NON-ALIGNED CITY:

URBAN LABORATORY
OF THE NEW SARAJEVO

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I   INTRODUCTION

Extended Abstract

Sarajevo's contested position at the intersection of geopolitical 'tectonic plates' – situated between Rome and Byzantium, Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires, the Western and Eastern Bloc, de-colonization and re-colonization – resulted in both fertile periods of exchange and moments of devastating conflicts. This in-betweenness has contributed to the (dis)continuous cityscape, characterized by a diversity of spatial productions and radical urban transformations. Therefore, Sarajevo represents an urban laboratory for social and spatial transformation processes.

The ETHZ/UTT 'Urban Toolbox' provided a cross-scalar methodological approach for examining the physical typology, program, and actors of Sarajevo's urbanism, spanning from spatial and stakeholder analyses synthesized through critical mapping to the identification of strategic scenarios and the use of digital media.

This dissertation zooms both in and out on three time periods between 1945 and 2014, defined by three distinct revolutionary moments. The central theme of this project is the examination of the transformative processes with the focus on the district of Marijin Dvor in New Sarajevo. Previously a peripheral zone, it became a central operational laboratory of the new Sarajevo to test the effects of major geopolitical shifts on the 'heart' and 'brain' of the city. While investigating multiple spatial crystallization points, one building epitomized the correlation between geopolitical power and space – the Museum of the Revolution – a living symbol of the three periods of construction, destruction and fragmentation.

The proclamation of Tito's communist revolution in 1945 and the establishment of a socialist Yugoslav federation, created pressing spatial demands for the new urban proletariat. The industrialization and rural-urban migration gave birth to the city's first strategic urbanistic model, enabled by proclaiming the collectivization of land as a common good. The City Planning Institute developed the first General Urban Plan (GUP-Generalni Urbanistički Plan) in 1961. This large-scale urban planning

instrument was enabled by the Yugoslav decentralized model of self-management that also included the 'Mjesne Zajednice' (MZs), the local communities. These new societal postulates were decisive for the construction of the flagship project for Sarajevo and its nucleus, Marijin Dvor, as a cultural, educational and industrial hub of BiH, one of Yugoslavia's most ethnically diverse and rural regions. Architects and urbanists were tasked with planning, designing and building a New Sarajevo as a socialist utopia. Buildings, such as the Museum of the Revolution, were constructed as monuments to celebrate both the victory of the partisans over Nazi Germany and the new state design ideology: functionalist modernism. The construction of Marijin Dvor was catalyzed by the Winter Olympic Games, hosted by Sarajevo in 1984 as a result of Yugoslavia's non-aligned foreign policy and the city's status as 'terra neutral`.

Later in 1992, as socialist Yugoslavia began to crumble after the geopolitical vacuum of post-1989 Europe, Marijin Dvor became the site of the fruitless peace protests. The city was put under military siege and New Sarajevo was divided along a frontline. Under wartime conditions, the urban utopia was de-urbanized. The collapse of urban infrastructure and the destruction of the human habitat, characterized in Bogdan Bogdanović's description of urbicide, reached its peak in Sarajevo. During this period, Marijin Dvor went through a radical transformation: public spaces became graveyards or urban-agricultural zones for survival. The Museum of the Revolution found itself at the frontline and was bombed as the symbol of a common Yugoslav past. Nevertheless, in acts of popular resistance, destroyed buildings became temporary art spaces. Derelict parks turned into agricultural zones. This attracted a wave of global solidarity as intellectuals visited Sarajevo, including the architect Lebbeus Woods, and formed a vital part of the anti-war movement, analyzing the destruction and proposing both small adaptations and radical post-war reconstruction visions.

However, these visions did not adhere to the post-socialist and post-war realities of the newly ethnically divided Sarajevo resulting from the 1995 Dayton Peace Agreement. Common properties had been converted into state ones, which were then auctioned off in a massive privatization wave. These policies fell in line with the

country's market liberalization. Within these new realities, MZs maintained the same level of legal status, but under the extreme pressure by neoliberal urban development. New economic and urban mechanisms led to aggressive development driven by investments from across the geopolitical spectrum, which disregarded already destroyed public space in favor of monocultures of generic commercial architecture. Marijin Dvor became a high-density node of real estate speculations and a symbol of socio-economic segregation and spatial fragmentation. The refugia of public space were found in administrative grey-zones of the post-war constitutional changes. Politically contaminated and left out of the legal system and with a new name and no program as a consequence, the Historical Museum, once the Museum of the Revolution, became a host to civic engagements, inviting citizens to figure as curators. This new system and its accompanying urban model revealed ruptures in 2014, symbolized through violent mass protests of the so-called 'Bosnian Spring'. Impoverished and unemployed, Sarajevans turned their anger and desperation against the city's governmental buildings.

The dissertation includes 'Reactivate Sarajevo', an activist experiment of spatial agency that connects theory and practice by engaging in-situ. Influenced by both the pioneers of reflective practice, Donald Schön and Kurt Lewin, and the ETHZ/UTT concept of the activist architect, 'Reactivate Sarajevo' exposes the dissertation's work-in-progress to the public. This discourse was initiated through the organization of expert symposia, stakeholder workshops and open discussions with the general public. The production of discourse, curation of performances and reflection of these actions mutually nurtured the theoretical chapters. These acts spawned critical mapping and alternative design concepts, presented through an interactive digital platform, as well as a strategy of inversion to represent Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2016 at the International Architecture Biennale in Venice for the first time in the country's history. The exhibition showcased not only critical research, but also alternative design concepts amplifying civic action as a basis for the integrated and inclusive development of Marijin Dvor. The insights were then transferred back to Sarajevo back via the 'Balkan route' and the exhibition was installed in the Historical Museum.

The Experiment contributed to the creation of a network of formal and informal partnerships locally and laid the groundwork for a future urban design and planning project concerning the future planning of Marijin Dvor and Sarajevo. This approach of action research resonated throughout the Balkans and other regions through workshops, lectures and consultancies and formed the basis for the extrapolation and application of the insights to other cities.

Erweiterte Zusammenfassung

Die umstrittene Position Sarajevos an der Schnittstelle geopolitischer "tektonischer Platten" - zwischen Rom und Byzanz, Österreich-Ungarn und Osmanischem Reich, West- und Ostblock, Entkolonialisierung und Rekolonisierung - führte sowohl zu fruchtbaren Austauschzeiten als auch zu Momenten verheerender Konflikte. Diese Zweisamkeit hat zu einem (dis)kontinuierlichen Stadtbild beigetragen, das durch eine Vielfalt von räumlichen Produktionen und radikalen urbanen Transformationen gekennzeichnet ist. Sarajevo stellt damit ein urbanes Labor für soziale und räumliche Transformationsprozesse dar.

Die ETHZ/UTT "Urban Toolbox" bot einen massstabsübergreifenden methodischen Ansatz zur Untersuchung der physikalischen Typologie, des Programms und der Akteure des Urbanismus in Sarajevo, der von räumlichen und Stakeholder-Analysen über kritische Kartierungen bis hin zur Identifizierung strategischer Szenarien und der Nutzung digitaler Medien reichte.

Diese Dissertation zoomt sowohl in als auch aus drei Zeiträumen, zwischen 1945 und 2014, definiert durch drei verschiedene revolutionäre Momente. Zentrales Thema dieser Forschung ist die Untersuchung der transformativen Prozesse im Bezirk Marijin Dvor. Als ehemals periphere Zone wurde es zu einem zentralen Versuchslabor des neuen Sarajevo, um die Auswirkungen grosser geopolitischer Veränderungen auf das "Herz" und das "Gehirn" der Stadt zu testen. Bei der Untersuchung mehrerer räumlicher Kristallisationspunkte verkörperte ein Gebäude den Zusammenhang zwischen geopolitischer Macht und Raum - das Museum der Revolution - ein lebendiges Symbol für die drei Perioden des Aufbaus, der Zerstörung und der Fragmentierung.

Die Proklamation der kommunistischen Revolution Titos 1945 und die Gründung einer sozialistischen jugoslawischen Föderation schufen dringende räumliche Anforderungen an das neue städtische Proletariat. Die Industrialisierung und die Land-Stadt-Migration brachten das erste strategische städtebauliche Modell der Stadt hervor, das durch die Verkündung der Kollektivierung von Land als

Gemeinwohl ermöglicht wurde. Das Institut für Stadtplanung entwickelte 1961 den ersten allgemeinen Stadtplan (GUP-Generalni Urbanistički Plan). Dieses gross angelegte städtebauliche Instrument wurde durch das jugoslawische dezentrale Modell der Selbstverwaltung ermöglicht, das auch die lokalen Gemeinschaften Mjesne Zajednice (MZs) umfasste. Diese neuen gesellschaftlichen Postulate waren ausschlaggebend für den Bau des Vorzeigeprojekts für Sarajevo und seinen Kern, Marijin Dvor, als Kultur-, Bildungs- und Industriezentrum von Bosnien und Herzegowina, einer der ethnisch vielfältigsten und ländlichsten Regionen Jugoslawiens. Architekten und Stadtplaner wurden mit der Planung, Gestaltung und dem Bau eines neuen Sarajevo als sozialistische Utopie beauftragt. Gebäude wie das Museum der Revolution wurden als Monumente errichtet, um sowohl den Sieg der Partisanen über Nazi-Deutschland als auch die neue Staatsdesign-Ideologie: den funktionalistischen Modernismus zu feiern. Der Bau von Marijin Dvor wurde durch die Olympischen Winterspiele katalysiert, die 1984 in Sarajevo stattfanden, als Folge der blockfreien Aussenpolitik Jugoslawiens und des Status der Stadt als terra neutral".

Später im Jahr 1992, als das sozialistische Jugoslawien nach dem geopolitischen Vakuum Europas nach 1989 zu zerfallen begann, wurde Marijin Dvor zum Schauplatz der erfolglosen Friedensproteste. Die Stadt wurde militärisch belagert, und New Sarajevo wurde entlang einer Frontlinie geteilt. Unter Kriegsbedingungen wurde die urbane Utopie de-urbanisiert. Der Zusammenbruch der städtischen Infrastruktur und die Zerstörung des menschlichen Lebensraums, der in Bogdan Bogdanović's Beschreibung des Urbizids gekennzeichnet ist, erreichte in Sarajevo seinen Höhepunkt. In dieser Zeit durchlief Marijin Dvor einen radikalen Wandel: öffentliche Räume wurden zu Friedhöfen oder urban-agrarischen Überlebenszonen. Das Museum der Revolution befand sich an der Front und wurde als Symbol einer gemeinsamen, jugoslawischen Vergangenheit bombardiert. Dennoch wurden zerstörte Gebäude durch Akte des Volkswiderstandes zu temporären Kunsträumen. Verfallene Parks verwandelten sich in landwirtschaftliche Zonen. Dies zog eine Welle der globalen Solidarität nach sich, als Intellektuelle Sarajevo besuchten, als ein wichtiger Teil der Anti-Kriegsbewegung). Darunter war auch der Architekt Lebbeus Woods, der die

Zerstörung analysierte und so wohl kleine Anpassungen als auch und radikale Visionen für den Wiederaufbau nach dem Krieg vorschlug.

Diese Visionen entsprachen jedoch nicht den postsozialistischen und nachkriegszeitlichen Realitäten des neu geteilten Sarajevo, das sich aus dem Dayton-Friedensabkommen von 1995 ergab. Gemeingüter wurden in staatliche umgewandelt, die dann in einer massiven Welle der Privatisierung versteigert wurden. Diese Politik entsprach der Marktliberalisierung des Landes. In diesen neuen Realitäten blieben die MZs auf dem gleichen Rechtsstatus, jedoch unter dem extremen Druck der neoliberalen Stadtentwicklung. Neue wirtschaftliche und städtische Mechanismen führten zu einer aggressiven Entwicklung, die von Investitionen aus dem gesamten geopolitischen Spektrum getragen wurde, die den bereits zerstörten öffentlichen Raum zugunsten von Monokulturen generischer kommerzieller Produkte vernachlässigten.

Marijin Dvor wurde zu einem hochverdichteten Knotenpunkt der Immobilienspekulationen und zu einem Symbol der sozioökonomischen Segregation und räumlichen Fragmentierung. Die Refugien des öffentlichen Raumes wurden in administrativen Grauzonen der Verfassungsänderungen der Nachkriegszeit gefunden. Jetzt, politisch 'kontaminiert' und aus dem Rechtssystem ausgeschlossen, mit einem neuen Namen und ohne Programm, wurde das Historische Museum, einst das Museum der Revolution, zu einem Ort bürgerschaftlichen Engagements und lud die Bürger ein, als Kuratoren aufzutreten. Dieses neue System und das dazugehörige Stadtmodell offenbarten Brüche im Jahr 2014, symbolisiert durch gewalttätige Massenproteste des sogenannten "Bosnischen Frühlings". Verarmt und arbeitslos, drehten die Sarajevaner ihre Wut und Verzweiflung gegen die Regierungsgebäude der Stadt.

Die Dissertation beinhaltet 'Reactivate Sarajevo', ein aktivistisches Experiment im Sinner einer 'spatial agency', das Theorie und Praxis durch Engagement 'in-situ' miteinander verband. Unter dem Einfluss der Pioniere der 'reflective practice', Donald Schön und Kurt Lewin, und des ETHZ/UTT-Konzeptes des aktivistischen

Architekten, stellte 'Reactivate Sarajevo' die Arbeit der Dissertation der Öffentlichkeit vor. Dieser Diskurs wurde durch die Organisation von Expertensymposien, Stakeholder-Workshops und offenen Diskussionen mit der Öffentlichkeit initiiert. Die Produktion von Diskursen, die Kuration von Performances und die Reflexion dieser Aktionen haben die theoretischen Kapitel bereichert. Diese Handlungen führten zu kritischen Kartierungen und alternativen Designkonzepten, die über eine interaktive digitale Plattform präsentiert wurden, sowie zu einer Strategie der Inversion, um Sarajevo und Bosnien und Herzegowina 2016 auf der Internationalen Architekturbiennale in Venedig zum ersten Mal in der Geschichte des Landes zu vertreten. Die Ausstellung zeigte nicht nur kritische Forschung, sondern auch alternative Designkonzepte einer Erweiterung des bürgerlichen Handelns als Grundlage für eine integrierte und integrative Entwicklung von Marijin Dvor. Die Erkenntnisse wurden dann nach Sarajevo zurück auf die 'Balkanroute' gebracht und die Ausstellung wurde im Historischen Museum installiert.

Das Experiment trug zur Schaffung eines Netzwerks formeller und informeller Partnerschaften vor Ort bei und legte den Grundstein für ein zukünftiges Städtebauprojekt zur Zukunftsplanung von Marijin Dvor und Sarajevo. Dieser Ansatz der Aktionsforschung fand auf dem gesamten Balkan und in anderen Regionen durch Workshops, Vorträge und Beratungen Beachtung und bildete die Grundlage für die Extrapolation und Anwendung der Erkenntnisse auf andere Städte.

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The additional experience I gained through my involvement in diverse activities at the ETH Zurich/U-TT Chair of Architecture and Urban Design transgressed the established boundaries of research, teaching and practice. My participation in the Urban Design I/II: Urban Stories Lectures, SNSF SCOPES joint research project 'Smart and Creative Cities for knowledge-based societies in CEE', the Elective Course 'Urban Simulation Game', the Conferences 'Metropolis Non-formal', 'No/Low-cost Housing' and 'Shareland' in collaboration with UN-Habitat, as well as the institutional development of the ISTP (Institute of Science, Technology and Policy), helped me enrich the dissertation in terms of methodologies, content and professional philosophy. It has been an honor to be included in the ETH Zurich/U-TT Chair or Architecture and Urban Design 'family', and to be surrounded by inspiring

colleagues from around the globe from whom I learned a lot, both as a person and as a professional.

Prologue: Why Sarajevo?

"It was the beginning of the age of revolution. It was the beginning of the age of exaggeration."

Susan Sontag, Volcano Lover, 1992

Like all research, this thesis is born out of curiosity and the belief that a better world is possible. Its purpose was to explore and present the topic of Sarajevo's urban development with the intention to generate long overdue critical discourse through intellectual observation and performative action. Moreover, due to being born and having lived in Sarajevo, a long-term observation, marked by interruptions and ruptures, provided the working base to understand the city's ongoing urban and societal development forces. The city stands for urban transformation processes without precedents, ranging from revolutionary social and urbanistic utopia, to war followed by peace, resulting in a dystopian, fragmented city model. The last seventy years are complex, both as a challenge and an opportunity to inspire architects to engage in the building of democratic common ground in crisis cities.

The motivation for conducting this work is grounded in my personal history and constant observation of Sarajevo from an intimate, but distant position. Driven by a rigorous interrogation between society and design, I am the insider as well as outsider, taking a dualistic position critical to understanding this city. This general curiosity to analyze contemporary Sarajevo and its latent crisis is still a timely topic. Sarajevo is still in the post-war reconstruction and transitory economic liberalization phase that has resulted in an unintended case of resilience and urban transformations under the forces of globalization. The current epoch has added a dimension of strong ideologies and weak institutions, paired with civic action to an already historically complex cultural condition.

All of these factors have impacted — and continue to impact — the everyday lives of the people of Sarajevo who mostly remained in their city, regardless of which ruler

arrived: Ottoman sultan, Austrian-Hungarian Emperor, or Yugoslav king. The population of Sarajevo constructed ideas and produced knowledge within the context of their own political material, code and practice. In order to reactivate this knowledge, the dissertation needed to attend the historical layers, in which firmly embedded ideas and projects are both visible and available for appropriation, requiring critical reflection on the circumstances of their emergence.

By living through the time periods of the socialist era, its collapse, the resulting war and the following post-conflict conditions, I have experienced a myriad of monumental changes that occurred in Sarajevo and increased its relevance to other cities. Just as Mexico City's cityscape serves as a real-life 'Potemkin's village' stage, a film set simulating aesthetics and ambiance for more than 20 cities worldwide, Sarajevo' s urbanistic bricolage and its radical transformations can be extrapolated to a series of urban conditions that are overseen within current global city networks of the uncritical information production and consumption. Many cities today highlight the importance of local communities in the decision-making process. Sarajevo, with its MZ structure that dates back to socialism, is under pressure from political interests and investors. The maintenance of public space, social cohesion and urban ecologies was neglected on account of fostering a culture of consumption for tourists and high-income groups. This has not only contributed to individualism and the rise of the personal car culture (that is largely responsible for the infamous brand of Sarajevo as the most polluted city in Europe) but created gentrification and spatial exclusion that led to the 'Bosnian Spring' in 2014 and comparable protests in European cities such as Barcelona and Berlin in the 2010s.

I grew up in Soukbunar of the late 1980s, an informal settlement or 'divlje naselje' with no clear tenure and a major lack of designated public spaces and municipal services. The constructions are characterized, to this day, by densely built one- to two-story, free standing, self-built houses and a chaotic street network. From the steep slopes encasing Sarajevo, I observed the construction of the rapidly emerging socialist city in the valley below. The 'divlje naselje' I grew up in was not like the historically grown mahalas in the 16-19th centuries, surrounding the 'Čaršija', which followed the vernacular rule set of respecting the views. They provided walled

gardens with running water and were organized around a street network which followed the topographic and steep perpendicular alignment as its organizational pattern. Every mahala consisted of thirty to fifty households with a communal mosque, square ('mejdan'), fountain and bakery. Over time the Muslim, Christian and Jewish populations mixed, and along them, their customs and traditions.

The major part of my wild city was constructed by migrants from rural Yugoslavia, such as the majority of my family. After Yugoslavia rejected the Marshall Plan in 1947 and was expelled from the eastern block in 1948, it launched the 'Petogodišnji Plan' (Five-Year Plan) for the large-scale industrialization and production of massive regulated housing projects, triggering a major urbanization wave in the dominantly rural country.

Tito decentralized the newly geopolitically non-aligned Yugoslavia, diverting from the Soviet Union's centralized statism. He promised the people a socialist utopia through 'samoupravljanje' (self-management): collective decision-making and common property belonging to local communities and workers in industrial enterprises. However, architects and urbanists assigned to plan, design and build the socialist utopia, were outrun by the migration and the pace of the illegal urban growth. Approximately fifty thousand houses were constructed, providing informal housing for a third of Sarajevo's 450'000 inhabitants in the 1980s. As an antipode to the socialist utopia, it abided by the linear development of the new, functionalist modernist city. Sarajevo's informal addendum, the 'divlja naselja', emerged with ambiguous land ownership, missing building permissions and no urban regulatory status.

I lived in these contrasting worlds, along with the associated economic and social particularities on a daily basis. My parents, being too young to apply for a subsidized apartment in the socialist city, had no choice but to live in the wild settlement. Every morning, they brought me down the slopes to my grandparents who were already working-class proletariat in the large-scale industrial complexes. Having enough service for the state-run enterprise, they were provided an apartment in New Sarajevo' towers in the planned valley of the socialist city. Here I was, in the middle

of vast public spaces in the modern city: surrounded by playgrounds, kindergartens, museums, commercial centers with escalators, elevators, central heating, telephone, collective garbage collection, public street lights, as well as other amenities. My experiences here epitomized the ideals of the 'new socialist family.'

The 1980s were the 'golden decade' and positioned Sarajevo as a cultural hotspot in terms of music, sport, arts and architectural production. The peak accomplishment of Yugoslavia came in the form of hosting the XIV Winter Olympic Games in 1984. Sarajevo was symbolically chosen due to its non-alignment, with the committee learning from its experience with the boycotts of the Moscow and Los Angeles Olympics. The city's enormous growth catalyzed by the preparations led to the large-scale construction of sports venues, mobility infrastructures, housing complexes, and public spaces. Sarajevo was ready to host the world.

Only five years later in 1989 after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the dissolution of the Bloc-divided world, Yugoslavia – and with it the geopolitical non-alligned model – became obsolete. The deepest crack and most fundamental catastrophe of this geopolitical vacuum occurred in Sarajevo itself. The resulting 'urbicide' targeted the buildings and the people during a 1425-day military siege. The architecture was subjected to destruction due to its symbolic role, being the physical representation of particular religious, multi-cultural and collective Yugoslav identities.

I was eight years old at the beginning of the war in 1992. It taught me about the necessity of understanding the environment, its landscapes and its buildings. I routinely made use of backyards and ruins to avoid the dangerous open spaces. We needed to read the city and analyze how to adapt in order to survive. The dangers forced us to choose the best shelter by approximating the thickness of a wall for cover. We exploited the perpendicular layout of the Austro-Hungarian and modernist city grid and evaluated the angle of visual reference points to avoid the sniper fire. Moreover, we searched for resources such as underground water sources, produced food in former public recreation parks and cut trees for firewood in winter. But we also found normality within the catastrophe: I went to school in a

basement and attended concerts and performances that took place in improvised theaters and small, hidden open-air stages during the summer months.

Through the narratives of international political analysts, who explained the first 'MTV-era war' to the global audience on a regular basis, in rare moments of the availability of electricity, we watched ourselves on CNN, BBC and other international TV-channels, making the Sarajevo siege a bizarre 'Big Brother show'. Early on, media taught me the relevance of understanding global geopolitics and its impact on our everyday lives. After three years inside the siege, I escaped with my mother and younger brother through the 'Tunnel of Hope' and left our city behind.

As a child, I experienced the immediate change of scenery along our escape-route, which some 20 years later would come to be known as the 'Balkan Route'. As a refugee in the mid-1990s, our new home, the city of Berlin confronted me with another kind of East-West dichotomy. Arriving in a former East-German 'Volksarmee' (National Army) military complex, which was turned into a temporary refugee camp, I lived once again in a different version of the same modernist concrete panel buildings. Again, only a 15-minutes (S-Bahn) ride away, was another political but also architectural reality: the remnants of the Berlin Wall and the shiny façades of former capitalist West Berlin behind it. In this case, the geopolitical scars that had held Berlin apart for decades, started healing in the 1990s returning its symbolic status as a unified city and country.

I found the opposite to be true when returning to Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1998 after three-and-a-half years in Berlin, entering Sarajevo's post-war anarchy. I encountered Sarajevo drowning in its post-socialist transition to a democratic and economically liberal society. In this period, ad-hoc reconstruction, with funding originating from international aid and war profiteering, created a diverse cityscape and imported new generic architectural typologies, growing as opportunistic artifacts revealing once again a geopolitical dimension: this time a re-colonization through international cultural and financial injections. Newly added signage, monuments and sacred buildings symbolizing the post-communist era's religious

and cultural identities often covered and replaced public spaces, further densifying, segregating and fragmenting the city.

In this divided city, growing mostly out of the ashes of the destroyed modernist urban fabric of the socialist era, having a normal life proved to be more challenging than expected, in our naïve post-war hopes of 'everything will be like before'. The changing ownership and tenureship rights, excessive decentralization of the now scattered political decision-making processes meant a total revision of the previous socialist values and its inherent collective identity of 'Brotherhood and Unity' of the myriad of ethnicities. The Yugoslav self-management experiment of the large-scale, state-owned enterprises run by workers councils vanished. Now, the majority of the working class found itself in the position of deep crisis, with an immediate loss of state-secured housing, services, amenities and, most importantly, jobs.

Sarajevo was suddenly an unpleasant place to live, intertwined with crime, drugs, poverty, violence, war traumas and ruins, something I, at the time, only knew from VHS-films with plots set in cities, such as New York, San Salvador, or Medellín or steampunk-inspired post-apocalyptic Hollywood movies from the 1980s. The communist government's most crucial state-project, the socialist city, with its informalities and hybridity, experienced yet another revision; and Sarajevo was put in front of a new beginning, continuing its discontinuities once more. After my diploma studies, I eventually left Sarajevo to gain more international experience through earning a postgraduate education at the Technical University of Berlin and gaining professional experience in this city that I call my 'second hometown'. Berlin's discontinuities combined with its difficult and turbulent history recall the Sarajevo experience - just by walking in the dense urban fabric of formerly divided Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg at the confluence of the Cold War Blocs; strolling deep in the Gruenewald villa districts or Marzahn's mega-scaled housing estates. The discontinuities and differences to which Berlin was exposed, described in the 1977 manifesto as a green archipelago by Oswald Mathias Ungers and Rem Koolhaas, fueled my comparative perspective. They reminded me of Sarajevo and its urbanism which was developed, not out of grand long-term visions or formulated by the genius

of individual architects. It was rather a counter-reaction and interplay of politics, destruction and community-driven engagement.

After Berlin, and short excursions for research stays and collecting experience through professional practice in Italy and Denmark, accompanied with multiple study trips, consultations, research, design and other tasks across the world, I decided to continue working on bringing knowledge back to Sarajevo. I learned the methodology and philosophy of the ETH Zurich/UTT Chair or Architecture and Urban Design through my involvement in different research initiatives, teaching and project activities. I was able to form a perfect basis for conducting work in Sarajevo that, unquestionably needed to have both global outreach, as well as local, in-situ impact. I was drawn to return in order to use this experience to conduct an in-depth study of Sarajevo with my academic and practical skills, accompanied with a layer of being an activist and initiator to develop a framework to implement change. My double role, having the intimate connection to and in-depth knowledge of local circumstances, traditions, local languages, and cultural spheres, as well as knowledge of the international urbanism discourse, opened doors locally and internationally. It raised curiosity within both academic and professional circles throughout the greater Balkans, as well as within the local population by creating content for discourse through raising media attention. The empathy of an insider and critical perspective of an outsider stands close to the inherent hybridity of Sarajevo: the traditional conservative localism combined with the city's prominent position in global history.

While the war and post-war anarchy was an undeniably painful experience, it taught me valuable lessons about human resilience, solidarity, and creativity for modifying and appropriating the urban environment in order to survive. In addition, being a refugee in one of the world's most contrasting cities, Berlin, taught me a great deal about life and, much later, heavily influenced my wish to work with architectures, landscapes and cities. Most importantly, it helped me to determine what kind of architect and urbanist I want to be.

Writing this dissertation today, amidst the momentum of the expanding field of operation for architecture and urban design, I chose a theme that respects the socio-economic, cultural and political aspects of spatial production and transformation. The non-aligned urbanism of Sarajevo is a fact. To imagine the entire world reflected within one city is almost an impossible project and many large metropolises try to position themselves as being open to all cultures and people. Sarajevo, by contrast, is a small city, has historically attempted to maintain a peaceful coexistence between cultures – one that has often been challenged and suffered destruction. Sarajevo is interesting because it presents us with an alternative paradigm of how self-determination and an alternative economic model could work. By exploring the impact of global changes to local spaces, this dissertation conveys a lesson for other urban environments of the world on how to understand, interpret and relate planetary events to local physical manifestations in the urban fabric and within the lifestyles of inhabitants.

The resilience and permanent reinvention of Sarajevo, which attracted the interest of, among others, the City of Zurich government, is a result of a profound crisis of the societal and urban model. It offers responses on how institutions and professionals should deal with the world that operates beyond the stable state when public institutions close, industrial production stops, commercial activities halt, and the transportation system collapses. The 'lesson from Sarajevo' is significant and needs to be told to the contemporary global society, which is overwhelmed due to an interplay of political populism, economic crises, globalization, climate change and social exclusion – especially today in the era of the 'urban planet'.

Sarajevo's perspective, as an imprint with the spatial evidence of all these drivers, mechanisms, forces and processes, seems to be a relevant specimen from which to derive, extract and explain fundamental societal transformations. Solutions must be found at the verge between the second and the third decade of the 21st century. For Sarajevo, it means that 100 years after the Treaties of Versailles and Saint Germain, the city remains a litmus paper for understanding the spatial implications of geopolitical shifts, which have repeatedly and continue to alter the course of human history.

II RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

"Why should we care if some foreign statesman we've never even heard of was assassinated?" – "Tell me, in June 1914, had you ever heard of a place called Sarajevo? Of course you hadn't. I doubt if you'd even heard of the Archduke Ferdinand. But in a month's time, because a man you'd never heard of killed another man you'd never heard of in a place you'd never heard of, this country was at war".

Lawrence and Police Inspector in: The Man Who Knew Too Much, Alfred Hitchcock

The launch of this dissertation in 2014 coincided with the 100th anniversary of the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo. This act was the culmination of the 'Bosnian crisis' in 1908, instigated by the annexation of Bosnia by Austria-Hungary. The result was a Europe-wide wave of geopolitical turbulences, proving the status of Sarajevo as a neuralgic spot for Europe's political stability. This phenomenon epitomized the city's importance as an interstitial geographic location caught in-between overlapping interest spheres of great powers, not continuously aligned to any particular influence. These aspirations are inscribed in the city's multiculturalism and legible in the fabrics of the distinct urban development sections, as topography conditioned a longitudinal development that historically urbanized the narrow Sarajevo valley. These influences implied distinct physical and programmatic features imported by the great powers and adapted by local people: The Ottoman kasaba built according to Islamic principles and the Austro-Hungarian Central-European perimeter blocks based on technocratic rulesets, which forced the continuous re-invention of a "New Sarajevo".

Sarajevo's role as an 'emitter' of geopolitical inflammation to the world in 1914, was concisely described by Susan Sontag: "the 20th century started in Sarajevo".[1] The result, a "century of war" as described by Eric Hobsbawm,[2] accelerated the global epidemic of modernism. After the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye in 1919, Sarajevo woke up with a new geographical and political status: located in the center of royal Yugoslavia, a conglomerate of cultural, climatic and economic territories born on the ashes of Ottoman and Austrio-Hungarian Empires. The Yugoslav

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[1] Sontag, Susan. "Waiting for Godot in Sarajevo". In: Performing Arts Journal. Vol. 16. No. 2. 1994.

[2] Hobsbawm, Eric. The Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century: 1914-1991 (London: Michael Joseph). 1994.

concept solidified after Tito proclaimed the communist revolution in 1945, transforming the country into a socialist federation. The resulting reconstruction and modernization efforts triggered an industrialization and urbanization boom and led to the institutionalization of urban planning, which was further accelerated by the 'nationalization' of private assets into common and public property. These pressing spatial demands were the impetus for the development of a new urban model based on of planning instruments, such as the General Urban Plan (GUP) from 1961 for 'New Sarajevo'. The self-management of industrial enterprises and local communities introduced in the state reform of 1963 opened the door for wide-scale public participation processes. The construction of a new cultural, administrative and commercial city center in the Marijin Dvor district symbolized the realization of the socialist urban utopia, based on modernist principles and political ideologies embodied through a built structure that celebrated both Yugoslavia's political course and its spatial model: The Museum of the Revolution. The symbiosis of its functional modernism and artifacts of its permanent exhibition became an archetype of the new era.

Despite the ambitious urbanization plans, Sarajevo's modernization was only finished thanks to Yugoslavia's geopolitical status as a terra neutra, awarded to host the 1984 Winter Olympic Games at one of the peaks of the Cold War. This role of the 'recipient' of geopolitical influence was definitely confirmed after 1989. The final collision of the post-Berlin Wall geopolitical tectonic plates created widespread political turbulence in Europe, which Hobsbawm describes this moment as "the second Sarajevo"[3] and Sontag's states that "[The 20th century] ended there, too",[4] disproving Francis Fukuyama's prediction of the "end of history".[5] Fueled by Slobodan Milošević's ethnonational populism, it catalyzed the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the outbreak of the first 'MTV era war', globally aired through the newly developed satellite technology. The war fragmented Sarajevo territorially, with a military siege sealing the city off from its hinterlands, and a frontline cutting New Sarajevo in two.

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[3] Ibid.

[4] Sontag, Susan. "Waiting for Godot in Sarajevo". In: Performing Arts Journal. Vol. 16. No. 2. 1994.

[5] Fukuyama, Francis. The End of History and the Last Man (New York: Free Press). 1992.

After fruitless antiwar protests and the failure to divide the city into ethnic zones through building a wall, both occurring Marijin Dvor, Sarajevo became an urban capsule where the war destruction, collapse of infrastructures and lack of amenities created a de-urbanized city. Lasting for 1425 days, the siege resulted in an urbicidal annihilation of symbolic buildings of the multicultural past aiming to demoralize the local communities through campaigns of fear and destruction of collective memory. The modernist grid of Marijin Dvor, with generous avenues and green corridors, transformed into a dystopian death trap overnight. In desperate acts of survival, citizens harvested goods from local ecologies, revealed forgotten water sources, previously sealed by Austro-Hungarian and socialist infrastructure planning. The public resistance introduced a series of micro-reprogrammings: urban agriculture and temporary graveyards in public space, improvised structures to protect from snipers, and the activation of ruins and backyards into temporary cultural venues. Riding in the wave of the global media campaign of solidarity with international artists and intellectuals, but also architects got engaged in the resistance movement. Lebbeus Woods proposed radical reconstruction designs, Bogdan Bogdanović wrote about the future 'Free Sarajevo' as a symbol of resilience of the urban civilization. The role of local architects shifted too: from the builders of the utopia, they launched initiatives such as 'Warchitecture' conducting research of urbicidal destruction used in diplomatic negotiations to stop the war, engaged in writing and activism but also published 'survival guides' on how to adapt the built structures to radical wartime conditions.

The Dayton Peace Agreement, guaranteed once more by the great powers, while ending the war, confirmed the wartime urban frontlines, turning them into administrative-ethnic boundaries. Sarajevo was now formally divided along the geopolitical influence zones, separating, what Slavoj Žižek calls, one entity from the 'toxic other'. This arrangement set the stage for the corresponding post-war urbanistic model, which consisted mostly of aggressive, investor-driven architectural monocultures of new shopping and commercial spaces that densified the socialist city at the expense of its public spaces. Also, the re-introduction of sacred buildings in the post-communist identity vacuum added to the diversity of Sarajevo's multifarious urbanism. The recolonization was evident in tracing the

financial flows that arrived from across the geopolitical arena: Middle East, Turkey, EU, Russia, USA, among others. Refugia of public space in Marijin Dvor were reduced to places that remained administrative grey zones after the Dayton division. The Museum of Revolution, largely left out of the legal system, became the hub for bottom-up civic action carrying the torch of what was once, a city-wide resistance.

As a result, Sarajevo missed the chance to utilize post-war regeneration as an instrument for long-term sustainable urban development. Due to its fragmentary execution, post-war urbanism only accelerated socio-economic segregation, the decrease of civic engagement, political dysfunction, and ethnic exclusion. Today, Sarajevo leads global rankings of youth unemployment and environmental catastrophes, being Europe's most air-polluted capital city.[6] In 2014, public dissatisfaction among Sarajevans reached a climax. Marijin Dvor saw another popular revolution on its streets after civic dissatisfaction reached a record high of 87%.[7] The outbreak of mass protests was the response to the catastrophic post-Dayton societal development, perceived as a failure of the state.

Sarajevo's resilience and multi-faceted cityscape therefore represents a unique urban laboratory in which the correlation of (geo)politics to spatial transformations, both physical and programmatic, can be observed. Benjamin Barber theorizes in "If Mayors Ruled the World: Dysfunctional nations, rising cities"[8] about cities as complex adaptive systems, and the most essential contemporary subnational institutions after the failure of states – the essential strategic sites of geopolitical, economic, and climatic struggle but also intellectual and political power. The cities of the 'Urban Planet', 100 years after the 'Great Peace' are in an alarming condition not only due to the production of greenhouse gasses and consumption of energy and resources but a polygon spatial segregation, decrease of civic engagement, migration issues and political populism. In the times of Brexit and the 'Balkanization' of the EU, the findings from Sarajevo can reveal a novel repertoire to read,

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[6] UN Environment. "Coming up for clean air in Bosnia and Herzegovina".
Source: https://www.unenvironment.org/news-and-stories/story/coming-clean-air-bosnia-and-herzegovina (last accessed: June 5th 2018).

[7] "Public Opinion Poll Bosnia and Herzegovina". In: National Democratic Institute. August 2010.
Source: http://www.ndi.org/files/NDI_Bosnia_Poll_Report_August_2010.pdf. (last accessed: January 19th 2018).

[8] Barber, Benjamin. If Mayors Ruled the World: Dysfunctional nations, rising cities (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press). 2014.

understand and act in an unstable world of intertwined economic crises, social segregation, and political populism. These same issues are positioned as top priority in the UN Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 11 that appeals to 'make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable'.

Research Objectives

Aiming to fill a blind spot in the architectural and urban discourse and the contemporary challenges of the 'age of the urban planet' and its crises of migration, economic bust, climate change and social segregation, the major objective of this dissertation is to scrutinize the nexus of (geo)politics and radical spatial transformations in Sarajevo. The city's turbulent history of (re/de)colonization, which historically formed its multicultural citizenship and eclectic urbanism, is characterized by an oxymoron: a geographic periphery and a geopolitical hotspot. Therefore, Sarajevo symbolizes the historical geopolitical and multicultural origins of Tito's Yugoslav non-alignment. Although the NAM itself still exists, it has lost its political, economic and scientific influence since the end of the Bloc-divided world in 1989. Nonetheless, its principles, inherent to the urbanism of Sarajevo, form a basis to understand the genesis between Yugoslavia's non-aligned foreign policy and the city's historical status as a terra neutra.

In particular, the novelty of this work is to create a bridge between the historical and contemporary, between the theoretical and practical, and between global geopolitical turbulence and local space. In order to specify the analysis, the dissertation zooms in to the wider Marijin Dvor district of Sarajevo's modernist urban extension, New Sarajevo, which reveals the highest density of architectural and urban crystallization points inside Sarajevo's urban laboratory.

Therefore, the theoretical part of the dissertation was necessary in order to understand the influence of specific (geo)political and societal dynamics of Sarajevo's spatial transformations (1945-2014). By adding the 'Reactivate

Sarajevo' Experiment (2014-2019), the aim of the dissertation was extended to test the theory and investigate ways to amplify the activation of the city's latent human and spatial potentials and create an alternative, civic-based urban model. Reactivate Sarajevo was conducted in partnership with real-world stakeholders, being aware that sustainable and inclusive solutions can only be reached in an intertwined effort of policy, practice, and academia together with the public. This approach helped to create a discourse and media impact through exhibitions, performances, professional events, critical mapping and conceptual designs in order to test the pulse of the public. This approach was necessary to help rethink the role of the architect in a country with insignificant research funding opportunities, no professional chambers, and an outdated architectural education. The results flew in a bidirectional manner: applied research of the dissertation deployed urban intelligence into the real world but also extracted knowledge and brought it back to theory. The findings extracted from the urban laboratory of Sarajevo are expected to be translated into applicable urban strategies in the future steps of the Reactivate Sarajevo project. They are intended to be scalable and potentially replicable in other Balkan cities and beyond. The theoretical added value was important, too, and created the belief that the practitioner should also be the formulator of broader theoretical and philosophical frameworks – such as postulating the central concept of this dissertation, the 'Non-aligned City' and not leaving this task to critics, historians or theoreticians.

The insights from Sarajevo are not only relevant for other contested or conflict cities, but also other cities that need to address urban challenges in terms of post-disaster resilience, integrated urban transformations, the destruction of architectural heritage, and the spatial implications of dynamic political, social and economic fluctuations.

Research Questions

Sarajevo's urbanism represents an interplay of unique contextual conditions, determined by a historical interplay between particular geopolitically induced socio-economic and cultural influences, which over time led to a (dis)continuous development of the city.

The sequence of the construction of new or the 'vernacularization' of imported architectures, their physical mutations, and programmatic modifications through periods of destructions and reconstructions materialized in a myriad of vertical and horizontal layers. This fact necessitated the establishment of an innovative thematic and methodological framework, which instigated the formulation of a sequenced set of research questions.

