would not have enough space on the basketball court so they came here playing with these devices. For instance they were sitting on them, they were swinging on different things.” All these examples indicate that the gym is used for the purpose of leisure, enjoyment and relaxation and the interactions are more visible once people are not focused so much on their individual training plan, but rather on the environment and on others. People in general were more talkative when they seemed to enjoy the time spent at the gym. They also affected the behavior of others – it was noticed that once a person started to talk to someone else practicing, it was more likely that a third person would join the conversation. Also, as it was mentioned by one woman interviewed, when the idea of an outdoor gym had been introduced, people, including her, were shy and feared others’ opinions, but once everyone around started to practice, she became more confident and decided to also use the gym. This shows that people do have an impact on the behavior of others and the social, human aspect of an outdoor place available for everyone does matter. Neighborhood and the way people spend their leisure time was different in each of the cases selected for this research. The central part of Warsaw was filled almost always with elderly people, who, because of the vast amount of free time, are able to use gyms everyday longer than younger, working people. The gym in Śródmieście, what was mentioned before, is located near to the large shopping mall, which usually attracts retired women, who prefer to have their shopping done there. These women were a recognizable group of gym attendees – a lot of interviewed people mentioned that the reason for them to use the gym was the fact that it is located next to the place where they shop. Ursynów, on the other hand, turned out to be a place where young people exercise quite actively and treat gym as a place between their work and house. Participants who visit this gym sometimes use other options provided by the park. For instance people who used bicycle lanes in the area were seen as they stopped and attended the gym at least for a moment in the meantime. The case of Ursynów is an example of how to socialize people by providing them with a number of activity options in the park – the observations confirmed that people use the possibilities of leisure choices and they sometimes combine them, which makes them interact with greater amount people and in this way park is

somehow socially connected. One person indicated during an interview that she believed that more opportunities provided by the park made her experience richer and more interesting. It was possible to sense a certain feeling of neighborhood in Ursynów because people interviewed usually stated that they lived in a close proximity to the park and the gym is in a walking distance from their homes. Users of the gym in Białoleka, which is the youngest district of Warsaw, could be represented mostly by women in their twenties and thirties with small children running around. They created a sort of a model for other women to join – it has been noticed that mothers prefer to train with their children at the gym rather than in the playground located in a close distance, because they can benefit from activity as well. This sort of disproportion among users of gyms created a complex structure of different interactions and social practices. Even though the image of an outdoor gym stays the same, people inside behave variously due to diverse contexts and their social relations.

4.4.1. Description of gym users and their interactions

Interactions observed during this study varied between different sets of gym participants. To draw a concise portrait of who visits gym and what happens between people when they work out together it was considered helpful to divide them into several groups based on the particularities of their relations. This collection of diverse social relations and their description has been developed and is presented below.

Individuals

Individuals, who visited gyms alone and trained by themselves, represented the largest group of participants. In majority of situations they were not socially interactive, although usually at the beginning they greeted someone as a sign of politeness. However, it has been proven that age is a deciding factor in the situation when two individuals engage in a conversation. Research showed that older and at the same time usually retired people have more courage to initiate contact within a group of gym users in their age range. This situation has been visible at the gym in the center, where due to the density of people interactions were most frequent. Mostly elderly people, who meet each other almost everyday, use this particular gym. The number of greetings, smiles and small talks was higher there than in the other cases, and some people who took part

in the interviews said that gym helps them to tighten the bonds with their neighbors. One woman said that she even gets lost when it comes to the recognition of people exercising at the gym: “people I met in the neighborhood and people I knew before. At this moment I am not able to choose which ones I knew before and which ones later, it has been a while”.

Neighbors

One of the examples of the emergence of neighborhood bond was seen in Białoleka, in the case of two neighbors from the same building, who practice everyday together. One of them was blind and another helped him on a regular basis to be more active. They gave an impression that because of their daily routine, bonds between them were really strong and gym was the reason behind it. During the time they were being interviewed they invited a third person to the conversation – man who was training nearby – and said that he will probably join their small neighbor group because he trains at the same time as they do. A man in Śródmieście gave another example of the neighborhood bond. He said that he trains at the gym with a woman who is his neighbor because his wife does not want to participate in his training and as he said: “I need someone to train with anyway”. He indicated that gym is the reason his relations with a neighbor improved significantly. During the interviews gym users were asked whether they feel a certain connectivity with their neighborhood and in most cases answer was that yes, they recognize people from the gym, but only in this context. Several people said that they sometimes see other gym participants on the street and while passing them by they smile or greet each other. All these situations underline the importance of gym as a place, which enhances neighbor interactions. It has been indicated by some people interviewed that if it were not for the gym they would not be talking to some people as they do now.

Friends

Interactions were seen as well between friends, who not necessarily have to be neighbors. In Ursynów two boys participated in an interview and they said: “we used to go to the same school and now we are just talking about the things from this previous school. We come here to talk, because one of us lives here nearby and it is convenient for us”. Similar situation has been noticed in

Śródmieście: two girls were chatting and using gym devices. When asked what is their relation, they answered that gym is on the way from school and they sometimes come there because it is a perfect context for their chat, where they can gossip and laugh in a calm atmosphere. An example of a friend bond from Białoleka is a pair of babysitters, who became friends because of the common walks with children they took care of. Gym was the place to stop, talk and train a little. They said that gym is a perfect place because they live in a good distance from it and it enables them smooth conversation. Moreover they can watch over children at the same time. All of these instances show that when two friends go to the gym together their interactions occur only between them and gym works as a platform to talk rather than to seriously involve in the training.

Family members

Family relations have been witnessed between three generations. Large group of mothers with children was mostly seem to be training in Białoleka, although their children were most of the time infants, so the possibility of interactions was limited to watching after them. Usually fathers or grandparents were the ones responsible for older children. An exception was one woman who said that she comes to the gym for herself and her daughter, who is 6 years old but she just plays around. Mother was helping the daughter by telling her how to use certain gym devices. During the interview she underlined that once when her daughter will be old enough they could train together, side by side. Larger number of mothers with infants indicated that maternity leave is the time for them to enjoy the fresh air and this particular gym. Interactions between father and children were noted twice. First situation was seen in Śródmieście, where father helped his son to get on different devices, they laughed and later they started talking to another similar pair, father and son. While their children were playing together, fathers were watching after them and helping in case their children had some problems. The difference in using gym by mothers and fathers was that fathers did not work out in the meantime. They seemed more cautious and wanted to be present around their children all the time. The second case from Białoleka included father who was visited the gym for the first time with his son. Usually it was a task taken care by the grandfather, but this

one time he could not show up. By conducting a short interview with him it turned out that the bond between grandson and grandfather became much stronger due to the daily visits at the gym and the father said that being a replacement makes him feel like the gym is very important for strengthening relations between the family members. Grandparents seemed to be the ones who take care of the children most of the time. Children seemed to influence the decisions of their grandparents when it comes to the visits to the gym: "Ania (granddaughter) says: come, let's go to the shopping hall, let's go to the playground and I say yes. I mean this gym. I come here because of my grandchildren". Another grandmother said that she comes here as well with her grandchildren because "they like it" and she added that the good point is the location near to the playground, it makes them use both of these places "together as a family". In each one of the gyms relations between these two generations were visible, grandparents were training while children were running around or trying to use several devices because usually they were too young to be able to fully profit from what gym has to offer. Children themselves came to the gym with their siblings. One interview was conducted with a boy who is often being pulled by his sister to go to the gym, because she likes spending time there. They almost always go together, she plays with him or on her own and they talk a lot. As he said, they usually go after school, before dinner. Couples are another example of how people bond at the gym. There were several examples of people who train together as a couple and all of the time when asked, they said that it is one of the activities they like to do together. One exception was in Śródmieście, where a woman used to support her husband while he was recuperating from a heart attack. She was at his side, telling him what kind of exercises he should do. It seemed that gym is a good place to visit together, one person can support another and they both benefit from it.

All these examples show that gym can be and is a platform for existing relations to become stronger. Interactions are noticed and in a lot of presented cases they lead into something more than one-time occurrence. People like to spend time together and the setting of gym makes it pleasurable to talk and train together at the same time.

Audience

Another group worthy to mention are people who prefer to observe others training in gyms. It was clearly visible in the case in Śródmieście how a proper position of benches can create a scene in which actors – people who train inside of the urban gym, were observed by the audience – usually 4 or 5 women who sat around. This group of women was mentioned several times as the permanent element of the gym. They were perceived as a close group of friends, as mentioned by one interviewee: “those, who know each other as you can see are sitting there”. The same group of people was pointed out in another interview concerning the interaction question: “perhaps these ladies, older than me, who like to sit on the bench. They know each other because they spend a lot of time together”. It was noticed that gym in this case worked as a visual background but in this it created a social bond between the people who watch. In Ursynów people were scattered throughout the whole park, which in general was a social, active place. Even though they did not train, the atmosphere of overall liveliness and social presence contributed to their decision to spend time right over there. Group of audience would also include people who took care of their children or grandchildren. One woman said that she does not use gym because she does not “have enough strength to train, she attends rehabilitation”, but she looks after her grandchildren, they force her to visit urban gym. Activity in the nearby area generates interest of almost everyone who walks around and even though people might not necessarily enter the gym, they still show signs of interaction when they watch others training from the distance. It was seen that even passers-by sometimes nod and say simple “hello” when they see someone they know from the neighborhood training at the gym.

4.4.2. Influence of the specificity of gym devices on interactions

Gym is a specific place because of its construction. In a limited space six training devices are squeezed in small proximity (pic.7). Interactions such as simple nodding or greeting each other can occur within two people on two remote ends of the gym space, but in order for users to involve in a longer conversation they need to be closer to each other. Observations showed that

the specifics of some of the devices could initiate interactions. It was noticeable in case of one machine intended for two people (pic.8), where users seemed to feel uncomfortable training arm in arm with the person they do not know yet, so the three options were possible: stay and continue training in silence, start a conversation, or leave and change the device. Surprisingly, people usually chose to ignore other participants, but some cases proved that when someone started talking on the 'double device' they stayed for a longer time training and talking together. People who already knew each other as well used this device more frequently.



Pic.7



FIG. 8

Another example was a device where people had to face each other in case two people used it (pic. 9). It gave an interesting finding that people tended to look away and showed no interest in engaging in a conversation with someone training right in front of them. This all brings back and confirms the theory about proximity from the chapter 2, where it was underlined that people usually do not like to be placed in front of each other.



Pic.9

4.4.3. Gym as a place to meet

Although during the observation process most of the users of outdoor gyms spent the time on their own not really bonding with others there were signs of people who use gyms as a meeting place. One woman said that her neighbors know that she trains usually at noon, so they often come at the same time so they can spend time together. Another situation has been noticed when two babysitters with trolleys came from different sides of the park and met inside of the gym to talk and train a little. Gym as a meeting place served as well for a mentioned above group of elderly people who went there together before their routine of nordic walking as a warm-up. Different elderly woman indicated that she does not come here alone that she has a group of friends. When asked about them, she replied: “a lot of my friends come here (...). The ones I met here and the ones I knew before. It is different to say whom I knew earlier and whom I got to know later, because of the time“. These examples show that gym works for some people as a meeting place because it creates the feeling of togetherness. One of the reasons for people visiting urban gyms is to meet someone, to interact and spend time together.

4.4.4. Resistance to social interactions

Findings indicated that not all of the gym participants want to talk and meet others. As mentioned before, some people who train seriously have their headphones on and tend to close themselves for the surrounding world. As well people who do not necessarily use gym for the purpose of sport showed their defiance for instance by saying: “I have this sort of a character that I do not want to make friends“, which was supported by the another person interviewed, who noticed that “there are people, who come here but they do not talk“. Observations were complemented with the finding mentioned before – at the gym there are two devices on which people can exercise together, arm in arm or by standing in front of each other. It was seen that in some cases once a new person joined the other one already settled on this kind of device, this person immediately changed her machine to avoid a contact. These people were all in all in the minority of cases. Others seemed to enjoy the feeling of collectivity. It shows that people are in general different and even if the outdoor gym is a place which could bring users together, not everyone has this sort of intention.