The approach of structuring and formulating research questions and subquestion leans on John Creswell's method for qualitative research:

> **In a qualitative study, inquirers state research questions, not objectives (i.e., specific goals of the reach) or hypotheses (i.e., predictions that involve variables and statistical tests). These research questions, assume two forms: a central question and associated subquestions. The central question is a broad question that asks for exploration of the central phenomenon or concept in a study.[9]**

I somewhat disagree with Creswell as formulating research objectives helped to firstly identify the research questions and turn them into proactive steps of how they can be answered. Therefore, I did not formulate a hypothesis but I posed the central research question of the dissertation:

- What is the relationship between (geo)politics and radical spatial transformations in Sarajevo?

If necessary, a hypothesis could be formulated, too: Is there a relationship between (geo)politics and radical spatial transformations in Sarajevo? Following the explanations above, the central research question will be answered through asking

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[9] Creswell, John. Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage publications). 2007. p. 129.

and answering five correlated sub-questions: one for the introductory chapter, three for the main chapters and one for the 'Reactivate Sarajevo' Experiment, following a historical sequence of the dissertation:

Periphery or Hotspot: Geopolitical Origins of Sarajevo's Historical Urbanism:
- Historically, how did the contested and dualistic nature of Sarajevo, in its status as the geographic periphery and geopolitical hotspot, influence the urban development of pre-socialist Sarajevo?

Designing Modernity: New Sarajevo's socialist utopia (1945-1992):
- How did the emergence of a new socialist society determine the particular urbanization patterns of Sarajevo after World War II? What is the relation between Yugoslav socialism and the new architectural and urbanistic paradigm?

Post-socialist de-urbanization: Urbicide in dystopia (1992-1996):
- How did the processes after the end of the Bloc-divided world impact the urbicidal destruction of Sarajevo? What are the implications of the radical architectural reprogrammations and physical modifications in the encapsulated city?

Resisting Dependencies: Urban Fragmentation through re-colonization (1996-2014):
- How did globalization, liberalization and the post-communist identity shift influence the spatial transformations of the destroyed modernist city? What is the role of the myriad of international actors in the post-war reconstruction of Sarajevo?

Reactivate Sarajevo: Performative Experiment (2014-2019):
- How can a self-executed experiment of spatial agency serve to influence the city's long-term urban reactivation positively? How can lessons learned in Sarajevo be exported to other Balkan cities and beyond?

The accordance and chronology of the research questions capture the research objectives and, at the same time, provide a structural skeleton for the dissertation. By avoiding a linear historiographical overview of urban development, the research questions aimed to establish a comprehensive approach of demystifying Sarajevo's urbanism as the product of the contingent relations between (geo)politics and local urban space, both historically and contemporary. This becomes increasingly relevant in the current globalized networks of the uncritical information production and consumption in the 'post-truth age'.

The decision to expand the dissertation, compared to the original research plan, by adding the layers of wartime destruction and post-socialist reconstruction, as well as the 'Reactivate Sarajevo' experiment, is in line with both the methodological approach and the thematic and structural concepts that will be explained in the following subchapters.

Structure of the Dissertation

Due to Sarajevo's historical spatial evolution, the city is based on the oxymoron of 'continuous discontinuity', denoting that the varying political and societal systems initiated alternating periods of construction, destruction and reconstruction. Perpetual moments of geopolitically induced revolutions accordingly instigated societal transitions that, in their evolution over time, generated an eclectic urbanism of Sarajevo with a myriad of underlying mechanisms and processes.

These realities on the ground therefore represent a potent 'urban laboratory' to explain the architectural and urbanistic impact of continuous political instability, socio-economic crises, and divergent cultural influences. The thematic and structural concept thereby echoes the realities on the ground in each of the chapters.

Motivated by the necessity for an overarching and integrative framework, I propose 'Non-Aligned Urbanism' as a novel concept that responds both to the peculiarity of its historical urbanism and more contemporary constructions, destructions and fragmentations.

Each of the three main chapters covers a period between two revolutionary moments that occurred in 1945, 1992, 1995 and 2014, intending to streamline the research process. These revolutions, as "Balkans have a terrible problem of social memory because they get so many revolutions – more than Italy for instance, and more than France",[10] according to Umberto Eco, have been triggered by the shifts of geopolitical tectonic plates, consequently influencing local politics, and therefore, urbanism. The historical introduction covers the historical context until 1945, and the spatial agency is based on an experiment conducted between 2014 and 2019. The chapters reveal the shift of different state systems, each with its particular spatial implications: the urban model of socialist Yugoslavia (1945-1992), the urbicidal city of the independent Republic of BiH (1992-1996) and finally the post-war fragmented capitalist city of 'Dayton' BiH (1996-2014). Each political system had a distinct paradigm: socialist planning, war destruction, post-conflict urban fragmentation.

The year 1945 was chosen as a starting point as Tito's socialism introduced the first strategic and systematic urban planning efforts in history, which allowed the planning and construction of the flagship project: when the modernist city extension of New Sarajevo relocated the Marijin Dvor zone form the urban periphery to the epicenter of the new socialist society. As the main spatial case study zone, its evolution will reoccur throughout the chapters, as well as the spatial agency experiment 'Reactivate Sarajevo'. The final year for the three chapters of 2014 is chosen both as the year that the research plan was approved by the ETH Zurich D-ARCH doctoral committee, as well as the year of violent 'Bosnian spring', mass protests in Sarajevo, signalizing a profound crisis of the societal and urban model. (Fig. 1)

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[10] Avdović, Erol. "Umberto Eco: Balkans had more revolutions than Italy and France". Interview with Umberto Eco. In: Anadolu Agency. October 22nd 2013. Source: https://www.aa.com.tr/en/culture-and-art/umberto-eco-balkans-had-more-revolutions-than-italy-and-france-/210044 (last accessed: August 11th 2017).

Donald Schön's writing additionally influenced my decision of setting the chapters as temporally limited structural units: "Problem setting is a process in which, interactively, we name the things to which we will attend and frame the context in which we will attend to them."[11]

Accordingly, I summarize the structure of the dissertation as follows:

Periphery or Hotspot: Geopolitics of Sarajevo's historical Urbanism' explains the spatial results of the pre-1945 geographical and historical dualism of Sarajevo: as a geographic periphery and a geopolitical hotspot. The urbanistic implication was explained through the analysis of two most present but thoroughly different urban models present in Sarajevo: Islamic organic urbanism and the Austro-Hungarian technocratic Central-European city.

Designing Modernity: New Sarajevo's socialist utopia (1945-1992) starts in 1945 at the establishment of Tito's socialist federation of Yugoslavia, after the proclamation of the communist revolution. As Yugoslavia became a geopolitically non-aligned state, it developed its own societal and urban model. The first chapter examines the evolution of the socialist modernist urban planning of New Sarajevo and its center Marijin Dvor.

Post-socialist de-urbanization: Urbicide in dystopia (1992-1996) begins in 1992, a date that both marks the recognition of the independence of the socialist Yugoslav Republic of BiH and the outbreak of the Sarajevo's urbicide. It preceded the protesters' storming of and squatting in BiH's parliament tower and square in Marijin Dvor as a culmination of geopolitically induced post-Cold War democratization processes. The constructed socialist 'utopia' transformed into a 'dystopian' city under siege, divided by an urban frontline. Under these extreme conditions, Sarajevo's cultural resistance received its architectural dimension in terms of reconstruction visions.

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[11] Schön, Donald. The Reflective Practitioner (London: Temple Smith). 1983. p. 40.

The peace guaranteed by global political leaders in 1995 marks the outset of Resisting Dependencies: Urban Fragmentation through re-colonization (1996-2014), which investigates the evolution of post-conflict Sarajevo and its aggressive investor-driven urbanism. The funding originated from the traditional geopolitical powerhouses: Middle East, Russia, Turkey, EU, China, and the USA among others. Instead of a necessitated strategic reconstruction, generic commercial architectures densified and further fragmented New Sarajevo, in particular, its public spaces. As a result, this urban model forged further economic exclusions, social segregations and environmental hazards.

The spatial agency part of the dissertation Reactivate Sarajevo: Performative Experiment (2014-2019) was conducted between 2014 and 2019 and demonstrated the application of a self-executed experiment in Sarajevo's urban laboratory. Through spatial agency, I developed a collaborative, evidence-based and multi-stakeholder model as an alternative to the post-war investor-driven, non-transparent urbanism. My continuous physical presence in Sarajevo provided an opportunity to connect theory and practice, nurtured the work-in-progress with in-situ insights and tested both the theory and the future application of the thesis. Based on the postulates of reflective practice, this part of the process enabled me to remain receptive to revelations of new phenomena, which were not necessarily associated with the initial research questions. The experiment included a series of symposia, exhibitions, mapping workshops, and the initiation of institutional collaborations with real-world stakeholders. Additional activities (lectures, workshops, consultancies, exhibitions etc.) across the Balkans, Central_Eastern European (CEE) cities and beyond such as the Venice Architecture Biennale, served to test the assertion on whether the findings can be upscaled, replicated, adapted and exported to other regional and international urban environments.

Methodological Approach

The dissertation, being conducted at ETH Zurich/U-TT Chair or Architecture and Urban Design, is largely influenced by the approach with which the Chair analyzes cities across the globe. The thesis is also embedded into ETH Zurich/U-TT's Urban Toolbox, a global database of architecture and urban design case studies. (Fig. 2) The Urban Toolbox, therefore, represents the theoretical, methodologic, philosophical and epistemological basis of this dissertation, offering a global perspective to cross-compare Sarajevo to urbanization patterns across the planet. The dissertation benefitted from urban knowledge-transfer from the other city case studies (Athens, Berlin, Caracas, Detroit etc.), also entering the international discourse in architecture and urban design in this way. In my active role as a teaching and research fellow at the Chair, I participated in co-creating and developing the Urban Toolbox from 2012 until 2017, a process which involved a variety of research and teaching activities that improved my knowledge on the global state of cities.

The Urban Toolbox is inspired by the Chair's "Urbanism is frozen politics"[12] statement, relating the impact of spatial productions and their physical and programmatic transformations on society and politics and vice versa. The preliminary research for the dissertation undoubtedly revealed that, in order to understand Sarajevo's urbanism, this statement needed to be upscaled to "Sarajevo's urbanism is frozen (geo)politics", traversing the global dimensions and its crystallization in the local urbanism. Nevertheless, it is important to say that the Global Toolbox does not constitute an absolute and normative methodological framework, but rather a research lens and professional paradigm through which to understand, analyze and act in cities. It postulates the necessity for a wholistic understanding of forces that have shaped the city. This includes the influence of political, cultural and societal forces on the physical and programmatic transformation of cities.

> **Urban processes respond to political interests, economic pressure, technology, environmental forces, cultural inclinations; along with both the imagination of architects, designers, planners and the informal powers in cities that function as**

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[12] Brillembourg, Alfredo, Klumpner, Hubert with Contento, Michael and Sherman, Lindsey: "Trans-Borderlands: Activating the Plasticity of Urban-Border Space". In: Piplas, Haris (Ed.) Political Implications of the Urban Landscape, EFLA Journal. Issue 1. 2011. p. 15.

complex adaptive systems. These urban phenomena are the result of an urban evolution, as the facts stored in urban environments include contributions from its entire lifecycle. That is true for the physical environment, but also for non-physical aspects, the imaginary city that exists along with its potentials, problems and with the conflicts that have evolved over time. Knowledge and understanding together with a critical observation of the actions, processes, and policies are necessary to perceive the diversity and instability present in the contemporary city. (…) The Urban Toolbox offers a basis to understand and critically reflect on urban mechanisms and processes, through recognizing operational and spatial modes, mechanisms, models and phenomena deciphering the processes and extracting urban knowledge.[13]

This paradigm, in synergy with the structural and thematic concept of the dissertation, offered a multi-disciplinary, methodological approach and provided a framework to analyze the complex conditions of the historical, in addition to the more contemporary, urbanism of Sarajevo. This lens included the analysis of distinct, spatio-temporal, socio-cultural and political layers that materialized in the city, in three main periods (1945-1992, 1992-1996, 1996-2014). Therefore, I attempt to bridge and cover the yet unexamined cross-connections between different moments in time.

Zooming in on the geographic boundaries of Marijin Dvor and its own architectures and landscapes helped to empirically examine the transformative mechanisms and produce evidence of the (geo)political influence. The notion of "architecture through urban design" of the Chair symbolized the cross-scalar approach. For this dissertation, the Urban Toolbox' unit, the 'Tool', was reinterpreted into the individual chapters that make up this thesis. The multiscalar methodological framework of the 'Urban Toolbox' with its foci on city, district and object scales, proposes the examination of the physical shape, program and actors that produce, modify and adapt the space. Following that, the dissertation zooms into district-scale and building-scale case studies: the (geo)political and spatial contextualization on the city scale with a zoom-in into the Marijin Dvor. The (geo)politics have spatially crystallized here most intensively: planned as a new city center in socialism, it became the urban frontline in the 1990s war and, most recently, the 'ground zero' of speculative post-socialist urbanism of recolonization. In addition, the micro-scaled exemplifications included a series of 'protagonists', architectural spaces that

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[13] Klumpner, Hubert, Brillembourg, Alfredo with Piplas, Haris et al. Urban Stories: Global Urban Toolbox Reader (ETHZ/ U-TT Internal Publication). 2016. p. 7, 8.

appear in each chapter, such as the Museum of the Revolution. A mere comparative perspective of architectural and urban projects in New Sarajevo, across the chosen periods was proven inconceivable due to the lack of logical common denominators. The political regimes and spatial mechanisms in the observed periods were profoundly divergent to allow for a juxtaposition of the traditional comparative case study approach. Being aware of the inherent methodological limitations and by applying knowledge and approaches derived from a manifold of research methods and techniques, the thesis constantly fluctuates between global and local scales, as well as extensive and acupunctural, in-depth analyses. This approach was synergetic with the dissertation's objective was to examine Sarajevo's urbanism, not from the position of a singular protagonist, period of time, urbanistic model or architectural style but to examine its complex transformative and discontinuous nature under the influence of (geo)politics. This approach succeeded to reveal and examine the complexity of processes, mechanisms, and actors that contributed to incongruous urbanization patterns of Sarajevo.

My approach to analyze cities was additionally influenced by the writings of my co-adviser Tigran Haas. In particular, his book 'Sustainable Urbanism and Beyond' covering urban case studies from across the globe, helped me sharpen my research prism through the consideration of the four elements: identity, structure, meaning and setting and identify forces that are, according to Haas, insufficiently understood:

> **We need to plan, design, and maintain various places - foremost through understanding their identity (individuality), structure (physical pattern), meaning (practical-emotional impact), and setting (relation to environment). As urbanists, we find ourselves challenged by the rise of a new epoch. It is a period of uncertainty, risk, distress, and rapid change on multiple levels. Is the reality of global climate change and fossil fuel dependency fully kicks in, there will be a growing feeling that almost every aspect of life and work will be touched and altered by new forces that are, at present, insufficiently understood.**[14]

In his most recent book 'Emergent Urbanism', Haas and Krister Olsson described the potent negative impact of spatial transformations. The notion of 'direct and indirect use' added another layer of social complexity to the dissertation's attempt to critically analyze the transformative nature of urban space:

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[14] Haas, Tigran. "Sustainable Urbanism and Beyond". In: Sustainable Urbanism and Beyond: Rethinking Cities for the Future (New York: Random House Incorporated). 2012. p. 10.

> **Transformation of many cities and towns has resulted in deteriorated urban environments that have lost their use and function, evidence that of which can be found in housing areas, industrial structures, and public institutions. These cases demonstrate the way in which the transformation of urban form is most probably followed by a change in direct and indirect use, as well as broader shifts in the perception and understanding of the urban landscape.[15]**

In addition, Tigran Haas' advice to evaluate and structure the collected material, using the method of abduction as proposed by Linda Groat and David Wang, was immensely helpful to organize and streamline the diverse materials collected in the research process:

> **Innovative abduction is the key mode of reasoning in design (…). But it is not unique to design. In both science and technology, and in daily life, abductive steps are taken in the search for new ideas. (…) Abduction (…) is to figure out "what" to create, while there is no known or chosen working principle that we can trust to lead to the aspired value. That means we have to create a "working principle" and a 'thing' (object, service, system) in parallel.[16]**

In addition, Tigran Haas' proposition to use Lionel March's articulation that "production [abduction] creates; deduction predicts; induction evaluates"[17] was an important early guideline in defining the structural skeleton and conceptual themes of the thesis.

The diagnosis of Balkan cities by my second co-adviser Vedran Mimica, based on his years-long work in between the Balkans and the West was instrumental in acclimating my methodological lens to the idiosyncrasies of the local political, social and cultural context of Sarajevo. Mimica understands architecture research and practice in the Balkans complexly, arguing about the insufficiency of a sole understanding of the physical context and program, where the architect should not only the form-provider but rather a problem-solver in society:

> **Architects had to change their status and role within society fundamentally. The architect was no longer a 'gentleman', with a bow-tie and cigar, waiting for a patron to develop canonical national Institutions of historical importance. The architect becomes an 'extra', a free-lance actor without a previously signed role, without a**

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[15] Haas, Tigran and Olsson, Krister. Emergent Urbanism: Urban Planning & Design in Times of Structural and Systemic Change (London: Routledge). 2014. p.1.

[16] Groat, Linda and Wang, David. Architectural research methods (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley&Sons). 2013. p. 27.

[17] March, Lionel. "The Logic of developments in design methodology". In: Rozenburg, N.F.M. On the patterns of reasoning in innovative design (New York: John Wiley&Sons). in Design Studies. Vol. 14. No. 1. 1984. p. 269.

> **script. (…) Merely understanding the physical context and the program is not sufficient anymore. Now the architect has to act convincingly as a problem-solver, instead of a mere form-provider.[18]**

Mimica also argues for investigating global flows and their impact on local physical realities, which influenced my methodological approach in correlating geopolitics with Sarajevo's physical environment:

> **For the architectural discourse, it is especially interesting to diagnose the influences of the global flow on local physical reality. (…) [There] are places where the global flow has partially, but evidently influenced the formation of a city's physical environment.[19]**

Finally, in order to respond to the research questions and produce the intended outcomes, it was necessary to develop and test a new and diverse set of research methods as argued by Groat and Wang:

> **Our definition of research is likewise inclusive of multiple systems on inquiry and theoretical schools of thought. Indeed, we strongly believe that architecture - as well as most design and professional fields - entails such broad multidisciplinary qualities that any one epistemological framework would be inadequate to the task of addressing all the potential research questions within the fields.[20]**

This approach is valid for the <u>Sections III-VI</u> of the dissertation (pre-1945 and 1945-2014). Another methodological approach, the one of performative applied research, was used in the Section VII <u>'Reactivate Sarajevo' Performative Experiment</u> (2014-2019), as here the dissertation pivots from theory to practice.

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[18] Mimica, Vedran. "West Balkan Affair and Architecture of Transition". In: The Berlage Affair. (Barcelona: Actar). 2017. pp. 174, 216.

[19] Mimica, Vedran. "West Balkan Affair and Architecture of Transition". In: The Berlage Affair. (Barcelona: Actar). 2017. p. 176.

[20] Groat, Linda and Wang, David. Architectural research methods (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley&Sons). 2013. p. 27.

Overcoming dichotomies:
Objective researcher vs. subjective protagonist

In this complex methodological framework, the disciplinary, scalar and thematic limits were not defined unconditionally and absolutely. The combination of the theoretical with in-situ empirical research techniques, allowed a more holistic investigative approach: in addition to the 'eye level position in the actual physical space of Sarajevo, a 'bird scale' was added through desk research in Zurich.

The personal dualistic angle, having the twin role of the objective researcher and the subjective protagonist, offered the benefit of multiple perspectives that allowed more profound insights into the research topic, and enriched both the material base and information sources used for the dissertation.

The analytic and objective approach is of foremost importance for the Sections III-VI of the dissertation. In these three chapters, Sarajevo's three major time periods (socialism, war and post-war) are thematized. My in-depth knowledge is based in the fact that I lived in Sarajevo during all three of these eras. In the applied research through spatial agency in the 'Reactivate Sarajevo' Performative Experiment, I occasionally have taken the status of an active protagonist. These two notions nurtured each other throughout the research process.

The fact that I am both myself a (Sarajevo-born) local and an international city nomad is in itself not new. This dualism is well-known and described, in particular, in the field of urban and social geography, creating both advantages and issues regarding the standpoint of the author – what Geraldine Pratt called "moving between identifications in different situations."[21]

This double prism allowed me to distance myself from research object by bringing a fresh external view as a scholar moving through the international professional landscape. At the same time, I have had the status of an 'insider' participating actively in Sarajevo's local urban culture and being intensely aware of the current

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[21] Pratt, Geraldine. "Place and Identity Formation". In: Cities of Difference. Fincher, Ruth and Jacobs M., Jane (Eds.). (New York & London: The Guilford Press). 1998. p. 26.

societal contexts, as well as the traditions. Through speaking the local language, I had access to key people, materials, archives and other information that is not publicly nor easily available in war-damaged institutions of post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina and the greater ex-Yugoslavia. My alma mater, the University of Sarajevo, one of my vital local partners, the Sarajevo City and Cantonal Governments, local museums, libraries, and archives enabled me to adjust my approach and engage with the precarious conditions of the post-conflict local realities.

In addition, through my integrated 'spatial lens', I have aggregated throughout multidisciplinary studies that include landscape, architectural and urban design, granted me varied perspectives to assess Sarajevo from different distances and angles, which were later triangulated into a holistic 'big picture'.

Besides, having the prism of the global, the view of urban nomad provided sufficient distance and subjectivity of an outsider. My personal perspective proved to be relevant for empirical research and interactions with partners and stakeholders. The analysis of historical data, literature reviews and media offered another layer that supported the empirical work. It resulted in a highly diverse collection of material. It was through this approach that the affirmation of gathered information and material was enabled as well as the constant revision of the work-in-progress. The dissertation's evolution progressed via chartering multidimensional datasets, crucial for deciphering the specific dynamics in terms of spatiotemporal layers, revealing the urbanistic impact of (geo)political and societal factors. Finally, it helped to create a narrative that objectivized the research process.

Research process: methods and techniques

The multi-methodical approach of assessing the diverse urbanization patterns of Sarajevo was necessary as historical data and documents were entirely or partly missing, often unreliable, ambiguous and politically 'contaminated'.

Alternatively, intensive engagements with the 'real city' including in-situ empirical field research and activism, mapping and design workshops, photography, film interviews and discussions with architects, sociologists, planners, engineeers, city officials, NGO activists, artists, and cultural producers, and other stakeholders, proved to be very helpful. The engagement was supplemented by a multidisciplinary literature and desk research conducted mostly in Zurich.

These activities were complemented with extensive archival research in which I discovered plans, drawings, maps, policy documents, newspaper articles etc., which I interpolated to respond to the formulated research objectives. In addition to attending several field trips and organizing long-term research stays in Sarajevo, I conducted multiple interviews, curated exhibitions, conceptualized and organized forums and symposia and applied the media of mapping, photography and film. The decision to conduct a dissertation between research and practice contributed to extensive exposure in local, regional and international professional and media circles. This fact opened many doors and decreased the level of effort to, for example, find relevant archival data or the right person to interview.

This variety of methods and techniques made it indispensable to develop a tailor-made procedure on how to combine them. This strategy is derived from Groat and Wang's insistence on the necessity of developing innovative research strategies in the field of architecture. Their argument for flexible research frameworks that are capable to absorb the inconsistencies and uncertainties a researcher faces when examining real-life settings has been demonstrated as particularly relevant in the precarious conditions of post-war Sarajevo:

> **Typically, researchers who seek to illuminate complex phenomena in real-life settings may not be able to rely on well-established research designs (strategies) and tactics to address the research questions of interest. In this relatively uncertain context, designing the most effective research protocol is not unlike the challenge architects and other designers face in approaching a novel project, and therefore the need to generate innovative hunches and conjectures will be greater.[22]**

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[22] Groat, Linda and Wang, David. Architectural research methods (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley&Sons). 2013. p. 37.

By overlapping the diverse material layers in the post-production phase, previously unexpected, parallel topical cross-cuttings came to the surface. The accumulated data was triangulated, integrated, consolidated and legitimized by applying the concept of abduction.

In more detail, I organized the research process using the following methods and techniques:

Desk research

As the dissertation explores the correlations between complex societal and spatial phenomena, it, therefore, demanded a framework of a diverse material corpus. In order to respond to the research questions, the corpus needed to cover several disciplinary discourses. As the research question connects the global political shifts with impacts on local space, it accordingly includes international and local sources in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian language. Due to its timescale of several decades, it comprised historical and contemporary discourses on the city.[23]

Field research

The investigation focused on the construction, de-urbanization and fragmentary reconstruction of the main case study, New Sarajevo's Marijin Dvor. The empirical fieldwork included the production of photographic and film material in cooperation with the ETHZ/U-TT multimedia and film team, as well as professional photographers, such as Charlie Koolhaas and Jim Marshall, among others. The in-situ presence incorporated an array of interviews with experts and laypeople. Through countless visits to the case study site, I thoroughly analyzed the current state of New Sarajevo's urbanism, in particular, the state of the urban fabric and individual architectural and landscape typologies. In particular, the fieldwork was crucial to understanding the architectural layers explored throughout the dissertation: wartime destruction (1992-1996), post-war densification and fragmentation (1996-2014), which is superimposed onto the socialist modernist urban fabric of Marijin Dvor planned and built during communist Yugoslavia (1945-1992).

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[23] For a detailed overview, please read the section: 'Theoretical Setting and Literature Review'

Interviews and conversations

I conducted interviews and conversations with practitioners and academics who are local experts in the Balkans, and come from the field of architecture, urban design, political geography, urban sociology, culture, arts, international development cooperation, among others. I also spoke with local and regional professionals, authors and intellectuals, including: Vladimir Kulić, Vladan Đokić, Ivan Štraus, Tatjana Neidhardt, Srđan Jovanović-Weiss, Amir Pašić, Dobrivoje Tošković, Zlatko Ugljen, Ljiljana Blagojević, Adnan Pašić, Milica Topalović, Stjepan Roš, Hasan Ćemalović, Vesna Hercegovac-Pašić, Said Jamaković, Adi Ćorović, Dževad Karahasan, Damir Nikšić etc. And finally, I spoke with international experts that helped to embed the dissertation objectives into the broader discourse: Justin McGuirk, Nicola Braghieri, Rem Koolhaas, Andres Lepik, Farrokh Derakhshani, Aaron Betsky, Hans Skotte, Slavoj Žižek and many more.

Archival research

I visited the often under-maintained and deteriorated public archives and libraries in Sarajevo, BiH and the Balkans, which were frequently difficult to access. Nevertheless, I managed to access the Historic Archive of the City of Sarajevo, the National Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the archive of the National Heritage Protection Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the archive of the Historical Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Ars Aevi Museum archive, the Libraries of the Architecture Faculties of the Universities in Belgrade and Sarajevo, Austrian National Library (in particular its Image Archive and Collection of Graphics), private archives (e.g. Borislav Ćurić, Zoran Doršner, Stjepan Roš, Dobrivoje Tošković, among others. I was able to discover original concept drawings and sketches, plans, project reports, exhibition catalogues, diverse brochures, posters, mail correspondences, recorded speeches, films, photographs, newspaper articles and videos. Many of the materials were uncovered and presented to the local, regional and international public for the first time through this dissertation. These materials were instrumental in demystifying the processes and mechanisms of Sarajevo's urban development.

<u>Mapping</u>

The multi-scalar mapping was used as a synthetic tool to visualize, understand and interpret the relationship between specific geographical features and their territorial and spatial implications. By blending different layers of theoretical and empirical data, I represented the visible and less visible information found in literature and in-situ. The maps were produced on three different scales; 'Regional': Revealing the geopolitics of borders in the Balkans, 'Metropolitan': Sarajevo's urban development and 'District and Object': Productions and alternations of shapes and programs on the scale of Marijin Dvor.

Theoretical Setting and Literature Review

The diverse literature corpus of the theoretical setting reflects the intention to respond to the complexity of the research questions. The dissertation's time dimension covered several epochs that have never been captured in their entire complexity and therefore needed to include historical and more contemporary literature sources. This comprehensive approach prevented me from focusing on narrow temporal and theoretical frameworks, which often imply mono-disciplinary perspectives.

Therefore, the dissertation could not have been based on a single disciplinary discourse, but rather, it comprises literature originating from different disciplines: urban studies, architecture, political economy, history of the arts, human geography, urban sociology, and other, mostly, spatially operating disciplines. The sources were in English, Bosnian/Serbian/Croatian, and, to a smaller extent, German, French and Arabic languages. The Bosnian/Serbian/Croatian and German sources were translated into English by myself.

The dissertation correlates global geopolitical events with the corresponding local spatial transformations of Sarajevo, making it inherently necessary to combine works from both international and local authors from BiH and the Balkans.

Accordingly, the time periods i.e. chapters, examine construction, destruction, and reconstruction, revealing the contingencies and radicality of the Sarajevo's urbanism. Therefore, it taps into an unusual variety of different discourses.

Periphery or Hotspot: Geopolitical Origins of Sarajevo's Urbanism' explains the pre-1945 geographic and historical situation of the Balkans and relates it to the emergence of Sarajevo's non-aligned Urbanism. The materials were derived from local sources, in addition to those from Ottoman or Austro-Hungarian Empires. Among others, this section included historical books, maps, travelogues, military and governmental documentation, etc.

Designing Modernity: New Sarajevo's socialist utopia (1945-1992) relates to the international discourse on modernism, in particular in Yugoslavia and other socialist countries. Congruently, the theoretical sources are derived from these narratives. Other important sources were local publications and official documents from public planning offices in Sarajevo.

Post-socialist de-urbanization: Urbicide in dystopia (1992-1996) injects Sarajevo into the discourse of urban violence, destruction, and conflict. Surprisingly, most literary sources on this originated from Western academic circles, written in English. Furthermore, essential sources included reports of UN-agencies about urban annihilation as well as the local '(W)Architecture' magazines printed during wartime.

Resisting Dependencies: Urban Fragmentation through re-colonization (1996-2014) reaches out to the discourse on post-socialist urbanism in Central-Eastern Europe, but also social science, economy, urban planning and architecture publications on the after-effects of globalization and economic liberalization on cities.

'Reactivate Sarajevo' Performative Experiment includes less theoretical sources, due to its applied research nature. Nevertheless, its methodological approach is derived from and inspired by, the discourse on spatial agency in architecture and urban design.

The detailed overview of the state of the research is given inside the respective chapters, as each chapter is related to both a particular time period and specific discourses. In the present section, I solely give an overview of the general theoretical setting of the dissertation and its relation to the international discourse.

I analyzed seminal works, such as David Harvey's 'Spaces of Capital: Towards a critical geography',[24] which granted me an insight into the relationship between geographical thinking and, mostly national, political and macroeconomic power structures. I received similar insight from Edward Soja's 'Postmetropolis: Critical studies of cities and regions',[25] which helped to clarify the complex relationship between urbanization and structural economic changes. Anthony King explores colonialism and the distribution of centers and peripheries in 'Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World-Economy: Cultural and spatial foundations of the world urban system'.[26] Although King's notion of 'colonialism' was important for this thesis, his emphasis is on the holistic perception of larger city systems rather than encapsulated understandings of particular local urban spaces. Saskia Sassen's 'Cities in a World Economy',[27] focused on large metropolitan areas, mostly 'mega cities'. In this sense, a case study like Sarajevo, which is itself not an urban metropolis, is lacking. Nonetheless, such a case study appears relevant due to Sarajevo's interstitial position at the cross-section of 'geopolitical tectonic plates', which makes it a relevant topic for investigation and situates it into the global military, economic and political metabolisms.

Several other publications are characterized by a less ambiguous relationship between economic, societal and (geo)political aspects and their local spatial impacts. They exposed the usefulness of the empirical dimension and, therefore, automatically helped associate the global geopolitical with the local spatio-political. For instance, David Clark's 'Urban World, Global City'[28] focused on the spatialities of

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[24] Harvey, David. Spaces of Capital: Towards a critical geography (London: Routledge Chapman & Hall). 2001.

[25] Soja, W. Edward. Postmetropolis: Critical studies of cities and regions (London: Wiley-Blackwell). 2000.

[26] King, Anthony. Urbanism, Colonialism, and the world-economy: Cultural and spatial foundations of the world urban system (Chicago: Routledge & Kegan Paul). 1990.

[27] Sassen, Saskia. Cities in a World Economy (Los Angeles: Pine Forge Press). 2012 (4th ed.).

[28] Clark, David. Urban World/Global City (London: Taylor & Francis Group). 2004.

the societal forces and ascribed their actual effects on the contemporary city, in particular on the social and behavioral characteristics of urban living. Moreover, by analyzing the distribution and growth of human settlements, it explored in detail the social characteristics of urbanism. The work of Jeffrey Henderson and Manuel Castells, 'Global Restructuring and Territorial Development', argued for correlative concepts between space and society, such as 'the space of flows' and 'the space of places'. It pleads for establishing connections of societal flows with particular localities but mostly regards spatial and social inequalities in underprivileged urban contexts.[29] A profound work that further encouraged me in the early phases of the dissertation to foster the establishment of connections between the socio-spatial layers and globalization processes was Michael Smith's 'Transnational Urbanism: Locating globalization'. He attempted to demystify 'how' and 'why' political activists and institutions locate and maintain spatial and social relations in times of globalization.[30] Finally, an important work that examines the global-local nexus, relevant for the particular urban context of Sarajevo, is Rita Sliwa-Schneider's 'Cities in Transition: Globalization, political chance and urban development'.[31] Here, cross-scalar relation between planetary globalization and local physical phenomena is explained in detail, underlining the unique relationships among global, local and regional forces. In addition, she attempts to demonstrate that these globalization-induced urban developments, occurring in contemporary cities are subject to almost unconditional diversity of global political forces. The notion of colonialism as an effect of geostrategic power plays and its impact on local sovereignty is discussed by Diane Davis and Nora Libertun de Duren in 'Cities and Sovereignty: Identity politics in urban spaces'.[32] By looking at the concepts of identity conflicts and governance in cities across Europe, the Middle East, South and Southeast Asia, they analyzed the impact of ethnic, national, religious, and other identity conflicts on urban space. This work contributed to my perception of the importance of examining Sarajevo's history of post-conflict occupations and their impacts on the eclectic, often imported 'colonial' Ottoman or Austro-Hungarian, urbanisms.

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[29] Henderson, Jeffrey and Castells, Manuel. Global Restructuring and Territorial Development (London: Sage). 1987.

[30] Smith, Michael Peter. Transnational Urbanism: Locating globalization (London: Wiley-Blackwell). 2000.

[31] Sliwa-Schneider, Rita. Cities in Transition: Globalization, political chance and urban development (New York: Springer Verlag). 2005.

[32] Davis, Diane and Libertun de Duren, Nora. Cities and Sovereignty: Identity politics in urban spaces (Indiana University Press). 2011.

The most relevant theoretical discourse to align the dissertation more closely was the one on 'urban geopolitics'. This field only evolved during the last decades. It advanced within the wider fields of urban studies and political geography as a critique of the predominant focus on transnational economic and political dynamics, which lacked the empirical and spatial dimensions. The connection between the dissertation and this discourse was chosen due to the peculiar ability of urban geopolitics to incorporate the architectural and urban dimensions inside the problematics of politically contested cities. In this sense, this field advocates, by its nature, for cross-scalar examination of global challenges to particular real-world localities. It assisted me in ensuring the traversing of the geostrategic contestation of the Balkans to the local spatial specificities of Sarajevo. This interdisciplinary and critical nature of urban geopolitics are concisely summarized by Jonathan Rokem and Camillo Boano in one of the most relevant works in this new field: 'Urban Geopolitics: Rethinking planning in contested cities':

> **In an era of growing neo-liberalization and international migration, there is a growing need to critically examine urban geopolitics as a significant lens to encapsulate recent shifts in the global urban present. (…) Conflicts and political violence alike have not only direct spatial implication visible to all in the form of destruction, seclusion, and control, but also unfold at the various interconnected scales: global, territorial, state, urban, human.[33]**

Another significant work of urban geopolitics for this dissertation, due to its conjunction on cities and violence, is Stephen Graham's 'Cities, War and Terrorism: Towards an urban geopolitics'.[34] This book, in the words of Leonie Sandercock, "marks the beginning of a new and crucial research domain: that of urban geopolitics".[35] Placed at the intersections of the discussions on war, terrorism, and cities, the book interdisciplinarily argues that contemporary subnational spaces, or cities, are the essential strategic sites of geopolitical struggle. Bosnian cities such as Mostar and Sarajevo are included, too. Nevertheless, the book misses the opportunity to investigate the broader geostrategic interests and geopolitical shifts in which Sarajevo was placed, instead merely focusing on the effects of war-induced

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[33] Rokem, Jonathan and Boano, Camillo (Eds.). "Towards contested urban geopolitics on a global scale". In: Urban Geopolitics: Rethinking planning in contested cities (London: Routledge). 2018. p. 6.

[34] Graham, Stephen (Ed.). Cities, War and Terrorism: Towards an urban geopolitics (Malden, MA: Blackwell). 2004.

[35] Ibid. p.1.

urban destruction. The book 'Reconstructing Conflict: Integrating war and post-war geographies',[36] edited by Colin Flint and Scott Kirsch, was an instrumental source that contributed to both the theoretical setting and the structure of this dissertation. It combines the notions of reconstruction, contestation and politics, and makes a claim for the interrelationship between the spatial dimension of geopolitical power shifts and urban conflict, which illustrate both historical and contemporary situations of Sarajevo. In addition, the book also debunks the dichotomy between temporal layers of 'peace' and 'war'.

> **The concept of geopolitical landscape [shows] how social relations and geographic spaces are continually formed and reformed across spatial-temporal moments commonly defined as war and peace. (…) The geopolitical landscape [illustrates] the host of processes that are combined to form a continual dynamic of social contestation that makes the presence of militarized geopolitical landscapes permanent. The political geography of the world is an ever-changing flux of geopolitical landscapes (…).[37]**

Most scholarship in urban geopolitics is produced in the Western academic context, inside the ivory towers of Universities. Case studies mostly include 'global cities' from the 'Global North' or thematize the spatial and social exclusion in their 'problematic' districts. Another geographic focus is the post-colonial geographic context of the 'Global South'. The dissertation's theme represents, therefore, an infill in the discourse, as the geographical buffer zone between these two regions, and at the same time, a largely unexplored urban environment.

The chronology of the chapters allows the reader to inquire about the superimposition of geopolitical realities and their transformative impact on the destruction of the existing, constructed Sarajevo, and its subsequent reconstruction. In this way, the dissertation offers a novel theoretical contribution to the discourse. It does this by connecting macro-scaled geopolitics to concrete micro-scaled physical shapes and (re)programs, all from within the under-researched context of New Sarajevo and Marijin Dvor.

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[36] Flint. Colin. "Intertwined spaces of peace and war: The perpetual dynamism of geopolitical landscapes". In: Reconstructing Conflict: Integrating War and post-war geographies. By Flint, Colin and Kirsch, Scott (Eds.). (London: Routledge). 2011.

[37] Ibid. p. 33.

Fig. 1: Timeline of important political and spatial moments: 1945-2014

Fig. 2: ETH Zurich/U-TT Urban Toolbox
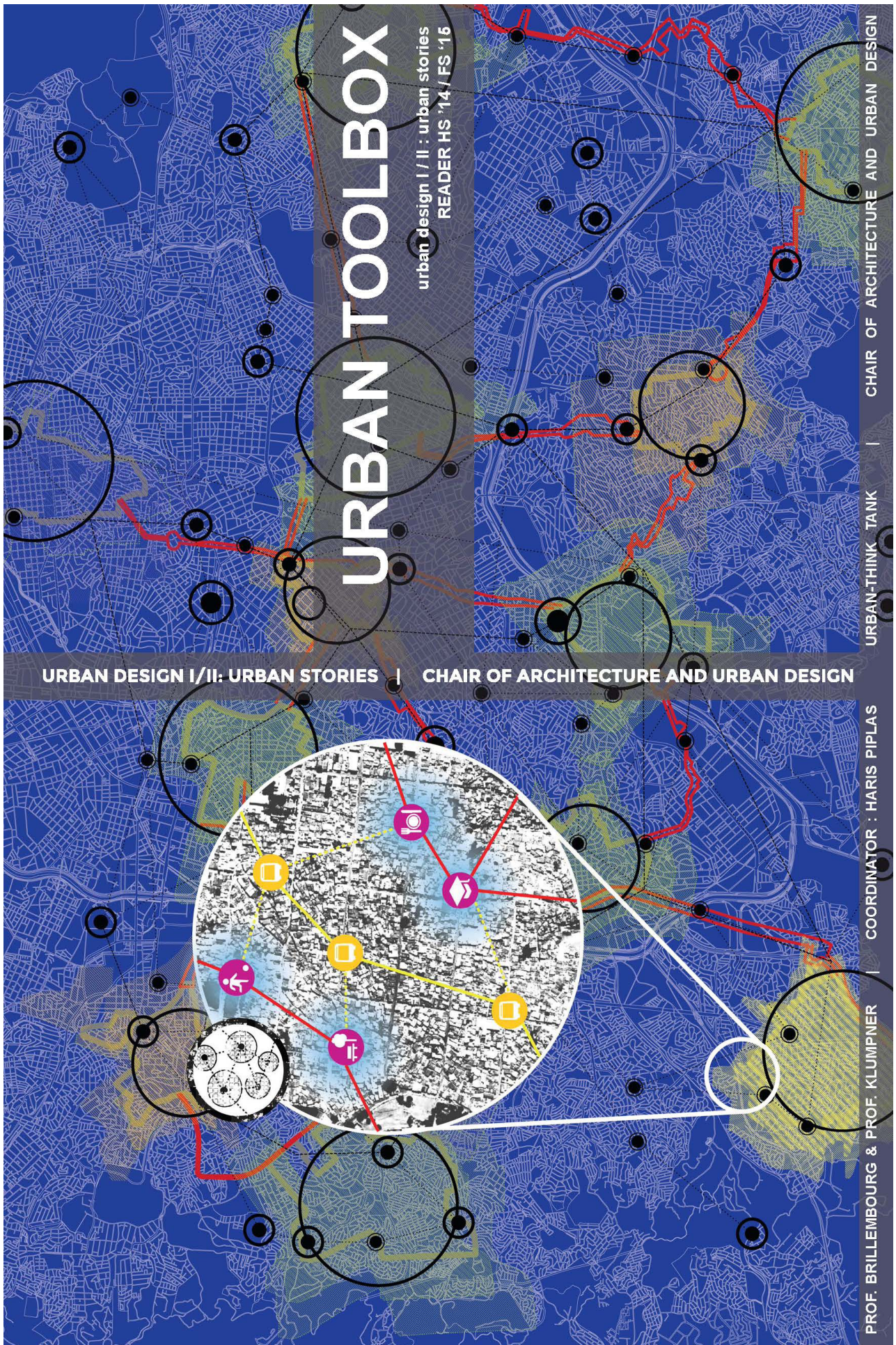
Fig. 2: ETH Zurich/U-TT Urban Toolbox

III PERIPHERY OR HOTSPOT: GEOPOLITICS OF SARAJEVO'S HISTORICAL URBANISM

"Four religions live on this narrow hilly and scarce piece of land, each of which is exclusive and strictly separated from the rest. All live under one sky and the same country, but each of these four groups has the heart of their spiritual life away, in the other world in Rome, in Moscow, in Constantinople, in Mecca, in Jerusalem, or God himself knows where, just not where he is born and dying. And each of them thinks that her goodness and her benefit are conditioned by the damage and the insinuation of each of the three other religions, and that their progress can only be at their expense, and each of them has made the greatest virtue from intolerance and everyone expects salvation from outside, and each from the opposite direction."

The Chronicles of Travnik, Nobel laureate Ivo Andrić, 1945

Sarajevo's architectures are highly determined by its tortuous (geo)political history and contested geography, factors, which have resulted in a multifaceted eclectic urbanism. In keeping with this theme, this section of the dissertation examines the historical and geographic context in order to form a basic understanding of Sarajevo's socio-spatial discontinuities. While also zooming out to Bosnia and Herzegovina, the wider ex-Yugoslavia and the Balkans, I want to underline the city's dichotomic specificity of both a geographic periphery and a geopolitical hotspot.

Having the dualistic status of a buffer zone but also a frontier zone of East-West divisions, a plethora of global rearrangements have spatially manifested in Bosnia's capital Sarajevo, the geographic core of the Balkans.[38] During the reign of Emperor Justinian, in 395 A.D., the Roman Empire was divided into two hemispheres: eastern and western. The frontier was set in the area of today's BiH, a precursory act of its future geopolitical contestedness. Later in 1054, Bosnia would serve as a borderline once more, following the Great Schism. Still, to this day, the BiH's inhabitants use two different alphabets, Cyrillic (introduced by Greek-Byzantine missionaries) and Latin (brought by the Roman Catholic Church). Bosnia's geostrategic positioning needs, therefore, to be re-contextualized beyond the typical 'Western' – or 'Eastern'

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[38] The term 'Balkan' has Turkish origins, meaning 'mountain', Although it appeared in some texts from the 16th century, but was not commonly used until the 19th century. The German geographer Johann August Zeune was the first who suggested one of the European peninsulas to be named "Balkanhalbinsel". Please see: Zeune, Johann August. Versuch einer wissenschaftlichen Erdbeschreibung (Attempt of a scientific earth description). (Berlin: Wittich). 1808. (translated by the author).

inter-European divisions, as it represents a historical inbetween land,[39] a 'meso-region'.[40] (Fig. 3).

Winston Churchill's alleged quote "the Balkans produce more history that they can consume", despite rumors of its mythical origins,[41] illustrates a common belief that the history of the Balkans is produced locally, away from the larger geopolitical stimuli. The Swedish political scientist Rudolph Kjellén coined the term 'geopolitics' at the turn of the 20th century, describing the impact of foreign security politics on socio-cultural and economic development within a certain geographic zone.[42] Following this definition, I would contend Churchill's phrase and argue that the history of the Balkans has usually exhibited traits of an extroverted, rather than an introverted development, in which geopolitics influence local politics and not vice versa. Instabilities in the Balkans have been primarily provoked by the geostrategic aspirations of the great empires: Ottoman, Venetian, Austro-Hungarian etc. These shifts caused political instability and social disorder, challenged the multicultural balance and, eventually, induced conflict.

After the unsuccessful Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1683 and the 1699 Treaty of Karlovac, the borders between the Mediterranean, Central European and Ottoman influence zones solidified (centered in Venice, Vienna and Istanbul respectively). The inland parts of the Balkan peninsula were associated with the 'oriental East', whereas the coastal and northern territories were considered part of the 'civilized West'.[43] The Treaties of San Stefano and Berlin in 1878 stirred up the Balkans once

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[39] Wolff, Larry. Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment (Stanford University Press). 1994.

[40] Troebst, Stefan. "Introduction: What's in a Historical Region? A Teutonic Perspective". In: European Review of History – Revue Européenne d' Histoire. No.10. 2003. pp. 173–188.

[41] Abazi, Enika and Doja, Albert. "International representations of Balkan wars: a socio-anthropological approach in international relations perspective". In: Cambridge Review of International Affairs. Vol. 29. No. 2. 2016. p. 596.

[42] Note: Kjellén founded the German geopolitical school together with his mentor, the German geographer Friedrich Ratzel, suggesting that a multinational bloc of states that would respect the freedom and independence of states only under the leadership of a central power (in this case, Germany). Kjellén's description resembles later theories of Carl Schmitt's 'Grossraum' who opposed his concept to the military general and geopolitical theorist Karl Haushofer of the 'Lebensraum' theory, intensely used later in Nazi ideology. Please see for more:
Tunander, Ola. "Swedish Geopolitics: From Rudolf Kjellén to a Swedish 'Dual State'". In: Geopolitics. 10:3. 2005. pp. 546-566;
Marklun, Carl. "The Return of Geopolitics in the Era of Soft Power: Rereading Rudolf Kjellén on Geopolitical Imaginary and Competitive Identity". In: Geopolitics. 20:2. 2015. pp. 248-266.

[43] Petković, Ranko. "Balkan i Mediteran" ("The Balkans and the Mediterranean"). In: Naše teme. Issue 22. Vol. 1. 1978. pp. 2611–2612. (translated by the author).

more following the ambitions of expanding the western influence zone through the occupation of BiH by Austria-Hungary. (Fig. 4)

This moment produced a fundamental shift for Sarajevo's urban development, as the Treaties induced a multilateral territorial exchange between Germany, Russia, Britain and Austria-Hungary) in the wake of Russia's victory over the decaying Ottoman Empire. Austria-Hungary was given the right to occupy and administer BiH, but the territory remained a de-iure part of the Ottoman Empire. Only in October 1908 did BiH's status as the 'proximate colony' cease, as Austria-Hungary took advantage of the unrest in the Ottoman Empire caused by the reformation intentions of the Young Turk Revolution.[44] This 'Bosnian crisis' of 1908 increased the animosities and geopolitical complexities across the European continent. (Fig. 5).

The definite retreat of the Ottoman Empire from the Balkans was one of its final acts during the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 that did not directly affect Sarajevo but recomposed the territories of the region. Sarajevo and BiH were exposed to colliding geopolitical interest radii: Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman, pan-Slavic Russian, pan-Yugoslav, pan-Bosnian, among others. A series of Europe-wide crises culminated with the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, triggering the Great War. This reaffirms the connection to the geographic location of the main spatial case study of this dissertation, New Sarajevo's Marijin Dvor zone. On June 28th, 1914, Franz Ferdinand was assassinated in a car while en route to ceremonially open the National Museum in Marijin Dvor, an architectural symbol of an occupied and 'civilized' BiH by Austria-Hungary.[45] (Fig. 6).

The geopolitical contest not only created a polygon for proxy wars but has additionally shown an interplay of diverse global influences. In this sense, Sarajevo

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[44] Note: The Ottomans protested to Vienna and called for a boycott of Turkish goods in November 1908. The Austro-Hungarian Ambassador in Istanbul, Pallavicini, offered concessions and a fee of 2.2 million pounds. The Ottoman Empire recognized the annexation of BiH on February 26th, 1909. Both Serbia and Montenegro felt the momentum of expressing territorial aspirations after this precedential case. Germany informed Russia that if they intervene in Serbia that Germany will support their ally, Austria-Hungary. Russia recognized the annexation of BiH in March 1909. All other powers who guaranteed the Berlin Congress consented to the annexation in April 1909: Italy, Germany, Great Britain, Russia, and France.
For more details on the Treaty of Berlin, please see:
Norton Medlicott, William. Congress of Berlin and After (London: Routledge). 1963 (1st edition).

[45] Dedijer, Vladimir. The Road to Sarajevo (New York: Simon and Schuster). 1966.

became a battlefield, in which the interaction of geopolitics and politics brightly determine its local political and spatial dynamics. This phenomenon is also bidirectional in terms of physical manifestation. In one direction, is Sarajevo's role as 'recipient' of colonial architecture: a 'litmus paper' that reveals spatial reactions as a result of competing global powers. In the other direction, it is that of the 'emitter' of the influence - back to the world. The events in Sarajevo in 1914 had an undeniable influence on the rise of post-World War I modernism. The catastrophe that started in Sarajevo, together with the political, technological, economic, social, and cultural developments it induced, as well as the need to rebuild economies and reconstruct cities, brought with it a global shift: the epidemics of modernism.

Susan Sontag referred to this 'emitter' role as a reaction to the unstable geopolitical tectonics of Sarajevo in the following way: "The 20th century started in Sarajevo. It ended there, too".[46] Sontag's statement supports the argument of Sarajevo as a 'neuralgic spot' that inflames the world politics, causing changes throughout the course of human history. This geopolitical dimension of Sarajevo also connects well to Eric Hobsbawm's outline of the 20th century's "catastrophic failures of state communism, capitalism, and nationalism" in his book 'The Age of Extremes'. A century which began as an era of liberation from old Empires, according to Hobsbawm, turned into an era of wars, violence and globalization.

> **Looking back on the thirty-one years from the assassination of the Austrian Archduke in Sarajevo to the unconditional surrender of Japan, they must be seen as an era of havoc comparable to the Thirty Years' War of the seventeenth century in German history. And Sarajevo - the first Sarajevo - certainly marked the beginning of a general age of catastrophe and crisis in the affairs of the world.[47]**

The end of the Great War and the Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain in 1918-19 boosted the ideas of the nation-state concept. Yugoslavia rose from the ashes of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires. Influenced by the idea of pan-Slavism, it was an attempt to balance foreign pressures, uniting all South-Slavic nations and their territories.[48] This nation-building project was a delayed emulation of the mid-

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[46] Sontag, Susan. "Waiting for Godot in Sarajevo". In: Performing Arts Journal. Vol. 16. No. 2. 1994. p. 100.

[47] Hobsbawm, Eric. The Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914-1991 (London: Michael Joseph). 1994. p. 52.

[48] On the broader historical research on pan-Slavism, please see:

end 19th century political movements in, for example, Italy and Germany. Within autocratic empires, the size of a population group based on a distinct ethnicity, common religion, language or culture had less relevance. This changed with the arrival of the inherently monolithic nation-state concepts, in which the size of the population group became equivalent to the strength of its electoral power. The constituted 'Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes', under the crown of the Serbian king.[49] The 'tripartite' nation proved to be a difficult to synergize with a nation-status concept that led to a series of ethnic, cultural and religious tensions.[50]

In this political and societal pandemonium, conflict and fragmentation found fertile ground, further solidifying the prejudice of the Balkan 'powder keg' and coining the pejorative term 'Balkanization' to describe the division of larger political units, incapable of independent life, with tribal value systems and societal backwardness.[51] (Fig. 7) Analysis of the international media of that time shows that the assassination of Franz Ferdinand was depicted as something specific to the Balkans - even in the voice of Balkan observers, such as Arnold Toynbee: "in the present catastrophe, the curse of the Balkans has descended upon the whole of Europe, and laid bare unsuspected depths of chaotic hatred".[52] (Fig. 8) The industrialist and future foreign minister of the Weimar Republic, Walther Rathenau utilized the term Balkanization in an interview with the New York Times in 1918, exemplifying political and territorial fragmentations.[53]

On the contrary, the Balkans were also romanticized as a tolerant multicultural and multi-religious melting pot, such as the 'European Orient' as described in the writings of Lord Byron. Similarly, Russian sources qualified the region as the

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Đokić, Dejan. Yugoslavism: Histories of a Failed Idea, 1918–1992 (University of Wisconsin Press). 2003.;
Greenberg, Marc. The Illyrian Movement: A Croatian Vision of South Slavic Unity (Oxford University Press). 2011.

[49] The Kingdom was renamed into the 'Kingdom of Yugoslavia' in 1929.

[50] The largely ignored incompatibilities of the nation-state and republican concepts, imported to an intrinsically multicultural and multilingual region after both World Wars, should not be discounted in the attempt to understand the destructive impact of local nationalisms on Sarajevo's economic, socio-cultural and urban development.

[51] Todorova, Maria. Imaginarij Balkana (Imaginary of the Balkans). (Ljubljana: Inštitut za civilizacijo in kulturo). 2001. p. 25. (translated by the author).

[52] Toynbee, Arnold. "Greece". In: Forbes, Nevill et al. The Balkans: A History of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Rumania, Turkey (Oxford, UK: Oxford Press). 1915.

[53] Rathenau, Walther "Head of Great Industry Predicts the Balkanization of Europe". In: New York Times. 20th December 1918.

'glorious' or 'gorgeous'[54] Balkans. At the same time, the American political scientist Samuel Huntington highlighted the negative repercussion of the ethnoreligious diversity in the Balkans, despite its nature as the result of a history of geopolitical territorial disputes:

> **To a very large degree, the major civilizations in human history have been closely identified with the world's great religions; and people who share ethnicity and language but differ in religion may slaughter each other, as happened in Lebanon, the former Yugoslavia, and the Subcontinent.[55]**

Slavoj Žižek used the derogatory notion of the 'Balkan' to extrapolate the general human tendency to differentiate from the 'other' - finding ethnic difference or grievance with whomever it is that lives next door - and how this very tendency leads to secession, conflict and crisis:

> **Is Balkan not the very epitome of national identity going awry, of the vortex of dark and self-destructive ethnic passions that form the very contrast, almost a kind of photographic negative, of the tolerant co-existence of different ethnic communities? (…) The Balkans are always somewhere else. For the Serbs, they begin in Kosovo or in Bosnia; for the Croats in Serbia; for Slovenes in Croatia; for many Italians and Austrians in Slovenia. For many Germans, Austria itself, because of its historical links, is already tainted with Balkan corruption and inefficiency; for many North Germans, Bavaria, with its Catholic provincial flair, is not free of a Balkan contamination. (…) For some arrogant Frenchmen, Germany is associated with the Balkanian Eastern savagery — up to the extreme case of some conservative anti-European-Union Englishmen for whom, in an implicit way, it is ultimately the whole of continental Europe itself that functions as a kind of Balkan Turkish global empire with Brussels as the new Constantinople, the capricious despotic center threatening English freedom and sovereignty. So, Balkan is always the Other (…).[56]**

The geopolitical relevance of Sarajevo was illustrated once more after the occupation of a divided Kingdom by the Wehrmacht in 1941. Sarajevo's societal complexity and its historical and cultural dynamics were evident from the example of memorials and signage.[57] The memorial plaque dating from 1930 that celebrated

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[54] Jovanović-Weiss, Srdjan. "Better than urbicide: Balkanization and the making of capital cities". In: Balkanology: New architecture and urban phenomena in South Eastern Europe. by Vöckler, Kai (Ed.). (Basel: Swiss Architecture Museum). 2008. p. 53.

[55] Huntington, Samuel. The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order (New York: Simon & Schuster). 1996. p. 42.

[56] Žižek, Slavoj. The Fragile Absolute (London and New York: Verso). 2001. pp. 3-4.
Note: the article is based on the older article:
Žižek, Slavoj. "The Spectre of Balkan". In: The Journal of the International Institute. Vol. 6. Issue 2. Winter 1999.

[57] Note: The exemplary case is the impossibility of the dualistic division of Sarajevo's citizens between 'Aryan' and 'non-Aryan', due to the complex inter-ethnic and cultural mixes and unclear national identities that did not correspond with Nazi racial postulates. Following that, Heinrich Himmler was forced to alter the pre-requirements for entering SS-units in order to allow 'Caucasian' Bosnian Muslims to join.

the assassination of Franz Ferdinand by Gavrilo Princip, was taken down on April 17th 1941 and brought to Hitler as a symbolic gift for his 52nd birthday. He received it in the mobile commando-train 'Amerika' stationed in the Mönichkirchen in Austria while planning the 'Balkans Occupation Campaign' ('Balkanfeldzug'), an attempt to change the borders once more as a revenge for the, in his eyes, humiliating defeat of Germany in World War I.[58] Moreover, the geopolitical contestedness of the Balkans also manifested in the territorial aspirations of the Soviet Union. The propaganda war against the 'threat from the East' was fiercely fought by the pro-Nazi government of the puppet-state 'Nezavisna Država Hrvatska-NDH' ('Independent State of Croatia') that ruled over BiH from 1941 until 1945. (Fig. 9)

With the end of the lifecycle of great powers, their geographic and political aspirations did not evaporate in BiH even today, a country particularly susceptible to influences due to its central location within the Balkans and the triangular-shaped territory. The successor states of the former great powers continued to emit influence through incorporating their ambitions into the agendas of the recently established post-Yugoslav micro nation-states, such as BiH, Croatia and Serbia. This was enhanced by the local phenomenon of 'narcissism of small differences', as referred to by Sigmund Freud.[59]

The historically repetitive phases of geopolitical imbalance and import of political and socio-economic concepts, became the central driving force for independence and economic liberalization movements in Yugoslavia, BiH and Sarajevo – also in its current historical cycle, triggered by the fall of the Berlin Wall.[60]

Please see more: Greble, Emily. "Autonomy compromised: Nazi Occupation and the Ustasha Regime." In Sarajevo, 1941–1945: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Hitler's Europe (Ithaca: Cornell University Press). 2011. pp. 54-87.

[58] The plaque was later exhibited publicly in front of large masses at the façade of Berlin's 'Zeughaus' in the Unter den Linden street.

[59] Formulated by Sigmund Freud, based on the earlier work of the British anthropologist Ernest Crawley: "communities with adjoining territories and close relationships that engage in constant feuds and mutual ridicule because of hypersensitivity to details of differentiation". in Freud, Sigmund. Civilization, Society and Religion (London: Penguin Freud Library). Vol. 12. 1991. pp. 131, 305.

[60] Please refer to the following three chapters for a detailed explanation.

History as urban laboratory: Sarajevo's urbanism of crises, revolutions and transitions

Sarajevo's spatial diversity does not occurr in a vacuum but is a remnant of a turbulent history. As mentioned before, Sarajevo's centuries-long status as a polygon of competing global powers that resulted, not in an urbanistic patchwork, but rather a linear development of Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian and modernist architectures – in addition to scattered prehistoric, Roman and medieval remnants. This urbanistic bricolage is unique in physical terms, but the learnings from Sarajevo can be widely extrapolated to provide a lens to investigate other cities, as argued by the Bosnian bestselling author Dževad Karahasan: "Sarajevo is, perhaps, because of its multi-vocality, an important metaphor of the world, a form in which the world announces its real nature, mostly hidden from human sight."[61] (Fig. 10)

In this 'multi-polar' situation, the gravitational forces are changing their source of 'input energy', which created original hybrid forms of culture and space. Multicultural societies tend in general to be more sensitive, creative and intelligent, in which differences enrich and inspire cultural and spatial production. Sarajevo's multitude of cultures and its interstitial position allowed for experimentation and innovation by taking reference points from various global localities out of which the influence was imported.[62]

This phenomenon could be characterized as 'freedom of periphery', where cultural, ethnic and religious influences overlap more intensively than in the center, due to the frequency of (geo)political tectonic shifts and border alterations.[63] This argument, however, negates the established analogies between the geopolitical and geographic status, disassociating the 'provincial' from the 'peripheral'. In the

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[61] Karahasan, Dževad. "Pripovijedati Grad" (To narrate a city). In: Sarajevske Sveske. No. 21/22. p. 164. (translated by the author).

[62] My hypothesis was somewhat confirmed having the honor to meet in person the bestselling Bosnian authors Dževad Karahasan on March 5th 2019 in the moment of last edits to the dissertation. Passing by the spot where Franz Ferdinand was assassinated, he mentions that his whole life he tries to understand "why is the history playing with this small town located 'somewhere' in the Balkans. Why does world history gets decided exactly here". According thim, this geopolitical intensity instigated multiple cultures to meet in Sarajevo. He argues that these cultures 'created' the concept of Bosnia, not political movements, parties or any strategically written concepts.

[63] This concept was explained on the case of the "free plan churches" in Croatia. Here I use the conceptuality of this phenomenon translating and extrapolating to other cultural spheres, too. This concept was formulated by the Croatian archeologist and art historian Ljubo Karaman (1886-1971) in his book: Karaman, Ljubo. O djelovanju domaće sredine u umjetnosti hrvatskih krajeva (On the Effect of the Native Environment in the Arts of Croatian Lands). (Zagreb: Društvo historičara umjetnosti) 1963. (translated by the author).

argument of Ákos Moravánsky, ex-Yugoslavia underwent a plethora of societal and political models:

> **Most political models and social divisions - from liberal bourgeois capitalism to nationalism, Communism, Stalinism, self-governing socialism and transitional post-socialism - swept through a country that was in the process of permanent reinvention of itself.[64]**

If zooming out to the scale of BiH, in the closest geographic proximity, within a few kilometers and across one mountain, different cultural landscapes and adjacent architectural styles and forms can be observed: the Islamic autarkic city, Venetian building techniques, Central-European, Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque stylistic elements:

> **Byzantium, Vienna, Budapest, Venice shone like great searchlights sending out level beams of light and heat, which penetrated up the valleys, through the passes, and across the plains. These beams were halted only as they advanced farther from their sources and encountered effective mountain barriers or met the fierce glare of a beam sent out by a near rival beacon.[65]**

Different from other major BiH and Balkan cities, Sarajevo's comparatively higher level of vernacularity of the built form is due to the city's geostrategic location. Being landlocked by mountainous topography and peripheral from ruling centers of power (Istanbul, Vienna, Venice etc.), it has diluted and blurred the rigidities of singular political and cultural influences. This has resulted in a spectrum of architectural layers in the longitudinal urbanizations of the Sarajevo valley: for example, Ottoman 'organic' urbanism based on Islamic postulates and Austro-Hungarian 'technocratic' perimeter block development. (Fig. 11).

This incongruous diversity of vertical and horizontal architectural layers composes Sarajevo's multifarious urban morphology. The strata are distinctly legible if analyzing architectural and landscape typologies of the different sections of the city's longitudinal urban development. Different from London, Rome or Belgrade with their superimposition of vertical layers of urban history, Sarajevo's urbanism

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[64] In this case, Ákos Moravánsky's argument mostly targets the development of modernism, but also zooms out to the historical and societal aspects of a diversity of stylistic and methodological approaches: Moravánsky. Ákos. "Reassembling Yugoslav Architecture". In: Kulić, Vladimir, Mrduljaš, Maroje and Thaler, Wolfgang. Modernism In-between: The Mediatory Architectures of Socialist Yugoslavia (Berlin: Jovis Verlag). 2012. p. 5.

[65] Wolff, Robert Lee. The Balkans in Our Time (Cambridge, MA: Norton). 1956. p. 20.

can be read horizontally. Art historian Ibrahim Krzović describes the effect of the 'continuous discontinuity' of Sarajevo:

> **The architectural heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina has its historical continuum which is kept sometimes due to rare examples, but sometimes represented through an abundance of valuable realizations. The spectrum and value of the cultural layer depends on multiple factors. Sometimes these are historical conditions, sometimes evil destiny, the influence of time and fragility of materials. The broader picture of the perimeter and value of the realization of a particular style also depends on the level of research, and the direction of scientific thought and societal continuity.[66]**

More precisely, Sarajevo's urbanism can be described as a series of dichotomies, as collectively argued by the American urban planner Scott Bollens in his comparison of Sarajevo with other contested cities (Johannesburg, Grozny, Nicosia and Beirut):

> **Cities are often located on the fault-lines between cultures - between modernizing societies and traditional cultures (…) between democracy and more authoritarian regimes; between colonial governments and native populations.[67]**

Sarajevo's contradictions and concoctions represent an urban and architectural amalgamate of stylistic, programmatic and functional expressions. In realizing this complexity, it is necessary to recognize the history of Sarajevo as an inevitable process for revealing the layers of the urban fabric that was molded through the sequenced geopolitical influence of religious, cultural and social conditions.

At the crossroads: From prehistoric paths to the medieval square

The Miljacka valley has been often referred to as the 'golden valley' due to its fertility and geographic location at the crossroads of ancient routes: between the Byzantium/Ottoman Empire in the East, Rome and Venice in the West; and halfway on the path from Central Europe in the North and Greece in the South.[68] The territory

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[66] Krzović, Ibrahim. Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878-1918 (Architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina 1878-1918). (Sarajevo: National Gallery of Art). 1987. p. 9. (translated by the author).

[67] Bollens, Scott. "City and soul: Sarajevo, Johannesburg, Jerusalem, Nicosia". In: City. 5:2. 2001. p. 170.

[68] Note: For more details on the ancient settlements and road communications, please see:

of today's Sarajevo shows evidence of human presence since the Neolithic epoch in the form of the 'Butmir culture' dated in the 3rd millennium B.C., located in the southwestern zone of the Sarajevo valley. The same area contains excavations of a Roman colony that was founded in 2nd century A.D. The Bosnian art historian Husref Redžić summarizes this continuum of settlements:

> **Long ago, long before Sarajevo got its name, people built here their settlements moving them from Neolithic Butmir towards the narrow valley of Miljacka under Mount Trebević. From the foot of Igman and the Spring of Bosna to the slopes of Trebević, human agglomerations have displaced Neolithic farmers, Illyrian warriors, Roman and German invaders, Slavic immigrants and Ottoman patrons. They all left traces of their material and spiritual culture on this small Bosnian territory.[69]**

The dissertation's focal case study area Marijin Dvor reveals smaller Roman ruins and a Christian cemetery dating from the 3rd century A.D. (closed only in 1888). Bronze Age and Roman remnants were also found in its immediate vicinity at the slopes of Trebević in Zlatište-Debelo Brdo-Soukbunar.[70] The first road to be discovered in the Sarajevo valley was a Roman road perpendicular to the Miljacka river. With this road, Sarajevo was connected to the Adriatic coast, Asia Minor and the Pannonian lowlands. Nevertheless, periods of migrations and conflicts created a discontinuity of urban living which, according to Redžić, is also reflected in the cyclical disrespect towards the heritage by the new settlers to the area:

> **In the past, Sarajevo showed examples of disrespect and intolerant attitudes towards heritage: Slavs destroyed the Illyrian, Roman and Germanic constructions. Ottomans only use fortifications of Bosnian [medieval] feudalists, and Austro-Hungary constructs its facilities in Sarajevo, as if there was not an already built city.[71]**

Definite proof for this claim is offered through the example of the post-Roman colonizations by the Ostrogoths, Avars and Slavic tribes who arrived at the beginning

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Pašalić Esad. Antička naselja i komunikacije u Bosni i Hercegovini (Antique settlements and communications in Bosnia and Herzegovina). (Sarajevo: National Museum of BiH). 1960. (translated by the author).

[69] Redžić, Husref. Studije o islamskoj arhitektonskoj baštini (Studies on the Islamic architectural heritage). (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša). 1983. p. 250. (translated by the author).

[70] Basler, Đuro. Arhitektura kasnoantičkog doba u Bosni i Hercegovini (The architecture of the late Antique period in Bosnia and Herzegovina). (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša). 1972.;
Agency for the Protection of cultural, historical and natural heritage of Canton Sarajevo. Zaštitna arheološka istraživanja: Lokalitet Marijin Dvor (Protective archaeological research: Location Marijin Dvor). Source: http://www.spomenici-sa.ba/2006/12/22/zastitna-arheoloska-istrazivanja-lokalitet-marijin-dvor/ (last accessed: October 1st 2018). (translated by the author).

[71] Redžić, Husref. Studije o islamskoj arhitektonskoj baštini (Studies on the Islamic architectural heritage). (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša). 1983. p. 251. (translated by the author).

of the 7th century. The Slavs broke the continuum of urban settlements as they did not practice the adaptation of the existing built structures.[72] Medieval Sarajevo left only scarce material evidence. The majority of the archival materials of this period are derived from institutions in Dubrovnik, most of them trade agreements, which, at the same time, document the relationship between the Adriatic coast and its Bosnian hinterlands.[73] The metropolitan area of what is today Sarajevo was called Vrhbosna ('Peak of Bosnia'), a toponym that confirms its geographic centrality in the historic core of the country. Despite the geographic importance, there are no traces of continuity of larger urban settlements in this territory. Besides remnants of smaller fortification, only the tombstones, 'stećci', as the majority of medieval Bosnians belonged to the 'Bosanska crkva' (Bosnian heretic church) that distanced itself from both Catholicism and Orthodoxy, proving once more the argument of Bosnia as a geopolitically interstitial territory. Nonetheless, the uninterrupted presence of humans was guaranteed only through sustained economic activities, mostly trade. The most frequent trade hub and at the same time the largest settlement in Vrhbosna named 'Tornik' or 'Staro Trgovište', which was located in today's Marijin Dvor area is of particular importance for this dissertation.[74] Tornik was located at the crossroad of the East-West oriented Miljacka valley, and North-South oriented Koševo valley, marking the geographic center of Bosnia. Nevertheless, Tornik, due to its limited size of 58 houses in 1455 and 70 houses in 1468 did not significantly affect the subsequent urban development of Sarajevo and, therefore, lost its strategic, economic and geographic importance with the Ottoman occupation.[75] It would take 500 years and the communist rule during socialist Yugoslavia for this locality to regain its central status.

[72] Miletić, Nada. Kulturna istorija Bosne i Hercegovine od najstarijih vremena do početka turske vladavine (Cultural history of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the earliest times to the beginning of Turkish rule). (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša) 1966. (translated by the author).
Note: The BiH archeologist and historian of art Nada Miletić worked in the National Museum of BiH in Marijin Dvor from 1960 until her death in 2002. She was also active during the Sarajevo siege.

[73] Kovačević-Kojić, Dušanka. Градска насеља средњовјековне босанске државе (Urban settlements of the medieval Bosnian state). (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša). 1978. pp. 77, 78. (translated by the author).

[74] Kovačević-Kojić, Dušanka. Градска насеља средњовјековне босанске државе (Urban settlements of the medieval Bosnian state). (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša). 1978. pp. 135, 138. (translated by the author).
Note: The toponym 'Tornik' refers to an archaic linguistic version of the word 'Tuesday'. It describes a market square and the time of the week when the trade took place. The same toponym occurs across medieval Bosnia, sometimes with the Latin translation as 'mercatum' or 'forum'. Staro Trgovište refers to 'Old Market Place'.

[75] Šabanović, Hazim. Postanak i razvoj Sarajeva (Emergence and development of Sarajevo). (Sarajevo: Scientific Society of NR Bosnia and Herzegovina, Department of Historical-Philological Sciences). Book 5. 1960. pp. 71-115.

Becoming a kasaba through vakuf public infrastructures

The Ottoman Empire conquered the Sarajevo valley temporarily during the 1430s and 1440s. The Ottomans created a new permanent settlement approximately two kilometers eastwards from Tornik, upstream the Miljacka river, which was recorded in the 1455 census for the occupied territories of Vrhbosna and Hodidjed (which encompassed the larger metropolitan area of present-day Sarajevo).[76]

Consequently, Sarajevo developed in the 15th and 16th centuries into a strong military, economic and religious center due to Ottoman geostrategic reasoning, which was fueled by the Empire's ambitious invasion plans towards Central Europe. (Fig. 3) The new state religion, Islam, was introduced to Sarajevo, defining the rationale behind its urban development model during the Ottoman era.

Sarajevo's first Ottoman ruler, Isa-Beg Ishaković (today regarded as the founder of the city), constructed the basic public infrastructures through his 'vakuf': mosque, bridge and caravanserai.[77] The vakuf, basically a concept of Islamic endowment, also included a self-financing, running model. Through the vakuf, property was dedicated for posterity, where the profit would be used for charitable intentions, providing socio-economic relief, but also education to the needy and the poor.[78] This model has its deep sacred motivations, anchored in the Islamic Holy Book, the Qur'an. In particular, its second Chapter (Surah Al-Baqara, verses 215 and 274), reads the following:

> **They ask thee what they should spend [in charity]. Say: Whatever ye spend that is good, is for parents and kindred and orphans and those in want and for wayfarers. And whatever ye do that is good, Allah knoweth it well. (…) Those who [in charity]**

[76] Šabanović, Hazim. Bosanski pašaluk (Bosnian pashalik). (Sarajevo: Svjetlost). 1982 (2nd edition). pp. 27-31. (translated by the author).

[77] Caravanserai was a public building that grouped accommodation, stables, storage and wholesale selling functions together, in Ottoman cities, in a tradition being taken over from Seljuk Turks and Persians. Etymologically, the word Sarajevo is derived from the ancient Persian and Ottoman Turkish words: 'saray' (large structure, fort) and 'ovas' (field). With the later slavenization, the suffix 'evo' that describes locations, prevailed and the modern version 'Sarajevo' became conventional. However, in most official documents, the Turkish version Bosna-Saray dominated. Please see for details:
Škaljić, Abdulah. Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku (Turcisms in the Serbo-Croatian language). (Sarajevo: Sarajevo). 1989 (6th edition). (translated by the author).

[78] Please see for more details on the concept of vakuf (the version 'vakuf' is the Bosnian transliteration. The word is usually spelled 'waqf' in Anglo-Saxon sources):
Ghazaleh, Pascale (Ed.). Held in Trust: Waqf in the Islamic World (The American University in Cairo Press). 2011.

spend of their goods by night and by day, in secret and in public, have their reward with their Lord: on them shall be no fear, nor shall they grieve.[79]

From the point of view of the architectural program, public functions were defined as necessary in the Qur'an: education, lodging for the travelers, sacred buildings etc., as "Islam favored urban life because it made easy access to mosques, public baths, schools and other institutions of religious importance".[80] The Swiss art historian Titus Burckhardt explained the religious background of the vakuf as 'sunnah', a set of practices derived from the behavior of Prophet Mohammed,[81] but also accentuated its public function:

This institution goes back to the advice given by the Prophet to Umar when he wished to give up one of his lands in the form of charity; the Prophet said, "Make this field inalienable, and bestow its crops upon the poor". It is incontestably the most direct expression, on the urban level, of the community spirit of Islam. It makes a powerful contribution to the historical continuity of a town, to the maintenance of public works of benefit to all.[82]

Ishaković also constructed the first seat of the Ottoman administration, a castle ('Saray') in the area of Bistrik, what is today the southern section of the old town (on the left bank of the river Miljacka).[83] With Isa-Beg Ishaković's initiative to erect public buildings following the vakuf principles, Sarajevo fulfilled the requirements to receive a legal status of a town, or 'kasaba', in 1462:

It had to be permanently inhabited by a Muslim population, filling at least one important residential district. There had to be a mosque in which all of the five daily prayers can be performed. It had to have a bazaar. A specific day of the week had to be declared as its 'market-day'. When these requirements were met, an official request by the local administrators would lead to an Imperial edict granting a settlement the status of a kasaba.[84]

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[79] Qur'an index. Surah Al-Baqara, 215, 274.
Source: https://qur'anindex.net/kelime.php?id=8745 (last accessed: November 22nd 2018).

[80] Pašić, Amir. Islamic Architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Istanbul: Research Centre for Islamic History, Art, and Culture-IRCICA). 1994. p. 13.

[81] Sunnah represents the body of traditional social and legal custom and practice of the Islamic community. Along with the Qurʾān (the holy book of Islam) and Hadith (recorded sayings of the Prophet Muhammad), it is a major source of Sharīʿah, or Islamic law. Afsaruddin, Asma. "Sunnah". In: Encyclopedia Britannica.
Source: https://www.britannica.com/topic/Sunnah. (last accessed: November 20th 2018).

[82] Burckhardt, Titus. Art of Islam, Language and Meaning (Bloomington, IN.: World Wisdom). 2009. p. 205.

[83] The official birthday of modern Sarajevo celebrated today is the 'vakufnama', the written document of Isa-Beg's vakuf.

[84] Pašić, Amir. Islamic Architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Istanbul: Research Centre for Islamic History, Art, and Culture-IRCICA). 1994. pp. 16-17.

The 20-year rule of Gazi Husref-Bey (1521-1541) marked another golden age of construction activity in Sarajevo. (Fig. 12) Gazi Husref-Bey energetically fostered the development of the city, including building the grand mosque which his bears his name, an indoor market 'Bezistan', a caravanserai 'Tašlihan', dozens of shops and several hamams. (Fig. 13) Gazi Husref-Bey's charity model was followed by other wealthy individuals, which eventually catalyzed a construction boom in 16th century Sarajevo:

> **Toward the close of the 16th century Sarajevo had about 50 000 inhabitants, 100 mosques, 2 churches, 1 synagogue, several tekias, minarets, musafirhans (night quarters for travelers), 3 medressas (high schools), numerous mektebs (elementary schools), 6 hammams (public baths), 3 bezistans (covered market places), several dairas (storehouses), numerous hans (hotels), about 1000 shops, and 10 000 dwelling houses amid gardens on the slopes.[85]**

Furthermore, the geographic location on the caravan trade route Constantinople-Dubrovnik-Venice helped Sarajevo grow into an important trade center by the mid-late 1500s, becoming one of the most important northwestern outposts of the Empire:

> **My delight was not greater than my astonishment when I caught the first view of Bosna-Serai and its beautiful plain, a very vision of fairy-land in a wilderness; so little, indeed, does the stranger expect to find a town so large, and evidently wealthy, in the centre of the ever-turbulent Bosnia. In truth, the old capital of Bosnia, although short of its ancient grandeur and commercial importance when it was the depôt for the merchandize of Europe and Asia, and contained upwards of a hundred thousand inhabitants, is still one of the most beautiful and interesting towns in the Turkish Empire.[86]**

Čaršija and mahala: Islamic organic urbanism

The regulations defining the role of architects ('mimars') as public servants, are recorded in the 'Kanunnams' – documents of the Sanjak (Province) of Bosnia dating from 1516, 1530, and 1542.[87] Mimars were the only persons allowed to supervise

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[85] Grabrijan, Dušan, Neidhardt, Juraj. Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine i Put u Suvremeno (Architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its path towards modernity). (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije). 1957. p. 50.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Redžić, Husref. Studije o islamskoj arhitektonskoj baštini (Studies on the Islamic Architectural heritage). (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša). 1983. p. 91. (translated by the author).

larger construction works. Enjoying a prominent status in society, they were awarded the rank of nobles and received the right to receive tax revenues, derived from temporary land usage grants, as compensation for their official service. Due to the lack of qualified mimars in Sarajevo, experts were invited from other parts of the Empire.

The urban development of Ottoman Sarajevo was obviously intertwined with deep religious roots that defined everyday lifestyles. These unwritten urban rules are summarized in the works of the Slovenian-Bosnian architecture theorist Dušan Grabrijan. He refers to the traditional and vernacular customs of building based on metaphors, which could be related to contemporary theories of urban metabolism:

> **The builders of the town were, no doubt, led by the desire to obey the unwritten architectural laws of Bosnia: The road is the spine of the town and the valley its shape, the Charshiya (business center) its heart, the vegetation its lungs, and the river its soul. The Charshiya was laid out in the valley and shows a rather regular pattern. It is spangled with architectural masterpieces: mosques (prayer houses), hans (hotels), hammams (baths), bezistans (covered markets) and other magnificent buildings. On the slopes of the valley the Mahala (residential area) was built. Here the builders had followed a more irregular pattern. Meandering streets leading to the Charshiya give this part of the town a lively, picturesque, oriental physiognomy.[88]**

These anthropomorphic principles of Sarajevo's metabolism are directly related to the postulates of Islamic urbanism:

> **"Muslim town-planning"—this tradition being no more than an application of the Sunnah, the custom of the Prophet, to the conditions of the locality and the period. Rather than governmental or royal town-planning, it is that of the group that will reveal the architectural constants in the cities of Islam. (…) It is this which gives Muslim town-planning in its most general form its both realist and spiritual character; it responds to material requirements but never treats them apart from exigencies of a higher order, and this distinguishes it essentially from modern town-planning, which tends to dissociate man's bodily, psychic, and spiritual needs.[89]**

The residential part of the kasaba was settled amphitheatrically on the mountain slopes. Single standing individual houses were grouped into neighborhoods, 'mahalas', microrayons of 30-50 houses. The houses were usually fenced off with brick walls for privacy reasons, making it impossible to look into the adjacent courtyards but with a guaranteed view on the city. In this sense, the house was an

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[88] Grabrijan, Dušan. The Bosnian Oriental Architecture in Sarajevo. (Ljubljana: DDU Univerzum). 1984. p. 22.