4.4.5. Tensions and social exclusion

On one hand as mentioned before, outdoor gyms initiate social behaviors, but on the other they might be a background of social exclusions and in rare cases might generate conflicts. During interviews relatively a lot of people complained about the children who used to play at the gym, they said for instance: “here you can see – children came as if it was their playground, not a set of devices“, or in another case: “there are times when children come here, while they shouldn’t. The set of rules hangs here, but no one reads that gym is for adults“. It also was visible during observation period that children somehow drove away certain individuals, who seemed irritated probably because of noise and not proper usage of gym devices. However it must be underlined that clashes with children happened at the certain times of day, usually while school was over and a large group of children was passing by the gym. In the morning and early afternoon such situations have not been noticed to occur. From the observer point of view, children indeed had an impact on the way gym is used and it creates certain turmoil. However, it could be seen as a good sign that children prefer outdoor gym to a playground. They find it a more serious form of leisure

relaxation and it might lead to the further interest in active training rather than just play.

An elderly woman in Białoleka mentioned a different sign of exclusion. Interviewee complained: “there is no one here. No lady in my age, I am 75 years old and no one comes here”. She continued by saying that even though she visits the gym almost everyday and looks for someone her age to talk to, she still has not succeeded to find a training partner her age. Her finding was not completely true, because study conducted in a different time frame showed that there are more people her age, they just do not visit gym that early. However, what this woman mentions was related to the different profile of gym participants and there was no situation like this seen in two other cases.

4.4.6. Important medical treatment

Through the research one very important finding was unraveled. Because of insufficient funds for the rehabilitation and medical care some people choose outdoor gyms as a mean to recuperation and since gyms have been introduced to the city, they turned out to be even recommended by physicians. One woman showed a case specifically pointing out the importance of outdoor gyms. She had her hip joint replaced after going through the cancer treatment. According to her, “our health service looks like this that for people like me, who need a constant rehabilitation – because nothing will change here, I do not have a prosthesis, I have a large bone removed after the tumor, and so I need to organize the majority of the year by myself if I ever want to walk again. I try to be active on all of the paths using really different devices to rehabilitate this body of mine, I do not want to sit on the wheelchair. But the only thing on which I can count on is barely, in my case, 2-4 weeks of rehabilitation”. Many people including the participants of the outdoor gyms have criticized medical system in Poland. They showed their disappointment regarding the lack of funds for people with needs and not enough care on the side of hospitals and health centers. Outdoor gyms in this scenario started playing an important role in the process of recuperation meaning that firstly – idea to install them in the city was successful and helped people regain or maintain their health and, secondly – gyms became substitutes for the rehabilitation processes, so city unburdened the medical system at least for some people.

4.5. Social bonds

This research study tries to investigate whether interactions observed during social practices might lead to something more, like social bonds, the development of the feeling of belonging. Findings from the observations indicate that most of the participants of outdoor gyms do not move beyond the simplest interactions such as nods, saying hello when they enter and goodbye when they leave, but several cases confirmed that urban gyms are platforms for some people to bond. It was seen on the examples of people who already knew each other before that their relations are better due to the appearance at the gym. Other examples showed that people make friends inside of the gyms and their contact is extended to the recognition in the neighborhood. Contexts of different cases showed the divergence between the interactions observed and also the outcomes such as neighborhood bonds were different for each one of the gyms. For example Śródmieście, even if it is the densest place it had the largest amount of people who were familiar to each other. It seemed that elderly people training or being around the gym benefited mostly socially from it, because a lot of users indicated that they made connections and friends over there. Ursynów worked more as a platform for existing bonds to be strengthened, people with a purpose to actively train used to go there and in the situation when they showed up in pairs it was visible that gym was used as one of the places where they can be together. Białoleka exemplifies mixture of the social behaviors, because the neighborhood bond was the strongest there compared to two other cases. It influenced people in the way that they strengthened already existing social contacts and additionally because of the open character of the space and comfortable atmosphere among the users, new people could easily fit into the group. The special feeling of belonging and attachment to the gym has been noticed in two cases, in which people were willing to take their own initiative to take care of a common space. Once a lady said that she likes the gym so much and spends a lot of time there. She added: "I was really deplored when these young people, because they could not be older, scribbled on the information signs. I even tried to clean it up". The intention to clean a common sign just because she wanted the place to return to its previous state seemed like a very big commitment to a certain place. A man in Białoleka, who noticed once that one of the devices was very noisy,

gave another example. After a few days he became irritated by the noise and called the local authority. He said that he was surprised by their quick reaction – right the next day machine was working perfectly. These kinds of behaviors are examples of a bond to the outdoor gym, treating it as a part of the closest environment. Although it was not possible to directly observe the commitment to the city by the actions of gym users, but due to both, short and longer interviews, it was proven that there is awareness of the municipals being the originators of the idea of the outdoor gyms. Even if in the set of main questions for the interviews nothing was mentioned about the roots of the outdoor gym project, some people seemed to know who to be thankful for, for instance one woman said: “I am glad that this place exists and I believe that the glory for Mrs. President. It might be because of the European Union funds by the end, I do not know, but it is great that something like this arose“. By showing own initiative and appreciation to the work done by the government these people proved how strongly outdoor gyms grew roots in the neighborhood and how important they became to the local community.

5. Conclusion

Research on the outdoor gyms in Warsaw turned out to provide a lot of findings and certainly a number of proposals that could be further analyzed and considered by the creators of gyms and city council. Study enabled the closer insight into the profile of participants, their view at what is happening in the gyms and provided an understanding of the practices occurring when people spend time actively in their neighborhood. Even though regular gyms could be associated with heavy and serious activity, it has been noticed that outdoor gyms play a different role - by providing free of charge devices usually located in a walking distance from the residential areas in Warsaw they fill the gap for people who would not consider enrolling in the fitness centre. The main finding has been proven that interactions between participants take place in several ways and social co-presence is important for the majority of gym participants. Variety of interactions and behaviors indicate that each case is different and every gym has a distinctive purpose and meaning. Although one remark is certain – there is a need for this kind of social places, they are highly

appreciated by people who like them, use them and in some cases even need them in order to remain healthy.

In order to answer research questions of this study it is important to provide a concise summary of what has been discovered within the analysis of different social behaviors. Firstly, based on the theory, the practices have been recognized using the concept of play. Behaviors of the urban gym participants went in accordance with the assumptions of play, because people seemed to enjoy the freedom contexts of gyms gave them. It has been noticed that people visiting gyms were at their leisure, it was their choice to come, train and socialize. Some of them treated outdoor gym as a part of their daily routine, between school/work and home, which leads to the assumption that gym could be referred to as a “third place” (Oldenburg, 1989), what will be elaborated later in this chapter. Play among gym participants differed when it came to the intentions of people and their actions. All of the four facets of play have been observed: participants showed signs of competitive behavior by demonstrating their skills in front of others, some of the users admitted to be entering gym by chance, families strongly proved that the way they practice with children can be referred to as imitative behavior when one person imitates another and finally, the last component of playful behavior, vertigo, has been noticed in the contexts of outdoor gyms when children were showing their misbehavior by undertaking risky actions. Study of play confirmed the presumption that urban gyms work as a background for different practices and people feel free to play within these contexts in various ways according to their own whim. Concept of play helped to identify diverse social interactions where different sets of people were reacting distinctively to other gym users. The contrast was between people who already knew each other before entering the gym and those who were referred to as individuals, who practiced on their own. Five sets of gym participants were recognized: individuals, neighbors, friends, family members and the audience. Each one of those groups showed a specific type of interactions and some of them did not want to engage in any social encounters. Individuals interacted with others in different ways, depending on how serious was their approach towards active participation. Simple interactions were limited to greeting at the beginning and saying goodbye when people were

leaving. A lot of individual gym users represented the concept of chance in their playful behavior – seeing gym made them enter to see what is going on and by this decision they were beginning to engage in the gym practices. Those who were practicing more seriously as well represented competitive behavior; they were becoming the center of attention for others to watch. Age was a decisive factor in case of the intensity of social encounters in majority of situations – older people seemed to be more open to ignite short conversations. People who were interviewed mentioned that the usual topics of such chats included mostly weather and health, sometimes politics. The strong connection, which later sometimes resulted in strengthening of the sense of belonging, was noticed between neighbors. People mentioned that they sometimes recognize people from the gym on the streets in the neighborhood. Some examples of neighbors who were training together on a regular basis confirmed the assumption that gym is a platform for new relations to be created and sustained. Friends who treated gym as a place to chat preferred not to involve in a serious activity. They represented different set of interactions. Friends showed both, simulative and vertigo behavior. Usually they were standing next to each other in order to be able to talk and by this they both had to engage in a similar activities. Vertigo was noticed in cases when one person wanted to show off in front of the others by acting in a risky way using gym devices. Interactions between family members were most divergent, because different relations influenced different behaviors. For instance children were imitating parents, so the concept of simulation was visible. Watching after children indicated that competitive behavior could be applied, because children felt as if their guardians judged them. Also, when more children was around they were competing with each other as a part of their play. Finally, the last set of gym users has been identified as the audience – people who preferred to watch and observe without engaging in the gym exercises. They were on the other side of the gym context, but having the same focus of attention they could easily chat and behave in a social way. Sitting next to each other watching the same thing was a good way to interact with people with similar approach. Research focused as well on the interactions that were ignited by a specificity of gym devices, and it turned out that people who were forced to train arm in arm showed more tendencies to interact than people who were facing each other.

Different urban gyms were supposed to work as moderators for social behaviors and indeed they had an impact on the way people interacted. Reason for that was in the specifics of the neighborhood social profile, proximity to urbanized areas and amenities surrounding gyms. Feeling of neighborhood attachment was visible in Śródmieście, because it was a place where elderly people practicing in the gym indicated they recognize a lot of their neighbors on the street. In rare cases their collective training and interactions led to longer lasting bonds with neighbors. Białoleka distinguished itself by the large number of interactions between mothers with small children who treated gym as a meeting place where they can talk and take care of their children. Ursynów showed more serious approach towards activity in the gym due to the specific neighborhood including park with other social places. People seemed to mix variety of options park gave them interacting with more people at the same time.

All of the findings reported in this study contributed to the answer to the research questions. Firstly:

How to understand social interactions happening in the urban outdoor gyms in Warsaw?

Variety of interactions recognized in the urban gyms and explained above show the diverse attitude of people towards practices in the outdoor gyms. Study verified the assumption that interaction rituals (Collins, 2004) are occurring in the contexts of outdoor gyms and the outcome – emotional energy has been created. It can be understood by the behavior of participants because in the situation when people felt sort of a freedom they also showed their confidence, enthusiasm and even strength, which all refer to the outcome of interaction ritual. Concept of play explained that gym attendees interact with others by playing their own sort of game. Social behaviors therefore are different for each one of the gym users, but what they all have in common is the willingness to step out of the own comfort zone and blend with other people inside of the gyms. Social interactions can be understood as a need of people to feel the connection with others around them and due to the fact that some faces become recognizable after social encounters in the gym it shows the attachment to the specific social group with roots originated in the outdoor gym

context.

And secondly:

What kind of enduring processes can develop from social interactions?

Findings of interactions proved that in some cases social encounters could develop into something more meaningful for gym participants. For instance people underlined their attachment to the neighborhood by saying that gym is “their” place, partly because it is in the area where they live, which makes it convenient to approach, but partly because they link it to the neighborhood and landscape. It has been proven that important bond had evolved between several people interviewed. Two neighbors became friends because of the gym, another pair trains together daily – one man takes care of a blind neighbor. Group of people who practice Nordic walking set outdoor gym as a place for warming-up where they can begin their social experience. Strengthening of family bonds has also been witnessed in many cases between diverse family members: parents with children, grandparents with grandchildren, couples and siblings, they all stated and proved it by their behavior that gym is a place for social bonding and they feel that it is one of the places that enhances their connections. Friendship is another outcome of the social interactions ignited by the gym, which is proved on the example of Białoleka, where mothers and babysitters go for a daily stroll with the children or infants and they stop in the gym and talk to each other. Some of them stated that their friendship started in the gym. All of these instances linked interactions with longer-lasting bond and the noticeable greetings almost every time someone was entering the gym were creating the overall atmosphere of collectivity.