[89] Burckhardt, Titus. Art of Islam, Language and Meaning (Bloomington, IN.: World Wisdom). 2009. pp. 199, 207.

exclusively private space for women, who were largely excluded from public life. The physical design of the houses, guaranteed air and light access from their inner courtyards and generous gardens. Redžić wrote about the design concept claiming for a balance between their materiality and functionality:

> **As a rule, this house is in a garden, on the sunny slope, set so that the other does not cover the view, all in the scale of the human, one-floored, made of stone, wood, clay bricks, lime, ceramic and glass - from material which gives it extraordinary lightness: with spaces that are characterized of full functionality.[90]**

Each mahala possessed its own mosque as the "social and spiritual centers of the neighbourhood. The mosque has a threefold purpose: socio–religious, educational, and political".[91] Most mahala mosques in Ottoman Sarajevo had the following structural characteristics: wooden porches, four-pitched roofs, and a wooden minaret, often forming a cluster with a graveyard ('mezarluk') and a school ('mekteb'). Just as in other examples of Islamic urbanism, the mahalas were spatially and functionally separated from the commercial zones in the Čaršija, as Burckhardt points out:

> **A general and enduring characteristic of Islamic town-planning, and one which derives directly from the Sunnah, is that the commercial and residential areas are kept strictly apart. The vital artery of a Muslim town is its market. (…) Most craftsmen sell their products on the spot. But dwellings are, for preference, situated well out of reach of the market and traffic roads, and are accessible for the most part only through narrow, winding alleyways, the function of which is in no way comparable to the streets of European towns, even medieval ones, because Muslim houses take their light and air from their own inner courts and not from the street outside.[92]**

The urban form of the residential and commercial parts of Sarajevo revealed both structural and textural distinctions: streets in the mahalas formed an organic network, following the natural configuration of the topography, whereas the streets of the Čaršija were laid out in an orthogonal street grid. The Čaršija, was located in the valley and contained a high density of public functions, cultural life, and economic flows. Its architectural typologies of one-story shops, high minarets and

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[90] Redžić, Husref. Studije o islamskoj arhitektonskoj baštini (Studies on the islamic architectural heritage). (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša). 1983. p. 247. (translated by author).

[91] Pašić, Amir. Islamic Architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Istanbul: Research Centre for Islamic History, Art, and Culture-IRCICA). 1994. p. 51.

[92] Burckhardt, Titus. Art of Islam, Language and Meaning (Bloomington, IN.: World Wisdom). 2009. pp. 207-208.

clock towers, together with mahala houses, created an urbanistic composition typical for Ottoman towns in the Balkans (Fig.14). The travelogue of Evlija Čelebi written in 1660 reads:

> **The north, northeast and west side of this high city, on the ground intersected by hills and valleys, on gentle hills on the right and left side of the river Miljacka, in the gardens, as in an amphitheater, there are located, in groups, beautiful and lovely houses with chimneys on one or two floors. (…) There are 26 000 heavenly gardens with living water in each. These gardens are beautiful as the earthly paradise.[93]**

The mahala houses were not individual objects but rather architectural ensembles consisting of elements such as walls and different residential and functional objects (storages, outdoor furniture, etc.). Many of them contained oriental ornamental gardens, often with running water derived from one of the many creeks on the slopes flowing downhill to join the Miljacka eventually. The connection between urbanism and availability of water, which is the Islamic symbol of paradise as described by the Qur'an: "We made from water every living thing",[94] was of fundamental importance, not only due to ritual ablutions. (Fig. 15) The British travel writer Edmund Spencer described Sarajevo's organic urbanism and the balance between its architecture and landscapes:

> **Then its delightful environs, blooming gardens with their pretty kiosks, the number of rivers and rivulets, transparent as crystal, winding through a plain unsurpassed for fertility, combine to form a landscape seldom equalled for picturesque effect; neither must we forget its gilded tower, its swelling dome, pointed minaret, and bazaars roofed with tiles of every shade and colour.[95]**

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[93] Čelebi, Evlija. Putopis (Travelogue). (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša. 1979. pp. 103, 119. Note: Evlija Čelebi was an Ottoman travel writer who conducted expeditions around the Ottoman Empire in the 17th century, spending approximately ten years exploring the Balkans. His 'Travelogue' was discovered by the Austrian historian-osmanist von Hammer who described it in his work: von Hammer, Joseph. Des Osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung (The constitution and administration of the Ottoman Empire). (Wien: Camesina). 1815.

[94] Qur'an. Chapter 21. sūrat l-anbiyāa (The Prophets). Verse 30.
Source: http://corpus.qur'an.com/translation.jsp?chapter=21&verse=30 (last accessed: November 18th 2018).

[95] Spencer, Edmund. Travels in European Turkey, in 1850: Through Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Thrace, Albania, and Epirus; with a Visit to Greece and the Ionian Isles (London, Colburn & Co.). 1851. pp. 297-298.

Destruction, recovery and late Ottoman modernization attempts

The volatility of the geostrategic location of Sarajevo often provoked military crises and generated moments of societal overturns. As the Ottoman Empire succeeded to expand its territories towards Central Europe during the 17th century, Sarajevo stagnated, as it lost its peripheral status and with it, its geographic and strategic importance. The Ottoman invasions in Central Europe necessitated an administrative capital closer to the newly conquered territories. (Fig. 3) Therefore, sporadically from the 1550s until the 1630s, the seat of the Sanjak Government had been partly transferred to Banja Luka in northwestern Bosnia.[96] From the early 1700s, the seat was moved to the central Bosnian town of Travnik after Sarajevo was burned to the ground during the raids led by the Austrian general Eugene of Savoy in 1697,[97] (Fig. 16) who destroyed but did not occupy the city:

> **The quadrangular fortress, with its twelve towers and massive walls (…) erected on the summit of a projecting rock (…) at an elevation of three hundred feet, with the rapid Migliatzka running at its base, so renowned for having arrested the triumphal march of the Imperialists, under Prince Eugene of Savoy, is still in tolerable preservation. The hero, after destroying one Turkish army after another, pushed on for the capital of Bosnia; and had it not been for the desperate and determined bravery of the citizens of Bosna-Serai, who threw themselves into the fortress and held out till the people recovered from their surprise and flew to their assistance, Bosnia might now have been numbered among the Slavonian provinces belonging to the Austrian Empire.[98]**

The Ottoman Empire was forced to retreat from many of its Central-European territories with the 'Treaty of Karlovac' in 1699, after losing the war against the Holy League consisting of the Habsburg Empire, Poland-Lithuania, Venice, and Russia. Bosnia became the border zone between the Ottoman Empire, Venice, and Austro-Hungary (Fig. 3). After recovering, Sarajevo experienced a moderate construction rate in the second half of the 18th century, when the city chronicler Mula-Mustafa

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[96] Šabanović, Hazim. Bosanski pašaluk (Bosnian pashalik). (Sarajevo: Svjetlost). 1982 (2nd edition). pp. 70, 71, 88. (translated by the author).

[97] For details, please see: Henderson, Nicolas. Prince Eugen of Savoy. (London: Orion Publishing Group-Phoenix Press). 2002.

[98] Spencer, Edmund. Travels in European Turkey, in 1850: Through Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Thrace, Albania, and Epirus; with a Visit to Greece and the Ionian Isles (London: Colburn & Co.). 1851. p. 299.

Bašeskija recorded 100 mahalas with 4 500 houses and approximately 23 000 inhabitants.[99] (Fig. 17)

Topal Osman Šerif-Pasha who governed the Sanjak of Bosnia from 1861 until 1869 introduced long-due infrastructural modernization efforts. He connected Sarajevo with a modern road to the Sava border with Austria-Hungary, as well as to Istanbul via telegraph. He proclaimed the first 'Zakon o građenju i drumovima' ('Law on Construction and Roads') on March 18th, 1863, which was updated on March 7th, 1869 (Fig. 26). The law contained, among other things, the following sections: regulation of the streets, the extension of the streets, overhang above the streets and height of the buildings, building frontside regulations.[100]

One architectural project notably exemplifies the intentions to mitigate the ethnic, religious and geopolitical tensions between the Ottoman Empire, Russia, and Serbia but also the local Muslim and Christian populations. Topal Osman Šerif Pasha supported the construction of the first large Orthodox church in Sarajevo, the Cathedral of the 'Nativity of the Theotokos', which commenced in 1863 and finished in 1874. The geopolitics of this church are palpable in the building process itself: Ottoman Sultan Abdülaziz, who approved the construction of the church, and the ruler of Serbia, Prince Mihailo Obrenović donated 500 golden dukats each. The Russian Tsar Alexander II appointed craftsmen to design and build the iconostasis.[101] The stylistic direction was hybrid, revealing the intent for an 'international balance'. The architect Andreja Damjanov from Ottoman Macedonia combined traditional elements of the Serbian medieval century 'Morava school' with baroque elements with origins from western parts of Russia, which were already present in the Northern Serbian region of Vojvodina. (Fig. 18)

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[99] Bašeskija, Mula-Mustafa. Ljetopis (Chronicles). (Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing). 1997. p. 267.

[100] This law was thematized in the books of Krzović, Spasojević and Kurto, I have extensively highlighted in this chapter. Nevertheless, its application was short-lived, despite being translated and adapted into German in 1878 after the arrival of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Nevertheless, it has not been practically applied and was replaced by the new 'Bauordnung' in 1880.
Source: Sammlung der für Bosnien und die Hercegovina erlassenen Gesetze, Verordnungen und Normalweisungen, 1878.-1880., I. Band. Allgemeiner Theil- Politische Verwaltung (Collection of laws, ordinances and standard directives enacted for Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1878-1880, Volume I. General Section Political Administration). (Vienna: Kaiserlich-Königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei).1880.
Sources: Stanford Online Libraries. Source: https://searchworks.stanford.edu/view/2763652 (last accessed February 2nd 2019); Österreichische Nationalbibliothek: ALEX - historische österreichische Rechts- und Gesetzestexte. Source: http://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?apm=0&aid=lbh&datum=1878 (last accessed: February 4th 2019).

[101] Donia, Robert. Sarajevo: A biography (London: Hurst and Company). 2006. pp. 56-58.

Topal Osman Šerif-Pasha also 'resurrected' the area of Tornik (the future Marijin Dvor area), by building the first military barracks and military hospital in 1866. His liberal policy is also palpable from the project for the first brewery in Ottoman Empire in today's Kovačići neighborhood in 1864, adjacent to Marijin Dvor proper.

Domestication Infrastructures for the 'Proximate Colony'

Two years after the occupation and after lengthy political discussions, the Parliaments of Austria-Hungary adopted the law on mutual governance of BiH on February 22nd 1880, stipulating that the control of the provisional administration was shared by a joint government. Sarajevo became the new 'Landeshauptstadt' ('province capital'). (Fig. 19).

The introduction of a new culture, language, religion and laws announced a new era for the urban development of Sarajevo. One of the most pertinent societal, and at the same time, spatial changes, was the security of ownership and tenureship of land. This guarantee successfully diminished the fears of the population towards the new regime:

> **In 1878 the most significant uncertainty was found to exist with regard to the titles under which land was held. This mischief was remedied by introducing the Austrian system of the Grundbuch [cadastre], in which are entered the names of all proprietors, and the dates of all sales and mortgages affecting land. By means of it land can be transferred with the greatest ease and simplicity, at little cost; and a title once registered is incontestable.[102]**

Geopolitical interests of Austria-Hungary were represented as 'charity' in order to improve the underdeveloped country, as seen through Central-European eyes. The new rule promised progress through transplantation of administrative, technical and cultural know-how. The German travel writer and journalist Heinrich Renner labeled the geopolitical aspirations of Austria-Hungary as 'colonial':

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[102] Thomson, Harry Craufuird. The outgoing Turk: Impressions of a journey through the western Balkans (London: Heinemann). 1897. p. 38.

These territories (…) remained completely unknown to the general public; the Bosnian Sleeping Beauty still slept her centuries-old magical sleep and was only resurrected when the Imperial troops crossed the border and ushered the new era. The thicket that had sprawled around Sleeping Beauty's castle was then cleared and after less than two decades of unresting and hard work, Bosnia is now known and respected by the world. What has been achieved in this land is practically unprecedented in the colonial history of all peoples and epochs (…).[103]

Croatian art historian Dragan Damjanović analyzed the paintings of Ferdinand Quiquerez (who was the military draftsman during the occupation campaign of BiH in 1878, Fig. 19), as well as the Austrian popular culture and media of that time. He documented the anti-Ottoman sentiments that nurtured public calls, demanding 'civilization' of BiH – in order to transform it into a 'domesticated Orient'.[104] The cultural anthropologist Andre Gingrich recommends the definition 'frontier Orientalism' to describe this phenomenon of a dualistic status: a mixture of cultural familiarity (due to the ancient and medieval heritage in BiH that is shared with its European neighbors in the West and North) but also awe towards the mighty Ottoman Empire with whom Austria-Hungary experienced an array of military and geopolitical battles.[105]

The reconstruction of the Čaršija after the great fire of August 8th 1879, which destroyed 304 houses, 434 shops and 135 other buildings in 36 streets, induced 'shock therapy' to the urban development discussion in Sarajevo.[106] (Fig. 20) Nevertheless, this disaster accelerated the public discourse about the modernization of the city:

In 1879, the first year of the Austro-Hungarian occupation, a big fire destroyed overnight the entire part of the town situated in the valley from the Gazi Husref-Bey's mosque westward. This fire reduced the bazaar area to half of its former size and

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[103] Renner, Heinrich. Durch Bosnien und die Hercegovina: Kreuz und quer (Across Bosnia and the Herzegovina). (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag). 1897. pp. VI-VII. (translated by the author).

[104] Damjanović, Dragan. Austro-ugarska okupacija Bosne i Hercegovine gledana očima hrvatskog slikara: Prijelaz Save kod Broda Ferdinanda Quiquereza (The Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as viewed by the eyes Croatian painter: Sava Crossing of Ferdinand Quiquerez). In: Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti. Vol. 41. 2017. p. 211. (translated by the author).

[105] Gingrich, Andre. "The Nearby Frontier: Structural Analyses of Myths of Orientalism". In: Diogenes. 60:2. pp. 60-66.
Note: Another perspective of the expansionist motives of the Habsburg Monarchy towards BiH is defined by the Austrian philosopher and cultural scientist, Clemens Ruthner, who called it 'little Orientalism'. Source: Ruthner, Clemens. "Central Europe goes Postcolonial: New Approaches to the Habsburg Empire Around 1900". In: Cultural Studies. 16:6. p. 879.

[106] Bejtić, Aija. Ulice i trgovi Sarajeva: topografija, geneza i toponimija (Streets and squares of Sarajevo: topography, genesis and toponyms). (Sarajevo: Museum of the City of Sarajevo). 1973. p. 30.

opened the way to a rapid resonation of Ottoman Sarajevo into a Middle European provincial center.[107]

Intense infrastructural interventions, such as the regulation of the river Miljacka, was conducted from 1886 until 1897. The first modern aqueduct was built in 1890. The new sewage system was finished in 1903. Sarajevo also received its first public green spaces through the transformation of Muslim graveyards in Atmejdan, Šehitluci and Čekrekčinica into public parks (under the condition that the tombstones were preserved). Public transport was introduced in the form of the horse-pulled tramway in 1885, which was electrified in 1895. Sarajevo was, therefore, the first town in the Monarchy with such utilities, proving its status as a testing ground for innovations. This success was later transferred to other regions of Austria-Hungary.[108] (Fig. 21)

In order to understand the broader geopolitics of infrastructure planning and urbanism in post-1878 Sarajevo, it is worth examining the travelogue of Harry Thomson from 1897, who glorified the industrialization and civilization of Sarajevo:

> **The towns [in Turkey] have a repulsive appearance of squalor, (…) and the buildings crumbling to pieces. In Bosnia, on the other hand, the towns are now full of new and handsome houses, and factories are springing up, bringing with them wealth, and an increase of comfort. (…) The country, externally, has become civilised.[109]**

By examining the relationship of the new regime to the Ottoman urban heritage, Ibrahim Krzović observes a discontinuity and argues that the new constructions disrespected previous traditions:

> **The new [Austro-Hungarian] architecture neglected the present ambiental and architectural values. Furthermore, it treated them critically, superimposing its own values like a missionary. (…) The architectural-urban tissue of the Austro-Hungarian period reveals itself flaws, which can be observed in housing construction, in locating buildings, in the density of objects, etc.[110]**

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[107] Pašić, Amir. Islamic Architecture in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Istanbul: Research Centre for Islamic History, Art, and Culture-IRCICA). 1994. p. 32.

[108] Hadžibegović. Ilijas. Bosanskohercegovački gradovi na razmeđu 19. i 20. stoljeća (BiH cities at the turn of the 19th and 20th century) (Institute of History, University of Sarajevo). 2004. (translated by the author).

[109] Thomson, Harry Craufuird. The outgoing Turk: Impressions of a journey through the western Balkans (London: Heinemann). 1897. pp. 11-12.

[110] Krzović, Ibrahim. Arhitektura secesije u Bosni i Hercegovini (Architecture of the secession in Bosnia and Herzegovina). (Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing). 2004. p. 9. (translated by the author).

If calling the occupation of BiH by the Habsburgian Empire an inter-European 'colonization', then the urbanism of Austro-Hungarian Sarajevo can be related to the theories of Hannah Arendt. In her book 'The Origins of Totalitarianism', she describes the superiority of 'technologically 'advanced' countries to occupy, put in place politically and economically dependent relationships, and exploit less 'developed ones.[111] Indeed, Sarajevo became a colonial testing ground for 'Europeanization' in terms of civilizing the inhabitants through infrastructure, health, and sanitation.[112] (Fig. 22).

In terms of city development, the Austro-Hungarian rule imported urbanistic elements of the Central-European city, which were influenced through the thinking and works of Cornelius Gurlitt, Camillo Sitte, Josef Stübben and Gottfried Semper. An urban orthogonal grid was superimposed on top of the Miljacka valley, neglecting the mahalas, and more generally, the topography of Sarajevo:

> **The primary line of this plan was to emphasize the longitudinal character of the city in the plain of the narrow valley, the aspiration for an orthogonal street system, leaving the slopes out. This approach was characteristic in determining the minimum width of the transversal streets. The construction of Sarajevo according to this plan still today prevents a satisfactory traffic connection between the southern and northern slopes.[113]**

Grabrijan and Neidhardt criticized this model for its economic rationale, lack of relation to the human scales, negligence of the topography and the urbanistically-oversized orthogonal street grid:

> **Instead of making a new city, they built new structures into the old city. This caused the urban tragedy of Sarajevo. (…) They introduced a corridor a system of streets, in which a man is moving like in a channel. Overnight, they interrupted with the important concept of building houses on the slopes in alternating cascades. (…) Until**

[111] Arendt, Hannah. The Origins of Totalitarianism (New York: Harcourt, Brace). 1951.

[112] Please see: Fuchs, Brigitte. Health, Hygiene, and Eugenics in Southeastern Europe to 1945 (Budapest: Central European University Press). 2011.; Rexhepi, Piro. "The Politics of Postcolonial Erasure in Sarajevo". In: Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies. 20:6. 2018. pp. 930-945.

[113] Redžić, Husref. Studije o islamskoj arhitektonskoj baštini (Studies on the islamic architectural heritage). (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša). 1983. p. 249. (translated by the author).

> **then, the man was the focus of architecture, which was humanistic (…), from then on, capitalist architecture takes over mainly exploitatory and rational forms.**[114]

Most sources on Sarajevo's architecture of the Austro-Hungarian period were published during socialist Yugoslavia. They possessed a critical undertone towards this epoch, referring to this period as 'occupation', 'colonization', 'capitalism', and criticized it from the perspective of 'future-oriented' and autochthonous Yugoslav self-management and non-alliance (that gave birth to its specific socialist modernism).[115] One possible interpretation is the aim to identify with the official politics of pan-Yugoslavism in royal and socialist Yugoslavia as a national strategy against the 'Germanization', 'Magyarisation' and 'Italianization' of South-Eastern Europe.

Contrary to this post-empire mindset, in post-1990s Sarajevo, the discourse was heading in the opposite direction, predominantly praising the Austro-Hungarian architectural legacy, a phenomenon Nedžad Kurto calls the transition from austrophobia to austrophilia.[116] The discourse and local perception towards the built heritage in Sarajevo shifts together with the alteration of the geopolitical poles.

Inventing architectural hybridity: The pseudo-Oriental and Bosnian styles

In spatial terms, the technological advancement in the field of construction introduced by Austria-Hungary neglected the physical heritage of the Ottoman city but recognized its architectural forms and ornaments. Sarajevo became the recipient of historicistic, neo-classicist, secessionist and early modernistic architectures, similar to other cities in the Empire at the turn of the century. Nonetheless, the unique pluricultural specificity of BiH catalyzed the introduction of

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[114] Grabrijan, Dušan, Neidhardt, Juraj. Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine i Put u Suvremeno (Architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its path towards modernity). (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije). 1957. p. 11. (translated by the author).

[115] Please refer to the next Chapter for a detailed elaboration.

[116] Kurto, Nedžad. Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine: Razvoj Bosanskog Stila (Architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina: The development of the Bosnian style). (Sarajevo: Međunarodni Centar za Mir). 1998. p. 15. (translated by the author).

innovative hybrid styles and shapes that were supposed to sensitize the new architectures to the local context. The best example is the creation of the pseudo-Moorish (pseudo-Islamic or pseudo-Oriental) style. It included ornamental and plastic elements, such as horseshoe and semi-horseshoe arches, alternations of bright and dark colored cuboids on façades and plastic decorations with floristic and geometric elements. This generalization of the oriental heritage was an attempt to increase acceptance of the Habsburg regime in the local Muslim population.[117] The pseudo-Oriental style, therefore, represented a stylistic justification of colonization by expressing respect to the vernacular culture, tradition and the genius of the place.

Grabrijan and Neidhardt, hence, criticize the aestheticization and exoticization through the invention of the pseudo-Oriental style, underlining the advantages of the 'original' vernacular Bosnian architecture:

> **When Austria occupied Bosnia, it saw this architecture's only decorative and exotic side. They started applying the Moorish style on city halls and the railway stations, and thus showed complete incomprehension of the domestic, which is very sober and realistic, without any decoration, if it is not of importance for the buildings' structure. The Bosnian man has his own style. He forms his everyday dishes, spaces, city for himself, at the scale of the human. He is not mystic, but realist and hence this real, bright, cubic architecture is also comfortable, humble and democratic.[118]**

The most significant example of the pseudo-Oriental style is Sarajevo's City Hall completed in 1896, based on the design project of Alexander Wittek and architectural detailing by Ćiril Iveković (who went to study trips to Cairo and Spain to collect inspirations for the project). The first design for the City Hall of 1891 by Karel Pařík (a former student of Theophil Hansen), was not originally accepted by Béni Kállay[119] due to 'byzantinizing',[120] revealing once more the geopolitical dimension of Sarajevo's architecture. If believing the impression of the American writer and

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[117] For details on the Bosnian style, please see:
Spasojević, Borislav. Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu (Architecture of the residential palaces of the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo). (Sarajevo: Svjetlost). 1988.; Krzović, Ibrahim. Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878-1918 (Architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina 1878-1918). (Sarajevo: National Gallery of Art). 1987.; Kurto, Nedžad. Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine: Razvoj Bosanskog Stila (Architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina: The development of the Bosnian style). (Sarajevo: Međunarodni Centar za Mir). 1998. (all translated by the author).

[118] Grabrijan, Dušan, Neidhardt, Juraj. Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine i Put u Suvremeno (Architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its path towards modernity). (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije). 1957. p. 13. (translated by the author).

[119] Kállay was the Minister of Finance and Supreme Governor of BiH from 1882 to 1903.

[120] Hartmuth, Maximilian. "K.(u.)k. colonial? Contextualizing Architecture and Urbanism in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1878-1918". In: Ruthner, Clemens (Ed.) et al. WechselWirkungen: Austria-Hungary, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Western Balkans, 1878-1918. (New York: Peter Lang). 2015. p. 157.

politician William Eleroy Curtis from 1903, the taken design direction reached its goal: "The Rathaus, or city hall, is a beautiful modern structure of the oriental school of architecture, and might have been transplanted from Constantinople or Algiers".[121] (Fig. 23)

BiH was at this date, different from the rest of the Empire's Central-European territorial possessions, a non-industrialized society, deeply rooted in traditions. In this sense, the vernacular ornaments were not remnants from the past, but vivid elements of the still omnipresent traditional lifestyles. After 1900, secessionist influences arrived in BiH and mixed with the pseudo-Oriental style. This contributed to the birth of a style that the Bosnian architecture theorist Nedžad Kurto defined as the eclectic 'Bosnian style'. He argued that the Bosnian style is derived from the antihistorically-oriented European secessionism, as opposed to conventional academicism that integrated stylistic elements from Egyptian, Celtic, Indian and Japanese art. Just by including Bosnian-Ottoman elements, it was sufficiently eccentric to be anti-historical, considering that, in the eyes of Austria-Hungary, BiH did not wholly belong to the Central-European cultural sphere. Therefore, Ottoman heritage was sufficiently exotic to Central-European architects (interestingly, none of them was a direct student of Otto Wagner).[122]

Kurto also postulated the possible continuum of the Bosnian style, dating back to the late Ottoman architecture from the era of Topal Šerif Osman Paša of the 1860s, until the early modernist ideas of the 1910s and 1920s:

> **In the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where different civilizations have been replaced by their own inherent, but often quite different urban and architectural structures, an inevitable continuum has always existed in order to satisfy the needs and conditions of the location. (…) The strength and clarity of the pre-Austro-Hungarian architectural expression, and then in the Moorish style in the Austro-Hungarian era, especially in the imported secession, logically led to the in the development of the so-called Bosnian style. (…) The objects derived from the spirit of the 'Bosnian style' cannot be classified as historicist nor as secessionist, because of the inconsistency of the decorative vocabulary, but also not as any stylistic defined phenomenon derived from the beginnings of modern architecture. Bosnian style is**

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[121] Curtis Eleroy, William. The Turk and his Lost Provinces: Greece, Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia (London & Edinburgh: Fleming H. Revell Company). 1903. p. 281.

[122] Kurto, Nedžad. Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine: Razvoj Bosanskog Stila (Architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina: The development of the Bosnian style). (Sarajevo: Međunarodni Centar za Mir). 1998. pp. 4, 14, 15, 142-143, 145. (translated by the author).

certainly modern, and thus being precisely located in a particular culture or region, a more appropriate definition is by calling it early modernism.[123]

This continuum is a rarity in Sarajevo's history of (geo)political urbanism. This phenomenon was confirmed during my conversation with Dževad Karahasan, who hypothesized that: "Bosnians stayed while different Empires cyclically arrived and left again. Every system left a cultural trace; therefore, Bosnia is an amalgamate of cultural influences and has never been created by any singular written concept, strategy, political party or ideology."[124]

Nevertheless, Austro-Hungarian architects who arrived in Sarajevo, apparently believed to have generated a genuine, eclectic 'Bosnian style' aiming to modernize the exotic new colony. The promotion on the international stage was an important tool, revealing the arduous civilization efforts. The most significant representation of the Austro-Hungarian mission of rediscovering and Europeanizing a new land was as at the global fair 'Exposition Universelle' in Paris in 1900. The architect Carlo Panek designed the BiH Pavilion complex as a composition of temporary buildings. By applying a light wooden skeleton structure, it contained the 'Bosnian house' with sections exhibiting Bosnian industry, arts, crafts, and agricultural production. The Pavilion was designed by using architectural elements like pillars, capitals, arches, profiles that were derived from Islamic art but did not have structural importance, being merely ornamental. The floral decoration and motif dynamics expressed the spirit of secession art, enhanced by the wall decoration done by the Czech artist living in Paris, Alphonse Mucha, who painted allegorical depictions of Bosnian history and the local cultural milieu. The success of the pavilion was significant, as it revealed a new regional contribution to the secessionist zeitgeist as the fair went into history as the 'triumph of Art Nouveau'. The political importance and colonial background of this project are visible from Panek's affiliation: he was an employee of the Construction Department of the provincial government.[125] (Fig. 24)

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[123] Ibid.

[124] Interview with the writer Dževad Karahasan. In Sarajevo. March 5th 2019.

[125] Krzović, Ibrahim. Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878-1918 (Architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina 1878-1918). (Sarajevo: National Gallery of BiH). 1987. pp. 28-29.; Kurto, Nedžad. Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine: Razvoj Bosanskog Stila (Architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina: The development of the Bosnian style). (Sarajevo: Međunarodni Centar za Mir). 1998. p. 50. (all translated by the author)
For more details on the world fair itself, please see:

The Bosnian style evolved further at the beginning of the 1900s. During one of the sessions at the 8th International Congress of Architects in Vienna held in 1908, entitled 'Heimatschutz und volkstümliche Bauweisen' ('Homeland protection and vernacular building'), several participants, including Cornelius Gurlitt, criticized the unnecessary negligence of the Bosnian vernacular way of building. Vancaš, both an attendant of the Vienna Congress, as well as a parliamentarian in the province government of BiH initiated, on April 1st, 1911, the tax exemption regulation for new structures built in the Bosnian style.[126] Ferdinand Schmid also propagated the Bosnian style in 1913, arguing that its application will prevent the country to be 'volksfremd' ('alien to the people') and 'zeitfremd' ('behind the times').[127]

Nevertheless, the Bosnian style never became a true 'national style', an instrument of Kállay's provincial government to foster pan-Bosnian identities. The idea of establishing 'Bosnianness' across the ethno-religious groups in BiH, was not directly connected to the architectural search for direction of the Bosnian style[128] but a "visual argument for the legitimacy of Austro-Hungarian rule".[129] The Mayor of Sarajevo, Mehmed-Beg Ljubušak (1893-1899) was in line with Kállay's pan-Bosnian identity policies. Consequently, he supported the construction of buildings in the pseudo-Oriental and Bosnian styles. Cornelius Gurlitt's trip to Sarajevo with his students of the Dresden High Technical School immensely influenced Vancaš in conversations arguing that architecture must grow mentally in a bottom-up manner and that it must evolve from the vernacular and be imported from distant places. Moreover, Vancaš proposed to

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Varejka, Pascal. Paris 1900: la fabuleuse histoire de l'Exposition universelle (Paris 1900: The fabulous history of the Universal Exhibition). (Gennevilliers: Editions Prisma). 2015. (translated by the author); Jullian, Philippe. The triumph of art nouveau: Paris exhibition, 1900 (London: Phaidon). 1974.
Note: Panek was decorated as 'Officier d'Académie' of the French Republic.

[126] Spasojević, Borislav. Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu (Architecture of the residential palaces of the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo). (Sarajevo: Svjetlost). p. 23.
For more on the Congress itself, please see:
Schroll, Anton. Bericht über den VIII. Internationalen Architekten-Kongress, Wien 1908. (Report on the 8th international Architecture Congress, Vienna 1908). (Vienna: Anton Scroll Verlag). 1909. (translated by the author).

[127] Schmid, Ferdinand. Bosnien und die Herzegowina unter der Verwaltung Österreich-Ungarns (Bosnia and Herzegovina under the administration of Austria-Hungary). (Leipzig: Veit). 1914.

[128] Krzović, Ibrahim. Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878-1918 (Architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina 1878-1918).(Sarajevo: National Gallery of Art). 1987. p. 226. (translated by the author).

[129] Hartmuth, Maximilian. "K.(u.)k. colonial? Contextualizing Architecture and Urbanism in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1878-1918". In: Ruthner, Clemens (Ed.) et al. WechselWirkungen: Austria-Hungary, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Western Balkans, 1878-1918. (New York: Peter Lang). 2015. p. 165.

create a list of buildings and monuments with characteristic exterior and historical value to the provincial government and put them under state protection. The government accepted his proposal but invested only minor sums that could not reach substantial effects.[130] On the other hand, the Austrian art historian Maximilian Hartmuth noted an additional dimension regarding the concerns of both the provincial administration and architects that "civilization would effectively forfeit the appealingly exotic oriental character of its unique Balkan possession at the expense of a townscape just about identical to most urban centers of the monarchy".[131] Hartmuth also drew the comparison of Sarajevo to the relationship of colonizers who introduced their generic architecture to the 'colonialized others' ('mission civilisatrice') in the example of Russian and French influence on building generic European architecture in Odessa and Algiers respectively (he quoted Mark Twain who complained of feeling "at home" in Odessa in 1867, and introduced several descriptions of Algiers as a "bad imitation or Marseille").[132]

Technocratic Urbanism for the Provincial Capital

The Austro-Hungarian rule fostered the industrialization of BiH through building railways, road infrastructure, but also public, administrative, educational, touristic and health-related facilities. The city's Department of Internal Affairs, responsible for all major construction works, including buildings and infrastructure, was under the executive auspices of the Sarajevo City Government. Edmund Stix' quote, Head of the Construction Department of the province's government, in 'Construction in Bosnia and Herzegovina from the beginning of occupation by the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy' published by the government itself in 1887, revealed the perceived importance of regulations (including buildings regulations) for civilizing the

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[130] Krzović, Ibrahim. Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878-1918 (Architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina 1878-1918). (Sarajevo: National Gallery of BiH). 1987. p. 226. translated by the author).

[131] Hartmuth, Maximilian. "K.(u.)k. colonial? Contextualizing Architecture and Urbanism in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1878-1918". In: Ruthner, Clemens (Ed.) et al. WechselWirkungen: Austria-Hungary, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Western Balkans, 1878-1918. (New York: Peter Lang). 2015. p. 160.

[132] Ibid. pp. 160-161.

country.[133] It bolstered Austria-Hungary's general belief in the paramount role of urbanism and infrastructure for the achieved societal progress after the occupation:

> **The miserable condition, which could hardly be imagined to exist so close to the boundaries of civilized Europe, changed with the occupation of these territories by the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. From that moment on, the country has opened up for cultural achievements, (…) desired peace, justice, and order inside the administration. (…) Austro-Hungarian administration's tireless efforts succeeded already in a relatively short time, transforming the country into a rising province. This progress is closely interconnected with the achievements in construction, in which it manifests in the best way.[134]**

With regard to the new rules and regulations, the Empire appointed the Austro-Hungarian military-geographic institute in Vienna (K. k. Militärgeografisches Institut zu Wien) to conduct the first urban plan in the history of Sarajevo in 1882, as European-style maps were not conducted in the Ottoman Empire. The plan at scale 1:3125 (called 'Reduction der Catastral-Aufnahme aus dem Jahre 1882') was produced by a team around Josip Matasić. The cadastral recording evidenced 4827 houses, 173 empty plots, 923 stores, and 284 streets.[135] (Fig. 25) The statement of the British geographer, John Brian Harley: "to own the map was to own the land" reflected well the interest of Austria-Hungary to record and map Sarajevo.[136]

Despite translating and adapting Ottoman laws 'Zakon o građenju i drumovima' ('Law on Construction and Roads') from 1863 and 1869, they proved to be incomplete and imprecise for practical use. Therefore, new building regulations, 'Bauordnung' ('Building regulations') were proposed on November 10th 1879 and ratified by the provincial government on May 14th 1880, defining and regulating the

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[133] Note: This document was the first scientific work in the field of architecture in BiH's history.

[134] Stix, Edmund. Das Bauwesen in Bosnien und der Hercegovina vom Beginn der Occupation durch die österr.-ungar. Monarchie bis in das Jahr 1887. Herausgegeben von der Landesregierung für Bosnien und die Hercegovina. (Construction in Bosnia and Herzegovina from the beginning of occupation by the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy until the year 1887. Published by the Provincial Government for Bosnia and Hercegovina). (Vienna: kaiserlich-königliche Hof-und Staatsdruckerei). 1887. p. 1. (translated by the author).

[135] Kreševljaković, Hamdija. Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske uprave: 1878-1918. (Sarajevo during Austro-Hungarian rule: 1878-1918). (Sarajevo: Arhiv grada Sarajeva). 1969. p. 28. (translated by the author).
Note: Matasić was supported by Felix Naganowski, Gustav Riefs and Ludwig Tautscher

[136] Harley, John Brian. "Maps, Knowledge and Power". In: Cosgrove, Denis and Daniels, Stephen (Eds.). The Iconography of Landscape. Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments. (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press). p. 298.

construction industry as well as urbanistic and building codes.[137] (Fig. 26) The first part of the 'Bauordnung' stipulated that new construction objects or adaptations to existing buildings can only be executed with the prior permission of the administration, after submitting all the necessary architectural drawings in predefined scales. These requirements automatically excluded the local workforce and vernacular construction knowledge of the mimars, as only migrants from other parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire were in possession of the design, management and technical skills to propose and execute the new projects. Grabrijan and Neidhardt underlined the devastating effect of rejecting the usages of local materials and vernacular knowledge of local builders:

> **When still later the country was occupied by the Austrians who introduced a colonial system of administration and opened the gates to the advancing capitalism, an eclecticism began to show up in the architectural layout, which was foreign to, and had nothing to do with, native architecture, and which eventually led to confusion and chaos. In our efforts to find what has survived of the once extant highly developed architecture, in looking for some remnants of tradition, we must turn to the creative achievements of the Bosnian carpenters and Dalmatian stonecutters whose products are intrinsically different from those created by the artisans of Venice and Constantinople.[138]**

Only fireproof brick buildings and clay roof tiles were allowed. In a few special cases, the use of materials and construction techniques from the Ottoman era, such as post and plank structure and shingle roof cover were permitted.[139] The second part of the regulations defined special provisions on the enlargement and regulation of the streets, the creation of new districts, squares and streets. The third part regulated the detailed construction of buildings with precise instructions regarding basic and secondary walls, corridors, basements, attics, windows and chimneys.

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[137] Bauordnung für Sarajevo [und jene Städte und Märkte in Bosnien und der Hercegovina, welche dieser Vorschrift durch eine Verordnung der Landesregierung ausdrücklich unterworfen werden. Genehmigt mit Allerhöchster Entschliessung] vom 14. Mai 1880. (Building regulations for Sarajevo [and those cities and markets in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which are strictly subject to this regulation by a decree of the province government. Approved by the Supreme Resolution] of May 14[th]1880). (Vienna: Druck und Verlag der k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei). 1881. (translated by the author).

[138] Grabrijan, Dušan, Neidhardt, Juraj. Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine i Put u Suvremeno (Architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its path towards modernity). (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije). 1957. p. 15. (translated by the author).

[139] Spasojević, Borislav. Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu (Architecture of the residential palaces of the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo). (Sarajevo: Svjetlost). 1988. pp. 14-16.; Kurto, Nedžad. Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine: Razvoj Bosanskog Stila (Architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina – The development of the Bosnian style). (Sarajevo: Međunarodni Centar za Mir). 1998. pp. 19-21. (both translated by the author).

The regulations were expanded on August 5th, 1893, in terms of detailed construction bylaws. They were upscaled on the territory of the entire city and not only its core. In addition, the new law predefined dimensions and volumes of buildings and street widths, including sidewalks: 1st class street- 15.0 m (sidewalks 2.5 m), 2nd class- 9.0 m (2.0 m), 3rd class- 7.5m (1.5 m), 4th class 6.0 m (1.0 m). Article 29 defined the 'Construction of new city districts', which regulated the urban design of larger empty plots and entire new blocks. In this case, a regulation plan needed to be formally submitted for approval by the provincial government. Despite the detailed description, the Bauordnung was not always followed.[140]

The geopolitics of architecture were once more demonstrated in 1908 after the proclamation of the Austro-Hungarian annexation of BiH. It accelerated construction activities in Sarajevo, as the provincial government ratified a 20-year tax exemption law for all new buildings built from January 1st 1909 until December 31st 1912.[141] The effect was a building boom due to an increase of investments and arrival of architects from other parts of the Empire.

New Sarajevo and Marijin Dvor: Urban Design, Housing and Culture for the Gate to the West

Unlike the territorial limit of Ottoman Sarajevo that reached medieval Tornik, the Austro-Hungarian city expanded westwards along the Miljacka river and encompassed the future Marijin Dvor area. This urban extension was crucial as Sarajevo grew from 21 000 inhabitants in 1878 to 52 000 in 1910.[142] Through an official act on January 1st, 1882, Sarajevo's city territory increased to 11.75 km^2 with Marijin Dvor representing the most western urban periphery. The city borders were

[140] Spasojević, Borislav. Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu (Architecture of the residential palaces of the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevu). (Sarajevo: Svjetlost). 1988. pp. 14-16.; Kurto, Nedžad. Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine: Razvoj Bosanskog Stila (Architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina: The development of the Bosnian style). (Sarajevo: Međunarodni Centar za Mir). 1998. p. 19-21. (both translated by the author).

[141] Kreševljaković, Hamdija. Sarajevo za vrijeme austrougarske uprave: 1878-1918 (Sarajevo during Austro-Hungarian rule: 1878-1918). (Sarajevo: Arhiv grada Sarajeva). 1969. p. 49. (translated by the author).