Results provided this research with many outcomes and behaviors of people noticed during the observations seemed to vary in many ways. What became interesting is one thing everyone participating in the gym had in common – being out of school, work or home. Gym gave an opportunity for people to get out of their routine places and they all chose urban gym as a context for their leisure time. This brought the idea for “third place” as a representation of the processes taking place in urban gyms. According to Oldenburg (1989) third

place provides a space for people to come when they please, when people are not obligated to anyone in their freedom of choice. He indicated that “socializing is clearly most people’s main interest in a third place“. Oldenburg’s theory suits this research, because it has been noticed that when people are outside, in a social area such as urban gym they choose to be surrounded by other participants and what follows, to encounter interactions. Oldenburg (1989) indicated that “the third place is a generic designation for a great variety of public places that host the regular, voluntary, informal, happily anticipated gatherings of individuals beyond the realms of home and work (p.16)“. Social place such as gym can become therefore more meaningful for its participants when they can find themselves immersed in a different surrounding. According to Oldenburg (1989) “third place” provides opportunities for social presence in urbanized areas out of home and workplace. It is used to escape from the routine and stress but above all, to enjoy other’s company. In “third places“ relationships are expected to begin and for people to experience something not ordinary. Simmel (1950) underlined the importance sociability saying that people within their families and working environment are expected to act as individuals and be judged upon their performance and societal roles. In the offerings of pure sociability – such as urban outdoor gyms – people are not evaluated based on their qualifications. Simmel (1950) stated that in the context of pure sociability “people who are expressing their unique sense of individuality meet as equals” (p.48). This concept summarizes the way users perceive outdoor gyms and shows the importance of the development of them in the urbanized areas in cities.

6. Recommendations

After a thorough analysis of the advantages and drawbacks of outdoor gyms several recommendations have been provided. In general gym participants were very pleased with the idea of spending time actively outside. However in some cases gyms seemed to be empty. Some people indicated that they do not know about other gyms in the neighborhood. Therefore this idea could be more promoted in order to create awareness of such places. Cities can benefit from their citizens who are a natural resource and liveliness in the urban areas

means that a specific place is more energetic. To make city life more meaningful, active and visible it should be important for outdoor gyms to be more promoted, it could attract as well potential tourists and newcomers. The problem of social exclusion was an issue, which emerged from the findings. New rules and regulations could be implemented for everyone to feel included in the social spaces and these places should be monitored. Case of misuse and devastation of gym devices underlines the need for more thorough look at the issue. Another aspect driving people away from the gyms was the problem with unpleasant weather conditions. Rain or wind was making it impossible or unpleasant to train. This could be avoided by providing a temporal roof over the gyms – their size makes it possible and it could benefit in widened accessibility. Another idea would be to place more benches closer to the gyms. It has been noticed that people who are not practicing at the moment find it difficult to rest in the nearby areas. It would be as well a good point to ignite conversations and strengthen bonds among people who could sit next to each other. Another recommendation comes from the outdoor gyms as a rehabilitation tools. It would be beneficial to promote this sort of exercising in the medical centers and hospitals, of course with detailed instructions given by the doctors. In this way medical system could be a little bit relieved and people could get better in a nicer atmosphere inside of a park.

This research showed that outdoor gyms have grown roots in the landscape of Warsaw and they seem to be appreciated by the citizens, which means that the project was and still is successful. Places where people can interact are important for the local communities because they strengthen the relations. People do feel more attached to the city and their surroundings and the appreciation might later be beneficial to the city as well. The stress on the active way of spending leisure time is visible nowadays everywhere, which can be only positive when it comes to the healthy lifestyles of people. Ideas such as outdoor gyms are a perfect fit for this new demand for healthy behaviors and should be introduced on a larger scale wherever they could be valuable and appreciated.

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Appendix 1: list of themes for observations and short interviews

- The profile of participants (age, gender, outstanding specifics such as special clothing or symbols of participating to the cultural group)
- Number of participants
- Number of interactions between participants
- Nature of interactions between participants
- Distance between place of living and the specific gym
- Differences between active or passive behaviors of participants
- Social networks noticed between friends
- Social networks noticed between strangers
- Signs of exclusion
- Other emerging observations related to the further study

Appendix 2: questioning route for individual in-depth interviews

1. Could you introduce yourself?
2. What makes you come here?
3. How would you describe your time spent here?
4. Do you come here alone or with someone? If not alone, who comes with you?
- 4a. Would you say that spending time together in the gym influenced somehow your relations? If yes, how?
5. Have you met someone in the gym?
- 5a. How would you describe your relations with this person?
6. How would you describe your attachment with this place?
7. Do you feel being a part of a group here?
8. Do you have something to add from your observations?

Appendix 3: transcript of the interviews

URSYNÓW

1st interview

Q: Czy mogłaby się Pani przedstawić?

A: Emerytka, 67 lat aktywna fizycznie, pszyszłam na kijkach i codzień ćwiczę tutaj pół godziny, poł godziny ćwiczę w domu na kręgosłup i kolana. I godzinę chodzę na kijkach. Bardzo aktywnie spędzam czas, nie mam czasu na siedzenie w domu.

Q: Bardzo aktywnie! A dlaczego Pani spędza czas akurat na tej siłowni?

A: Bo tutaj mieszkam w pobliżu.

Q: I przychodzi Pani tutaj głównie na ćwiczenia, to jest cel?

A: Tak, tak

Q: A przychodzi Pani sama na siłownię czy z kimś?

A: Sama. Znaczy tu jes sąsiadka, ale się nie umawiamy. Nie umawiamy się ale jak się nieraz zejdziemy to jest takie stałe grono emerytów

Q: No właśnie to mnie najbardziej interesuje jak się budują relacje tutaj dokładnie w tej siłowni. Czy mogłaby Pani opisać jakie zachodzą sytuacje? Pani przychodzi sama, ale zazwyczaj ktoś już jest, tak?

A: To zależy od pogody, bo bo ci, co przychodzą codzień to się nie umawiamy, no to jest moja sąsiadka z bloku, nawet z ulicy nie z bloku i my się poznałyśmy właśnie tu w siłowni.

Q: Czy spotykają się Panie jeszcze gdzieś poza siłownią?

A: Nie, nie

Q: A poznała Pani dużo osób na siłowni?

A: Sporo, sporo, ale kontaktów, że tak powiem poza siłownią nie utrzymujemy.

Q I zawsze Pani przychodzi sama, nigdy nie przychodzi Pani tutaj z rodziną?

A: Nie. Mąż by się nie dał, a syn pracuje, rodzina pracuje.

Q: Czy czuje się Pani częścią grupy tutaj na siłowni?

A: Tak, jeżeli jesteśmy, no to jest tu nas kilka, no to tworzymy taką małą społeczność. Ja się właściwie czuję, że jestem członkiem tej małej społeczności. Mówimy sobie dzień dobry, później się przełamuje lody, a jak Pani ładnie ćwiczysz, się zagaduje i tak dalej, a później się człowiek nasłucha o chorobach, o kręgosłupach bo o czym mogą emeryci rozmawiać (laughter)

Q: Czy ludzie, których Pani zapoznała tutaj na siłowni rozpoznaje Pani również na ulicy? Spotyka się ich?

A: Tak, kłaniamy się

Q: Czyli są to ludzie, którzy mieszkają gdzieś po sąsiedzku rozumieć

A: W pobliżu, tak tak

Q: Czy mogłaby Pani z własnych obserwacji powiedzieć mi jaki jest profil społeczny, mam na myśli profil osoby, która tutaj przychodzi. Czy są to zwykłe emeryci, czy może też młode osoby?

A: Są, są i młode osoby, nieraz przychodzi przede wszystkim to tu dzieciarnia, a nie powinna. Wisi regulamin, ale nikt nie czyta, że to jest dla dorosłych, a przychodzi też dzieciarnia. Przychodzą też ludzie też pracujący to może

przychodzą popołudniu, czasem jak przechodzę to widzę. Czasem jacyś byli sportowcy, wczoraj był jakiś były sportowiec tutaj wywijał jakieś esy floresy, jacyś gimnastycy przychodzą, oni nie ćwiczą tak jak my, tylko się tam rozciągają i widać, że są na wyższym poziomie fizycznym.

Q: A czy przychodzą tutaj również takie grupy zorganizowane?

A: Nie

Q: Czyli raczej w samotności sobie poćwiczyć?

A: Tak, tak. Małżeństwa przychodzą.

Q: Czy ma Pani coś do dodania, jakieś ciekawe spostrzeżenia?

A: Właśnie jestem bardzo zadowolona, że coś takiego powstało, bo widziałam osoby, a nawet taka moja też poznałam taką moją sąsiadkę z drugiej strony osiedla, 83 lata ma i przychodzi i ćwiczy. I później przychodzi taki Pan, który też twierdzi, że ma osiemdziesiąt, już nawet po osiemdziesiątce, ale on więcej gada niż ćwiczy. Przyjdzie, zakręci się i tak miło spędza czas. Ale tu 80letnią panią spotkałam, bardzo zadbana i w życiu bym nie powiedziała, że ma 80 lat i ćwiczy, także naprawdę przychodzą osoby w różnym wieku i są sprawne. Też widziałam tutaj Pani taka ledwo szła, poćwiczyła tutaj trochę i już innym krokiem, wyprostowana poszła do domu. Pare tych 10 minut jej pozwoliło te mięśnie porozciągać, także naprawdę pomaga, no i bardzo dużo tego jest, tam obok kościoła jest drugi

Q: A i o to też chciałam się spytać, czy chodzi Pani też na inne siłownie?

A: Koło kościoła jest taki park, nie wiem czy zna Pani Ursynów,

Q: No znam, tu się urodziłam..

A: To tam jest też w parku

Q: I tam też Pani chodzi?

A: Tam też chodzę, jak wypada mi robić zakupy w jakimś Piotrze i Pwle, to już tu za daleko, już mi się nie chce lecieć stąd, to idę tam i ćwiczę. W zależności gdzie jest wygodniej.

Q: A tam również ma Pani znajomych z siłowni, czy to się ogranicza tylko do tej?

A: Do tej. To znaczy jak się powie dzień dobry, no to to się każdy czuje, coś tam powiedzieć, no ale naewet takie przelotne, pewnie bym ich nie poznała na ulicy, tam nie ma takich stałych, bo ja tam wyrywkowo przychodzę, stałych to tutaj mam znajomych

Q: No to ode mnie to wszystko

2nd interview

Q: Czy mogłaby Pani się przedstawić, opisać siebie?

A: To znaczy co robię, tak?

Q: ak, tak

A: Pracuję w marketingu internetowym, mam 27 lat, niedawno skończyłam studia z psychologii, i nie wiem

Q: Czyli jest Pani aktywna fizycznie, głównie chodzi mi kontekst tej siłowni.

A: Jeżdżę do pracy na rowerze, chyba, że jest brzydka pogoda, w domu też czasami sobie ćwiczę, czasami biegam, no ogólnie jak jest ładna pogoda to jestem aktywna, w zimie gorzej

Q: A dlaczego Pani chodzi na siłownię?

A: Bo jest za darmo i jest na powietrzu, a nie lubię takich siłowni w pomieszczeniach przepoconych, no więc tak, na powietrzu jest przyjemniej. Poza tym tutaj często biegam po okolicy.

Q: Mieszka Pani w okolicy?

A: No przy metrze wilanowska

Q: A czy przychodzi tutaj Pani sama zawsze?

A: Sama

Q: Poznaje Pani ludzi na siłowni?

A: Nie, nikogo

Q: Piszę właśnie trochę o relacjach, jakie się tu tworzą. Czy zauważyła Pani, że tu się zawiązują jakieś relacje, czy jest tu pusto? Rozumiem, że w godzinach przed pracą?

A: To znaczy różnie jest, czasami w weekendy jestem, znaczy ogólnie zauważyłam, że starsze osoby tutaj trenują i zwykle na tych przyrządach, gdzie tam można sobie pomachać nogami, no a tak młodszych osób zazwyczaj nie widuję

Q: A przychodzi tutaj Panie w jakich godzinach?

A: Nie no jeszcze w weekendy. Dzisiaj jestem wyjątkowo, zwykle jak jadę do pracy nie mam czasu się zatrzymać. No zwykle w weekendy, raczej jakimiś popołudniami

Q: I na tej konkretnej siłowni?

A: Najczęściej tak, ale na innych też

Q: Czymś one się różnią od siebie?

A: No mniej więcej są takie same. Są na niektórych przyrządy, których nie ma na innych, ale tak ogólnie to takie same.

Q: Czy czuje się Pani częścią grupy, czy jest Pani przywiązana do tego miejsca?

A: Nie, zupełnie nie

Q: Jakieś własne przemyślenia?

A: No z tego, co zauważałam to właśnie te przyrządy, na których trzeba się bardziej wysilić są bardzo rzadko używane

Q: A czy się zdarza, że ktoś przychodzi nie ćwiczyć tak postać? Pogadać

A: Raczej nie

Q: Dziękuję serdecznie

3rd interview

Q: Czy mógłby Pan się przedstawić, opisać siebie? Anonimowo

A: To znaczy co, wiek?

Q: Tak, wiek, co pan robi, czym się Pan zajmuje

A: Wiek 81 skończyłem

Q: 81? Pan nie wygląda

A: (laughter) Każdy mi tak mówi. Może nie wiem tak po ojcu. No i moja taka uporczywość – ruch, ruch, coś ćwiczyć zawsze aktywnie. No nie palę już od 50 kilku lat, trochę podpalałem jak byłem młody. Co, no lubię wypić, ale tak rozsądnie codziennie szklankę wina.

Q: A to akurat dobrze na serce robi podobno

A: No niby tak. Czerwone czasem. Koniaczek do herbaty, kawę tam jedną piję w tygodniu. No i rozsądnie się odżywiam, dbam o wagę, kontroluję się, ważę się kilka razy dziennie jak za dużo zjem

Q: Czyli generalnie dba Pan o siebie?

A: No tak, nikt o mnie nie dba teraz, jestem samotny, więc sam muszę dbać o siebie

Q: Dobrze. A tutaj przychodzi Pan w jakim celu na siłownię?

A: No w jakim celu – wiadomo. Żeby mieć sprawność fizyczną dobrą, ruszać się, chociaż czasami coś boli, ale jestem uparty, nie skarżę się. Nie lubię biadolić

Q: A ile razy przychodzi Pan tutaj na siłownię?

A: Jak tylko mam czas to każdego dnia, blisko mieszkam

Q: Sam Pan przychodzi?

A: No sam

Q: Czyli bez znajomych, bez rodziny?

A: No rodzina moja to w Kanadzie głównie, 2 synów. Ja chociaż ma podwójne obywatelstwo tam latałem do Kanady, ale tutaj mieszkam obok zaraz, niedaleko i sam mieszkam i sam przychodzę. Nie ma chętnych, żeby ktoś ze mną chodził. Mam kilku kolegów, z którymi się spotykam raz w tygodniu na piwo, obiad w poniedziałki mamy takie U Szwejka, albo obok jest taka Aiola otworzyli pod arkadami.

Q: O tak, tak wiem, tam na pl Konstytucji, jeszcze tam nie byłem

A: Tak.

Q: Przychodzi Pan zawsze na tą samą siłownię konkretnie tutaj?

A: Tak bo tu mam najbliżej, ponadto mogę połączyć pod górkę z górki, te władze dzielnicowe zadbały, cieszę się, że takie coś jest

Q: Dobrze. A poznaje Pan ludzi na siłowni, żeby pogadać, coś?

A: No raczej nie, raczej takie dzień dobry

Q: Czyli nie ma takich rozmów?

A: Nie, tylko z Panią

Q: Nie nawiązał Pan żadnych relacji z innymi użytkownikami?

A: Nie.

Q: Czy Pan się czuje jakoś w tym miejscu związany? Głównie jeżeli chodzi o ludzi

A: Z ludźmi to nie, ale związany dlatego, że kupiłem mieszkanie, tu mieszkam, i mam nadzieję, że już w życiu nie będę zmieniał, bo już w życiu zmieniałem wiele razy i kraj i miejsce zamieszkania, także ponieważ już tylko przeżyłem to na ten moment jest tu bardzo dobrze, chciałbym tutaj zakończyć swój żywot

A: To już wszystko ode mnie

4th interview

Q: W jakim celu Pan przyszedł?

A: Ćwiczenia wykonać

Q: A tylko w weekendy?

A: To znaczy kiedy jedziemy, kiedy mamy czas, to znaczy po szkole. To w sumie zależy od pogody, bo ja staram się dość regularnie, natomiast niestety świeże powietrze ma to do siebie, że jest fajne bo jest świeże, natomiast jak nie ma pogody to nie ma funu, nie ma zabawy.

Q: Przychodzi Pan tu rodzinie czy może z innymi znajomymi?

A: Nie, raczej ja sam ogólnie

Q: A gdyby Pan mógł opisać takie interakcje, jakie zachodzą na takiej siłowni, że ludzie się ze sobą witają, albo coś?

A: Nie, nie. Na takiej normalnej tak, tam czasami jak chodziłem na Wilczym Dole to tak, tam ludzie są bardziej, a tutaj nie

Q: Ale na Wilczym Dole to tam jest normalna siłownia w budynku, tak

A: Tak

Q: no to mi właśnie chodzi o różnice

A: Nie no bo tam jest bardziej regularnie, te same twarze, tu jest poprostu. Jesteśmy może z 12 raz i w zasadzie żadnej tej samej twarzy. Jednak ćwiczymy, więc też trudno nawiązywać jakiejkolwiek relacje.

Q: A jest Pan związany z tym miejscem przez to, że mieszka Pan w okolicy?

A: No tak, mieszkamy dalej trochę

Q: Ale to jest po drodze, tak?

A: Tak

Q: A był Pan na innych siłowniach plenerowych?

A: Tak, tam jest przy lasku

Q: I jest różnica pomiędzy ludźmi, którzy się pojawiają? Tam jest np więcej znajomych twarzy, które się pojawiają?

A: Nie no jedną dziewczynę widuję dość regularnie, ale to jest jedna osoba i właśnie tam. Bo tam biega i zawsze sobie przybiega, trochę poćwicz, i potem też wracając drugi raz. Dwa razy dziennie. No mówię to są ci, którzy chodzą tak w miarę regularnie to można o takim dziwnej porze ich spotkać. No proszę na przykład dzieciaki przyszły jak na plac zabaw, a nie jako zestaw ćwiczeń

Q: Dziękuję bardzo, miłego dnia życzę

A: Wzajemnie!

5th interview

Q: Zaczęłabym od tego dlaczego Pan tu przychodzi?

A: Dlaczego przychodzę? No przychodzę spędzić czas miło, na świeżym powietrzu

Q: Bardziej sportowo czy bardziej w ramach spaceru?

A: Bardziej rekreacyjnie

Q: Ale pan jest ubrany sportowo, czyli Pan przyszedł poćwiczyć?

A: Nie no ubrany jestem trochę tak bo tak jest wygodniej. Ale tu bardziej rekreacyjnie niż typowo sportowo. Warunki no nie są jakieś typowo sportowe. Świeże powietrze, ładna pogoda, warunki rekreacyjne

Q: A jak często Pan tu przychodzi?

A: A jak często się da. W weekendy, jeżeli jestem w Warszawie to codziennie

Q: A czy to jest jedyna siłownia na którą Pan chodzi?

A: Nie no chodzę na inne jeszcze

Q: Plenerowe?

A: Nie, nie, na plenerową tutaj tak. Bo blisko jest z domu bo park obok

Q: A z kim Pan przychodzi

A: A no z koleżanką

Q: Aha i znaliście się Państwo nie z siłowni?

A: Nie, znamy się już długo

Q: To byłoby największe odkrycie moje gdyby się okazało, że ktoś poznał się na siłowni! Dobrze. A z kimś innym Pan chodzi też

A: Tak, czasami tak, czasami ze znajomymi, kolegami, czasami większą grupą przychodzimy, także tak 5 osób

6th interview

Q: Opowiedzcie co robicie, czym się zajmujecie

A: No ja mam 14, Ty masz 13, chodzimy tutaj do szkoły narazie

Q: Gdzie macie szkołę?

A: Tutaj, za ulicą, na Koncertowej gimnazjum.

Q: Tam mieszkacie w pobliżu?

A: No tak mniej więcej

Q: A po co tutaj przychodzicie?

A: No przychodzimy... Najpierw odprowadzamy tam kolegę, A później tu przychodzimy gadać.

Q: Codziennie?

A: Nie, nie codziennie. Bo byliśmy z jednej szkoły i teraz gadamy sobie poprostu co tam było śmiesznego w tamtej szkole.

Q: A już nie chodzicie razem do szkoły?

A: Chodzimy razem do klasy. Najpierw w podstawówce i teraz w gimnazjum

Q: A przychodzicie tutaj pogadać raczej czy poćwiczyć?

A: Pogadać. No bo kolega tutaj ma bliżej do domu no i bardziej nam pasuje.

Q: I zawsze na siłownię przychodzicie właśnie?

A: Tak, głównie sobie się wygłupiamy tutaj

Q: Czyli nie ćwiczyacie tutaj?

A: No nie bardzo

Q: A na inne siłownie też chodzicie?

A: Nie, tutaj tylko. Kiedy dłużej gadamy to głównie stoimy na tamtym (urządzeniu) i jeden się kręci, drugi też się kręci.

Q: I we dwójkę, trójkę przychodzicie?

A: We dwójkę

Q: Poznaliście kogoś na siłowni?

A: Nie.

Q: A zauważyliście, że tutaj ludzie się witają, znają się?

A: No tak. Jak zobaczymy jakąś sąsiadkę to też mówimy dzień dobry

Q: A rozpoznajecie tutaj ludzi z siłowni gdzieś na ulicy później

A: Ja tam mieszkam no nie tak blisko, jakieś 500, 600 metrów i poznaje ludzi, ale raczej średnio. Raczej kolega, bo on po szkole idzie do swojej babci do domu.

Q: A gdybyście mieli opisać mi taką osobę, która przychodzi na siłownię, jaka taka osoba by była według Was?

A: Raczej starsi ludzie. Porozciągać się, poćwiczyć, a Polska się coraz bardziej starzeje, tak? I jest coraz więcej starszych ludzi, na Ursynowie jest ich bardzo dużo. Tutaj ci starsi ludzie przychodzą ćwiczyć, bo pewnie nie mają co robić

Q: A zauważyliście jakieś grupy zorganizowane, które tutaj przychodzą?

A: Nie

Q: Czy to jest Wasze miejsce? Nazwalibyście je Waszym miejscem?

A: Nie i tak

Q: No skoro tutaj przychodzicie często..

A: Odmienne zdanie. No w sumie kiedy mamy gdzieś przychodzić i pogadać no to tutaj, bo tutaj w sumie nikt nie jeździ, wiadomo, że nic się nie stanie, czasami ktoś przyjdzie. Jeden raz przyszła taka dziewczyna i (laughter) właśnie jakby to powiedzieć. Tutaj siedziała i do nas przyszła taka starsza z gimnazjum z nami pogadać, ale my ją tak delikatnie mówiąc no nie przegoniliśmy, ale poprostu musiała sobie pójść.

Q: Ale dlaczego?

A: Przyszła, przywitała się, spytała co tam u nas i poszła. Mniej więcej

Q: No chłopaki dobra. Macie coś dodania od siebie o tej siłowni, jakieś własne obserwacje?

A: Miejsce dla ludzi, w którym można poćwiczyć, pogimnastykować się na przykład, odpocząć też głównie. Tak jak my przychodzimy to głównie gadać, tak? No i ruszamy się jak gadamy bo kiedy się rozmawia to tak nie za łatwo ustać w miejscu

Q: A czy myślicie, że dzięki tej siłowni Wasza znajomość polepsza się?

A: Tak i tak

ŚRÓDMIEŚCIE

1st interview

Q: Dobrze to pierwsze pytanie mam, czy mogłaby się Pani przedstawić – nie z imienia i nazwiska, ale bardziej co Pani tutaj robi, dlaczego tutaj?

A: No mogę drugie imię podać – Aleksandra (laughter)

Q: A jest Pani na emeryturze? I przychodzi Pani z wnuczką?

A: Tak, emerytka i z wnuczką. Dzisiaj z wuczką jestem, ale przychodzimy też i z wnuczką, starszym troszkę też jest, o 2 lata. Ania i Piotruś.

Q: A jak często Państwo tutaj przychodzą?

A: Jak tylko mam czas, no teraz ostatnio to nie bardzo. Dzieci chciałyby i codziennie, tylko babcia nie wstanie

Q: Czy Pani przychodzi tu tylko z wnukami czy też ze znajomymi gdzieś po drodze?

A: Nie, z wnukami tylko przychodzę. Przyjeżdżam do nich bo ja z innej dzielnicy, także jak tutaj mam do załatwienia PZU, bo już sobie tutaj raczej staram załatwić. Mówię, Ania chodź idziemy sobie do Hali Mirowskiej, chodź na plac zabaw. Ja mówię dobrze. No to znaczy na tą siłownię.