[142] Renner, Heinrich. Durch Bosnien und die Hercegovina: Kreuz und quer (Across Bosnia and the Herzegovina). (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag). 1897. (translated by the author).
For the information of the inhabitants, please also see:
Kurto, Nedžad. Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine: Razvoj Bosanskog Stila (Architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina: The development of the Bosnian style). (Sarajevo: Međunarodni Centar za Mir). 1998. p. 18. (translated by the author).
Note: The migration to Sarajevo originated mostly from Slavic speaking regions of the Monarchy as well as Austria. The percentage of foreigners rose to a peak of 35% in the early 1910s. One of the major triggers was the human resources need of the new administrative apparatus of the Landeshauptstadt.

extended on June 1st, 1891 to Dolac Malta and Pofalići. This date marked the official birth of the administrative territorial unit 'New Sarajevo'.[143]

The population growth of New Sarajevo and its later core, Marijin Dvor, was catalyzed by the anchor function of the train station of the 'Bosna Bahn' ('Bosnian Railways') as its 1882 construction triggered the urbanistic expansion of the city. The train station was designated to connect Sarajevo to the western and northwestern parts of BiH, in addition to the rest of the Empire, ignoring the narrow Ottoman caravanserai paths that went eastwards from the Čaršija in the direction of Istanbul. In this sense, the nods of local construction activities were directly related to the geopolitical scale through strategic infrastructural developments.

The residential development of the still scarcely populated New Sarajevo was stipulated through housing projects of the 'Cooperatives of BiH state railway employees and civil servants for the construction and supply of apartments in Sarajevo', founded in August 1909. The cooperative purchased a land complex of two hectares westwards from the core Marijin Dvor, which was gridded and parcellated through a regulation plan in 1910 that followed the urbanistic concepts of baroque geometric formalism. A central square and market dominated the grid that was divided through two diagonal corridors. Although the urban design was not fully realized, its contours were clearly visible, also in the later city plans.[144] (Fig. 27)

One of the most symbolic architectural developments of the urban extension was the 'Marienhof'. This perimeter block housing project was symmetrically exposed to four streets formed around an inner courtyard. Stylistically, the building design followed Neo-Renaissance directions. The application of new materials and building techniques was of central importance. The investor, August Braun, the owner of a brick production factory, designated the Marienhof as a 'Musterhaus' (prototypical house), in order to demonstrate the materials and construction possibilities of the

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[143] Spasojević, Borislav. Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu (Architecture of the residential palaces of the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo). (Sarajevo: Svjetlost). 1988. p. 13. (translated by the author).
Note: The administrative incorporation that came full into effect on January 1st 1898.

[144] Bejtić, Aija. Ulice i trgovi Sarajeva: topografija, geneza i toponimija (Streets and squares of Sarajevo: topography, genesis and toponyms). (Sarajevo: Museum of the City of Sarajevo). 1973. p. 36.
Note: World War I halted the construction but 43 residential buildings with courtyards and gardens were built and about 80 families moved in.

new epoch. Marienhof's first wing was built in 1885 (the entire block was finished in 1895), becoming the prototype for demonstrating new building techniques. Following the 1893 building rules regarding the development of larger land zones, a regulation plan for Marienhof defined the dimensions of an entire quadrant block: streets, blocks, courtyards and public spaces were drafted and submitted to the Construction Department of the provincial government. (Fig. 28) Together with the railway cooperative housing complex, this positioned Marienhof as another pioneering urban design project in the history of Sarajevo. After buying the property from the Jewish Baruh family, Braun devoted the building to his wife Maria, which provided the toponym for the whole future district, Marijin Dvor ('Maria's Castle'). Its forerunner status regarding both construction and urban design as well as its geographic position inside Sarajevo's urban tissue (located in the transition of the new and old town in Sarajevo) was of symbolic value for the Austro-Hungarian architecture and urbanism in the city.[145]

The construction boom introduced a spectrum of buildings with a variety of programs: industrial, military and culture, transforming Marijin Dvor into a multi-functional urban district. The construction of the tobacco factory and expansion of the Ottoman military hospital ('Hastahana') occurred in the early 1880s. In 1894 the electric building (architect Karel Pařík) was finished. The expansion of the 'Baron von Phillipovich-Kaserne' followed in 1902 (architect Carlo Panek et al.).[146] Another vital intervention was the construction of the villas for the officers of the Austro-Hungarian army, built from 1909 until 1914.

Besides the railway, housing, military and industrial functions, the symbolic cultural program of the National Museum allowed Marijin Dvor to start losing the status of the city's periphery and slowly attain a central position. The architect Karel Pařík designed the complex of four Museum pavilions encompassing an inner courtyard that hosted a botanical garden characterized by the High-Renaissance style. After

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[145] Spasojević, Borislav. Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu (Architecture of the residential palaces of the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo). (Sarajevo: Svjetlost). 1988. pp. 57-58, 75-78.; Krzović, Ibrahim. Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878-1918 (Architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina 1878-1918. (Sarajevo: National Gallery of Art). 1987. pp. 15, 20, 115.

[146] Bejtić, Aija. Ulice i trgovi Sarajeva: topografija, geneza i toponimija (Streets and squares of Sarajevo: topography, genesis and toponyms). (Sarajevo: Museum of the City of Sarajevo). 1973. pp. 30-34.

four years of construction, the Museum was finished in 1913.[147] (Fig. 29) The Museum epitomized the institutional attempt to establish a pan-Bosnian cultural identity.[148] The Museum's mission included research and publishing, being the country's most important institution for the 'civilization' of BiH, not only administratively and legally, but also culturally:

> **Established by the Hapsburg colonial administration of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1888 as a cultural epicenter for the newly acquired province to collect and proliferate anthropological, archaeological, and historical knowledge production and analysis of the population of Bosnia, Zemaljski Muzej [National Museum] served as an educational institution aimed at forging a post-Ottoman Bosnian national identity. (…) It became an important tool in inventing, structuring, and synchronizing pre-Ottoman Bosnian identity with European history.[149]**

The Museum also played an important role in promoting the mission of Austria-Hungary in BiH through hosting scientific events that were in line with the government's ideology, such as the global 'Congress of Archaeologists and Anthropologists' in August 1894.[150] Being the most significant cultural institution in this part of the Empire, it represented a 'base camp' for further cultural expansion of Austro-Hungary in the Balkans. In local spatial terms, the National Museum figured as another crucial backbone for the future development of the Marijin Dvor area. Urbanistically speaking, the Habsburg monarchy, by placing crucial buildings, regulating infrastructures, and administratively annexing New Sarajevo laid ground to the future westward urban expansion of the city. Marijin Dvor became the modern counterpoint to the traditional centrality of the Čaršija. (Fig. 30)

To link local urbanism with geostrategic interests, it is worth considering the argument of the American historian, Frederick Cooper who claimed that colonialism goes beyond the repressive hegemony of one society over another. Moreover, he suggested that it often produced consequences unexpected by the colonizers,

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[147] Krzović, Ibrahim. *Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1878-1918* (Architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina 1878-1918. (Sarajevo: National Gallery of Art). p. 132. (translated by the author).

[148] The first Museum Director, Konstantin Hörmann, was a close collaborator of Béni Kállay.

[149] Rexhepi, Piro. "The Politics of Postcolonial Erasure in Sarajevo". In: *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies.* 20:6, 2018. p. 940.

[150] Palavestra, Aleksandar. "Arheološki izlet u pograničnu koloniju" ("Archeological excursion to the proximal colony"). In: *Etnoantropološki problem.* 9. 3 (2014). p. 688. (translated by the author).
Note: For more details on the connection between cultural institutions and colonialism in BiH during the Austro-Hungarian rule, please see:
Kapidžić, Hamdija. *Naučne ustanove u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme austrougarske uprave* (Scientific institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian administration). (Sarajevo: Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine). 1973. (translated by the author)

more precisely unanticipated changes in both societies.[151] (Fig. 31) In this sense, if making a provocative analogy across scales and themes: the geopolitical dispute over BiH, with its peaks in 1878, 1908 and 1914, instigated the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918. Following the end of the Great War, the 'Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes' was established, later renamed into the 'Kingdom of Yugoslavia'. BiH was divided into cross-regional provinces, and Sarajevo became the capital of the 'Drina Province'. The pace of urban development decreased compared to the Austro-Hungarian rule. The population of Sarajevo grew from approximately 60 000 in 1921 to 72 000 in 1931 and 78 000 by 1945.

Regarding the architectural production, architects from other parts of the newly established Kingdom arrived in Sarajevo and joined native Sarajevan architects, who mostly studied in Central and Western Europe, including Emanuel Šamanek, Mate Bajlon, Dušan Grabrijan, Juraj Neidhardt and the Kadić brothers (Muhamed and Reuf). Their works prevailed with academism and early modernist paradigms. Marijin Dvor received a few buildings: the Neo-Romanesque St. Joseph church, small sports stadium, (Fig. 32) the headquarters of Sarajevo's Red Cross (built in 1929, architect Helen Baldasar) and the Higher School of Technical Studies in 1936. Nevertheless, the interwar period did not have any major impact on the urban development of Marijin Dvor. The urbanization pace accelerated only after World War II. (Fig. 33)

The described periodization of the urban development history of Sarajevo and its wider region (BiH, ex-Yugoslavia and the Balkans) serves as an insight in order to reveal the ever-occurring (geo)political influence on local urban and architectural specificities. It forms a basic understanding of the societal complexities before the threshold date of 1945, which sets the main part of the dissertation inquiry: the date of the establishment of the new socialist state of Yugoslavia and first systematic and strategic urban planning efforts in Sarajevo.

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[151] Cooper, Frederick. Colonialism in Question. Theory, Knowledge, History (Berkeley: California UP). 2005.

1422.

Bosnia before the Ottoman occupation
Territory returned to Croatia
Borders of Croatia, Serbia and the Ottoman Empire
Borders of Bosnia before the Ottoman occupation
Constantinople
Sarajevo
Rome

1054.

Medieval Bosnia
Medieval Serbia
Medieval Croatia
Country borders
Border between the Catholic and Orthodox Church
Constantinople
Sarajevo
Rome

395.

Border between Western and Eastern Roman Empire
Constantinople
Sarajevo
Rome

Fig. 3: The continuous status as geographic periphery and geopolitical hotspot   95

1870.

Bosnian eyalet
Austro-Hungarian Empire
Ottoman Empire
Istanbul
Sarajevo
Vienna

1606.

Bosnian eyalet
Austro-Hungarian Empire
Ottoman Empire territories
in the Balkan region
Istanbul
Sarajevo
Vienna

1463.

Conquered Bosnian Kingdom
Austro-Hungarian Empire
Ottoman Empire
Istanbul
Sarajevo
Vienna

Fig. 3: The continuous status as geographic periphery and geopolitical hotspot 96

1941.

NDH - Independent state of Croatia
Preveus territory of Drina
Banate
Border between the Italian and German occupation zone
Kingdom of Yugoslavia

Zagreb
Sarajevo

1918.

Declining influence of Austro-Hungary
Bosnia and Herzegovina in Kingdom of Serbs, Croatis and Sloveins
Kingd om of Serbs, Croats, and Sloveines

Istanbul
Sarajevo
Vienna

1914.

Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
Ottoman Empire
Austro-Hungarian Empire

Istanbul
Sarajevo
Vienna

Fig. 3: The continuous status as geographic periphery and geopolitical hotspot

97

Fig. 4: Map of the Balkans after the Treaties of San Stefano and Berlin

Fig. 5: The Bosnian crisis of 1908

PROGRAMM

für die Reise

Ihrer Hoheit der durchl. Frau Herzogin

Sophie von Hohenberg

nach

Bosnien und der Hercegovina

vom 24. bis 30. Juni 1914.

Fig. 6: The official program of the fatal visit of 1914
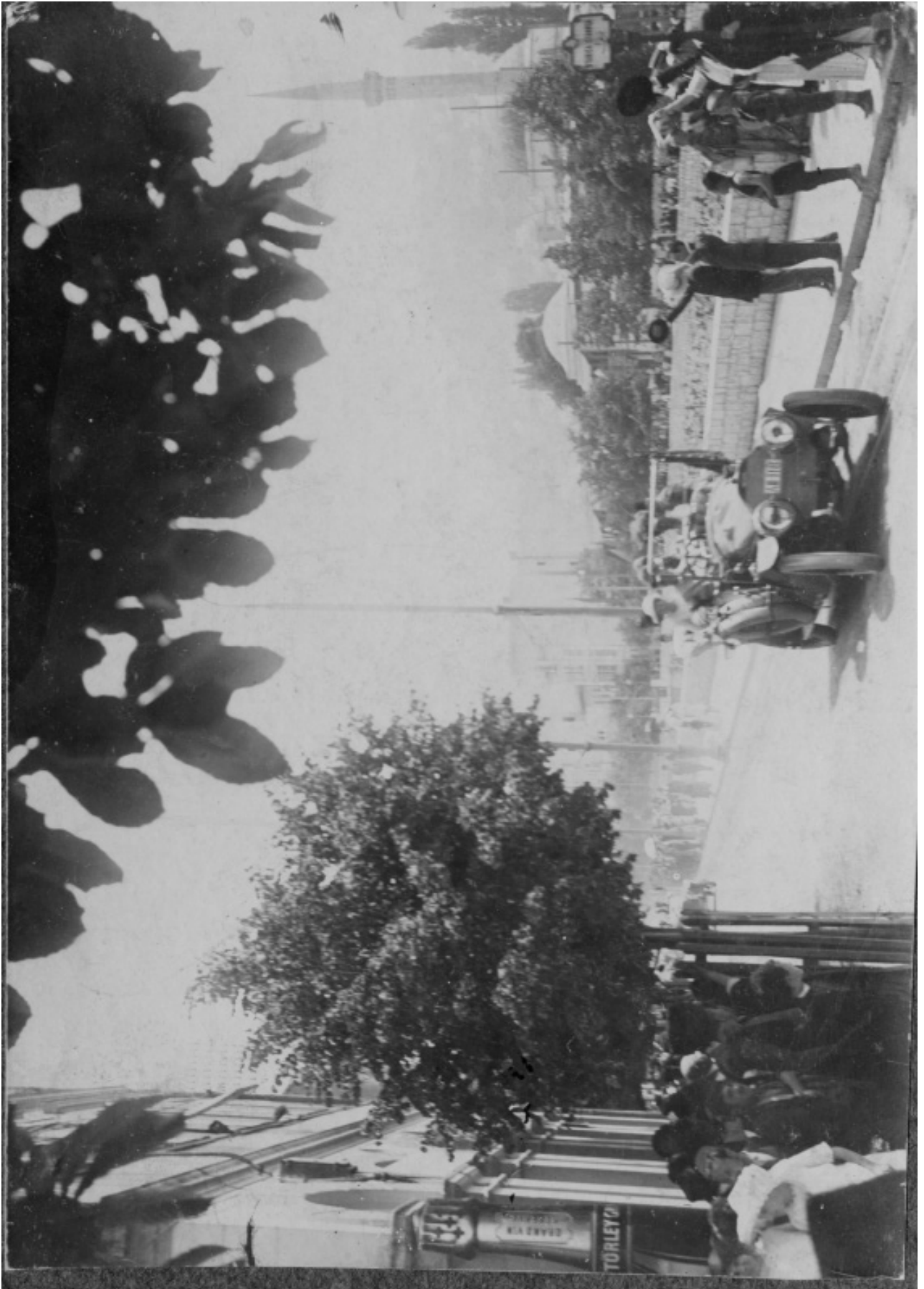
Fig. 6: The fatal visit of 1914: Seconds to the catastrophe
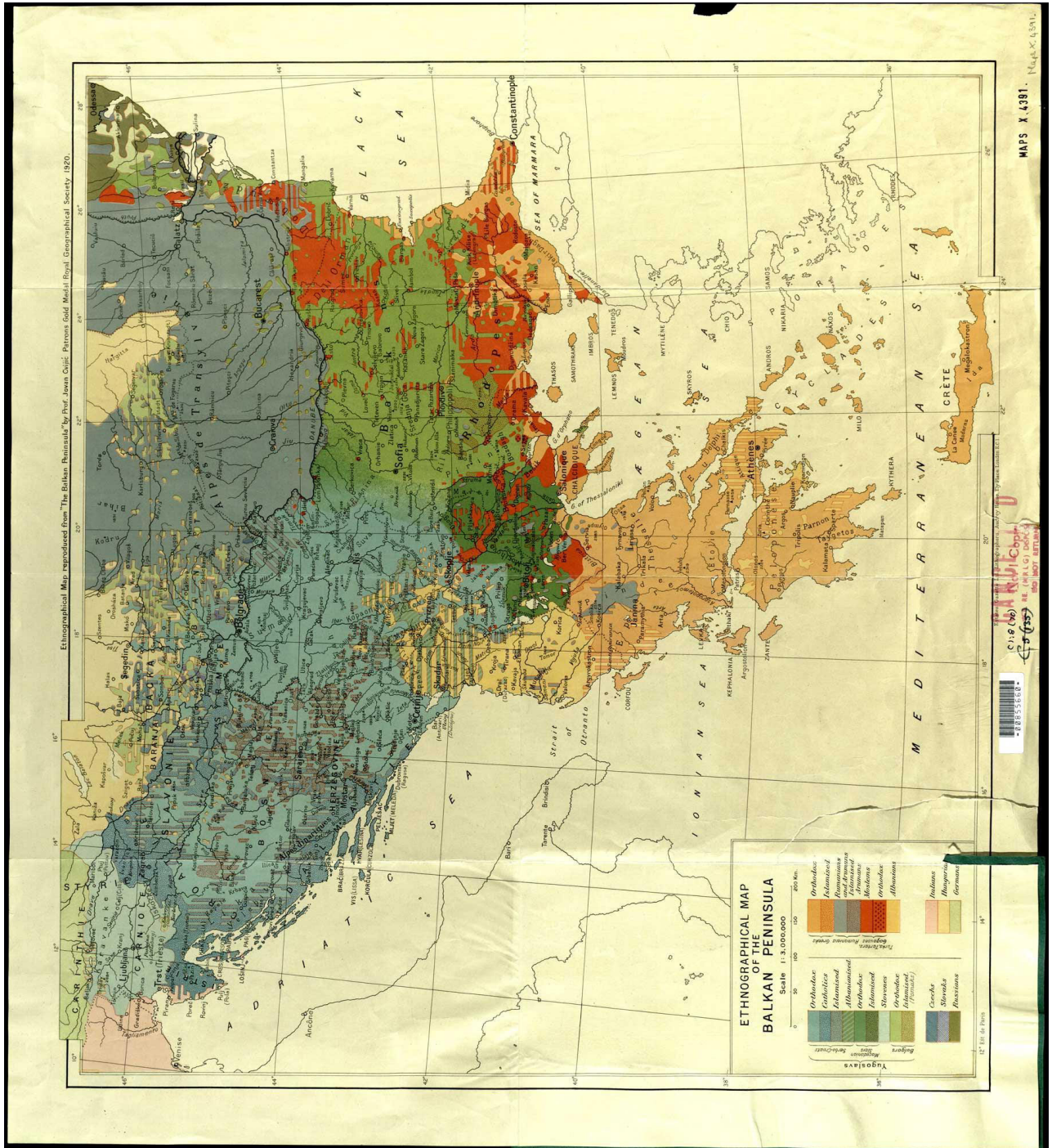
Fig. 7: Ethnographical map of the Balkans from 1918

Fig. 9: The geopolitical symbolism of signage and media

Fig. 9: The geopolitical symbolism of signage and media
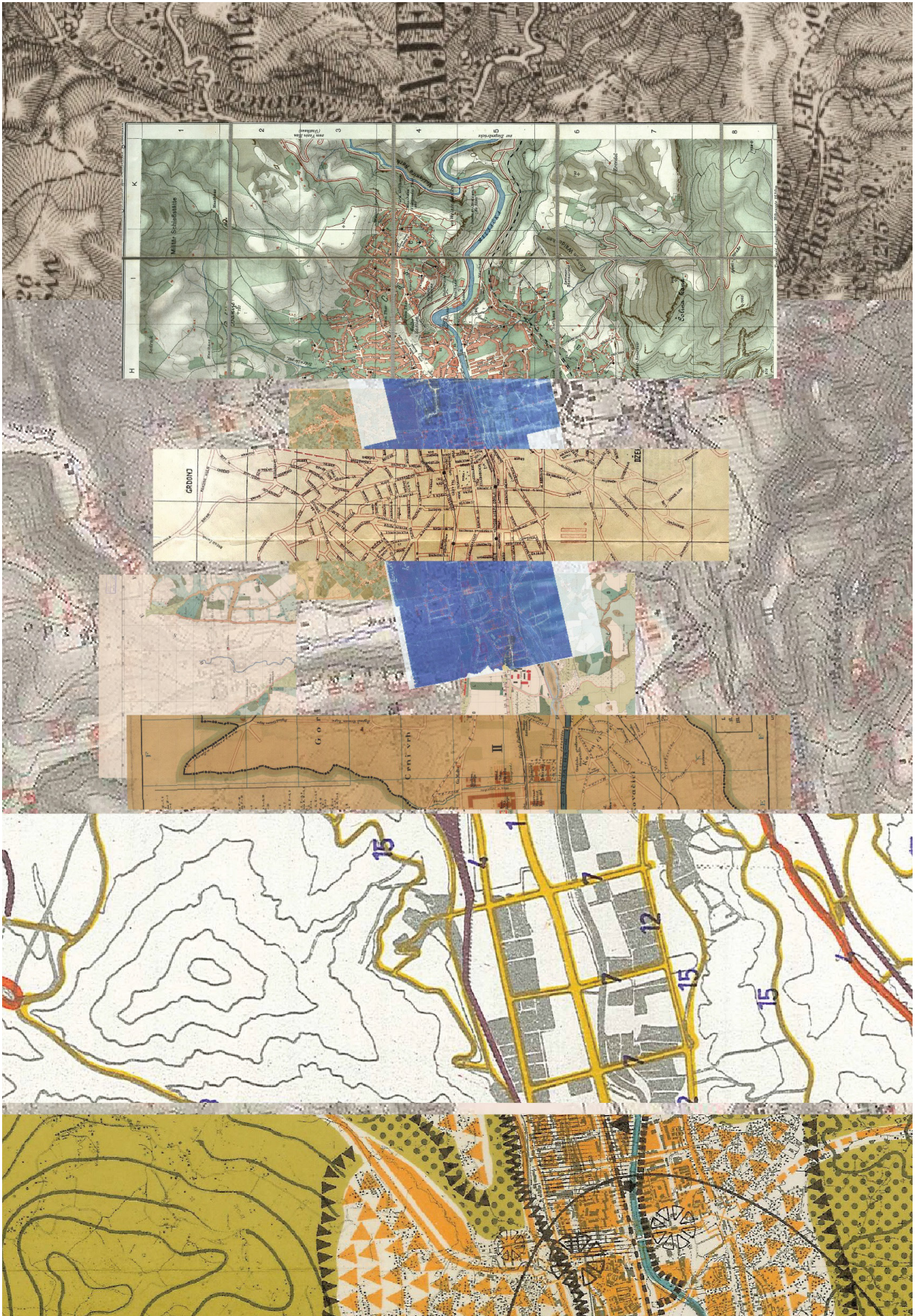
Fig. 10: The urbanistic bricolage of Sarajevo
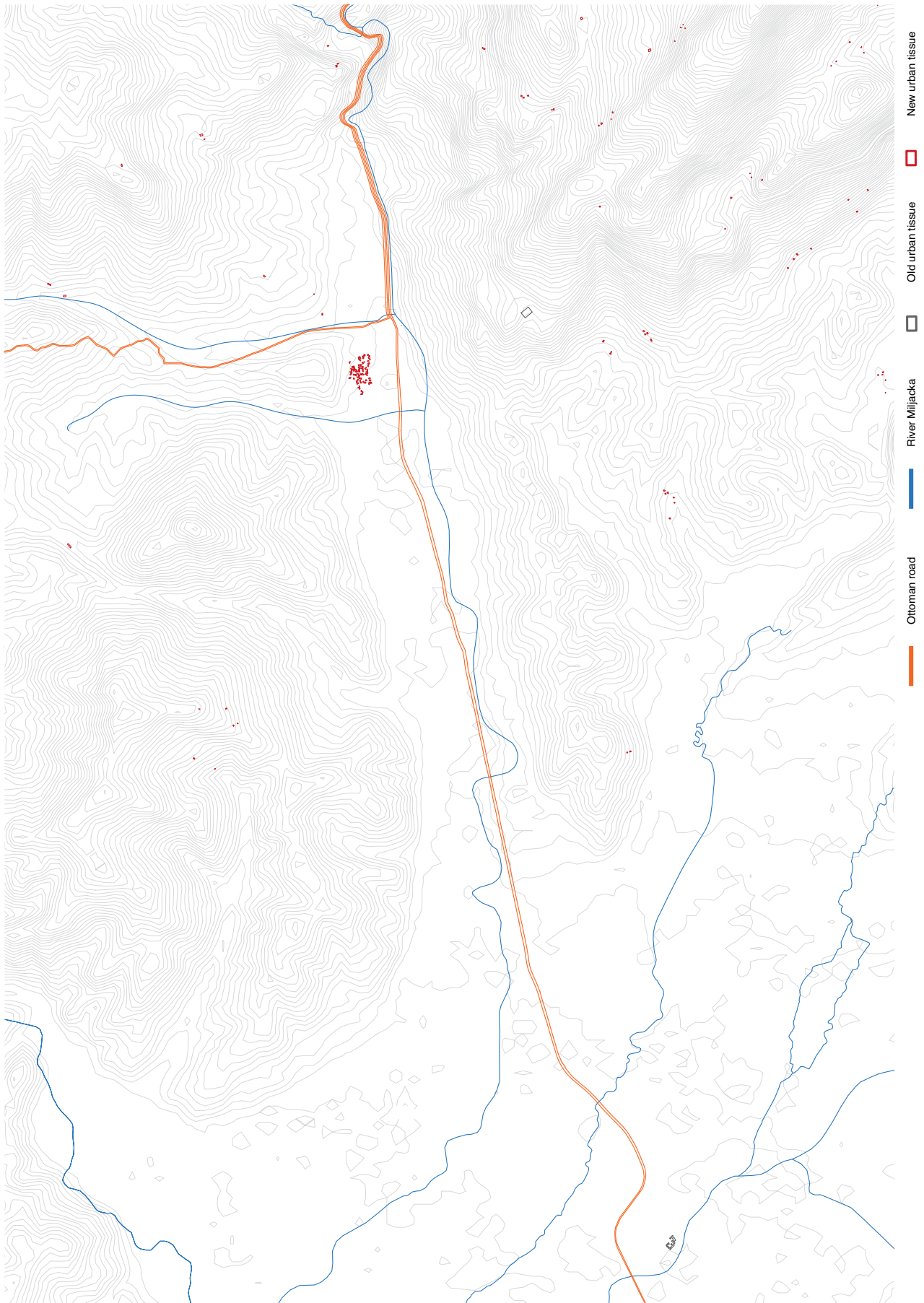
Fig. 11: Medieval Sarajevo, mid 15th century

New urban tissue

Old urban tissue

River Miljacka

Ottoman road
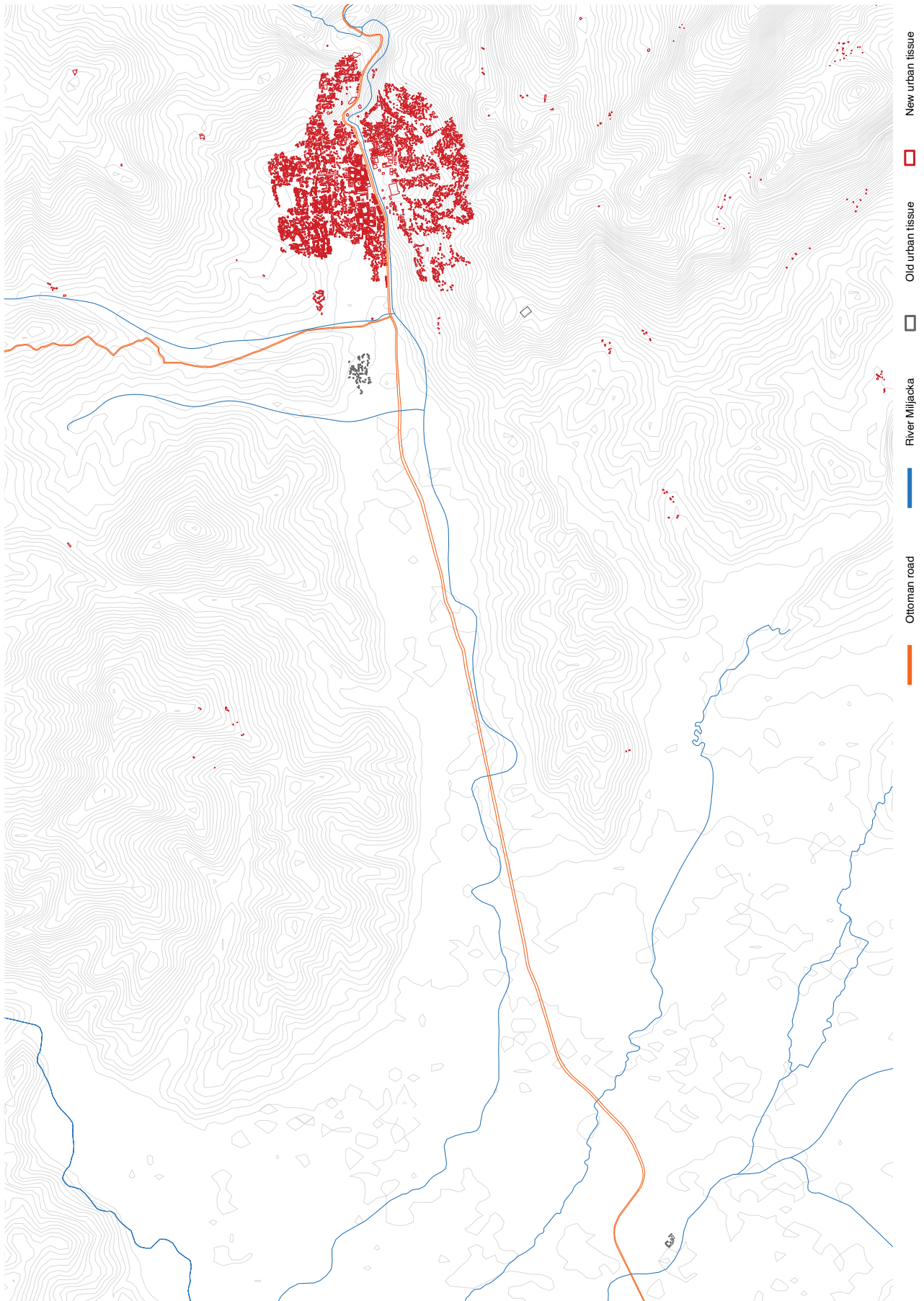
Fig. 11: Ottoman Sarajevo, mid 17ᵗʰ century

New urban tissue

Old urban tissue

River Miljacka

Ottoman road

Legend:
- New urban tissue
- Old urban tissue
- River Miljacka
- Austro-Hungarian road
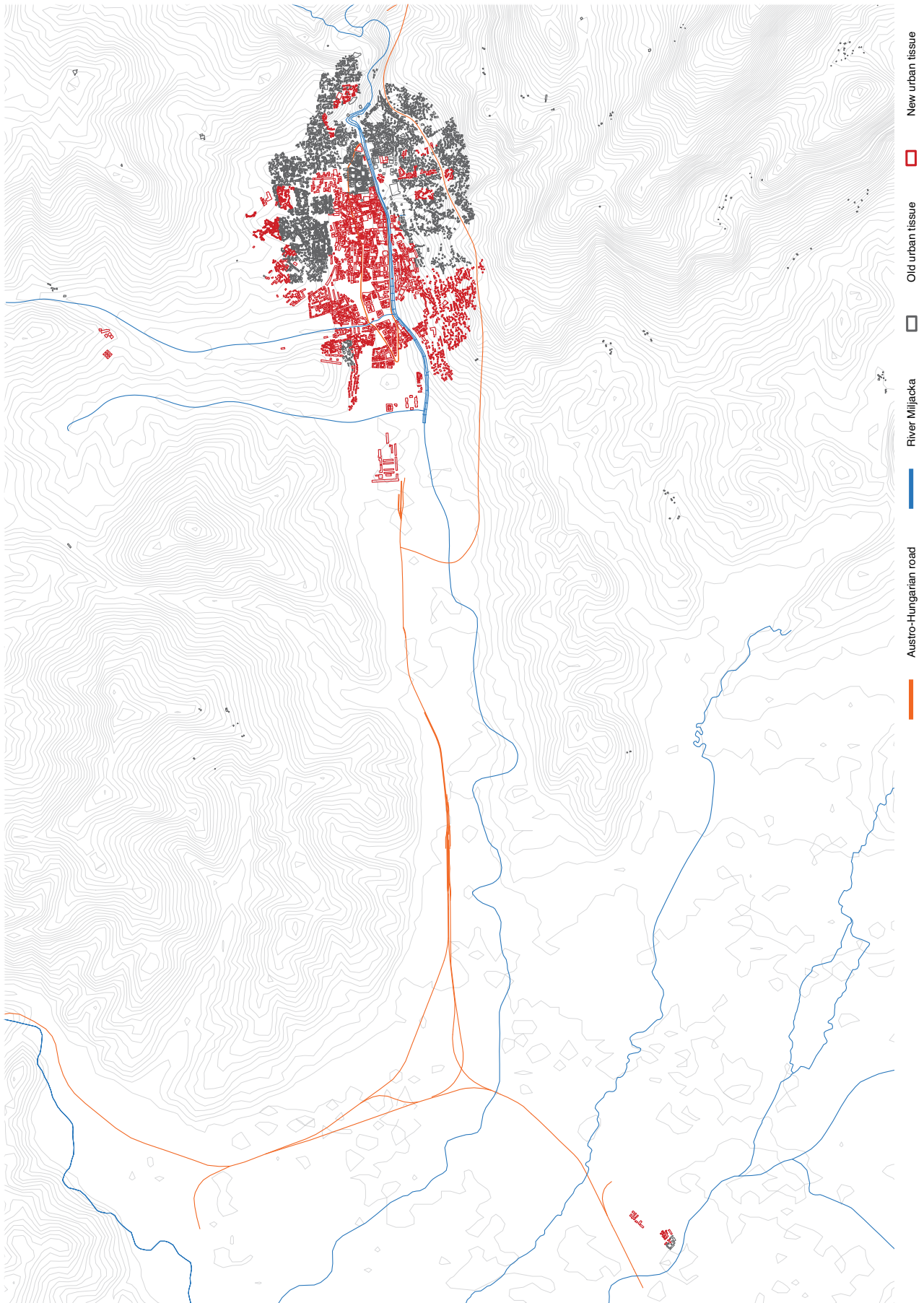
Fig. 11: Austro-Hungarian Sarajevo, early 20th century

Fig. 12: The Vakuf document of Gazi Husref-Bey

Fig. 13: Model of the Gazi Husref-Bey Mosque, Tašlihan and Bezistan representing the Čaršija in 16th century

Photo of the inner courtyard of Tašlihan and Gazi-Husref-Bey Mosque, 1892

Fig. 14: The house of Mustaj-Pasha Babić

Fig. 15: Alifakovac mahala

Fig. 16: Maps of the attack on Sarajevo by the engineering corps of Eugene of Savoy 115
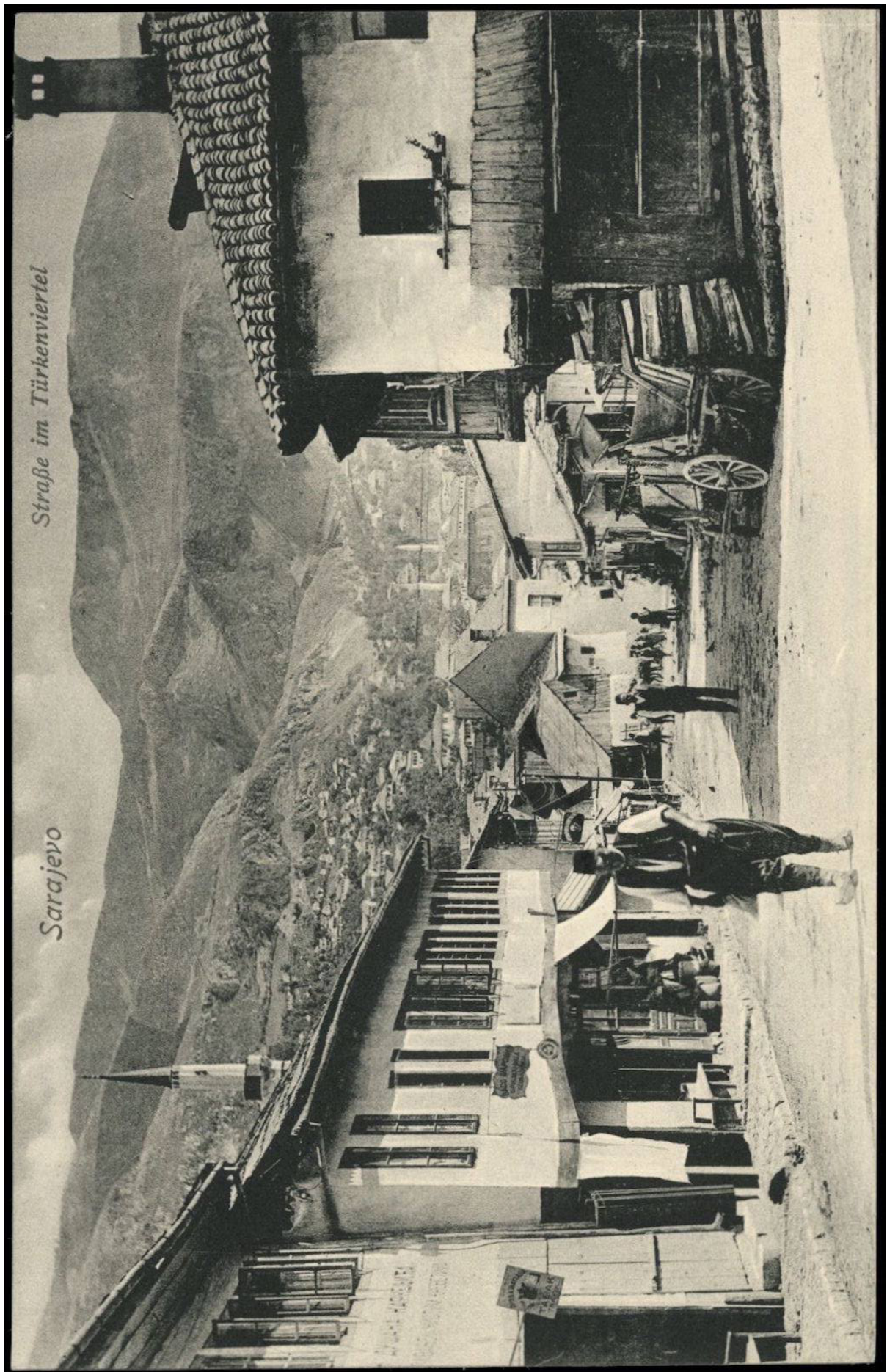
Fig. 17: Street scene from Ottoman Sarajevo
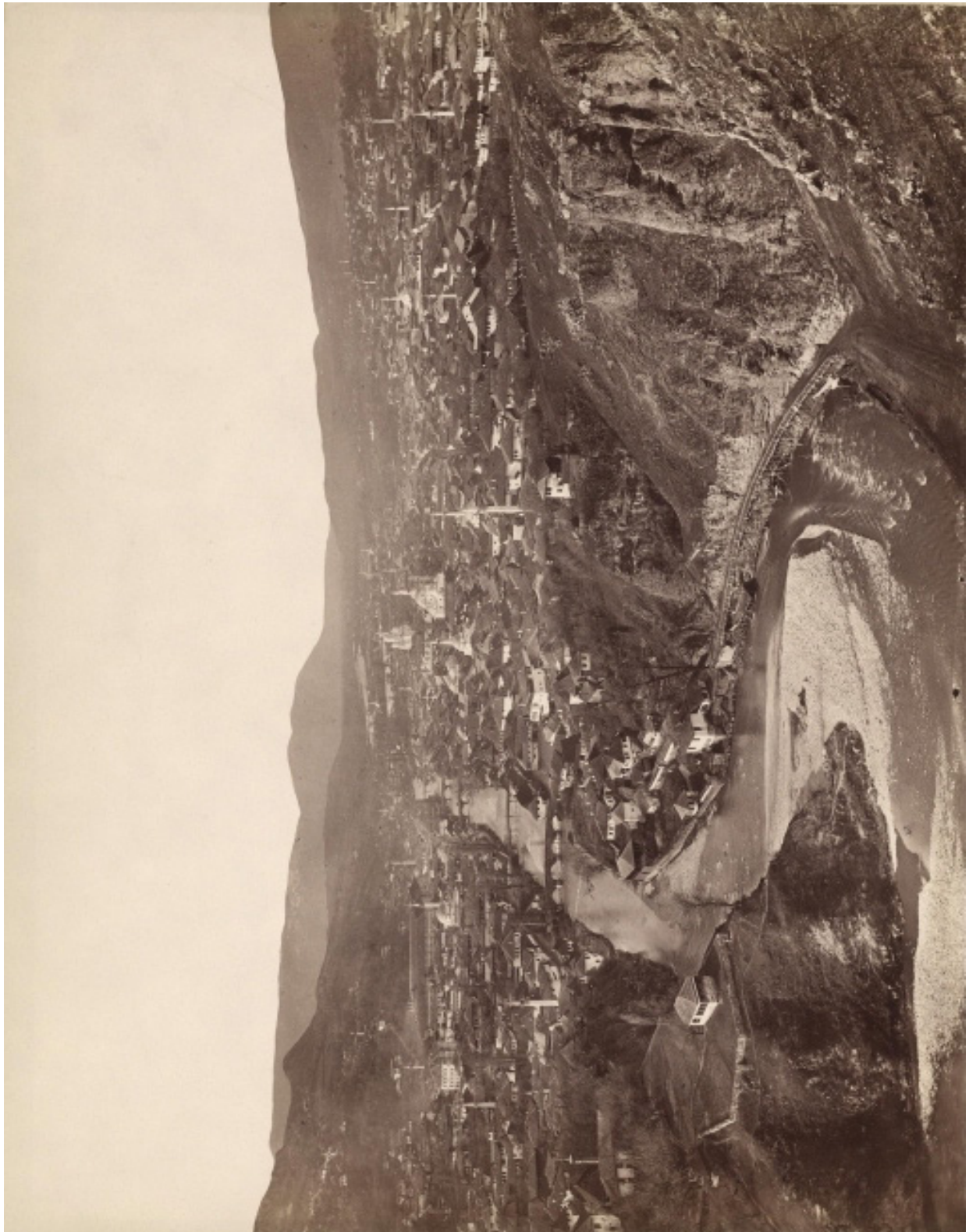
Fig. 18: Panorama of Sarajevo after the era of Topal Osman Šerif-Pasha, ca.1878 117

Erstürmung von Sarajevo
am 19. August 1878.

Fig. 19: The battle of Sarajevo and the power overtake after 423 years of Ottoman rule

Uebernahme der Verwaltung Bosniens durch Oesterreich - Ungarn.

Staatsvertrag zwischen Oesterreich-Ungarn, Deutschland, Frankreich, Grossbritannien, Italien, Russland und der Türkei.

Geschlossen zu Berlin am 13. Juli 1878.

(R. G. Bl. Nr. 43. Ung. G. A. VIII ex 1879.)

Article XXV.

Les provinces de Bosnie et d'Herzé-govine seront occupées et administrées par l'Autriche-Hongrie. Le Gouvernement d'Autriche-Hongrie ne désirant pas se charger de l'administration du Sandjak de Novibazar qui s'étend entre la Serbie et le Monténégro dans la direction sud-est jusqu'au delà de Mitrovitza, l'administration ottomane continuera d'y fonctionner. Néanmoins, afin d'assurer le maintien du nouvel état politique ainsi que la liberté et la sécurité des voies de communication, l'Autriche-Hongrie se réserve le droit de tenir garnison et d'avoir des routes militaires et commerciales sur toute l'étendue de cette partie de l'ancien Vilayet de Bosnie.

A cet effet, les Gouvernements d'Autriche-Hongrie et de Turquie se réservent de s'entendre sur les détails.

Artikel XXV.

Die Provinzen Bosnien und Herce-govina werden von Oesterreich - Ungarn besetzt und verwaltet werden. Da die österreichisch-ungarische Regierung nicht wünscht, die Verwaltung des Sandschaks von Novi-Bazar, welches sich zwischen Serbien und Montenegro in südöstlicher Richtung bis über Mitrovitza hinaus erstreckt, auf sich zu nehmen, wird die ottomanische Verwaltung dort weiter in Wirksamkeit verbleiben. Nichtsdestoweniger behält sich Oesterreich-Ungarn, um die Aufrechthaltung des neuen politischen Zustandes ebenso wie die Freiheit und Sicherheit der Communicationswege zu sichern, das Recht vor, im ganzen Umfange dieses Theiles des ehemaligen Vilajets von Bosnien Garnisonen zu halten und militärische, sowie Handelsstrassen zu besitzen.

Zu diesem Zwecke behalten sich die Regierungen von Oesterreich-Ungarn und der Türkei eine weitere Verständigung über die Details vor.

Proclamation an die Bewohner von Bosnien und der Hercegovina.

Wiener Zeitung vom 28. Juli 1878, Nr. 172.

Die Truppen des Kaisers von Oesterreich und Königes von Ungarn sind im Begriffe, die Grenzen Eures Vaterlandes zu überschreiten.

Sie kommen nicht als Feinde, um sich dieses Landes gewaltsam zu bemächtigen. Sie kommen als Freunde, um den Uebeln ein Ende zu bereiten, welche seit einer Reihe von Jahren nicht nur Bosnien und die Hercegovina, sondern auch die angrenzenden Länder von Oesterreich-Ungarn beunruhigen.

Der Kaiser und König hat mit Schmerz vernommen, dass der Bürgerkrieg dieses schöne Land verwüstet, dass die Bewohner desselben einander bekriegen, dass Handel

1*

Fig. 20: The regulation plan for the post-disaster regulation modernization of the Čaršija

Najstrožije je zabranjeno tramvajska kola prljati.

Gradsko poglavarstvo.

Најстрожије је забрањено трамвајска кола прљати.

ГРАДСКО ПОГЛАВАРСТВО.

Das Verunreinigen der Tramway-wägen ist strengstens verboten.

Der Stadtmagistrat.

غرامواى عربهسى كريلك يعنى پيسلتمك قطعأ منوعدر
رئيس بلدى

Fig. 21: The multilingual warning signs in the trams of Sarajevo

Fig. 22: The promise of a better future through infrastructure and technology, postcard collage (in focus: Ilidža, a suburb of Sarajevo)
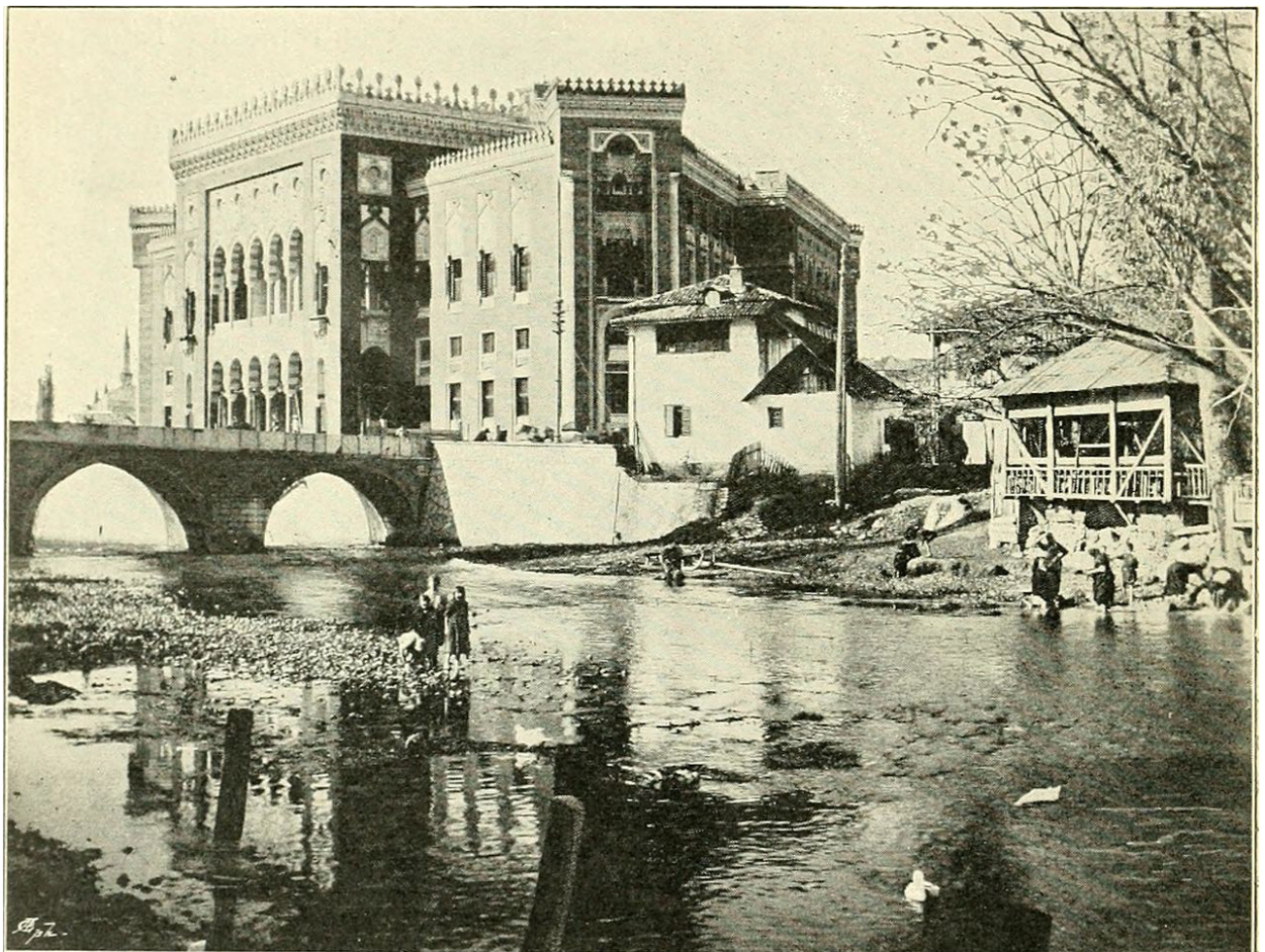
Fig. 23: Mahalas and the pseudo-Oriental City Hall

123

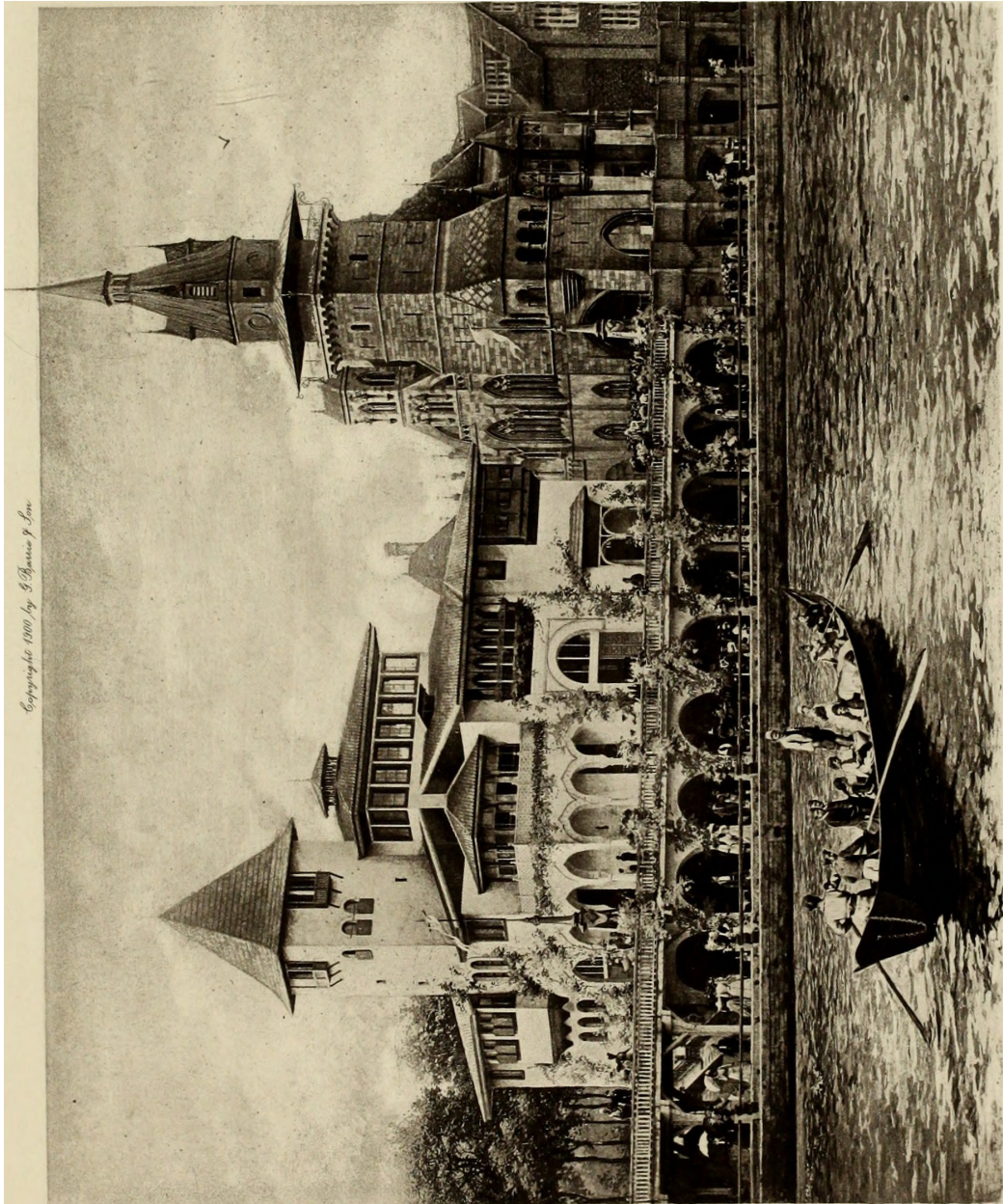**Fig. 24: The Bosnian Pavilion in Paris, 1900**
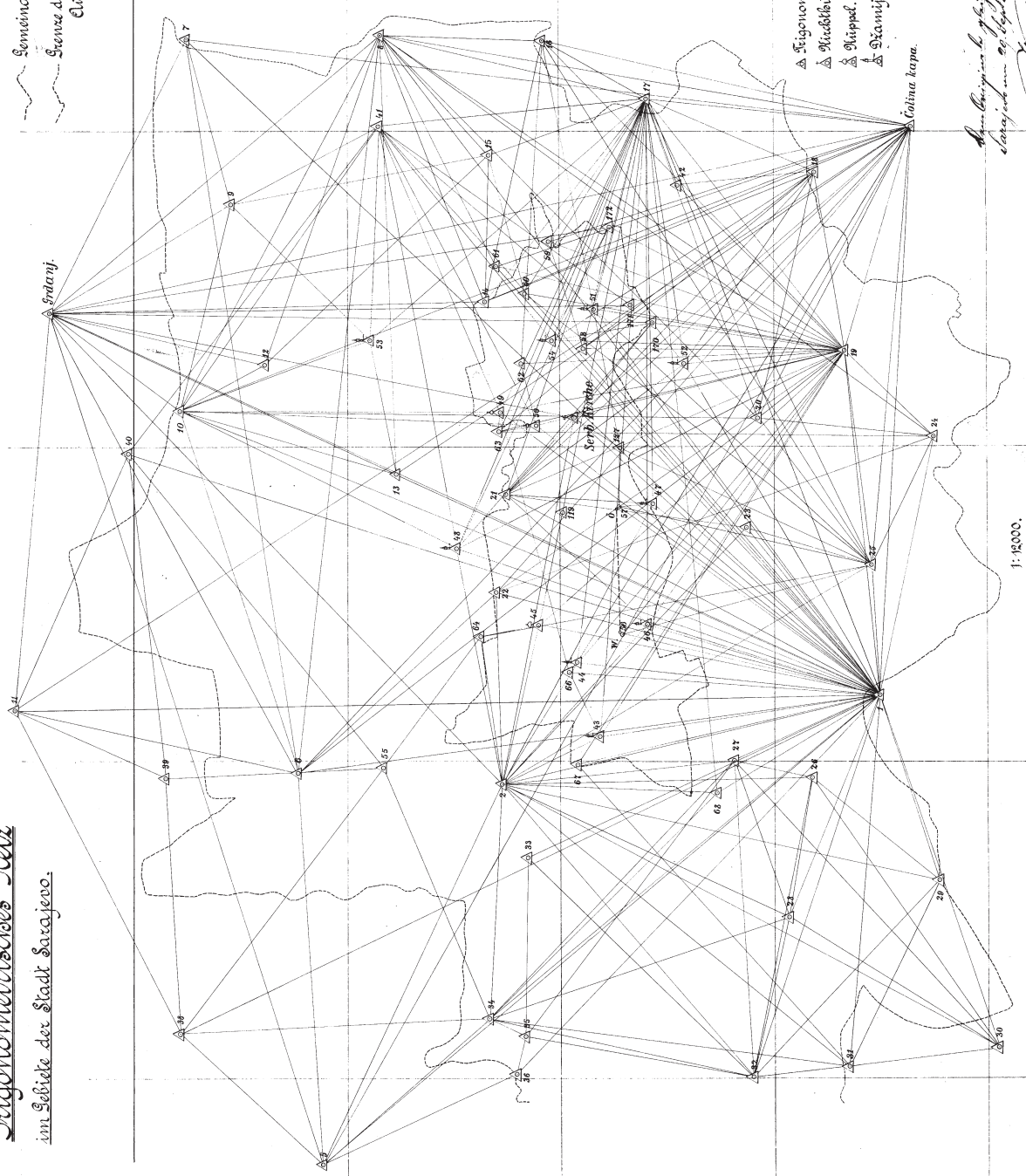
Fig. 24: The Bosnian Pavilion in Paris, 1900

Fig. 25: Sarajevo Plan of 1882 (future Marijin Dvor and New Sarajevo section)

Fig. 25: The second version of the trigonometrization of the city, 1904

der nothwendigen Beschotterung, Reparatur der unfahrbaren Stellen, Reinigung der Gräben etc., insoweit diese Arbeiten durch die vorhandenen Arbeitskräfte mit Rücksicht auf die gesetzlich obliegende unentgeltliche Arbeitsleistung ohne Inanspruchnahme des Staatsschatzes bewirkt werden können, darf jedoch nicht geädgert und sollen derlei Arbeiten von den politischen Behörden sofort eingeleitet werden. Zur Herstellung von wichtigeren Bauobjecten wird für Materialien und Professionisten ein Beitrag aus Landesmitteln ausgesprochen werden können, sofern solche Herstellungen unaufschiebbar sind, und sind hiefür eigene Ueberschläge zu verfassen und hieher vorzulegen.

Abgesehen von der Vorlage der eingangs erwähnten Daten für die in der Erhaltung des Militärs stehenden Strassen: Brod-Sarajevo, Blažuj-Metković, Sarajevo-Višegrad, Rogatica-Goražda, Sarajevo-Goražda-Čajnica, welche, wie bereits bemerkt, bis 15. Juni zu bewirken ist, und der Vorlage der Strassenübersichtskarte sammt Beschreibung, wofür der Termin mit Ende Juni fixirt wurde, wird von den Kreisbehörden zum gleichen Termine (Ende Juni) ein Bericht über den Stand der Arbeiten zur Verfassung der Tabellenformulare D und G und über die zur Herstellung der Strassen und sonstigen Communicationsmittel in eigenem Wirkungskreise getroffenen Dispositionen zu liefern sein.

Schliesslich wird bemerkt, dass vorläufig bloss auf der Strecke Brod-Sarajevo mit Aufstellung der Strasseneinräumer im Einvernehmen mit dem k. k. Generalcommando begonnen wird. Sollte jedoch auch auf der einen oder anderen der in der Civiladministration stehenden, für den Verkehr besonders wichtigen Strassen die Aufstellung von Einräumern sich als unbedingt nothwendig herausstellen, so sind die diesbezüglichen motivirten Anträge zu stellen.

Diese Verordnung ergeht gleichzeitig an alle als Kreisbehörden fungirenden Militärcommanden, ferner an alle als Bezirksämter fungirende Militärstationscommandanten, sowie an die bereits selbstständig antretenden Bezirksbehörden.

Beilage I.

Auszug aus dem türkischen Strassengesetze vom 18. Džemaziul-ewel 1286 (18. März 1869).

Zweites Hauptstück.

Von den unentgeltlichen Arbeiten.

§. 7.

Diese Arbeiter müssen an den bestimmten Tagen entweder persönlich arbeiten oder Ersatzmänner oder auch die zur Arbeit nothwendigen Zugthiere beistellen, oder statt der bestimmten Arbeit eine Entschädigung leisten.

§. 8.

Die im Artikel 7 erwähnten Pflichten obliegen allen Bewohnern der Städte, Marktflecken und Dörfer, wenn sie in dem für diese Arbeit bestimmten Alter stehen, nämlich allen Männern von über 16 und weniger als 60 Jahren, ferner allen Trag- und Zugthieren, und zwar in 5 Jahren durch 20 Tage. Die Landesregierung kann mit Rücksicht auf den Zustand der Strassen und die Verhältnisse der Bevölkerung die Zahl der Arbeitstage erhöhen, doch darf diese Erhöhung nicht 10 Tage in 5 Jahren überschreiten.

§. 9.

Nach Bedarf kann diese Arbeit durch Fixirung der Arbeitstelle vollbracht werden. Die Länge der Arbeitsstrecke wird mit Rücksicht auf die Arbeitsschwierigkeiten bestimmt.

Jeder Arbeiter hat nämlich einschliesslich der Durchlässe per Tag 5 Arschin (0·7 M.) Boden zu ebnen oder aber 4 Kubikarschin (1·4 K. M.) Stein zu zerschlagen und aufzuführen. Mit jedem Trag- oder Zugthiere ist aber per Tag das obbezeichnete Quantum Stein auch zur Arbeitstelle zu schaffen. Sobald eine Stadt oder ein Dorf die

Der Kreisbehörde wird zu diesem Zwecke ein monatlicher Verlag in der vorläufigen Höhe von Eintausend Gulden flüssig gemacht und das Kreistenerant zur Auszahlung eines solchen pro April gegen durch den Kreisvorstand und den Kreisingenieur zu fertigende Amtsquittung unter Einem angewiesen.

Ueber diese Verläge sind die monatlich documentirten und mit separaten Begründungen vorgelegten Rechnungen nach den beiliegenden Formularien L und M, welche durch den Kreisingenieur zu fertigen und durch den Kreisvorstand zu vidiren sind, längstens bis 15. des auf die Verlagsgebarung folgenden Monats anher vorzulegen, wobei bemerkt wird, dass eventuelle Verlagsreste nicht dem Steueramte abzuführen kommen, sondern in die nächstmonatliche Verlagsrechnung als erste Empfangspost aufzunehmen sind, während eventuelle Mehrauslagen ebenfalls in die nächste Verlagsrechnung in Ausgabe zu stellen kommen.

Um die Höhe der monatlichen Verläge für die Zukunft feststellen zu können, ist auf Grund der bisherigen Erfahrungen und der zu pflegenden Erhebungen, sowie der Anzahl der Strasseneinräumer, ferner der bezirksweise zu erhebenden ortsüblichen Preise für Handlanger, für zweispännige Lastfuhrwerke und für einzelne Tragthiere, sowie für die hauptsächlichsten Baumaterialien, ein diese Punkte enthaltender begründeter Antrag über die Höhe des definitiv zu fixirenden monatlichen Verläges zu stellen.

Alle grösseren Auslagen, z. B. für die Anlegung neuer Strassen, für sonstige grössere Strassenconstructionen, für grössere Werkzeugherstellungen, Abschluss grösserer Lieferungen, überhaupt alle Ausgaben, deren Höhe fünfzig Gulden übersteigt, bleiben wie bisher der Genehmigung der Landesregierung vorbehalten. Der Kreisbehörde verbleibt jedoch selbstverständlich, wie bisher, die Initiative.

Der gleiche Vorgang hat auch bei Verrechnung der der Kreisbehörde angewiesenen Verläge für den Bau der Strassen eingehalten zu werden, und sind die Verlagsrechnungen über sämmtliche bisher angewiesenen Verläge mit der im nächsten Monate vorzulegenden Verlagsrechnung jedoch separat einzusenden und sodann in den folgenden Monaten zu den gleichen Terminen.

Der für hierämtlicher Verordnung Nr. 5571 angewiesene Betrag von Eintausend Gulden kann für Auslagen zum Baue der Strassen überhaupt, inbegriffen die Tracirungsauslagen, verwendet werden.

Mit dieser Verordnung sind die Eingaben wegen Anweisung der Beträge von Strasseneinräumern und des innerhalb des Rahmens dieser Verordnung der Kreisbehörde im eigenen Wirkungskreise überlassenen Anweisungsrechtes erledigt.

Die Kreisbehörde wird für die pünktliche Auszahlung der Einräumer, ebenso wie für die der Strassenmister verantwortlich gemacht, und müssten begründete Klagen über verspätete Auszahlungen des Strassenpersonales strenge gerügt werden.

Bauordnung für Sarajevo und jene Städte und Märkte in Bosnien und der Hercegovina, welche dieser Vorschrift durch eine Verordnung der Landesregierung ausdrücklich unterworfen werden.

Genehmigt mit Allerhöchster Entschliessung vom 14. Mai 1880.

I. Abschnitt.

Allgemeine Bestimmungen.

§. 1.

Ansuchen um Baubewilligung.

Innerhalb der Gemarkungen der Stadt Sarajevo, dann jener Städte und Märkte, welche der gegenwärtigen Bauordnung durch eine Verordnung der Landesregierung ausdrücklich unterworfen werden, ist zur Führung eines jeden Neu-, Zu- und Umbaues
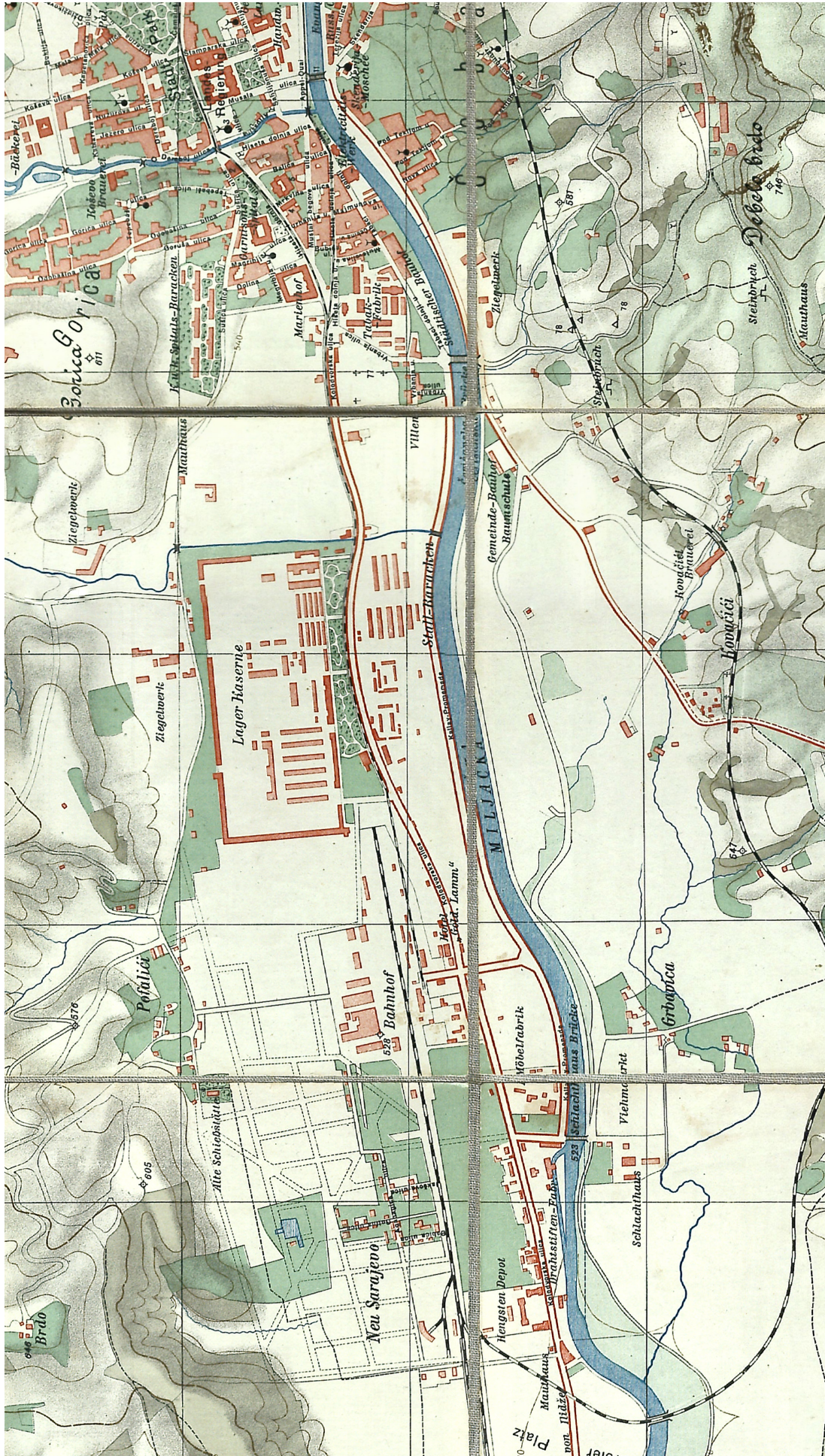
Fig. 26: The new building regulations

Fig. 27: The 1912 'Walny Plan' revealing the first contours of Marijin Dvor and New Sarajevo

Fig. 28: The architecture and urban design of the 'Marienhof'

Fig. 28: The architecture and urban design of the 'Marienhof'

Fig. 28: The architecture and urban design of the 'Marienhof'

Sarajevo.   Militärlager und Landesmuseum.
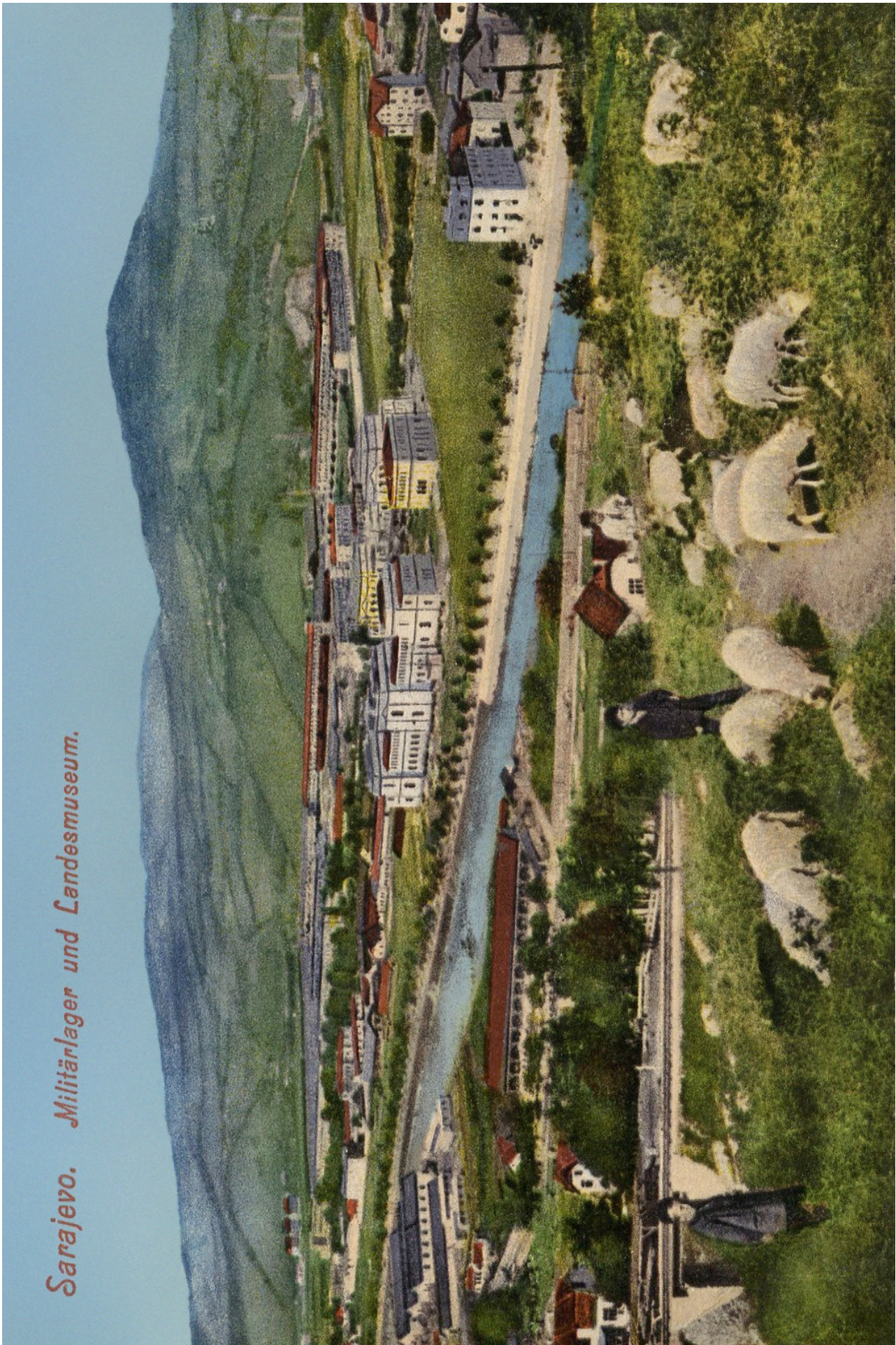
Fig. 29: The 'Landesmuseum' and the 'Baron von Phillipovich-Kaserne' in the background   133

Fig. 30: The Street atmosphere of Marijin Dvor, ca. 1900

Fig. 30: The plan ('Feldskizze') of the core of Marijin Dvor

Fig. 31: Panorama of Sarajevo in the last years of the Austro-Hungarian era, 1910

Fig. 32: Marijin Dvor between the World Wars

1878 - 1918
Austro-Hungarian Period
Marijin Dvor

River
Main Roads
New Buildings

1878
Ottoman Period
Marijin Dvor
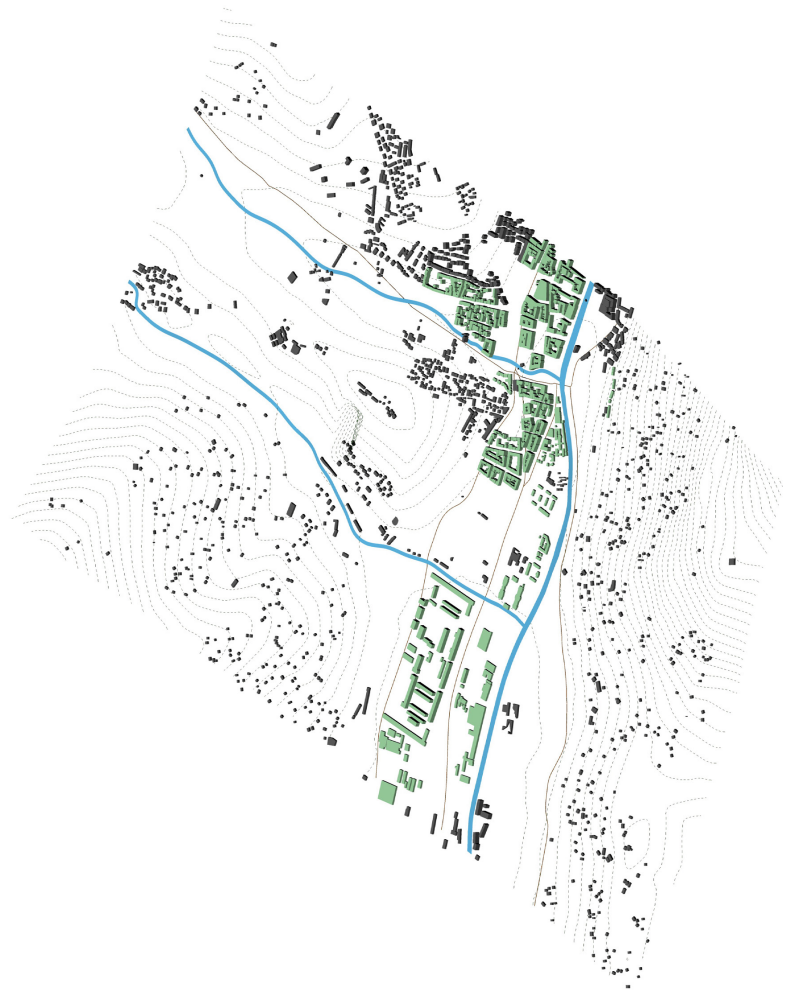
River
Main Roads

Fig. 33: Urban development of Marijin Dvor

1918 - 1945
Interwar Period
Marijin Dvor

River
New Buildings

Fig. 33: Urban development of Marijin Dvor

IV DESIGNING MODERNITY: THE NEW SARAJEVO AS A BUILT UTOPIA (1945–1992)

Revolution under construction

World War II in Yugoslavia began with the German invasion of Yugoslav cities on April 6th, 1941. The Luftwaffe bombarded Sarajevo on the same day. However, Sarajevo's urban fabric was not severely damaged during the Nazi occupation, besides punctual sabotage attacks by the underground communist partisans and minor attacks by Allied air forces. Precisely four years after the invasion, on April 6th 1945 Tito's People's Liberation Army marched into Sarajevo and seized power, proclaiming the revolucija. (Fig. 34)

The partisan fight was headed by the 'Komunistička Partija Jugoslavije-KPJ' ('Communist Party of Yugoslavia'), supported by the Red Army and the Allies. Already during the war from November 29th to November 30th, 1943, at the 2nd conference of the 'Antifašističko vijeće narodnog oslobođenja Jugoslavije-AVNOJ' ('Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia') in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian town of Jajce, Tito was declared the superior executive authority. (Fig. 35) AVNOJ proclaimed the creation of a federal Yugoslavia and Josip Broz Tito, the head of the KPJ, as Marshal of Yugoslavia. The state, as declared in the first post-war constitution in 1946, committed to guaranteeing "equality and national freedom to all the people of FPR Yugoslavia and its Peoples' Republics".[152] Factually, the state became later a one-party system organized by the KPJ.

This antifascist revolution of communist partisans put an ideological stamp on the development of Yugoslavia's society in the following decades. The construction of a modern state turned out to be a challenging task due to the societal situation that Tito's leadership inherited in 1945: a fragmented conglomerate of different ethnicities, cultural and religious traditions, economic assets and levels of development. The need for large-scale societal modernizations was evident from census data, e.g. in 1949, 49.5% of the population of Yugoslavia was illiterate, with a clear majority in the countryside.[153] Achieving economic growth, equality and unity inside the heterogeneous Yugoslav population, represented the main objectives of

---

[152] The Constitution of the FNRJ was ratified in Belgrade on January 31th 1946. Part I. 1st Chapter. Article 10.

[153] Školstvo u FNRJ 1945-1951. (Education in the FNRJ: 1945-1951). (Beograd: Savet za nauku i kulturu FNRJ). 1952.

the newly established communist government. Existing religious, national and other identities of this multiethnic region were replaced by 'Bratstvo i Jedinstvo' ('Brotherhood and Unity'), as a critical building block of the new federal state – intending to construct a society in which different Yugoslav ethnicities would peacefully coexist.[154]

After Yugoslavia rejected participation in the Marshall plan in 1946,[155] its government installed a national 'Petogodišnji Plan industrijalizacije i elektrifikacije zemlje' ('Five-Year Plan for the industrialization and electrification of the country') for the period 1947-1951. The Plan envisaged a prompt development of the economy (especially industry), electrification, education, culture, healthcare and housing in order to achieve economic growth, equality and emancipation. (Fig. 36) It laid the groundwork for large-scale (re)construction and industrialization efforts, which solicited an unprecedented rural-urban migration flow and created pressing spatial demands, in particular for housing the masses in rapidly growing cities. These challenges also implied new legal standards regarding the distribution of land resources: the 'nationalization' of private assets. Plots of above 25 to 35 hectares of cultivated land per private farm holding, or above 45 hectares of poor soil and forests, were confiscated following the direction of the constitution of 1946.[156] This 'collectivized' land, proclaimed as 'state' property or the Yugoslav-specific category of 'društveno vlasništvo' ('public/common' property). This act laid the legal foundation for the future Yugoslav urbanistic model.

In addition, the Plan was also the response to the growing geopolitical and economic pressures Yugoslavia experienced from the East Block:

> **The (..) Five-Year Plan meant the right answer, at the right time, against all the forces**

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[154] Jović, Dejan. Yugoslavia: A State that Withered Away (West Lafayette IN: Purdue University Press). 2009.

[155] At the Paris Peace Conference on October 10th 1946 Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov confirms his American capital acquiring attractive local enterprises in Eastern Europe, which would turn into political influence.
Source: McCauley, Martin. Origins of the Cold War 1941-1949. (London: Routledge). p. 147.
Tito also rejected the Marshall Plan on July 7th 1947. However, after the 1948 Tito-Stalin schism, Yugoslavia requested and eventually received American aid, but not as part of the Marshall Plan. Firstly, the USA was hesitant to support a socialist country but after adopting the Keynesian views of 'politics of productivity', economic growth was put ahead of any political system.
Source: Lampe, John; Prickett Russell and Adamović, Ljubiša. Yugoslav-American Economic Relations Since World War II. (Duke University Press). 1990. pp. 32-35.

[156] Swinnen, Johan et al. "An explanation of land reform choices in Central and Eastern Europe". In: Policy Research Group Working Paper. No. 5. June 1993.