Q: A czy nawiązują się tu jakieś znajomości pomiędzy dziećmi albo Pani może kogoś spotyka, z kimś rozmawia?

A: Wie Pani, tutaj co najwyżej z ludźmi trochę, nie mam żadnego znajomego bo już tutaj nie mieszkam długo w tej dzielnicy

Q: Ale to jest jedyna siłownia, na którą Pani chodzi?

A: Tak, tutaj tak. No tutaj na tą siłownię i na tej plac zabaw. Dla dzieci na huśtawki. Dzieci większe są, to tylko na huśtawki je biorę.

Q: A zauważyła Pani jakiegolwiek interakcje, które zachodzą tu między ludźmi? Że na przykład ktoś się wita z Panią, czy raczej każdy woli sobie sam ćwiczyć?

A: Nieee, nie raczej nie, każdy sa.

Q: No to właściwie tyle ode mnie, chyba, że ma Pani coś do dodania

A: Wie Pani. Przychodzę ze względu na wnuków, ciągną mnie bo bardzo lubią tutaj przychodzić, babcia mówi, tu się mięśnie wyrabia

Q: A babcia dlaczego nie ćwiczy?

A: Babcia nie ma siły, babcia chodzi na rehabilitację

Q: No ja ostatnio moją babcię zabrałam na siłownię, powiedziała, że to ćwiczenie fantastyczne, najlepiej na biodra

A: Tak, dzieciom odpowiada

Q: Ona mówiła, że jej się coś odblokowało

A: Babcia też nieraz jak jestem bez siatek, bez niczego, na luzie

Q: No dobrze, dziękuję serdecznie.

2nd interview

Q: Pierwsze pytanie mam do Pani, czy mogłaby Pani się przedstawić. Nie z imienia i nazwiska, ale bardziej czy jest Pani na emeryturze, czym się Pani zajmuje?

A: Na imię mam Marianna. Od 26 lat jestem na emeryturze. Pracowałam 37 lat w sumie w bardzo dobrej instytucji, no nie wiem czy mówić

Q: Nie, bardziej mnie interesuje czym Pani się w tym momencie zajmuje

A: Na razie jestem w domu i niczym się nie zajmuję, tylko sobą, ponieważ jestem bardzo chora i mam silne zawroty głowy i bardzo silne zaburzenia równowagi i nie mogę chodzić, dlatego się utrzymuję na nogach. Ale sama prowadzę sobie dom, mam 86 lat, w sierpniu skończę 86. Jestem wdową od kilku miesięcy, 55 lat byłam razem z mężem bez dzieci. Nie mamy dzieci, nie mieliśmy mieć dzieci. No i jestem sama, i sama sobie robię zakupy. No mam kogoś, kto mi przyjedzie od czasu do czasu posprząta, okna umyje no i to wszystko. Ale to nie jest tak, że co miesiąc, ale jak uważam, że trzeba. Ja staram się mieć zawsze czysto w domu, więc sama jestem, nie brudzę tak, więc staram się na bieżąco wszystko robić. No to byłoby jedno pytanie, długie (laughter)

Q: Tak. Ale mam pytanie dlaczego, w jakim celu przychodzi Pani tu na siłownię?

A: Dlatego, żebym mogła, sprawniej chodziła

Q: A czy to jest zalecenie od lekarza?

A: Nie. No ja chodziłam kiedyś na zabiegi, ale pytałam się czy mogę tutaj chodzić, więc powiedziano mi, że oczywiście tak, że to jest dla ciała dobrze, że poprostu mogę lepiej chodzić, no w tym sensie ja tutaj przychodzę, żeby to ciało było bardziej elastyczne, te nogi, słabe są nogi w ogóle no tak jak mówiłam nie mogę się utrzymać na tych nogach, więc w tym celu chodzę, żeby tak usprawnić poprostu chodzenie.

Q: A poznała Pani kogoś tutaj na siłowni? Jakies nowe znajomości?

A: Proszę panią, unikam.

Q: Unika Pani?

A: Mam jakiś taki dziwny charakter, że nie chce zawierać znajomości.

Q: A z Pani obserwacji zauważyła Pani, że ludzie tutaj ze sobą rozmawiają, przychodzą razem, czy bardziej także samotnie?

A: Mało, mało. Ci, którzy się znają, to widzi Pani tam siedzą. A tak to jak przychodzą to tak raczej nie rozmawiają. Ja od czasu do czasu też rozmawiam, ale nie dążę do tego, żeby zawierać znojomosci, żeby tu się spotykać, żeby tak o w takim sensie to nie. Żeby dwa słowa zamienić to tak, ja nie powiem, ale tak, żeby jakiś czas utrzymywać, przychodzić spotykać się to nie.

Q: A zawsze Pani przychodzi w to jedno miejsce ćwiczyć, czy do innych też?

A: Nie, nie, bo ja za daleko nie mogę chodzić ze względu właśnie na te nogi. Zresztą tu mam najbliżej, to po co będę szukała tego samego gdzie indziej

Q: Oczywiście, że tak. No dobrze, to jest właściwie wszystko ode mnie. Chyba, że Pani ma coś do dodania. To jest praca na temat tego miejsca, aktywności i tak dalej, jak to wygląda

A: No to jest doskonale miejsce i bardzo jestem zadowolona, że w ogóle coś takiego jest, bo to jest dla wszystkich, którzy tutaj przychodzą, to chętnie tutaj widzę korzystają, więc jestem zadowolona, że Pani Gronkiewicz-Waltz to nam

zafundowała. Dobra rzecz to jest. No bo można chodzić również gdzieś na zabiegi, ale tu jak ma się pod ręką na świeżym powietrzu to chyba to jest wygodniej, prawda? Przyjemnie nawet. Tutaj są takie duże konary, to tak piękne drzewa, świeże powietrze to tu jest przyjemnie

Q: To ode mnie to już wszystko, dziękuję bardzo i miłego dnia życzę.

3rd interview

Q: Dobrze to najpierw bym poprosiła, czy mogłaby Pani się przedstawić. Nie z imieni i nazwiska, tylko bardziej czym się Pani zajmuje na codzień

A: Jestem już emerytką niestety, więc zajmuję się tylko wnukami i jak mam chwilę to sobie korzystam z relaksy poprostu.

Q: A dlaczego Pani tutaj przychodzi?

A: Mieszkam blisko, idąc sobie poprostu nawet na spacer z wnukami czy też idę po drobne zakupy, po drobne, no bo tam dużych nie ma mowy, żeby się tu zatrzymywać wtedy, poprostu chwilę ćwiczę. Jest to dla rozprężenia takiego, dla poprawienia trochę kondycji fizycznej przy okazji, może się lepiej oddycha bo są drzewa

Q: A przychodzi Pani tutaj sama zawsze? Czy z wnukami również?

A: Z wnukami, bo oni to bardzo lubią, zwłaszcza, że plac zabaw jest tuż obok, więc korzystamy że tak powiem rodzinnie

Q: I tak pozytywnie wpływa raczej na relacje takie spędzanie czasu razem? Takie pytanie patetyczne, ale muszę

A: Doskonale wpływa, bo jest i jakaś opieka nad nimi, jest jednocześnie jakaś taka edukacja ekologiczna i taka przyrodnicza, bo wie Pani są jakieś pytania, a jednocześnie oni też w jakiś sposób się odprężają przychodząc ze szkoły są trochę stłamszeni, wiadomo, jakimiś obowiązkami, więc tu mają trochę takiego luzu, babcia też łagodnie na pewne rzeczy patrzy.

Q: A rozmawia Pani z innymi uczestnikami tutaj, którzy ćwiczą?

A: Przyznam się szczerze, że nie, ponieważ na to nie mam specjalnie czasu, bo jak mam, jak jestem sama to zwykle te chwile poświęcam tylko dla siebie i

nie prowadzę rozmów, natomiast jak z nimi jestem to muszę się na nich patrzeć.

Q: A oni z innymi dziećmiakami jakoś tak wchodzi w interakcje?

A: Dzieci tak, bardzo chętnie nawiązują. W sumie moje wnuki są bardzo komunikatywne, także mają takie towarzystwo gdziekolwiek się znajdą to bardzo szybko nawiązują

Q: A jeszcze mam takie pytanie skoro Pani tutaj często przychodzi, bo też chciałabym może jeżeli jest taka szansa znaleźć grupę osób, która się spotyka konkretnie w grupie, żeby tutaj ćwiczyć. Zauważyła Pani coś takiego?

A: To ja takiego nie zauważyłam. Być może panie takie no, że tak powiem starsze ode mnie, które lubią sobie posiedzieć na ławeczce, znają się bo tu spędzają większość czasu

Q: No tam widzę, że jest na przykład grupa pań, które sobie siedzą

A: No właśnie, no to takie właśnie grupy tutaj są. Ale to nie są moi rówieśnicy, poza tym no wie Pani, ja na takie coś nie mam czasu. Bo ja mimo, że jestem na emeryturze to mam czas wypełniony no tak na maksa

Q: No rozumiem, to zawsze na plus chyba

A: Nie, ja nie narzekam

Q: A jak Pani jest związana z tym miejscem konkretnie? Czy to jest jedyna siłownia, na którą Pani chodzi, czy również na inne?

A: Obecnie tylko tu ponieważ no ja tu mieszkam poprostu w bloku niedaleko, więc idąc poprostu zwyczajnie na zielony rynek to tak przy okazji. Nie chodzę tutaj, bo odwożę ich, więc jadę na Ursynów, właściwie na Kabaty aż, więc tam jeżeli z nimi jestem gdzieś to też tak na boisko, lub w lesie kabackim no ale to na zasadzie spacerów, jeśli chodzi o siłownię to tutaj, w innych miejscach nie.

Q: Dobrze, to ode mnie to będzie wszystko, chyba, że Pani ma ochotę coś dodać

A: Nie no myślę, że połowę Pani odrzuci i będzie dobrze

Q: Dziękuję bardzo za rozmowę

4th interview

Q: Czy mogłaby Pani się przedstawić, nie z imieni i nazwiska, tylko bardziej czym Pani się zajmuje?

A: Ja już jestem emerytką

Q: A co Pani robi na codzień?

A: Na codzień. Na codzień robię dobre wrażenie. Zajmuję się moją mamą, która ma lat prawie 90, w związku z czym chodzę z tymi zakupami, siatami, torbami, muszę jakoś to odreagować

Q: Czyli tu Pani przychodzi odreagować tak? Bo to kolejne pytanie, jaki jest cel przychodzenia na siłownię

A: Tak, poćwiczyć, odreagować, uspokoić się złapać trochę powietrza. Bo to jest takie niezobowiązujące no nie chce mi się latać naokoło po parku w tą i w tamtą bo mi się nie chce. Jak už się nadźwigam tych zakupów i do mamy wejść na 5 piętro bez windy zresztą, to wie Pani to już mam dość i spaceru i dźwigania, więc jak przyjde tutaj się poruszam i rozciągnę – bo to rozciąganie mięśni po prostu to się lepiej człowiek czuje jak się potem pójdzie do domu, odpocznie czy coś zje, to wtedy inaczej zupełnie te mięśnie reagują. Paza tym te pare minut tej gimnastyki to 15, 20 minut codziennie, no bo praktycznie ćwiczę tu codziennie to sprawia, że ja się poprostu i fizycznie lepiej czuję

Q: A przychodzi Pani sama tutaj?

A: Nie, tu przychodzi dużo moich znajomych

Q: I to są znajomi, których znała Pani wcześniej czy Pani tutaj w okolicy..

A: I poznani tu w okolicy i tacy, których znałam wcześniej. No różnie w tej chwili nie jestem w stanie wybierać których znałam wcześniej, których później, bo to już jakiś czas.

Q: A ak na siłowni Pani ćwicz z innymi osobami to rozmawia Pani, jest Pani osobą kontaktową?

A: Ja jestem osobą kontaktową, więc z wieloma osobami rozmawiam, są ludzie, którzy tutaj chodzą poćwiczyć, ale nie rozmawiają

Q: No zauważyłam też

A: Ale takich jest niewiele osób

Q: A ta grupa znajomych co tam ćwiczą sobie na siłowni i później coś robią Państwo razem? Jakby bo też piszę o tym, że siłownia wpływa na tworzenie się jakiś głębszych relacji

A: Raczej w tym wypadku to chyba nie. Siłownie tego typu zamkniętego gdzie przychodzą pewne grupy ludzi i z myślą, żeby sobie poćwiczyć to tam może. Nie wiem bo ja nie jestem zorientowana w takich grupach ludzi. Ja przychodzę tutaj sobie poćwiczyć bo to jest na powietrzu, a poza tym nie zobowiązuje mnie to do niczego, a tamte siłownie to jednak troszkę zobowiązują

Q: No pewnie też inaczej wyglądają

A: No tak no bo i finansowo i ludzie tam mają jakieś zobowiązania między sobą nawet. Niektórzy traktują te ćwiczenia, wie Pani, rehabilitacyjne, a niektórzy poćwiczą, poćwiczą i się nie przejmują specjalnie. Ja się nie przejmuję czy ćwiczę 10 czy 20 minut czy pół godziny. Dłużej no to nie ma sensu

Q: A jest Pani związana jakoś z tym miejscem? Tylko tutaj Pani przychodzi czy też na inne siłownie?

A: Ja tu mieszkam

Q: W tej okolicy?

A: W tym budynku konkretnie, w związku z czym wie Pani, ja nie mogę tego ominąć. I jak już idę to poćwiczę, poćwiczę i idę do domu

Q: I rozumiem, że to miejsce weszło w Pani rutynę taką?

A: Tak, no bo to ile. Oni to już zrobili w zeszłym roku gdzieś tak o tej porze

Q: No dobrze, to właściwie wszystko, więcej nie mam pytań chyba, to dziękuję bardzo

5th interview

Q: Na samym początku poprosiłabym Panią czy mogłaby się Pani przedstawić anonimowo, ale czym się Pani zajmuje na codzień?

A: Ja jestem emerytem. W związku z powyższym chodzę na uniwersytet trzeciego wieku, jak Pani widzi ćwiczę

Q: Tam do Kolegium Civitas?

A: Nie, chodzę na Polną, mam tam 3-4 zajęcia w ciągu tygodnia. Chodzę też na wykłady z profesorem Kowalskim na temat historii sztuki do zamku. Gimnastykuję się w domu, jeżdżę na rowerze, sprzątam, gotuję i na tym mi czas ucieka

Q: A dlaczego Pani tutaj przychodzi do siłowni?

A: Proszę Pani ja jestem po ciężkiej chorobie, a mianowicie miałam pęknięty tętniak mózgu. Przez trzy tygodnie byłam nieobecna i zalecili mi rehabilitanci, żebym ćwiczyła, bo to mi pozwala. Na szczęście nie mam żadnych innych porażeń, ale myślę, że to moja zasługa bo jestem w tym wszystkim bardzo wytrwała.

Q: A jak często Pani tutaj przychodzi?

A: Codziennie

Q: A na jak długo?

A: Na godzinę

Q: A czy mieszka Pani gdzieś w okolicy?

A: Tak

Q: I to jest jedyna siłownia, na którą Pani chodzi taka plenerowa?

A: Tak. Ale ja tu blisko mieszkam, bo ja tu mieszkam rzut beretem

Q: A zna Pani niektórych ludzi, którzy też korzystają z tych siłowni? Poznała Pani?

A: To znaczy są to przypadkowi ludzie, czasem rozmawiam z jakąś panią, najczęściej to panie się tym zajmują wbrew pozorom chociaż powinni to panowie okupować. No ale jakoś w tym wieku panom się już nie chce, to raczej fotelowy tryb życia

Q: Ale ostatnio tutaj byłam i rozmawiałam z panem, który ma 80 lat i żona go motywuje, żeby przychodził – ona patrzy, a on ćwiczy i tak to wygląda

A: Takie wypadki się zdarzają

Q: Czyli Pani przychodzi tutaj sama?

A: Sama

Q: No dobrze. Co się jeszcze miałam zapytać. Czy Pani, to jest takie głupie pytanie, ale muszę takie zadać, czy Pani się czuje częścią tej siłowni?

A: Naturalnie, naturalnie, bardzo ubolewałam jak tu młodzież no bo nie starsi, zabazgrali tablice informacyjne, nawet usiłowałam zmywać. No ale

Q: A jeśli miałyby Pani określić takiego typowego użytkownika siłowni to właśnie taka pani na emeryturze tak? Według Pani?

A: Myślę, że większość to ludzi starszych. Czasem dzieci przychodzą, ale dzieci to mają tam swój ogródek, to nie jest dla nich

Q: A zauważyła Pani jakieś zorganizowane grupy tutaj na przykład, żeby ćwiczyły?

A: Nie, nie ma

Q: Dobrze, to ode mnie będzie wszystko, dziękuję za rozmowę. Chyba, że Pani coś chce jeszcze dodać

A: Nie, dziękuję

6th interview

Q: To na początku Panią poprosiłabym czy mogłaby Pani się przedstawić, mówię, anonimowo, tylko czym się Pani zajmuje?

A: Jestem logopedą

Q: Dalej pracuje Pani w zawodzie?

A: Tak. Jestem na emeryturze, ale na pół etatu pracuję

Q: Aha. A dlaczego Pani przychodzi na siłownię?

A: Aaa mam kłopoty ze stawami, z kręgosłupem

Q: I to jest przepisane przez lekarza?

A: No polecane, zalecana absolutnie

Q: I przychodzi Pani tutaj sama?

A: Tak, mieszkam w pobliżu

Q: I to jest jedyna siłownia, na którą Pani chodzi?

A: No mam w domu rowerek i inne piłki, piłkę dmuchana i jakieś tam ciężarki inne. Ćwiczę.

Q: A czy kiedyś przyszła Pani tutaj z kimś?

A: Mąż nie chce (laughter)

Q: Ja byłam z moją babcią ostatnio i też wyciągaliśmy dziadka, ale też się nie dawał

A: Akurat nie chce. Mi się podoba, że jest akurat na powietrzu, zielono, ładnie, oddycham przy okazji

Q: Ja mam taką tezę jakby w mojej pracy, że chcę udowodnić to, że siłownia jakby miasto przez to, że postawiło tu siłownię dba o to, żeby ludzie się ze sobą jakoś się poznawali na ulicy i zwiększała im się jakoś przynależność do miasta, coś w tym stylu

A: No może może do siebie to nie łapię takiej sytuacji, ale przyjaźnie.. cieszę się, że to zaistniało i tu chwała Pani Prezydent, może to pieniądze unijne tego to do końca nie wiem, ale nie mniej świetnie, że to powstało. Pójdzie do budynku do siłowni zniechęca mnie to duszno, śmierdząco

Q: Byłam kilka razy to zdecydowanie tu jest lepiej

A: Pieniądze, jakaś presja, a tu jest jakoś sympatycznie, cudnie

Q: A czy Pani kogokolwiek tutaj poznała?

A: Ale wie Pani akurat nie usiłowałam. Mam takie fajne grono, nie mam takiej potrzeby akurat

Q: A zauważyła Pani jakieś interakcje między ludźmi tutaj?

A: Tak. Myślę, że wręcz przychodzą panie z koleżankami, albo jakieś pary. Tak, tak, przychodzą

Q: Ale Pani nie wchodzi w żadne tutaj relacje z ludźmi?

A: Mówię, prywatnie nie mam takiej potrzeby, uważam, że mam nawet za szerokie grono, żeby wypełnić

Q: To się chwali akurat

A: Jakoś tak się życie ułożyło pod tym względem pozytywnie, że i mąż i dzieci i znajomi. Ta forma nie, to fajnie, że poprostu ćwiczę na powietrzu

Q: Dobrze, to ode mnie to będzie wszystko

A: Dziękuję bardzo

Q: Ja również dziękuję

7th interview

Q: Dobrze to na sam początek poprosiłabym Panią, czy mogłaby się Pani przedstawić, ale mówię anonimowo, czym się Pani zajmuje?

A: Jestem na emeryturze

Q: A dlaczego Pani tutaj przychodzi?

A: No bo odkryłam to miejsce wczoraj, nie wiedziałam, że jest

Q: Wczoraj?

A: Jak pracowałam to chodziłam na fitness taki pod dachem, bo firma fundowała, teraz nie stać mnie na to, więc chodzę tutaj

Q: I Pani głównie tutaj przychodzi ćwiczyć, rozumiem?

A: Tak

Q: Dobrze, a sama?

A: Sama

Q: A ma Pani zamiar z kimś jeszcze tutaj przyjść?

A: Nie wiem, sama mieszkam, może kogoś tam namówię

Q: A czy mieszka Pani w okolicy?

A: No tak ze dwa kilometry w linii prostej

Q: Aha. Czyli Pani będzie chodziła dwa kilometry tutaj, żeby poćwiczyć?

A: Tak

Q: Dobrze. A na innych siłowniach nie?

A: No na innych siłowniach trzeba płacić, jak się na emeryturze jest to nie ma za bardzo z czego

Q: A są jeszcze te plenerowe tutaj w okolicy

A: A ja nie wiem gdzie są, jeszcze nie odkryłam, gdzie są?

Q: Jeszcze są gdzieś tam, ktoś mi zawsze wskazuje ręką, że gdzieś tam po drugiej stronie al. Jana Pawła w jakimś parku

A: To ja mam taką samą odległość chyba, no ale można sprawdzić

Q: Ich jest sto w Warszawie w ogóle, więc to istnieje szansa, że są gdzieś bliżej. A zauważyła Pani jakieś interakcje, które zachodzą tu na siłowni między ludźmi?

A: No wczoraj.. nie, kiedy ja tu byłam? W sobotę byłam. Oczywiście, jak ktoś jest.. z panią porozmawiałam sobie bardzo miło na tematy, także można nawiązać znajomości.

Q: A myśli Pani, że takie znajomości mogą wyjść później poza siłownię? Pójść później nie wiem na kawę?

A: No nie wiem, trudno mi powiedzieć, jestem dopiero drugi raz to jeszcze nie spotkałam takiej osoby, żeby się z nią związać tak jakoś na dłużej emocjonalnie, ale sądzę, że tak

Q: A mogłaby Pani określić taki według Pani typ osoby, która korzysta z tej siłowni? Taki statystyczny użytkownik?

A: No nie wiem no jak pani widzi. Jak byłam w sobotę były no zdziwiła mnie starsza pani. Wyglądała na 70 lat, a pół dnia siedziała na wiośle i tak ostro dawała, że ups

Q: Może jakaś była wioślarka..

A: Nie wiem, może i była wioślarka

Q: No dobrze, to ode mnie będzie wszystko chyba, chyba, że Pani ma coś do dodania, jakieś własne spostrzeżenia

A: No tyle, że to jest świetne miejsce, no dzięki za to, że takie istnieją w Warszawie

Q: Dobrze, super, dziękuję bardzo

8th interview

Q: Moje pierwsze pytanie brzmi, czy mogłaby Pani się przedstawić, ale bez imienia, tylko czym się Pani zajmuje?

A: Ja.. domem, domem, domem, tylko prowadzę

Q: Jest pani na emeryturze?

A: No właściwie tak, jestem no tak tak mi się wydaje

Q: A dlaczego Pani tutaj przychodzi?

A: Ja przychodzę ćwiczyć, to znaczy się, reumatyczne historie.

Q: Dostała Pani zalecenie od lekarza, żeby tutaj przyjść?

A: Nie, nie, po prostu tak sobie przyszłam

Q: I Pani przychodzi tutaj sama?

A: Sama

Q: Poznała Pani kogoś na siłowni?

A: Nie

Q: A zauważyła Pani jakieś interakcje między ludźmi, które tutaj zachodzą? Na przykład przychodzą jakieś grupy zorganizowane?

A: Nie

Q: A czy ludzie ze sobą tutaj generalnie rozmawiają?

A: Jak to inni, nie zauważyłam

Q: A jak często Pani przychodzi?

A: Rzadko

Q: A mieszka Pani w pobliżu?

A: Tutaj w bloku mieszkam

Q: A czy tutaj na tą siłownię Pani przychodzi czy też na inne?

A: Na tą na tą, Zwykle spaceruję po alejkach sobie, czasem tutaj przychodzę

Q: A jeśli miałaby Pani określić takiego typowego użytkownika takiej siłowni, to kim byłaby taka osoba?

A: Trudno powiedzieć, nie jestem takim obserwatorem

Q: No dobrze, to ode mnie to będzie wszystko w takim razie, dziękuje bardzo

BIAŁOŁĘKA

1st interview

Q: Chciałabym się spytać najpierw kim Pani jest. Oczywiście anonimowo, czyli bez imion, ale czym się Pani zajmuje i co Pani tutaj robi?

A: Przyjechałam do siostry na długi weekend.