**that threatened our hard-gained independence, in the belief that Yugoslavia will not
be able to maintain its economic and even moral-political position.**[157]

The Plan definitively replaced royal Yugoslavia's capitalist model, turning the society
of "science of unintended consequences of human action" into a "science of
allocative efficiency".[158] The connection of the Plan's notion with its intended goals
regarding construction was effectively summarized by Jakovljević:

> **The central planning agency was charged with the task of replacing the
> unpredictability, haphazardness, and injustice of a capitalist market with
> predictability, rationality, and justice of the grand plan. Here, the plan appears
> almost in its etymological sense: as a blueprint, drawing, a diagram of a new
> structure, which in this case is not just a building, but the industry and agriculture of
> a vast economy. Further, in the case of the Five-Year Plan, this regulation of space
> becomes intrinsically tied with the ordering of time.**[159]

The change in land tenureship and ownership laws of 1946 that led to the
centralization of agriculture and the decrease of economic incentives were
sufficient for the Serbian historian Mladen Lazić to theorize about the communist
government's consideration of small farmers as an "obstacle to modernization".[160]
Moreover, the increase in the number of jobs in cities and the attractiveness of
amenities of urban living definitely triggered a land flight. Consequently,
urbanization rates dramatically increased: in 1921 there were only 6 cities
Yugoslavia with populations higher than 50 000, and by 1981 that number rose to
37.[161]

The result was an urbanization boom, in particular in the capital cities of the
Republics: by the mid-1970s Sarajevo and Skopje tripled in size and Belgrade's and
Zagreb's metropolitan areas grew to 1,5 and 1 million inhabitants respectively.[162]

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[157] Redžić, Esad. "Četvrt veka organizacije građevinskih inženjera i tehničara Jugoslavije". In: Švabić, Mihajlo (Ed.). 25 godina
Građevinarstva Socijalističke Jugoslavije (25 Years of Construction in Socialist Yugoslavia). (Belgrade: Association of Civil Engineers
and Technicians & Association of Architects of Yugoslavia). 1970. p. 503. (translated by the author)

[158] Rutland, Peter. The Myth of the Plan: Lessons of Soviet Planning Experience (London: Hutchinson). 1985. p. 31.

[159] Jakovljević, Branislav. "Bodywriting". In: Alienation Effects: Performance and Self-Management in Yugoslavia, 1945-91. (Ann
Arbor: University of Michigan Press). 2016. p. 46.

[160] The phrase was initially used in: Lazić, Mladen. (Ed.). Society in Crisis: Yugoslavia in the early 1990s. (Belgrade: Filip Višnjić).
1995. p. 18.

[161] Statistički Godišnjak: 1918-1989. (Statistical Yearbook: 1918-1989). (Belgrade: Savezni Zavod za Statistiku/Federal Agency for
Statistics). 1989. (translated by the author)

[162] "The Population of Yugoslavia". In: C.I.C.R.E.D. Series (Belgrade: Institute of Social Sciences-Demographics Research Center). 1974.

The concentration of the workforce, in addition to political and economic power, accelerated the creation of a strong Yugoslav urban society, but left the peri-urban and rural areas largely unattended. Rural Yugoslavia was downgraded into a recruitment pool for industrial workers.

The political tabula-rasa project for a new country also required also new physical shapes and programs. A new socialist modernist urban and architectural model was put in place where state ideology defined philosophies, policies, operational and managerial models of designing and constructing the nation. The plethora of historic architectural layers and influences in Sarajevo and other Yugoslav cities, their position as a buffer-zone between 'East' and 'West', and the general perception of a 'colonial' Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian urban legacy, provided a fertile context to develop a new Yugoslav spatial paradigm.

This chapter also aims to fill the current theoretical gap, as case studies describing Sarajevo are lacking in the recently established discourse on socialist modernist architecture that has become increasingly relevant for the Western academic canon. This notion is summarized by the architecture historians Vladimir Kulić and Maroje Mrduljaš: "Socialist Yugoslavia was a country suspended between civilizations, political systems, and Cold War blocs. It produced a remarkable body of modern architecture, which similarly defies easy classification".[163] Nevertheless, the narrative is still dominated by phenomenological depictions of brutalist architectural aesthetics with an insufficient understanding of the societal context. It is important to demystify these oversimplifications that portray Yugoslav socialist modernism as, for example, "cosmic architectures from other planets",[164] supposedly produced in a chain of ideological and political top-down decisions. Therefore, the political, socio-cultural and economic drivers that preceded the construction of projects in Yugoslavia, should not be overlooked in favor of 'Balkan' and 'Eastern European exoticism'. On the contrary, the recent, 2018-19 exhibition at the Museum of

[163] Kulić, Vladimir, Mrduljaš, Maroje and Thaler, Wolfgang. Modernism In-between: The Mediatory Architectures of Socialist Yugoslavia (Berlin: Jovis Verlag). 2012. p. 8.

[164] Chaubin, Frédéric. Cosmic Communist Constructions Photographed (Cologne: Taschen Verlag). 2011.

Modern Art (MoMA) in New York represents pioneering work to depict the Yugoslav model and ground it to the international academic and professional circles:

> **Indeed, Eastern European architecture as a whole has largely been left out of the discipline's modern canonical history, an oversight that not only underscores an ongoing Eurocentric (Western) bias, but also reflects the prolongation of the cultural logic of the Cold War long after its end. A Western perception of the Balkans region as Europe's "Orient"-an exotic, "other" territory between East and West- has further hindered a serious evaluation of cultural production in the region on par with the Western canon.[165]**

In reality, the Yugoslav spatial model was a mixture of bureaucratic protocols, new building codes, planning policies, and a state-communist political ideology. Additionally, the vigorous engagement of individual and collective architectural agencies resulted in a country-wide solidification of professional standards and bodies that were to participate in the construction of socialist Yugoslavia. The launch of a spectrum of academic curricula, multiple competitions and productive architectural journalism spawned a vivid architectural scene. It was catalyzed through knowledge transfer with international, mostly Western, architects and urbanists. This chapter also intends to expand the narrative and contribute to the evidence of the underlying mechanisms on the scale of strategic urban design and spatial planning, which have been neglected in the discourse in favor of individual architectural objects.

The making of a non-aligned city between communism and capitalism

In the short period from 1945 until 1948, Tito and the KPJ positioned themselves along the political lines of Marxism and the Communist International. Nonetheless, Cominform's[166] communiqué from June 28th, 1948, on the anniversary date of the

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[165] Stierli, Martino and Kulić, Vladimir. Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia: 1948–1980. Exhibition Catalogue. (New York: The Museum of Modern Art). p. 7.

[166] The organization was established in 1947 (abbreviated as 'Cominform'). Its predecessor 'Comintern' was established in Moscow in 1919.

assassination of Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo, shifted the development direction of Yugoslavia:

> **The Cominform Resolution initiated the public phase of the conflict between Belgrade and the Moscow-dominated Communist movement. The KPJ was accused of anti-Sovietism, of such practical and ideological errors as an incorrect agrarian policy and departures from Leninist theory of the party, of a lack of intraparty democracy, and of repeated refusals to accept criticism. The most serious charge, as detailed in point 8, held that the KPJ leaders "have placed themselves in opposition to the Communist parties within the Information Bureau, have taken the road of seceding from the united socialist front against imperialism, betraying the cause of international solidarity of the working people, and have taken a nationalist position."[167]**

This 'Stalin-Tito Schism' was the turning point and defining moment for post-World War II Yugoslavia. It provoked Yugoslavia's ideological, economic and political dissociation from the Eastern Bloc countries, leaving the influence sphere of the Soviet Union. (Fig. 37) After 1948, the Yugoslav societal fundament sought ideological and institutional difference from the Soviet model: an interplay between an experimental socio-political system with fuzzy borders melting between 'samoupravljanje' ('self-management'), socialism and the ideological Marxism of a classless, egalitarian society.[168] Moreover, Yugoslavia's territory blurred the rigidity of the Iron Curtain. (Fig. 38)

The social engineering project to create this new urban proletarian citizen, the 'Jugosloven' ('Yugoslav'), on the ashes of the myriad of archaic ethnic and religious identities, required its own new urban model. The Jugosloven needed to become a citizen of a modern socialist city designed on the principles of Bratstvo i Jedinstvo, non-alliance and self-management. Yugoslav architects and urbanists received the chance to construct a new national identity. Architecture and urban planning became instruments to create the socialist utopia by turning farmers into equal urban citizens and, therefore, minimizing cultural, religious and economic differences. The British-Serbian architecture theorist Deyan Sudjic argued that "architecture plays a powerful part in the manufacture of national iconography. It

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[167] Banac, Ivo. With Stalin against Tito: Cominformist Splits in Yugoslav Communism. (Cornell University Press). 1988. p. 125.

[168] Note: Another step in the de-Sovietization process of both etymological and organizational character was taken at the 6th Congress of the KPJ in 1952, where the name of the party was changed to 'Savez Komunista Jugoslavije-SKJ' ('Communist League of Yugoslavia'). The Soviet-influenced command economy was changed in favor of a more decentralized model through the implementation of the 'Zakon o Planskom Upravljanju Privredom' ('Law on the Planned Management of the Economy').

creates the landmarks that define national identity".[169] I will go beyond and argue that in Yugoslavia, not only punctual landmarks were constructed, but an entire society was designed, as visible from professional literature of that time:

> **The victory of the socialist revolution in our country has created extraordinary conditions for the liberation and expansion of the creative forces of all working people. Guided by the unique idea of achieving such a social order in which all material goods will serve and belong exclusively to those who create these goods. (...) In such new socio-economic relations for the first time, the conditions have been created for all constructive, creative forces of engineering-technical cadres to come to their full expression.[170]**

The 1948 political reorientation induced a detour from the dogmatic aesthetics of Soviet socialist realism. As early modernism was already evident in interwar Yugoslavia, especially in the form of constructing public and social infrastructures, it constituted a logical 'ideological' basis (in terms of an architectural paradigm) for planning and building the socialist state. Yugoslavia definitively re-oriented its socialist architecture towards international functionalist modernism, as the Serbian architecture historian Ljiljana Blagojević argued:

> **Architects were invited to (…) seek for the foundations of the new architecture based on the fundamentally changed sociopolitical conditions. Deviation from the Soviet socialist realistic model (…) launched a completely new discourse in Yugoslav architecture. The re-examination of raster and form became the most common element in something that was labeled in professional and political public as modern 'socialist architecture'.[171]**

The focus of urban planning was directed towards new urban extensions ('new cities'), as there was no major necessity for reconstruction efforts of the existing urban fabric, as most battles during World War II took place in rural Bosnia and Yugoslavia. The desire to leave behind the rural legacy and the burden of centuries-long foreign colonial architecture of, among others, the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian rules further catalyzed the development of the new architectural and urbanistic paradigms. The Slovenian architect Edvard Ravnikar, saw the chance for

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[169] Sudjic, Deyan. The Edifice Complex: How the Rich and Powerful Shape the World (London: Penguin Books). 2006. p. 134.

[170] "Udružena snaga kreatora i graditelja" ("Combined power of creators and builders"). in: Trumić, Aleksandar. 25 years of Construction in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: 1943-1968. (Sarajevo: The Association of Engineers and Technicians of BiH). 1969. p. 9.

[171] Blagojević, Ljiljana. Novi Beograd: Osporeni modernizam (New Belgrade: The contested urbanism). (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike). 2007. p. 88. (translated by the author).

architectural design freedom as a result of political reforms: "As the land rent was abolished, and with it and the perimeter block model, urban planners now received the opportunity to think freely."[172] Nikola Dobrović also advocated for a modernist spatial functionalism: "Modern architecture is not a matter of fashion or taste, but it is a very powerful tool to resolve economic-technical, social, administrative and all cultural needs of the community."[173] The role of architects is of particular interest to understand the future spatial manifestations in Yugoslavia at the end of the 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s. The desire of the regime to establish a new generation of professionals, equipped with both new skills and ideology, fostered the creation of new curricula. For instance, the University of Sarajevo started its new architecture education program in 1949, preparing future architects and urbanists to work primarily in large public architecture offices and urban planning agencies.

The advisory meeting of architects and urbanists in 1950 in Dubrovnik, documented and published by Branislav Krstić, is of particular significance to understand the position and agency of architects and urbanists in early socialist Yugoslavia.[174] There, the profession reaffirmed its congruence with the Athens Charter's modernist principles and decisively refused the dogmas of the Soviet socialist realism.[175] The importance of finding a modus operandi to act both as architects and urbanists in a new society, profoundly different from the pre-World War II capitalist monarchy, was universally acknowledged by the participants. Finally, they argued for a symbiosis between architecture and urbanism: "There can no longer be architecture without urbanism and vice versa. (…) Ground networks and territorial planning need to be added to the agenda of urban planners".[176]

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[172] Krstić, Branislav. Atinska Povelja i Misao Arhitekata i Urbanista FNRJ (The Athens Charter and the Thinking of Architects and Urbanists of FNRJ). (Beograd: Branislav Krstić). 2014. p. 25 (translated by the author).

[173] Dobrović, Nikola. "Savremena arhitektura i mali narodi"("Contemporary architecture and small nations"). In: Arhitektura. No. 3. 1952. p. 31. (translated by the author).

[174] The Bosnian-born Serbian architect and theorist Branislav Krstić was one the most recognized chroniclers of the post-World War II architectural and urbanistic discourse in Yugoslavia. He published the report, along with his comments, of the Dubrovnik advisory meeting of architects and urbanists that took place from November 23rd to November 25th 1950 with his comments. He did not find a publisher but released the book in his own arrangement at the age of 94, in 2014, shortly before passing away. It is an immensely valuable source as they document the efforts, but also the general atmosphere in Yugoslav architecture and urbanism circles: Krstić, Branislav. Atinska Povelja i Misao Arhitekata i Urbanista FNRJ (The Athens Charter and the thinking of architects and urbanists of FNRJ). (Beograd: Branislav Krstić). 2014. (translated by the author).

[175] For a detailed overview of Soviet modernism in architecture, please see: Obermair-Shapiro, Ekaterina, Ritter, Katharina and Wachter, Alexandra (Eds.). Soviet Modernism 1955–1991: Unknown History (Vienna: Park Books). 2012.

[176] Krstić, Branislav. "U jugoslovenskoj arhitekturi nije bilo socrealizma" ("There was no socialist realism in Yugoslav architecture"). In: Danas. March 6th 2015. (translated by the author).
Source: https://www.danas.rs/nedelja/u-jugoslovenskoj-arhitekturi-nije-bilo-socrealizma (last accessed: June 18th 2017).

The meeting revealed also different opinions regarding the level of engagement of the regime. Krstić ensured that the KPJ did not organize the advisory meeting, but rather initiated bottom-up by the architects and urbanists themselves. In his report, Krstić disagreed with the Croatian architect and editor of the magazine 'Arhitektura', Neven Šegvić, who was close to the KPJ leadership (Šegvić published the advisory meeting conclusions with the note that the architect should be "led by the correct line of the KPJ"). According to Krstić, Šegvić's political statement was added later in the post-production of the text and contrasted with the non-political atmosphere at the meeting itself.[177] In Dubrovnik, the Five-Year Plan was also heavily discussed, advocating for a strong involvement of architects and urbanists in constructing the new Yugoslavia:

> **The Five-Year Plan is mostly being a construction program. All assignments that are defined by the Plan (…) are manifested through concrete and real building tasks. Architects and urbanists need to participate in the realization of the gigantic and literally-conceptualized construction program. The execution of our Five-Year Plan (…) needs to have the stamp of the epoch in which it is going to be realized."[178]**

Western modernism, and especially Le Corbusier, was heavily criticized, among others, by Šegvić: "It is not possible to base the architectural doctrine on the results of a wide range of speculative processes".[179] Nonetheless, after the break with the Soviet Union, Yugoslav spatially-operating professionals announced the definite re-orientation of design and planning paradigms. The General Assembly of the Croatian Association of Architects declared in 1953: "What was necessary and inevitable in between 1945–1948, might be (…) unnecessary (…) and harmful nowadays"[180] confirming the influence of politics on architecture's ideological transposition. The ideological shift in architecture was supported by various means of media and communication. An exemplary case is the first exhibition on international architecture held in post-World War II Yugoslavia in 1952, thematizing Le Corbusier's work. This exhibition, prepared by the 'Boston Institute

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[177] Krstić, Branislav. Atinska Povelja i Misao Arhitekata i Urbanista FNRJ (The Athens Charter and the thinking of architects and urbanists of FNRJ). (Beograd: Branislav Krstić). 2014. pp. 42-45. (translated by the author).

[178] The presentation of the Serbian representative Jovan Krunić. Ibid. p. 16. (translated by the author).

[179] Šegvić, Neven. "Zablude i kriza buržuaske arhitekture" ("The confusions and crisis of bourgeois architecture"). In: Arhitektura. No. 13 - 17, 1948. p. 130. (translated by the author).

[180] "Godišnja skupština Društva Arhitekata Hrvatske" ("Annual assembly of the Croatian Architects' Federation"). In: Arhitektura. No. 1. 1953. p. 57. (translated by the author).

of Contemporary Art', made only two stops in Europe: in West Berlin and Yugoslavia.[181] Another example is the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) Exhibition 'Contemporary Art in the USA', set in Belgrade in 1956.[182] These media agencies further bolstered the bonds of Yugoslavia with Western architectural circles.

The geopolitics of architecture were also highlighted by the fact that Yugoslav architects invested immense efforts to intensify knowledge exchange with Western international circles. The distancing from the East-Bloc can be exemplified through the difficulty Yugoslavia encountered to become a full UIA ('Union Internationale des Architectes') member:

> **Despite the considerable political pressure and Poland's threat of cancelling the Second UIA Congress planned in Warsaw, the United Kingdom and the United States supported Yugoslavia. It became a full member at the Congress at the end held in Rabat and Casablanca in 1951 where it presented itself with a distinctive exhibition of recent architectural and urban planning achievements. [183]**

Because of the successful involvement in the UIA, Yugoslav architects established contacts with several international colleagues, such as the Swiss architect Alfred Roth. Roth played a decisive role in lobbying for Dubrovnik's selection, as the location for the 1956 'CIAM X' Congress. Among other, because Josep Lluís Sert's reading of "crisis or revolution", the Congress proved to be a decisive moment for the future of CIAM.[184] Nonetheless, the involvement of Yugoslav architects was rather passive but represented a strong symbol of the country's efforts to position itself on the architectural map of the world.[185] In one of his last articles published, Krstić reaffirmed the early-1950s devotion of Yugoslav architects to both the

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[181] Turina, Vladimir. "Modulor Le Corbusiera i marseilleski eksperiment" ("Modulor of Le Corbusier and the Marseilles experiment". In: Arhitektura. No. 2. 1953. pp. 39-41. (translated by the author).

[182] Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), Press release. July 6th 1956. No. 71. "Modern American Art Exhibition Opens in Belgrade". Source: https://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/press_archives/2100/releases/MOMA_1956_0081_71.pdf (last accessed: February 18th 2018).
Note: Interestingly, in 2018, the knowledge transfer went in the reverse direction, as exhibition of Yugoslav architecture under the theme "Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948-1980" was exhibited in MoMA. Source: https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/3931 (last accessed: November 29th 2018).

[183] Please see Bjažić Klarin, Tamara. "CIAM networking-Međunarodni kongres moderne arhitekture i hrvatski arhitekti 1950-ih godina" ("CIAM networking-The intentional congress of the modernists and Croatian architects in the 1950s). In: Život umjetnosti: Časopis o modernoj i suvremenoj umjetnosti i arhitekturi. Vol. 99 No.2. December 2016 (40-57). p. 44.

[184] For more details on the CIAM Congress in 1956, please see: Mumford, Eric. The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism. 1918-1960. (Cambridge: MIT Press.) 2000. pp. 238-258.

[185] The decision to host the CIAM X in Dubrovnik was made after the primary location in Algiers in 1955 was canceled due to the breakout of the Algerian War.

socialist Five-Year Plan and to the Athens Charter.[186] He underlined the fact that architects did not need to organize a special event to condemn Soviet socialist realism, such as the association of the Yugoslav literature authors.[187]

The main technological pillar of the necessitated mass urbanization endeavor was introduced in 1957. Yugoslavia's Federal Assembly enacted the 'Rezolucija za Perspektivu Razvoja Građevinskog Sektora' ('Resolution on the Perspective for Development of the Building Sector'), which established the 'Institut za Ispitivanje Materijala-IMS' ('Institute for Testing of Materials'). The Institute launched the 'IMS' prefabricated building system technologies, paving the way for experimental brutalist architecture and innovative modular construction systems. The IMS development process was administered by the Federal Ministry of Construction and the Politburo of the Central Committee of the KPJ, revealing the priority level of city construction for the new regime.[188]

The key tenet of social equality was applied, not only to domestic but also to foreign policy, especially after the 1956 meetings that would eventually lead to the formal establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).[189] The re-consideration of Yugoslavia's political path after leaving the Cominform, combined with an increase of influences from the West, provided this new nation with an internationally unique geopolitical position through the establishment of the Non-aligned Movement foreign policy:

> **The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) functioned as a social movement in the international system, a third way between the two blocs, aiming to change the existing global structures and to create a more just, equal and peaceful world order. It was, in its essence, an anti-imperialist, anti-colonial and anti-racist movement.[190]**

[186] Krstić, Branislav. "U jugoslovenskoj arhitekturi nije bilo socrealizma" ("There was no socialist realism in Yugoslav architecture"). In: Danas. March 6th 2015.
Source: https://www.danas.rs/nedelja/u-jugoslovenskoj-arhitekturi-nije-bilo-socrealizma/
(last accessed: June 18th 2017).

[187] Krleža, Miroslav. "Presentation at the 3rd Congress of Yugoslav Writers in Ljubljana" ("Referat na III. kongresu književnikov Jugoslavije v Ljubljani") in Novi Svet. Year 7. No. 10. 1952. (translated by the author).
Note: this event became famous for the critical speech towards Soviet socialist realism by the most prominent member of the Yugoslav Association of literature authors, the writer and influential intellectual Miroslav Krleža. His position strongly influenced further distancing from the Soviet Union in Yugoslavia.

[188] Blagojević, Ljiljana. Novi Beograd: Osporeni modernizam (New Belgrade: Contested urbanism). (Belgrade: Narodna biblioteka Srbije). 2007. (translated by the author).

[189] Jakovina, Tvrtko. Treća strana Hladnog rata (The third side of the Cold War). (Zaprešić: Fraktura). 2011. (translated by the author).

[190] Singham, A.W. and Hune, Shirley. Non-Alignment in an Age of Alignments. (Zimbabwe: The College Press). 1986. p.1.

Many developing countries found themselves short of trained professionals, experienced administrators, skilled technicians, and financial resources. The NAM international cooperation networks represented an effective instrument for national capacity-building of post-liberated countries. This exclusive position as a neutral mediator between the Cold War blocs catalyzed Yugoslavia's establishment of new political alliances and economic cooperations, which allowed the country to spread its newly developed technological expertise beyond its borders. Yugoslavia's position as the only European founder country of the NAM and a mediator between the rival blocs, allowed the country to export its economic and political influence to post-colonial countries caught between the Cold War spheres of the East and the West.[191] Despite being a European country, Yugoslavia established itself as a driving force behind "South-South" cooperation programs with countries that were seeking a neutral partner with no East or West political affiliations.

Core ideals of the Yugoslav model were exported mostly to countries with colonial legacies. This export of technology but also urbanism to the post-colonial world also demonstrates the role of Yugoslavia, and with it, Sarajevo and BiH, as an 'emitter' of architectural expertise to the non-aligned post-colonial world. This shift vividly contrasts with its centuries-long role of 'receiver' of imported architecture from, among others, Byzantine, Ottoman, Venetian and Austro-Hungarian origins.

The NAM economic cooperation frameworks were enabled by the "Declaration of the Heads of Government of Non-Aligned Countries" presented at the concluding meeting on September 6th, 1961 under the presidency of Yugoslavia's leader Josip Broz Tito in Belgrade. The document was comprised of 27 articles. For this thesis, in particular, excerpts from articles 21, 22, and 23 are mostly relevant since they document aspects of economic cooperation among NAM member countries:

> **In general, they demand that the fruits of the scientific and technological revolution be applied in all fields of economic development to hasten the achievement of**

More details on Yugoslavia and its role in the NAM: Ramet, Sabrina. The Three Yugoslavias: State-Building and Legitimation: 1918–2005. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, with the Woodrow Wilson Center Press: Washington D.C.). 2006.

[191] Khan, Alim Said. The Nonaligned Movement: Achievements, Problems, Prospects. (Zagreb: Novosti Press Agency Publishing House). 1985.

international social justice. (…) The participating countries invite all the countries in the course of development to co-operate effectively in the economic and commercial field so as to face the policies of pressure in the economic sphere. (…) The recipient countries must be free to determine the use of the economic and technical assistance.[192]

The most relevant economic partners were the other two founders of NAM, India and Egypt, which offered significant opportunities for Yugoslav companies to seek solutions for urgent modernization needs in the post-colonial era.[193] (Fig. 39)

Decentralizing society and self-managing spaces

Post-1948 Yugoslavia required also a new paradigm regarding its domestic policies. The 1963 revision of the constitution renamed the country from 'Federativna Narodna Republika Jugoslavija-FNRJ' ('Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia') to 'Socijalistička Federativna Republika Jugoslavija-SFRJ' '(Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia'), underlining that socialism takes precedence over federalism. This can be interpreted as a reflection of the move towards 'humanistic socialism', and a distancing of the non-aligned Yugoslavia from the centralistic statism of the Soviet Union.[194] This constitutional change in 1963 was enacted under the slogan 'Revolucija koja teče' ('Revolution that flows constantly') revealing an intention to legitimize the ideological alterations compared to Tito's 'initial' revolution during World War II.[195]

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[192] Belgrade Declaration of the Non-Aligned Countries. Presidential Papers of John F. Kennedy. President's Office Files. Source: http://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/JFKPOF-104-004.aspx (last accessed: January 7th 2018).

[193] One of the most relevant political and economic partners, India, offered significant opportunities for Yugoslav companies to address the urgent need for modernization in the post-colonial era. The collaboration with India, one of NAM's founding members, reveals the most important Yugoslav urbanistic project on foreign soil: the master plan for New Calcutta. Its main planner Dobrivoje Tošković, formulated an ideal city model informed by a critical analysis of the three prominent new town examples: Chandigarh, Rawalpindi' and Brasilia. Tošković criticized Chandigarh's "functional division in discordance with local tradition", Rawalpindi's "rigid, arbitrary grid ignoring the topography" and Brasilia's "enormity of axes and colossal formalism".
Sources: the personal archive and Interviews (multiple) with Dobrivoje Tošković. In Belgrade. March 2013, April 2014 and April 2015.

[194] For detailed explanation see e.g. Chapters 5 and 6 (pp. 46-79) in: Wilson, Duncan. Tito's Yugoslavia. (University of Cambridge Press). 1979.

[195] Yugoslavia's governance concept, especially after the change of the Constitution in 1974, introduced a model of social self-governance that delegated more autonomy to self-managed enterprises aiming to "fulfil directly and equally their social-, economic- and self-administering rights, and decide on issues dealing with the socio-economic situation of the organization", Yugoslav Constitution from 1974. Article 14.

This Constitutional reform of 1963 and the subsequent economic reorganizations of 1964-1965 induced an escalation of unemployment rates and price hikes as the regime forced many enterprises to close down due to inefficient productivity rates.[196] Yugoslavia therefore consequently further opened to the West as the government intended to alleviate the unemployment problem by sending large parts of the workforce abroad, negotiating collective 'Gastarbeiter' ('Guest workers') contracts with Western European states.[197] Voices desiring further reforms and decentralization, including more substantial political, ethnic, cultural and economic autonomy of the Republics, received widespread support throughout the society in the mid and end of the 1960s.[198]

The spatial model encountered criticism, too, as the society, according to Vladimir Bjelkov: "failed to provide answers to the traditional 'ambiental' values in Yugoslav cities, such as the emphasis on social relationships, neighbourly relations and community organizations".[199] This was answered by the constitutional reform of 1963 when an alternative model for local governance was enacted: the empowerment of the 'Mjesne Zajednica'-MZ ('Local community'), a self-managed and self-governed territorial unit functioning under the civil law. The MZs received the right to initiate public debates in the preparation and adoption of urban regulation plans and participation in the construction of communal facilities.[200] The later constitutional reform of 1974 upgraded the MZs into an obligatory format of self-government in charge of communal activities such as: managing settlements, protection of the environment, security and defense, social self-protection, local cultural activities etc.[201]

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[196] Sirotković, Jakov. Uzroci, rezultati i perspektive privredne i društvene reforme (Causes, results and perspectives of economic and societal reform). (Šibenik: Centar za društvenu djelatnost omladine). 1970. (translated by the author).

[197] The economic reform was decided at the 8th Congress of the SKJ held at the 'House of the Syndicates' on December 7th-13th 1964. in Belgrade. For more profound insights on the Yugoslav economy in the 1960s-1980s, please see: Horvat, Branko. Jugoslavenska privreda 1965-1983: Prognoze i kritike (Yugoslav economy 1965-1983: Forecasts and critiques). 1-2. (Ljubljana and Zagreb: Cankarjeva Založba). 1984.

[198] Banac, Ivo. The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press). 1988. pp. 287–288. Note: For example, the Bosnian Muslims were recognized as an official nationality in May 1968, according to the official decision of the CK SKBiH. The 'Croatian Spring' movement was also opposed to the economic and political centralization processes, requiring more autonomy for SR Croatia. It was violently interrupted by the Yugoslav government in 1971.

[199] Bjelikov, Vladimir. "Lik našeg urbanista" ("The picture of our urbanist"). In: Arhitektura i Urbanizam. No. 14, 1962, pp. 46-47. (translated by the author).

[200] Richter, Solveig and Gavrić, Saša. "Das politische System Bosnien und Hercegovinas" ("The political system of Bosnia and Herzegovina"). In: Ismayr, Wolfgang; Richter, Solveig and Söldner, Markus (Eds.). (Die politischen Systeme Osteuropas (The political systems of Eastern Europe. (Berlin: Springer-Verlag). 2009.

[201] Pusić, Eugen. "Intentions and Realities: Local Government in Yugoslavia". In: Public Administration. No. 2. 1975. pp. 133-134.

Prominent international voices such as the French philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre, showed sympathies for the Yugoslav self-management (he called it 'autogestion'), acknowledging it as an example that avoided stat-mode of production by distancing itself from Soviet socialism. Nevertheless, in the 4th volume of 'De l'État', Lefebvre criticized the gap between the Yugoslav ideology and its spatial consequences, which resulted in a hyper-urbanization and the inability to alleviate the social and economic disparities, especially in rural areas.[202]

The entanglement of the ideological and spatial showed inseparable bonds in Yugoslavia. The post-1948 socio-political reforms could not be separated from the reforms of the urban model:

> **Urbanization and spatial planning policies are an integral part of the development policy of our society. Spatial or urban planning is basic an instrument of the socio-political community in the realization of this policy.[203]**

This criticism reached Krstić who continued his involvement in establishing and reforming policies and standards for Yugoslav architecture and urbanism. In May 1966, he established a working group of parliamentarians and experts inside the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia. The group's work resulted in a document that proved crucial for the later spatial development of Yugoslavia: 'Osnove politike urbanizma i prostornog uređenja-OPUPU' ('Basics for policies in urbanism and spatial planning').[204] The reforms were catalyzed by two crucial events in 1968:

[202] Lefevbre, Henri. De l'Etat 4: les contradictions de l'état moderne (Paris: Collection 10/18). 1978.
For a more recent detailed analysis of Lefevbre's work, please see: Merrifield, Andy. Henri Lefebvre:
A Critical Introduction (Routledge: New York). 2006.; Brenner, Neil and Elden, Stuart (Eds.). Henri Lefebvre: State, Space, World-Selected Essays (University of Minnesota Press). 2009.

[203] 'Osnove politike urbanizma i prostornog uređenja' ('Basis for policies in urbanism and spatial planning'). p. 13. Quoted from: Petrinović, Zvonko. "Urbanism and spatial planning" In: Švabić, Mihajlo (Ed.). 25 godina Građevinarstva Socijalističke Jugoslavije (25 Years of Construction in Socialist Yugoslavia). (Belgrade: Association of Civil Engineers and Technicians & Association of Architects of Yugoslavia). 1970. p. 67. (all translated by the author).
Note: This book was published on the levels of the SFRJ but also on the level of SRBiH: '25 years of Construction in Socialist Yugoslavia: 1943-1968' and '25 years of Construction in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: 1943-1968'. Written and edited by members of the respective associations, who were architects or engineers, these reviews offer a clear correlation between the construction not only of 'hard' infrastructures, but also a new socialist society.

[204] Experts from France and Switzerland advised Krstić 's working group. Martin Rotach shared the experiences about Swiss architecture and spatial planning, who was the state advisor in the Government of Switzerland and the director of the 'Institut für Orts-, Regional- und Landesplanung-ORL' ('City, Regional and Land Planning Institute') at ETH Zurich. At the end of 1963, the ETH Zurich School Board appointed Rotach as a full professor at the Chair of Transport Engineering. At the same time, Rotach took over the management of ORL at ETH Zurich,. At the end of 1971, he resigned as head of the ORL and took a two-year leave of absence from ETH Zurich to move to Bern as Federal Commissioner for Spatial Planning. In this function, he coordinated the drafting of the Swiss 'Raumplanungsgesetz-RPG' ('Swiss Federal law on spatial planning') and supported the cantons in implementing the Federal Decree on urgent measures in the field of spatial planning of 1969. In the same year, the OPUPU was ratified by the Yugoslav Federal Assembly (on March 21th).
Source: https://archiv.gta.arch.ethz.ch/nachlaesse-vorlaesse/rotach-martin (last accessed: October 5th 2017).

mass student protests and the celebration of the 25ᵗʰ anniversary of the AVNOJ promoting urban planning as one of the essential instruments to summarize and celebrate the accomplishments of the socialist system to date. The OPUPU reaffirmed both the firm bonds between politics and architecture. It promised a better society and reflected the criticisms for a more 'human' urbanism:

> **The socialist society contains basic assumptions for using scientific development and accumulated experience to provide relatively faster progress and the harmonious development of the territory and human life. (…) The unity of politics, planning, and action (…) is way to steer spontaneous urbanization processes (…) towards a planned development of settlements and cities, as well as to provide a more rational and human conception for spatial planning.[205]**

Despite the promises to humanize Yugoslav urbanism, it did not formalize the decrease in the pace of urbanization but, on the contrary, revealed megalomaniac announcements for the future development and urbanization. The chosen vocabulary (for example 'half a millennium') clearly indicates an intent to outweigh the Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian and other colonial remnants of urban heritage:

> **In accordance with the general trends (…), radical changes will be made. We can assume that, in the next half of the century, the urban population of Yugoslavia will almost triple and cities will take four times the surface they take today. We will need to build many apartments, factories, schools, roads, water and energy systems. We can say that in terms of volume and significance of spatial planning, more will be done on our soil than in the last half a millennium.[206]**

New Sarajevo: The planning of a post-colonial city

The Yugoslav model opened perspectives for the economic and cultural development of Sarajevo. The city became the center of the People's Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina,[207] which was now no longer just a province but one of the

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[205] Osnove politike urbanizma i prostornog uređenja (Basis for policies in urbanism and spatial planning). (Belgrade: Library of the Federal Assembly). 1969. p. 43. (translated by the author).
Note: The working group developed a codex that supported the primary policy document: 'Kodeks zakondavne materije prostornog uređenja, čovjekove sredine i urbanizma' ('Codex of the legal matter of spatial management, human environment and urbanism').

[206] Osnove politike urbanizma i prostornog uređenja (Basis for policies in urbanism and spatial planning). (Belgrade: Library of the Federal Assembly). 1969. p. 13. (translated by the author).

[207] The People's Republic of BiH ('Narodna Republika BiH') was renamed into 'Socialist Republic of BiH' with the 1963 constitutional reform.

equal republics in the new Federation. The mega-project to build the socialist utopia would radically transform the physical and societal realities of Sarajevo:

> **Construction modified the character, and partly the earlier geographical appearance of environments, towns, settlements, as well of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a whole. These [architectural] objects have enabled the realization of an increase in production, transport, and services, as well as an increase in societal and living standards of working people.** [208]

The new social relations, economic structures, and forms of government were about to turn Sarajevo not only into the future administrative and political center but also into the cultural, educational and industrial hub. The capital of the post-Ottoman and post-Austro-Hungarian colonial province was symbolically upgraded into the capital of the 'Narodna Republika BiH-NR BiH' ('People's Republic of BiH'), one of Yugoslavia's most underdeveloped and ethnically and culturally diverse regions. Sarajevo became a hotspot to showcase symbolic transformations following the doctrines of Tito's revolution. Strategic urban development, based on analyzing local potentials and resources, was about to succeed the ad-hoc and colonial city-building of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian epochs. The urban heritage of Sarajevo, together with its cultural, and religious remnants influenced by geopolitics, was about to take a 'U-turn' the into an egalitarian city for the self-managing, proletarian 'Jugosloven'. Geographically, after centuries being the in-between land at the periphery, Sarajevo suddenly experienced a new role, located in the geographic center of Yugoslavia. (Fig. 39) Urbanization was perceived as a tool for the rapid modernization through 'socialist transformation' of the society, leaving the historical 'backwardness' behind:

> **The Yugoslav federation consists of different historical fates. (…). The process of rapidly putting Yugoslavia on a higher economic and cultural level, will provide a substantial boost to urbanization in general, and require the emergence of large economic and cultural centers for several regions of the country. (…) National and religious diversity of the population, the role of religion, the position of women, and especially of Muslim ones, illiteracy, backwardness and poor economic ties with other parts of Yugoslavia. The policy of removing these traces of the past and the discrepancy they brought, will create a new perspective for the development of Sarajevo (…). The rapid development that Sarajevo has experienced in recent years**

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[208] "Razvoj građevinarstva u BiH" ("The development of the construction industry in BiH"). In: Trumić, Aleksandar. 25 years of Construction in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: 1943-1968 (Sarajevo: The Association of Engineers and Technicians of BiH). 1969. pp. 26-27.

is no coincidence. On the contrary, this is a normal and legitimate phenomenon, affected by the revolutionary transformation of all areas of social life. Modern large cities are created, and the development of a city is at a much faster and turbulent level if the general development later began. And the modern big city does not arise in the backward environment, it is a city among the cities and it is characterized by the typical socialist transformation of our entire country, and especially of Bosnia and Herzegovina.[209]

The city was under pressure to absorb the vast number of incoming migrants and create a new hub for both NR BiH and the central geographic region of Yugoslavia but the necessary institutions to plan the new city needed to be established first. In 1945, a small Urban Planning Department was inaugurated within the NR BiH's Ministry of Construction, engaging mostly in urgent post-World War II reconstruction tasks.[210]

This Department presented the first Urban Plan for Sarajevo already in 1946.[211] Due to the lack of local expertise, the team included in-house experts and invited architects and planners from Zagreb and Belgrade and the East Bloc, mostly Czechoslovakia.[212] Due to the lack of legal mechanisms and expertise, the Ministry forwarded the further revision of the Urban Plan to the 'Urbanistička Služba Grada Sarajeva' ('Urban Planning Office of the City of Sarajevo') 1947.[213] The revision of the Urban Plan received a (geo)political dimensions, as it was heavily criticized for its

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[209] Program za Generalni Urbanistički Plan (Program for the General Urbanistic Plan). Urbanistički Zavod Grada Sarajeva. (Institute of Urbanism of the City of Sarajevo). 1961. pp. 5, 6, 8, 11. (translated by the author).

[210] "Urbanism and spatial planning". in: Trumić, Aleksandar. 25 years of Construction in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: 1943-1968. (Sarajevo: The Association of Engineers and Technicians of BiH). 1969. p. 88. (translated by the author).
Note: Already in 1946-47, the Urban Planning Department left the Ministry of Construction and went under auspices of the Republic's Planning Agency.

[211] Several sources mention the year 1948 instead of 1946. The reason is most probably the different version of the Urban Plan, which was constantly under discussion. Moreover, the changing legal frameworks and re-arrangement of institutional frameworks in the, still young, socialist Yugoslavia.
Please see for example: Program: Gradsko Područje Marijin Dvor Sarajevo (Program: Urban Area Marijin Dvor Sarajevo). Zavod za Prostorno i Urbanističko Planiranje i Programiranje Sarajevo (Institute for Spatial and Urban Planning and Programming Sarajevo. 1977.

[212] Generalni Urbanistički Plan (General Urbanistic Plan). Zavod za Urbanizam Grada Sarajeva. (Institute of Urban planning of the City of Sarajevo). 1961. pp. 11, 27, 115. (translated by the author).
Note: The team of Czechoslovak architects and engineers led by Bedřich Hacar designed the Sarajevo Central Railway Station in 1946 following the socialist realist style. After the deterioration of the relationships between Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia due to the Tito-Stalin schism in 1948, the foreign experts fled Sarajevo. Yugoslav architect Bogdan Stojkov finished the building but adapted the designs to the new societal and spatial paradigm.