Q: I Pani została po prostu dłużej, tak?

A: Tak

Q: Czy pierwszy raz Pani jest na tej siłowni?

A: Nie, drugi, wczoraj byliśmy

Q: Aha, dobrze. I przychodzicie rozumieć rodzinie?

A: Tak

Q: A w ile osób? I z kim Pani teraz jest?

A: 4, z siostrą i z jej córką, i ja i mój syn

Q: Czy to jest jedyna siłownia, na której Pani była?

A: Tak

Q: Dobrze. A przyjechała Pani na długi weekend, czyli mieszka Pani gdzieś w okolicy, blisko?

A: Nie, w Białymstoku

Q: Ale miałam na myśli, że u siostry, czyli ta siłownia znajduje się gdzie blisko domu?

A: Tak

Q: Dobrze, a ciężko zadać to pytanie, skoro Pani tak rzadko tutaj bywa, ale czy mogłaby Pani opisać mniej więcej co Pani zauważyła do tej pory na siłowni, jakie osoby tutaj przychodzą?

A: Myślę, że dużo dzieci. Wczoraj przynajmniej. Głównie z rodzicami mamy. Wczoraj były również mamy z wózkami, wózki sobie stały obok, a mamy ćwiczyły tutaj.

Q: Dobrze. A poznała Pani kogoś tutaj?

A: Nie

Q: Czy zauważyła Pani jakiegokolwiek interakcje pośród innych mam, które na przykład się nie znają?

A: Nie, za krótko tutaj jestem, żeby udzielić takiej odpowiedzi

Q: No to właściwie to już wszystko, piszę o interakcjach, które się odbywają tutaj, więc może ma Pani coś do dodania

A: Nie, powiedziałam, że jestem nie tą osobą. Powinna Pani zapytać kogoś, kto jest częściej bywa

Q: No jeszcze sobie tutaj posiedzę, może coś mi się uda wynioskować. Dobrze to dziękuję serdecznie

A: Proszę

2nd interview

Q: Chciałabym Was poprosić, żebyście się przedstawiły. Mniej więcej ile macie lat, dlaczego tutaj przychodzicie? Bez imienia, to jest anonimowe, tylko, żebym miała Wasz profil

A: Mamy 16 lat i przyszłyśmy sobie tylko dzisiaj.

Q: Pierwszy raz?

A: Tak po prostu.

Q: A mieszkacie w okolicy?

A: Tak, tutaj mieszkamy niedaleko

Q: I pierwszy raz przyszłyście tutaj?

A: Tak, teraz tylko na spacer

Q: Aha, dobrze. A częstwo przechodzicie obok siłowni?

A: Nie, właściwie nie. Bo nie mamy czasu

Q: Może mi się nie przydadacie (laughter)

A: No właśnie chyba jednak nie

Q: No dobrze, a od kiedy tutaj przyszłyście zauważyłyście kto przychodzi na siłownię?

A: Nie. W sumie to tacy starsi ludzie

Q: A widziałyście na Białoleśce jakieś inne siłownie? Takie?

A: Na ceramicznej jest chyba jedna, nie wiem, przy skateparku jeszcze jest

Q: No dobrze. A po co przyszłyście tutaj dzisiaj?

A: Tak po prostu, no w sumie się pobawić raczej

Q: A będziecie w ogóle przychodzić tutaj jeszcze raz? Bo jest fajnie, nie wiem, cokolwiek?

A: Tak, pewnie tak, na pewno

Q: Ale głównie na ćwiczenia czy bardziej tak spędzić czas, pogaduchy

A: Czas raczej, to zależy od nastroju

Q: No dobra, spoko, to w sumie tyle mi wystarczy, chyba, że macie coś do dodania?

A: Nie no nic, bo my tu tylko tak przychodzimy tak po prostu

Q: No dobra, jasne, to dzięki wielkie

A: Proszę

4th interview

Q: Na początek czy mogłaby się Pani przedstawić, bez imienia, tylko czym Pani się zajmuje

A: Czym się zajmuję? Jestem emerytem i staram się przychodzić tutaj, ewentualnie gdzieś indziej ćwiczyć bo cierpię na dyskopatię, zwyrodnienia, no w ogóle taki ruch, żebym miała. Tak o ćwiczę sobie po trochu nie na siłę

Q: Czy to jest zalecenie od lekarza, żeby Pani przychodziła na taką siłownię plenerową również?

A: Nie, to znaczy się. Jak ja widzę jak panowie tutaj ćwiczą to naprawdę tak na siłę. Ja raczej tylko tak się rozruszam no, to jest bardzo dobrze. Jak później pójść do domu to się inaczej czuję. I spacer 6 razy w koło albo 7, o tak robię czasami. Biegam. I to taki sport. W domu ćwiczę rano jeszcze jak wstanę

Q: Codziennie?

A: Codziennie. Napiję się wody. No sobota, niedziela nie. Wtedy są inne obowiązki, wtedy są wnuki i tak dalej

Q: I tutaj na siłownię Pani codziennie przychodzi?

A: Tak

Q: Zawsze sama czy może ze znajomymi?

A: Z nikim. Nikogo tu nie ma. Żadna pani w moim wieku, ja mam 75 lat, będę miała, ale to powiedzmy, i tu nikt nie chodzi. Ale mnie to nie przeszkadza

Q: A to dziwne, bo tutaj byłam w zeszłym tygodniu i jest dużo osób, które tak sobie ćwiczą

A: W takim wieku?

Q: Tak. Mogłabym zerknąć w moje archiwum tutaj, ale jest trochę osób

A: Ja nie spotkałam. Zawsze sobie panie chodzą tylko albo z pieskami, albo z kijkami, ale żeby tu ćwiczyć to nie widziałam

Q: Czyli kto tu przychodzi według Pani?

A: Młodzi, dzieci tak z rodzicami, takie starsze już trzeczke, nie takie pięcioletnie już powiedzmy, no i w średnim wieku. No dzisiaj widziałam pana, no niewidomy był bo miał białą laskę, przyszedł z kimś, nie wiem, czy to opiekun czy sąsiad – to on fajnie ćwiczył!

Q: Sąsiad, rozmawiałam z nimi

A: A, widzi Pani. I patrzyłam, że super dziadek.

Q: A zauważyła Pani, że tutaj przychodzą czasem bardziej zorganizowane grupy?

A: Nie, bo ja zawsze o tej porze. Może jak wieczorem czy popołudniu to tak, ale tak to nie

Q: Czy chodzi Pani na tę siłownię czy też na inne?

A: Nie, tylko na tą.

Q: Rozumiem, że mieszka Pani w pobliżu, tak?

A: Tak, no tutaj

Q: Dobrze, jeszcze takie pytanie – czy poznała Pani kogoś tutaj?

A: Nie, tu się ludzie wcale nie odzywają, jedynie młodzi

Q: I nie witają się ze sobą również?

A: Nie. No chyba, że się znają to może. Ale tak to się nie witają. I ja pierwsza mówię dzień dobry i tak jak tam młody człowiek, młody kawaler sobie robił, to powiedziałam: Ale świetnie Pan wysportowany. A on mówi, że to początek jego. I to tak o dwa słowa. I tu jeszcze jeden taki pan, już go nie ma, to też mówi: no podziwiam Panią, bo ja codziennie Panią widzę. Ja mówię: dziękuję, ale ja Pana również. No i tak

Q: Rozpoznaje Pani tych ludzi na ulicy czy osiedlu?

A: Rozpoznaję

Q: I wtedy się Pani wita z nimi?

A: Nie, dzień dobry sobie mówimy wtedy

Q: No to już coś, bo głównie chodzi mi o to, piszę pracę o tym, żeby się zawiązywały jakieś znajomości, żeby się rozpoznawać i tak dalej i to wpływa na jakieś dalsze kontakty

A: Wpływa, oczywiście, że tak. Ale to są ludzie tacy młodzi i żadnych kontaktów dla mnie nie ma

Q: To ode mnie to wszystko, chyba, że chciałaby Pani coś dodać

A: Nie

5th interview

Q: Na początek bym poprosiła Panią, czy mogłaby się Pani przedstawić. Tak jak mówię anonimowo, ale mniej więcej czym się Pani zajmuje i dlaczego Pani tutaj przychodzi?

A: W tej chwili jestem rencistką, wymagam rehabilitacji i ten sprzęt pozwala mi się tutaj rehabilitować

Q: A czy to jest zalecenie lekarza?

A: To jest zalecenie lekarza.

Q: A on wyznaczył Pani jakieś konkretne ćwiczenia, jakie ma Pani tu wykonywać?

A: Tak. Także korzystam z tego tutaj na powietrzu, bo część oczywiście ćwiczeń wykonuję w domu. Niestety no nasza służba zdrowia wygląda tak, że dla takich osób jak ja, które wymagają ciągłej rehabilitacji, bo tutaj się nic nie zmieni, nie mam protezy, mam usuniętą bardzo dużą kość po nowotworze, więc muszę sobie można powiedzieć większość roku organizować samodzielnie jeśli chcę w ogóle chodzić. Staram się aktywnie na wszystkich możliwych bym powiedziała odcinkach z korzystaniem z naprawdę przeróżnych sprzętów rehabilitować to swoje ciało, nie siedzieć na wózku. Natomiast no to na co możemy liczyć to jest raptem w moim przypadku 2-4 tygodnie w roku rehabilitacji

Q: To żart jest chyba.

A: No żart, i to jeszcze tak, że ja muszę o to błagać, to przechodzi po prostu wszelkie jak to powiedzieć możliwe granice. Wzięłam sprawy w swoje ręce i nie zamierzam się oglądać na innych i tutaj na przykład te ćwiczenia, ten twist bardzo dobry, to mi pomaga właśnie tutaj modelować sylwetkę, ponieważ cięcie było na wysokości biodra

Q: A to kość biodrowa?

A: Tak, kość biodrowa jest usunięta. Talerz kości biodrowej dokładnie, także dużo właśnie ćwiczeń, które tutaj wykonuję mnie wspomagają, pozwalają mi się utrzymać w pionie pomimo bardzo dużego braku

Q: A jak często Pani tutaj przychodzi na siłownię?

A: Wie Pani, no jak tylko pogoda jest, to jest akurat mankament tych

Q: Ale chyba jedyny muszę powiedzieć

A: Zgadza się, to jedyny mankament. Także każdą taką chwilkę, która się nadarzy i jest możliwość spędzam tutaj, staram się to robić regularnie. Jeśli nie mogę ćwiczyć tutaj, to muszę ćwiczyć w domu.

Q: Przychodzi Pani tutaj sama?

A: Dziś akurat sama, ale z reguły jestem z dzieckiem i ono sobie też tutaj urzęduje, też ćwiczy

Q: A poznała Pani kogoś na siłowni?

A: Tutaj? Wie Pani, no nie. Jakoś tak

Q: Bo ja staram się skupić też na interakcjach, relacjach

A: Poznać nie poznałam, ale, lecz jakby nie zaowocowało to jakimiś tam kontaktami dalszymi. Natomiast ludzie przychodzą no

Q: A gadają sobie?

A: Wie Pani różnie, wiadomo, że charaktery też mamy różne, no ja to jestem taka rozgadana, więc jakby zaczepiam też może innych, czasami się taka sytuacja właśnie zdarza.

Q: A rozpoznaje Pani tych ludzi później na ulicy? Rozumiem, że Pani mieszka w pobliżu, tak?

A: Tak, tutaj blisko, więc tak

Q: I wtedy mówi się dzień dobry, dzień dobry?

A: Najczęściej to się uśmiecham, od razu z dzień dobry nie startuję, bo niektórzy dziwnie później patrzą. Ale jak już jak to powiedzieć zakojarzą osobę, to oczywiście tam później to dzień dobry i pozdrowienie się pojawia. O no tak to tutaj wygląda. O proszę, tu jest syn, widzę na placu zabaw z dziadkiem, syn nauczycielki z przedszkola mojej córki, także dużo osób tutaj znam

Q: Ja muszę powiedzieć, że jestem pierwszy raz tutaj na Białółce, to znaczy drugi, bo wcześniej już byłam patrzeć to się dzieje. Ale właśnie wydaje mi się, że tu jest bardziej rodzinnie, i że ludzie się znają o dziwo

A: Widzi Pani, bo tu się bardzo dużo buduje, najwięcej jest ludzi młodych z dziećmi, to zresztą widać. No moje dziecko chodzi do pierwszej klasy, jest 16 pierwszych klas. W tym roku będzie 20 pierwszych klas, także szkoła no po prostu nie jest przygotowana na taką ilość dzieciaków. Tutaj dookoła są nowe bloki, ciągle się coś dostawia, przecież no chyba logiczne no, że ludzie będą się tu sprowadzać i ceny nie są wygórowane akurat w tej dzielnicy, więc.. No jak my się tu sprowadzaliśmy to nas ta przyroda, że tu jeszcze są jakieś szczątki można powiedzieć namiastki zieleni i to nas bardzo jakoś przekonało, że tu jednak fajnie by było o bo właśnie, tutaj można jakąś rekreację uprawiać, i mąż biega, także tak

Q: Dobrze, ode mnie to tyle w sumie

6th interview

Q: Takie pierwsze pytanie. Czy mogłyby Pani się przedstawić? Mówię, to jest anonimowe, ale kim panie są, so panie robią? Mniej więcej

A: Agata Musiej Wanderlich

Q: Ale bez imion

A: Jestem teraz, no to znaczy opiekuję się teraz dzieckiem, od 2 lat, dziecko ma dwa lata no i co jeszcze mogę powiedzieć. Od 1 czerwca wracam do pracy, a no obecnie siedzę z dzieckiem w domu, tak jeszcze przez miesiąc, także tak to wygląda

Q: I często Pani przychodzi tutaj na siłownię?

A: Codziennie. Codziennie przychodzimy, to znaczy ja generalnie próbuję coś tam ćwiczyć, ale dziecko tak biega po siłowni, to nie jestem w stanie wszystkiego zrobić, ale bardzo chętnie siada na różne tutaj urządzenia i ćwiczy

Q: I z kim Pani przychodzi?

A: Sama przychodzę z dzieckiem. No czasami z koleżanką, z sąsiadką

Q: A Pani się znają skąd?

A: Z osiedla, my na jednym osiedlu mieszkamy

Q: A gdzie się Panie poznały jeżeli mogę się spytać?

A: Na osiedlu, bo to sąsiadkami jesteśmy. A nie, na placu zabaw tutaj. Ano faktycznie. Tak tak na placu zabaw, zgadza się

Q: A mam jeszcze pytanie, bo piszę o tych siłowniach. Czy zauważyły Panie, żeby tutaj się nawiązywały jakieś znajomości na takiej siłowni?

A: Ja osobiście nie widziałam, ale jak przychodzą mamy z dziećmi to zauważyłam, że rozmawiają, na przykład ja bardzo chętnie rozmawiam z innymi mamami jak się dzieci bawią tutaj, więc myślę, że jak najbardziej

Q: A czy to są takie kontakty, które wychodzą poza siłownię, czy raczej bardziej się ograniczają

A: To znaczy bardziej tak jakby to powiedzieć na jeden raz, potem jak się spotykamy kolejny raz no to rozmawiamy o dzieciach, o nie wiem, no głównie o dzieciach się rozmawia. A czy o siłowni? Jakoś nie. Nieszczególnie, prawda? Ale tutaj właśnie jak sobie chodzę na tą siłownię tak czytamy co wzmacnia mięśnie, prawda? Fajnie byłoby sobie poćwiczyć, ale nie ma możliwości z dziećmi. Trzeba pilnować jednak, żeby sobie krzywdy nie zrobiło. Chociaż Emilka jest starsza i jeszcze z Hubertem jest mąż zazwyczaj to jeszcze z nią to można poćwiczyć. O no bo trzyletnie dziecko to razem sobie ćwiczymy. Ale to wtedy muszą być, musi spać tak jak teraz. Ale jak tak obserwuję, bo my też rano przychodzimy, że dużo ludzi ćwiczy tutaj. Oj bardzo. Rano tak. Biegają, rano ćwiczą, myślę, że to jest na pewno tutaj bardzo użyteczna sprawa, więc jest urzytkowana intensywnie.

Q: Jakby Panie miały określić taką statystyczną osobę, która przychodzi tutaj, to w jakim wieku mniej więcej, nawększa grupa ludzi to..

A: Najwięcej takich młodych mam jest i panowie, którzy tutaj biegają i sobie robią przerwy na siłownię, żeby coś tu właśnie sobie poćwiczyć, to jest wiek tak myślę do czterdziestu. Chociaż widziałam pana starszego, jak na przykład wczoraj deszcz padał i byliśmy tutaj to był jeden pan taki senior już i sobie tutaj ćwiczył. Tak i panie takie starsze też

Q: Czy to jest jedyna siłownia, na którą Panie chodzą? Taka plenerowa?

A: Tak

Q: Ze względu, że mieszkają Panie blisko?

A: Tak

Q: Dobrze. Ode mnie chyba wszystko, chyba, że Panie chciałyby coś dodać

A: No nie. Tylko gdzie moje dziecko. Sprzęty są bardzo fajne, łatwo chodzą jak to się mówi, ogólnodostępne i rzeczywiście można dużo rzeczy sobie poprawić, tylko trzeba mieć czas.

Q: A a taki główny cel przychodzenia to jest ze względu na dzieci, tak?

A: To znaczy na spacer, ale same też, jak najbardziej bym przyszła sama też. Mnie to trzylatka ciągnie, ona bardzo lubi tu. One tak naprawdę od małego już uczą się no nie, że można coś poćwiczyć

7th interview

Q: Dobra to jeśli mógłbyś się przedstawić, mówię, bez imion, ale kim jesteś, ile masz lat? I co tutaj robisz?

A: Bez imion? Czyli jak mam o sobie powiedzieć?

Q: Ile masz lat, gdzie chodzisz do szkoły tutaj w okolicy?

A: No właśnie nie za bardzo w okolicy bo na Bielany, chodzę do Jose Martii, to jest 22 liceum tam chyba w rankingu 22 mi się wydaje no i no tak. Nie wiem co jakie pytania

Q: I po co tutaj przyszedłeś?

A: Przyszedłem tutaj bo to żeby i robić niemiecki bo mieliśmy pracę domową

Q: Sprawdzian widzę, że 22 maja

A: To znaczy poprawa tego sprawdzianu, bo mi nie za bardzo poszedł i pani mi kazała właśnie zrobić wszystkie te zadania, które zrobiliśmy na sprawdzianie źle – przepisać takjakby poprawnie i jeszcze akurat siostrę zabrałem bo się nudziła no i sobie zrobiła skakankę i tam miała poskakać, nie wiem co teraz robiła, często mi znika z oczu i no i nie wiem tam skacze albo na którychś urządzeniach. No ja teraz no staram się zrozumieć co jest napisane i zrozumieć czas

Q: Ale dlaczego jesteś na siłowni?

A: Dlaczego na siłowni. Gdyż siedziałem na ławce i znudziło mi się tam bo nie chce żeby mnie mrówki oblażyły no tam zobaczyłem kilka na ławce i po prostu się przestraszyłem i chciałem wstać i pójść w jakieś miejsce, gdzie nie ma mrówek no i na początku byłem tutaj na tym urządzeniu, potem na narciarzy, ale stwierdziłem, że jest niewygodnie i bujają się nogi no więc przyszedłem tutaj i tu jest w miarę stabilnie.

Q: Pierwszy raz tutaj jesteś?

A: To znaczy nie, mieszkam tutaj niedaleko, ile to jest? Koło 50, 80m stąd no i tu jestem który raz. Ogólnie na boisku byłem kilkadziesiąt razy przynajmniej, a na siłowni, nie pamiętam już kiedy została otwarta, ale też koło może mniej więcej 15, 20 razy.

Q: I przychodzisz tu ćwiczyć? Czy robić niemiecki zawsze?

A: To znaczy nie. Niemiecki to jest tak właśnie okazjonalnie, bo no tak pierwszy raz się złożyło. Ale na siłowni ćwiczyć przychodzę nie wiem byłem znaczy to nie jest tak, że ja planuję, żeby tutaj po prostu przychodzić i ćwiczyć, po prostu to się tak składa nie wiem załóżmy.. Kiedyś byłem chyba biegać, biegałem raz, wróciłem i tak i stwierdziłem, że skoro biegałem to można by było coś porobić, więc przyszedłem na siłownię, na drążki tam gdzie są no tam też trochę poćwiczyłem, popodciągałem się no i wróciłem do domu. No i pamiętam też kiedyś wracałem właśnie z Karoliną no i chyba nie byliśmy tu na siłowni, tylko z tamtej strony tam na tych drążkach i tak powiedziałem jej, że poczekaj chwilę, chodź ze mną i na chwilę tam się tak popodciągałem i wróciłem do domu.

Q: Zawsze z siostrą przychodzisz?

A: Naczy nie zawsze, ale często

Q: A z innymi znajomymi?

A: To kiedyś, bo teraz właśnie zmieniałem szkołę, jestem w pierwszej liceum i teraz nowi znajomi nie za bardzo z Białoleki, tam są niektórzy, ale większość właśnie spoza Białoleki, gdzieś bliżej mieszkają Bielan no i tak to w gimnazjum często chodziłem ze znajomymi i nie pamiętam. Naczy tutaj na boisko chodziliśmy ale właśnie przyjeżdżał kolega z Chotomowa. No no to on ma kawałek stąd, nie pamiętam ile to jest, około 20-30 jakoś od Warszawy, to jest

Legionowo tam na górze. No i ogólnie tutaj często przychodziliśmy, głównie sobie pograć w kosza, ewentualnie w podstawówce jeszcze przychodziliśmy, żeby pograć w piłkę, ale no zawsze się baliśmy tych starszych, że oni grają w kosza i zaraz nas pewnie wygonią i tak dalej. Dlatego musieliśmy zawsze trafić na okazję kiedy nie grali w kosza, to mogliśmy grać w piłkę. No a potem już było tak, że coraz mniej w tą piłkę graliśmy tutaj, coraz częściej na boisku tam przy szkole 42., no i tak. Tutaj przychodziliśmy tylko na kosza

Q: A poznałeś kogoś tutaj na siłowni?

A: Na siłowni? Na siłowni nie. Na boisku to bardziej

Q: No rozumiem

A: No bo siłownia to jest od niedawna, więc w sumie poznałem więcej osób grając na boisku nie tutaj. Więcej mam znajomych takich w moim wieku nie wiem, rok, dwa lata starszych właśnie z boiska poznanych. A tak to wszyscy też wyjeżdżają gdzieś do szkół wyższych poza Białolękę. No bo tutaj jest tylko Herbert z tego, co pamiętam jedyna szkoła na Białolęce. No to trochę nie za bardzo, wszyscy jeżdżą, bo mają większe ambicje.

Q: A jakbyś miał opisać takiego użytkownika tej siłowni to kim on by był, taki statystyczny?

A: Statystyczny użytkownik siłowni..

Q: Czy bardziej starsi ludzie przychodzą, młodszy, dzieci? Widzę, że dzieci strasznie jest dużo

A: Tak. Powiedziałbym, że statystyczny użytkownik to jest no mężczyzna około 30, 30-paru lat, ubrany tak na ramiączka, nie wiem to jest takie wyobrażenie. Nie wiem. Na ramiączka taka koszulka szara, krótkie spodenki, owłosione nogi, jakieś buty do biegania i sobie tutaj ćwiczy. I też pamiętam no kilka razy przychodziliśmy to nie wiem jest ładna pogoda czy coś to jest tam sporo dzieci, grają, albo starszych osób i tutaj. No właśnie widziałem sporo dzieci nie to żeby ćwiczyć, żeby rozbudować mięśnie i tak dalej, tylko poprostu z nudów. Np dzieci nie miałyby miejsca na boisku i tutaj się bawiły po prostu tymi urządzeniami. Na przykład no nie wiem, siadały na tym, się huśtały, no różne rzeczy

Q: A określiłbyś okolicę, to miejsce jako Twoje miejsce?

A: Może niekonkretnie to miejsce, ale ogólnie tereny właśnie odtąd do powiedzmy ulicy Stefanika, to jest no taka okolica, że gdybym znalazł sobie tu jakieś mieszkanie i gdyby było ono w miarę tanie i gdybym mógł się utrzymać to pewnie nawet bym się nie wyprowadzał z Białoleki, bym tutaj został. No tak to musiałbym dojeżdżać do centrum jeśli miałbym pracę gdzieś w centrum, nie tutaj gdzieś niedaleko. No ale okolica generalnie jest super, jest taka spokojna, nie ma dużego ruchu no i myślę, że można by było tutaj całe życie spędzić.