[213] The Office was under the auspices of the NR BiH's 'Ministarstvo Komunalnih Poslova i Lokalne Industrije' ('Ministry of Communal Affairs and Local Industry'). In 1954 the Office was renamed into the 'Urbanistički Zavod Grada Sarajeva' ('Urban Planning Institute of the City of Sarajevo'). This coincides with the propagation of self-management principles that included the reform of Urban Planning Institutes that became a 'Složene organizacije udruženog rada- S.O.U.R.' ('Complex Organizations of Affiliated Work'), leaving the operation of the public sector but were bound to generate income through direct commissions of, e.g. communal governments.
Fore details, please see: Platforma 9.81. "Technologies of Urban Planning Policies". In: Mrduljaš, Maroje and Kulić, Vladimir. Unfinished Modernisations: Between Utopia and Pragmatism (Zagreb: Croatian Architects' Association) 2012. p. 181.

monumental urbanistic composition and stylistic elements reminding of Soviet socialist realism. (Fig. 40) The most emblematic example was the monumental diagonal axis connecting the Central Railway Station with the core of the Austro-Hungarian parts of Marijin Dvor. This abandonment served as testaments to the dynamic pace of societal changes of post-1948 Yugoslavia, which left marks on its architecture and urbanism:

> **In the new societal framework (…) the identity of architectural modernism had to be re-invented, in a way to take on the newly acquired representative role of socialist architecture. Of course, this had to be done in this way so the new role clearly depicts the specificity of the Yugoslav political and an ideological project in relation to the rest of the socialist-communist world.[214]**

However, despite its political contamination and the lacking scientific basis (surveys, detailed spatial analysis, economic studyd accompanying cartographies, it was never officially adopted but remained partly in use until 1955, as it was the only urbanistic document devoted to the development of the city of Sarajevo. The post-1948 decentralization processes also arrived in the Urban Planning Department of NR BiH, which forwarded the task to create a new Urban Plan to the City of Sarajevo to the city government's 'Narodno Vijeće' ('People's Council'). Due to the scarce human resources and prior expertise, it was only in 1952 and in the beginning of 1953 that a multidisciplinary team was selected to create the new Urban Plan.[215] The economic section of the study for the new Urban Plan experienced major delays, initially expected in 1954, but was ultimately completed only in 1960. In the meantime, the ambition of Yugoslav nation-building in its literal sense necessitated strategic large-scale urban policies and planning mechanisms. Therefore, the 'Zakon o Urbanističkom Planu' ('Law on the Urban Plan') of 1959 introduced that Urban Plans become the mandatory urban planning mechanism for construction and design of future cities in Yugoslavia. Its official description reveals its importance in the mission to build a new society:

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[214] Blagojević, Ljiljana. Novi Beograd: Osporeni modernizam (New Belgrade: The contested urbanism). (Belgrade: Zavod za udžbenike). 2007. p. 88. (translated by the author).

[215] Program za Generalni Urbanistički Plan (Program for the General Urbanistic Plan). Urbanistički Zavod Grada Sarajeva (Institute of Urbanism of the City of Sarajevo). 1961. Sections III - V. (translated by the author).

The urban plan regulates the way of construction, reconstruction and sanation of settlements and environments and directs their urban development within the perspectives of socio-economic development (...) to create a functional, economical and harmonious urbanistic unities that provide favorable conditions for the lives and work of people.[216]

This law accelerated the pace of work. The 'Generalni Urbanistički Plan-GUP' ('General Urbanistic Plan') was completed after an intensive working period between November 1960 and March 1961, under the leadership of Zdravko Kovačević. The GUP, fully ratified only in 1965, represented both legally and spatially, the most instrument for the future construction and strategic organization of territory, claiming to replace the haphazard urban development of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian periods:

The general situation in which the state found itself after the expulsion of the occupiers were burned settlements, destroyed communications, the lack of organized economy, and economic and cultural backwardness. (…). Adding to this is the fact that a city that has been built (…) in a haphazard way, and with a weak and obsolete construction and communal fund, becoming also a permanent residence of a very large number of inhabitants (which is a normal consequence of the new function of the city), and then only gradually and systematically appropriate steps towards the proper organization of the city territory.[217]

The official period of validity for the GUP was the period 1965-1985 (Fig. 41). The GUP predicted that the number of inhabitants would almost triple to 335 000. The territory of the GUP was 130 km², almost a tenfold of the existing urban footprint of the Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian and the early modernist city at the end of World War II. (Fig. 42)

The GUP followed modernist principles that foresaw the longitudinal development following a westward expansion due to the topographic limitations, which was initiated in the Austro-Hungarian period:

After a comprehensive study of natural conditions, the Sarajevo basin provides for accommodation of basic activities for people: housing, labor, and recreation. After the versatile examination of material, cultural and aesthetic values of our predecessors, and based on defined and balanced needs and possibilities, the

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[216] "Urbanism and spatial planning". in: Trumić, Aleksandar. 25 years of Construction in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: 1943-1968. (Sarajevo: The Association of Engineers and Technicians of BiH). 1969. p. 89. (translated by the author).

[217] Ibid. p.114.

General Urbanistic plan fixed a territory on which the city will be developed. According to this method, there was a conclusion that the city should be expanded westwards.[218]

This westward extension of the city was the definitive birth of New Sarajevo. The GUP revealed the typical modernist functional division: the Miljacka valley was devoted to residential construction. The plan designated the suburban Bosna and Vogošća valleys for future industrial zones, and the satellite town Ilidža for recreation:

To organize the city and to achieve purposeful basic urban functions: housing, work, recreation, traffic, the whole city territory was zoned according to exact these land use categories. In this case, modernist principles of spatial organization were applied.[219]

From the traffic planning point of view, the GUP gridded the Sarajevo valley according to transversal and longitudinal roads. (Fig. 43) It foresaw tunnel connections to satellite settlements that were topographically divided from the main Miljacka valley.

As Sarajevo began its transformation into the Republic's hub, the GUP laid the groundwork for accelerating the city's economic, social and cultural development. (Fig. 44) Moreover, it was the basis of integrated and science-based urban planning that laid the ground for the development of future urbanistic plans.

Marijin Dvor: Carpet City between old and new

Special attention of the future planning of Sarajevo was put on creating the new center for the city, Marijin Dvor. Its geographic position, as a buffer zone in-between the Old Town and the future modernist extension New Sarajevo:

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[218] Generalni Urbanistički Plan Sarajeva (General Urbanistic Plan for Sarajevo). In: ARH-Časopis društva arhitekata Sarajeva. (ARH-The Journal of the Association of Sarajevo's Architects). No. 2-3. Year 1. 1963. p. 4-5. (translated by the author). No. 2-3. 1961. pp. 4-5. (translated by the author).

[219] Ibid.

The main city center will be located Marijin Dvor, in-between the old and the new town. This center contains, besides the contents of the rayon to which it belongs to, mainly institutions that are of importance for the city and the republic.[220]

Marijin Dvor's importance as a political project and its centrality make it the most valuable case study to understand the large-scale urban design and planning efforts in socialist Sarajevo. (Fig. 45) The urban design competition for the core of New Sarajevo, the Marijin Dvor district as the Republic's capital was of particular significance to provide physical contours and programmatic proposals for the future cultural, political and economic hub.

A Yugoslavia-wide public urban design competition was announced in October 1954. The competition was won by the former collaborator of Peter Behrens and Le Corbusier, Juraj Neidhardt, and his team (announced in March 1955). The jury was convinced by Neidhardt's urban design that incorporated Marijin Dvor into the wider urban fabric, but also included the historic reflection of Sarajevo's specific periods of urban development.[221] Neidhardt was aware of the complexity of the jury conditions that required programs such as: administration and government, housing and public facilities (museums, universities etc.):

It rarely happens that such an extensive urban zone, as the one under discussion, has not been developed. Consequently, the task facing the architect is a rather complex one as ideological, socio-political, urban, architectural, economic, psychological, and some other aspects of the problem will have to be considered before its final solution can be attempted.[222]

His design-thinking included an awareness of the sensitivities of the cultural, environmental and spatial context:

In the time of the urbanization of Marijin Dvor, the basic benchmark for volume and alignment (…) is the National Museum (…) and the Technical High School, a typical

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[220] Ibid. p. 20.

[221] The Urban Planning Institute of the City of Sarajevo, whose members are rotating and being selected by a pool of acknowledged experts has had different views regarding the development of the city and the style of construction. This was reflected in the frequent modification of programs for the same areas, where the Marijin Dvor district was an example of this exaggerated experimentation. The adopted solutions were again given to the competition by the new program or entrusted with other personalities. This has still until nowadays an impact on the heterogeneity of the physiognomy of Marijin Dvor.
Source: Kapetanović-Karlić, Jelica. Juraj Neidhardt: Život i djelo (Juraj Neidhardt: Life and work). (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša). 1990. p. 181. (translated by the author).

[222] Neidhardt, Juraj and Čelić, Džemal. "The Solution for Marijin Dvor and the People's Assembly". In: Bešlagić, Šefik (Ed.). Naše Starine: Godišnjak Zemaljskog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti Narodne Republike BiH (Our Antiquities: Yearbook of the National Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments and of the People's Republic of BiH). Issue III. (Sarajevo: National Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities of BiH). 1956. pp. 95-97. (translated by the author).

example of older construction and the only significant volume. The third more valuable object in this triangle is the new building of the railway station.[223]

Nevertheless, Neidhardt proposed a typical modernist urban design scheme. He acknowledged Marijin Dvor's intended polyfunctionality that required administrative, commercial and cultural facilities. His 1955 design was upgraded several times. The common denominator, the modernist concept, was inherent for all the version of the plan: multiple programs placed into a dense fabric of free-standing buildings, consisting of compact sets of horizontal and vertical slabs, floating inside vast green areas. (Fig. 46) Neidhardt avoided monumental axes, except for green corridors that connected Marijin Dvor with the natural environments of the 'Crni Vrh' and 'Hum' hills on the north and the Trebević mountain on the south. (Fig 47) These diagonal green corridors were meeting at the new central square he placed next to the new Parliament Building of NR/SR BiH. The housing, commerce and administrative skyscrapers, which were supposed to be built should peripherally, in his words "follow the visual funnel as well."[224]

He called his concept 'Carpet city', (Fig. 48) reflecting his intent to integrate the future multi-functional nucleus in both longitudinal directions into the morphologies of Čaršija and New Sarajevo on the large scale - through simulating the centuries-long bird view of Sarajevo:

Sarajevo with its 130 000 inhabitants is growing gradually into a quarter of a million city (…) that would be as adaptable as possible so it would not be left to discontinuity and anarchy in the future. (…) In the old part of the city remains the open question of the Čaršija, that is full of caverns and in an advanced stage of decay. (…) Parallel to this issue the construction of old Sarajevo is also a question the construction of New Sarajevo, and especially the complex of Marijin Dvor area that is situated longitudinally, between the old and the new Sarajevo.[225] **Marijin Dvor, as a counterbalance to the Čaršija as a cultural hotspot of the Republic in old Sarajevo, becomes the administrative-political, social and cultural center of the city, and the manifestational center of all societal events.**[226] **(…) Thus, the city (from the aerial**

[223] Neidhardt, Juraj. "Grad ćilim" ("Carpet city"). In: Književne Novine. No. 5-6, May 1-15th 1955. pp. 3-11.
Quoted from: Kapetanović-Karlić, Jelica. Juraj Neidhardt: Život i djelo (Juraj Neidhardt: Life and work). (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša). 1990. pp. 171-172. (translated by the author).

[224] "Studija lokacije spomenika Bratstva i Jedinstva u arhitektonsko-urbanističkom kompleksu Marindvora" ("Study of the location for the monument of Brotherhood and Unity in the architectural and urbanistic complex of Marijin Dvor"). Interna publikacija Juraja Neidhardta. (Internal publication of Juraj Neidhardt). Sarajevo, September 1965 (see VII//95).
Quoted from: Kapetanović-Karlić, Jelica. Juraj Neidhardt-Život i djelo (Juraj Neidhardt-Life and work). (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša). 1990. p. 181. (translated by the author).

[225] Grabrijan, Dušan and Neidhardt, Juraj. Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine i Put u Suvremeno (Architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its path towards Modernity). (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije). 1957. p. 423.

[226] Ibid.

view), becomes a city-carpet. With such understandings I approached the creation of conceptual designs in this competition. Marijin Dvor represents a unique, a lucky case, considering the fact that it, in the very center, the heart of the city (…) such an underused space has been found. It would be an epochal detriment to overdensify this part of the city with buildings. (…) In the area from the Electric Power Station to the end of the Military Camp, a new dominant city district should be built, where the Parliament building takes a central role, together with a large open space for manifestations.[227]

Neidhardt strongly opposed the perimeter block development of the Austro-Hungarian rule: "We left behind the 19th century and its Austro-Hungarian architecture of closed perimeter blocks. Today every object needs to be solved individually, without a schematic approach".[228] On the contrary, he praised the architectural shapes of BiH's Ottoman architectural heritage and included it into his concept of Bosnia's contribution to international modernism:

We are creating a new discipline that needs to include the positive values of the heritage of our domestic architecture and urbanism, built up by the most modern constructive achievements. This is about the synthesis of the emotional factors of the East, and the constructive ones of the West (…) And that is why we protest when Roman and American proportions are entirely unnecessarily imported into our subtle urban environments, increasingly pushing out the tame, the pleasant native proportions, induced by the oriental influence, which could readily be itself identified as humane, people's proportions.[229]

This competition was of superior importance for Neidhardt as he aimed, not only to develop a plan for Marijin Dvor, but also to include a theoretical dimension through publishing a series of articles. In the article "Solution for Marijin Dvor and the People's Assembly", Neidhardt wrote together with his assistant Džemal Čelić, he advocated for socialist 'written', instead of past 'unwritten' city-building rules, opened questions about the integration of ancient ethics of (mostly Ottoman) urbanism into the modernist doctrine:

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[227] Neidhardt, Juraj. "Grad ćilim" ("Carpet city"), In: Književne novine. No. 5-6, May 1-15th 1955. pp. 3-11.
Source: Kapetanović-Karlić, Jelica. Juraj Neidhardt: Život i djelo (Juraj Neidhardt: Life and work). (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša). 1990. pp. 172, 174, 181. (translated by the author).

[228] Neidhardt, Juraj. "Grad ćilim" ("Carpet city"), In: Književne novine. No. 5-6, May 1-15th 1955. pp. 3-11. (translated by the author).
Source: Source: Kapetanović-Karlić, Jelica. Juraj Neidhardt: Život i djelo (Juraj Neidhardt: Life and work). (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša). 1990. p. 172. (translated by the author).

[229] Neidhardt, Juraj and Čelić, Džemal. "The Solution for Marijin Dvor and the People's Assembly". In: Bešlagić, Šefik (Ed.). Naše Starine: Godišnjak Zemaljskog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti Narodne Republike BiH (Our Antiquities: Yearbook of the National Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments and of the People's Republic of BiH). Issue III. (Sarajevo: National Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities of BiH). 1956. pp. 95-97; Neidhardt, Juraj. "Gradski centar i njegov ambijent" ("The city center and its ambience"). In: Arhitektura i Urbanizam. No. 63 (1970). p.36. (both translated by the author).

Nowadays, in the socialist period, unwritten laws will be replaced by written laws. Unconscious will turn into conscious, closed blocks into open, individual yards into collective English parks, etc. We are building new parts of the city and at the same time asking ourselves, to which principles to build them? What old principles do we follow, which one to transform and which new to redeem? It is known that the city of Sarajevo was built according to ethical principles that are eternal. The measurement of man: the right to a view, the neighborhood cult, etc. (…) The basis of the urban concept should be the playfulness of building masses, and not the overdominant approach like seen in the U.S.[230]

Neidhardt did not advocate for historicism, but rather a new architecture, wrought with traditional values, which could contribute to the global modernist discourse coming close to concepts of 'critical regionalism':[231]

We are in the transition of capitalism into socialism, and we perceive it necessary to build new things by applying old principles. But we are also clearly convinced that the day is not far when man will demand an entirely new architecture, which will be a mirror, as it were, of socialism. It is true that the technology will sooner or later master climate, as well as continents, and architecture will have to draw upon the experiences of many peoples. Therefore Bosnia, too, must contribute with its experiences, to making of a new architecture.[232]

Juraj Neidhardt positioned himself as a staunch opponent of what he called the 'American style' of architecture and urbanism in Sarajevo. To him, this type of architecture was an expression of a different value set: economic power, market law, acquiring land, and the use of rents in the city so that the maximum level of vertical construction could be achieved, in which superior technology and materialization dominated (striking façades, interiors design with modern achievements, technological solutions, among others. This approach brought much criticism of the new generation of architects, such as Ivan Štraus:

On the contrary, for architects of complementary views of architecture and investors-representatives of the local economic power, this 'image' of the world perceived as metropolitan, expressive, striking, with the application of new superior materials in processing, unusually attracted more and more followers among younger generations. In the survey on the work of Juraj Neidhardt, Sarajevo's architect Ivan Štraus who later build the Holiday Inn Hotel and the UNIS Twin Towers, answered to

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[230] Ibid.

[231] For further reading on critical regionalism, please see Frampton, Kenneth. "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance". In: Hal, Foster (Ed.). Postmodern Culture. (London: Pluto Press). 1983. pp.16-30.

[232] Grabrijan, Dušan, Neidhardt, Juraj. Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine i Put u Suvremeno (Architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its path towards modernity). (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije). 1957. p.17.

the question: "What has bothered you in professional terms with regarding Juraj Neidhardt?" listed, among other things: "(...) the complete neglect of trends in the world. He supported the epigones of his own manners". [233]

Neidhardt's urban design for Marijin Dvor from 1955, although it had suffered various changes and amendments, contributed to the process of treating the Marijin Dvor area in a more contextual and integrated way and constituted the primary basis for its future planning.[234] (Fig. 49) Although none of the plans was completely realized, Marijin Dvor experienced a construction boom in the 1960s and 1970s. (Fig. 50)

It catalyzed the construction of the first wave of modernist structures in the wider area of Marijin Dvor: the Faculty of Philosophy designed by Neidhardt (built in 1959), the brutalist sport-cultural center Skenderija designed by Živorad Janković and Halid Muhasilović (Fig. 51) and the Museum of Revolution designed by Magaš, Šmidihen and Horvat (built in 1963). The Museum most vividly exemplifies the correlation between politics and architecture and, therefore, deserves special attention.

People's Revolution inside the Museum

Yugoslavia's partisan fight during World War II was one of the most important ideological pillars of the new society. The relation of political indoctrination and architecture is visible from the case study of the 'Muzej Narodne Revolucije' ('Museum of the People's Revolution'). The Museum therefore represents one the

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[233] Source: Kapetanović-Karlić, Jelica. Juraj Neidhardt - Život i djelo (Juraj Neidhardt - Life and work). (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša). 1990. p. 183. (translated by the author).

[234] Note: Between 1959 and 1960, the commission of the City's Urban Planning Institute, in response to further developing Neidhardt's plan from 1955, confirmed Marijin Dvor's status as the future administrative, political, educational and cultural center of the city. As a functional addendum, the requirements for the built floor space were increased in order to add new economic, cultural and other public functions to improve the urban liveliness and multifunctionality of uses. On 26th November 1959, before announcing the invited competition and selecting the five invited designers, who were supposed to work on the competition to upgrade Neidhardt's original plan in terms of upgrading Marijin Dvor into a multi-functional new city center, the Institute expanded the area beyond the core Marijin Dvor district believing that the task must be treated on a larger scale including a detailed mobility study. The Institute envisaged to launch an invited competition inviting five separate teams. Probably due to financial reasons, the task was again assigned to Neidhardt. On June 23rd 1960, the Urban Planning Expert Council of Sarajevo represented conclusions proposed by the City Council to adopt the Neidhardt solution of 1960. In 1967, the Urbanistic Institute of the city engaged with Neidhardt again and initiated the development of the urban design according to the adopted decisions of the city, but without a special program, resulting in these activities receiving the status of consultancy surveys.

most pertinent physical and programmatic embodiment of Tito's revolution, serving to inject political ideology into the public, or, as argued by Otašević and Kojović: "The political purpose the role of museum was precisely as a means of mass agitation".[235]

Exhibitions staged in the Museum are a special type of educational activity. (…) [Schools] visit the Museum and its exhibitions, lectures, documentary films projections, get-togethers with participants of the People's Liberation War, organizing of recitals and concerts on the museum premises etc. The Museum organized a quiz-show for students with the theme "The Paths of Tito's Revolution" and a prize-winning art competition for primary school children, their task being the illustration work with a theme from the war and the revolution. Their work was later exhibited in the museum. The museum cooperates with the Yugoslav National Army, organizing group visits to the museum and lectures.[236]

Logically, Marijin Dvor was designated as the location of the Museum, taking a symbolic place in the center of the new republic capital. [237]

We suggest that the monument of the National Liberation War with the People's Revolution Museum to be placed in a visual continuation of the boulevard on the left bank of Miljacka river. This suggestion has been ventured for several reasons but first of all, because it would be desirable to direct the boulevard towards a striking architectural achievement.[238]

The Yugoslav-wide national competition for building the Museum was won by architects Boris Magaš, Edo Šmidihen and Radovan Horvat in 1958.[239] The mobilization and transfer of knowledge across Yugoslavia was enabled mainly through Yugoslav-wide competitions. In this case, all three authors came from

[235] Otašević, Dušan and Kojović, Dušan. Muzeji novije istorije, Sarajevo: Muzej revolucije Bosne i Hercegovine, memorijalni muzeji i nacionalni parkovi Bosne i Hercegovine (Museums of recent history, Sarajevo: Museum of the Revolution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, memorial museums and national parks of Bosnia and Herzegovina). 1987. p. 153. (translated by the author).

[236] Kalezić, Vesna. Vaspitno-obrazovni rad u Muzeju revolucije BiH (Educational work at the Museum of the Revolution of BiH). In: Informatica museologica. 19:3-4. 1988. pp. 102-104. (translated by the author).

[237] Across Yugoslavia, numerous Museums of Revolutions emerged: 'Muzej Ljudske Revolucije' ('People's Revolution Museum') of Slovenia was founded in 1948, firstly under the name of 'Muzej Narodne Osvoboditve' ('People's Liberation Museum'); 'Muzej Revolucije Naroda Hrvatske' ('Museum of the Croatian People's Revolution') in Zagreb was established in 1945; 'Muzej Narodne Revolucije' in Split in 1957; 'Muzej Narodne Revolucije BiH' was first established as 'Muzej Narodnog Oslobođenja' ('Museum of the People's Liberation') in 1945.
Note: The institution of the Museum dated from 1945, which gave the Museum its original name 'Museum of National Liberation'. It was hosted by the ethnographic department of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1950, it was renamed Museum of the People's Revolution of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1956, it was transported to Sarajevo's City Hall where it stayed until 1963 when it was moved to the new building.

[238] Grabrijan, Dušan and Neidhardt, Juraj. Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine i Put u Suvremeno (Architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its path towards Modernity). (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije). 1957. p. 423.

[239] Unlike the winning proposal in the competition for the Museum, the Štraus group received the 3rd prize with a pavilion-like structure with internal atrium and underlining of its horizontality. The proposal of the architect Jahiel Finci and the Knežević group proposals are both based on a comparable roof design where the main volume dominated the geometrical rectangular base, with an interior atrium, put on a different elevation compared to the ground floor.
Please see more: Arhiv Jugoslavije (Archive of Yugoslavia), 477/F19 (1961): "Natečaj za idejno rješenje zgrade Muzeja revolucije naroda Jugoslavije" ("Competition for the conceptual design of the building of Yugoslav People's Museum of Revolution"); Turina, Vladimir. Muzej Revolucije u Sarajevu (Museum of the Revolution in Sarajevo). in: Arhitektura. Year XVI, No. 5-6. 1962. p.16. (both translated by the author).

Zagreb.[240] All three authors were 28 years old at the time they won the competition. The already established Neven Šegvić and Vladimir Turina stressed the importance of the new generation of Yugoslav modernist architects:

The fact that the first prize went to young creators, young and 'unknown' team, confirms that it was necessary to think about how to offer to young architects an opportunity for their self-development. [241] (…) Young people have achieved everything that today we qualify as modern architecture and modern expression.[242]

The architects received the annual 'Viktor Kovačić' Prize, for making "an indisputable contribution to the development of the Yugoslav contemporary architecture".[243] The success with the Museum opened doors for Boris Magaš to become one of the most important Yugoslav architects nationally and abroad. [244]

The winning design of Magaš, Šmidihen and Horvat envisaged a building that consisted of a basement (with an inner garden 48.00x15.70 m), with a high ceiling ground floor, and one upper floor, built following the unified modular raster of the size of 1.335 m. The composition was comprised of two main elements. A raised plinth with a cubic box, cladded by marble plates on top. The two elements were divided by a transparent parallelepiped of 69.50x9.08 m, a corridor that moves in between different volumes; and extending beyond their corners.[245] The element on the top – A skeleton system with nine bearing steel piers was erected, on which an enclosed cuboid form sits measuring 27.85x27.58 m. (Fig. 52) The upper floor hosts

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[240] For more readings about the Zagreb Architecture School, please see e.g.: Žunić, Alen "Zagrebačka škola arhitekture" ("Zagreb Architecture School"). In: Vijenac: Novine Matice hrvatske za književnost, umjetnost i znanost, XXII. 538:22-22. 2014.; Šegvić, Neven. "Prilozi za definiranje pojma zagrebačka arhitektonska škola" ("Contributions to the definition of the concept of the Zagreb Architectural School"). In: Arhitektura. 1-4/200-203. 1987. pp.12-20; Šegvić-Šimetin, Nikolina. "Kulturni, socijalni i intelektualni aspekti zagrebačke arhitekture moderne: ozdravljenje budućnosti" ("Cultural, Social and Intellectual Aspects of Zagreb's Modern Architecture: Healing the Future"). In: Radovi - Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Izvorni znanstveni rad. Vol. 44, Zagreb 2012. pp. 303-345. (translated by the author).

[241] Šegvić, Neven. "Uz natječaj za muzej Narodne revolucije u Sarajevu" ("With the competition for the Museum of the People's Revolution in Sarajevo"). In: Čovjek i prostor. Nr. 80-81 (1958). p. 11. (translated by the author).

[242] Turina, Vladimir. "Muzej revolucije u Sarajevu" ("Museum of the Revolution in Sarajevo"). In: Arhitektura. Year XVI, 5-6, 1962, p. 16. (translated by the author).

[243] The annual "Viktor Kovačić" Prize has been in existence since 1959 and is awarded as a Lifetime Achievement Award, as well as for the best architectural realization in the current year by the Croatian Association of Architects.

[244] A more detailed description of the opus of Magaš, please see e.g.: Kahle, Darko. "Utjecaj Studija Arhitekture Na Arhitektonskom Odjelu Tehničkog Fakulteta u Zagrebu na Stvaralački Opusa Akademika Borisa Magaša" ("The Impact of Studying Architecture at The University of Zagreb, School of Technology, Department of Architecture upon the Oeuvre of the Academy Member Architect Boris Magaš"). Conference: Znanstveni simpozij o arhitekturi Borisa Magaša, in Karlovac, Republic of Croatia. October 2014. pp. 113-118.; Šerman, Karin. "Boris Magaš and the Emergence of Postmodernist Themes in the Croatian Modernist Tradition". in Re-Framing Identities Architecture's Turn to History, 1970-1990, by Moravánszky, Ákos and Lange, Torsten (Eds.). (Basel: Birkhäuser). 2017. pp. 191-206; Kuptermann, Udo. Zeitgenössische Architektur in Osteuropa, (Köln: DuMont Buchverlag). 1985. pp. 210-214.

[245] Internal documentation of the Historical Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Field research April-May 2016.

the main exhibition space, with the upper volume featuring skylights. It possesses a large cantilever, which blocks the direct light from entering the transparent middle section. Another section of the building lying east-west, has the dimensions 16.38x10.60 m.[246] The façade was intended to be aluminum-plated but this option was canceled, potentially because of technical problems and cost efficiency. Alternatively, white stone was used.[247] (Fig. 53) The design for the Museum, was most likely influenced by the 'Eksperimentalni Atelje '51-EXAT' ('Experimental Atelier'). EXAT '51 was a multidisciplinary group of avant-garde artists and architects founded in 1951.[248] EXAT '51's manifesto reveals that it advocated for an experimental synthesis of visual arts, sculpture, and architecture and its application in the 'real world', finding a fertile context in the political and aesthetic reconsideration processes in post-1948 Yugoslavia.[249] With its abstract cubist and proto-structuralist modernist forms, the Museum represents an architectural crystallization point of the abandonment of socialist realism:

> **Modern aesthetics and socialist society were synonymous [creating] a powerful identification of modernism and state representation in Yugoslavia. (…) This convergence of socialism and modernism became almost official in the 1950s and 1960s and it was mutually beneficial for both the architects and the state: the architects acquired autonomy to build what was considered contemporary, while the state got visual signifiers that clearly set it apart from the Eastern Bloc.[250]**

The neoplastic composition of the Museum was composed of several construction boxes, both transparent and opaque postulated, which the BiH designer and

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[246] ibid.

[247] In addition to the architectural language, the interior details were instrumentalized to tell about the historical narrative of Bosnia and Herzegovina's 'revolutionary struggle for freedom' such as the 'Death to Fascism, Freedom to People' mural by Vojo Dimitrijević, or the mosaic 'Bosna' by Mladen Srbinović. It shows World War II only as one step in a continuous loop of battles for freedom. The mosaic serves as a visual explanation of the complex history of the country that was explained in the introductory chapter of this dissertation

[248] Significant members were: Božidar Rašica, Vjenceslav Richter, Vladimir Zarahović, Aleksandar Srnec, Zvonko Radić, Ivan Picelj, Bernardo Bernardi and Zdravko Bregovac.

[249] Note: Translation of the EXAT manifesto can be found in: Đurić, Dubravka and Šuvaković, Miško. Impossible Histories: Historic Avant-Gardes, Neo-Avant-Gardes, and Post-Avant-Gardes in Yugoslavia, 1918–1991 (MIT Press). 2003. p. 539.
For more on EXAX '51, please see:
Hrastar, Tihana. "Izdvajanje postotka graditeljskih investicija za umjetničke intervencije: Inicijative i propisi druge polovice 20. stoljeća" ("Percent for Art in Building Investment Projects Initiatives and Ordinances in the Second Half of the 20th Century in Croatia and Worldwide"). In: Prostor: Znanstveni časopis za arhitekturu i urbanizam. Vol. 26 No. 1.. 2018. pp. 68-81.; Drosos, Nikolas. "Building Together: Construction Sites in a Divided Europe During the 1950s". In: Moravánszky, Ákos and Hopfengärtner Judith (Eds.). Re-Humanizing Architecture New Forms of Community, 1950-1970. pp.115-128.

[250] Vöckler, Kai. "Yugoslavia and beyond: From modern architecture to current practices – A conversation between Vladimir Kulić and Maroje Mrduljaš". In: Balkanology: New architecture and urban phenomena in South Eastern Europe. by Vöckler, Kai (Ed.). (Basel: Swiss Architecture Museum). 2008. p. 18.

architect Stjepan Roš compares to the 'clean architecture' of Mies van der Rohe. The combination of the white façade and stone materiality, glass surfaces, the use of the open and free plan, and the fine iron construction was reminiscent, according to Roš, of the neoplasticism of El Lissitzky. (Fig. 54) The atrium and inner garden, combined with its generous glass surfaces open it up in the manner that Philip Johnson and Mies van der Rohe had adapted from Japanese architecture.[251] This classification of the Museum into western architecture circles was supported by the late Magaš:

> **I have opposed socialist realism by effective and the cleanest elements of western abstract expressions, which come out of vulgarization of the notion of building that socialist realism was bringing with itself. The problem of this building was that, what I was having inside of me, could not have been realized. That cube was not planned to be made of stone, it should have been made of metal and crystal-the bottom part should have been made from crystal clear glass. This form has outlived its time (…).[252]**

The building was ceremoniously opened on the symbolic day of ZAVNOBiH on 25th November 1966. The first article of ZAVNOBiH reads the following: "Equality between Serbs, Muslims and Croats of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is their common and indivisible homeland." This would be challenged severely only 25 years later, when the Museum itself would be located at the urban frontline – a no man's land between two fronts of the tragic war – symbolizing the collapse of Yugoslavia and its revolutionary values in its shape, location and history.

Olympic boom inside terra neutra

Neidhardt's plan, including its further revisions and other proposals that followed, did not bring an integrated and wholistic solution for Marijin Dvor. Shortly after, in 1978, on the 30th anniversary of the first Urban Plan, the Institute for Spatial and Urban Planning and Programming of the City of Sarajevo, released the directive for the future planning of the city: 'Sarajevo: Sistem Gradskih Centara' ('Sarajevo: System of Urban Centers'). The directive recommended a multi-centrality of

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[251] Roš, Stjepan. "Manifest čiste arhitekture" ("A manifest of clean architecture"). In: Oris. VI-26-2004. pp. 21.-27. (translated by the author).

[252] "Ljudskost u domeni građenja" ("Humanity in the domain of building"). Interview with Boris Magaš. In Svjetlo riječi. May 2011. (translated by the author).

Sarajevo with subcenters covering the city's metropolitan region, with Marijin Dvor as the main center. The directive profited from the reform of the city territory border that expanded from four to ten municipalities in 1978.[253] (Fig. 55)

> **The direct rationale to develop the Program of the Systems of City Centers is the top priority: building the Marijin Dvor area. Fact is, Marijin Dvor is one of the city centers that cannot be dealt with separately without examining the entire system of all city centers. The role, importance, and capacity of the internal structure of a center cannot be determined without the knowledge of the relevant parameters of other city centers or the analysis of the basic system characteristics of all city centers. Indications of inadequate and irrational use of urban land, the deficit of central activities in new settlements, overburdening central zones, a discontinuity (…) in the development the centers, required analysis and understanding of the entire system of centers.[254]**

The change of the name 'Urbanistic Institute' to 'Institute of Urban Planning and Programming' in 1976, indicated an intent to move away from design-oriented solutions that have been difficult to evaluate and effectively follow. According to this, the Institute enhanced collaboration in multi-disciplinary teams and more strict application of scientific methodologies in research and planning.[255]
This reflected the paradigm shift inside the Institute to further separate architecture from urban planning (echoing the discourse in Yugoslav professional arenas of this time). Therefore, the Program included comprehensive methodological approaches, such as detailed analyses of the existing urban structures, the spatial distribution of the structures and capacities of central activities from the point of view of the spatial, functional, sociological, mobility and ecological aspects.[256] The Program revealed great criticism of past architectural solutions for Marijin Dvor. It demonstrated a high-level optimism regarding technological possibilities of late-1970 Yugoslavia, arguing that engineering solutions were feasible but the programmatic and functional concepts inadequate and needed to be addressed critically in the future:

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[253] Interviews (multiple) with Gordana Memišević. Sector for Research and Development. Institute of Development Planning of Canton Sarajevo. In Sarajevo and Zurich. In 2018 and 2019.

[254] Sarajevo: Sistem Gradskih Centara (Sarajevo: Systems of Urban Centers). Zavod za Prostorno i Urbanističko Planiranje i Programiranje Sarajevo (Institute for Spatial and Urban Planning and Programming Sarajevo. 1977. p. 11. (translated by the author).

[255] Interview with Gordana Memišević. Sector for Research and Development. Institute of Development Planning of Canton Sarajevo, March 26th 2019.

[256] Sarajevo: Sistem Gradskih Centara (Sarajevo: Systems of Urban Centers). Zavod za Prostorno i Urbanističko Planiranje i Programiranje Sarajevo (Institute for Spatial and Urban Planning and Programming Sarajevo. 1977. pp. 170-180. (translated by the author).

The central zone is not homogeneous either in functional or in structural terms. It consists of a series of focused central activities, both complementary functional and time-wise. It is imperative that the attractiveness of the central zone does not grow by simple addition the attractiveness of individual focus, but their functional multiplication. (...). We cannot view the central zone as urban a container whose capacity depends solely on physical dimensions. Physical limits are the least important, because technically everything is feasible.[257]

The importance of Marijin Dvor for Sarajevo's development is evident from another document conducted by the same Institute, also in 1977: 'Program: Urban Area Marijin Dvor Sarajevo'. The Program embodied the intention to conduct detailed spatial research on the potentials of this zone and give propositions for future, more strategic, development:

All participants involved in the detailed resolution of this space were focusing on the limitative architectural approach to this problem. The research only focused on the selection of appropriate programs and the testing of spatial capacities available for buildings. This resulted in a series of, more or less, successful architectural designs. Interestingly, none of the many solutions, of which each individually contained unquestionable qualities, did not experience a complete realization. The present state of the building of Marijin Dvor is a set of unfinished realizations of several different, first accepted and then abandoned, urbanistic concepts created in the past thirty years. [258]

The holistic research of the multidisciplinary team,[259] just as in the case of the Systems of Urban Centers, was led by the architect Milenko Cuković. The team's work established the diagnosis of an attractive location with good traffic connections but no clear spatial organization and identity of the place. (Fig. 56) The research criticizes the mono-functionality and the disintegrative effect of former urban plans, also revealing the failure of Neidhardt's 'Carpet City' concept:

The treatment of Marijin Dvor as the main city center and the undeveloped location in the central zones with strong urban traffic have caused a vivid interest of various investors for allocating locations, (...) The area of Marijin Dvor, does not have a clear concept of spatial organization, has no identity. It does not exist in the visitor's mind. Some objects in this area represent separate creations isolated from the urban context. The inflexibility of some of the built objects disables the evolution of urban structures in terms of acceptance of new features. This is the result of either

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[257] Ibid. p. 178.

[258] Program: Gradsko Područje Marijin Dvor Sarajevo (Program: Urban Area Marijin Dvor Sarajevo). Zavod za Prostorno i Urbanističko Planiranje i Programiranje Sarajevo (Institute for Spatial and Urban Planning and Programming Sarajevo. 1977. Introductory text with no assigned page number. (translated by the author).

[259] The team included, just as for the case of the Systems of Urban Centers, besides architects and urbanists: civil, electrical and mechanical engineers, landscape architects, sociologist and economists. Compared to the Systems of Urban Centers, it contained two professions more: landscape architecture and electrical engineering.

urbanistic settings or choices of constructive systems of objects. (...) Sociological research has shown that Marijin Dvor is a space of occasionality and monofunctionality. Instead of integrating, it interrupts the city tissue and disintegrates. It is usually empty or artificially apparent and temporarily filled, little attractive with a tendency to worsen the situation. Filling it with monofunctional content will continue the deterioration. Only multifunctional and attractive content can fix this situation, and even then, only gradually.[260]

Alternatively, the team proposed six relevant points for the future development of Marijin Dvor:

Enable the continuous development of the central zone of the city, especially in the direction of the future city [New Sarajevo]; Protect and improve the characteristics of the inherited part of the center [Čaršija] along with an even greater tendency to define the physiognomy of the new part of the center [Marijin Dvor]; Revalorize both natural and artificial values of space; Ensure development in terms of the multifunctionality that will enrich urban space, make it attractive and lively at any time of the day; Provide a spatial organization with a positive influence of nature on the urban development and the protection of the environment. Stop the deterioration of traffic conditions, make it easy to access and the continuity of pedestrian flows.[261]

The opportunity for an intense realization of this concept came simultaneously with the publishing of these two documents. In May 1978, Sarajevo was chosen, as the neutral place in politically non-aligned Yugoslavia, to host the Winter Olympic games in 1984. This occurred in the peak of the U.S. American-Soviet tensions that resulted in the mutual boycotts of the athletes for participating in the Summer Olympics in 1980 in Moscow, and 1984 in Los Angeles respectively. Sarajevo's historical in-between status and Yugoslavia's non-alignment policy played in favor of the city's development. (Fig. 58)

The symbolic importance of the Olympic Games was also mentioned in literature and popular press. The organizers were highly aware of the neutral position of Sarajevo and of the non-alliance of Yugoslavia, aiming to promote its synergy and Sarajevo as a multi-cultural city of co-existence:

A (...) common narrative for the 1984 Winter Olympic Games, and one that brimmed with symbolic potential, cast Sarajevo and Yugoslavia as saviors for the embattled

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[260] Program: Gradsko Područje Marijin Dvor Sarajevo (Program: Urban Area Marijin Dvor Sarajevo). Zavod za Prostorno i Urbanističko Planiranje i Programiranje Sarajevo (Institute for Spatial and Urban Planning and Programming Sarajevo. 1977. pp. 37, 45, 63. (translated by the author).

[261] Ibid. p. 35.

Olympic movement, which endured two boycotts in the 1980s (...) With the French daily 'Le Matin' gushing that the Sarajevo games represented an "astonishing armistice" in a non-aligned country. The Organizing Committee, the Tourist Association of Yugoslavia, and other Olympic and tourist organizations worked to construct Sarajevo and Yugoslavia as healthy embodiment of universal values in an otherwise fractured Cold War world, stressing the allegedly "natural" harmony of Yugoslav non-alignment diplomacy and international Olympic brotherhood. Woven into this image - advanced in tourist brochures, guidebooks, internationally-circulated Olympic newsletters, and special exhibitions - was the implication that Yugoslavia's people actively lived this universalism on a daily basis by virtue of their citizenship in Tito's socialist, self-managing, "brotherhood and unity" country.[262]

The achitect Zoran Doršner oversaw the temporary planning office of approximately thirty employees, located in the Skenderija Dom Mladih ('Youth House'), which had the mission to prepare the 'Prostorni Plan Posebne Potrebe-PPPP' ('Spatial plan of Special importance'). According to Doršner, the Olympic Games brought, besides the construction boom, a cosmopolitan spirit to the city as the organizing committee and citizens put major effort in arranging the city for the Games. Doršner mentioned its cultural effects on everyday life: "Sarajevians felt cosmopolitan, started dressing in casual sports clothing, traveling more often and started learning foreign languages".[263] Sarajevo became one of the main cultural hubs of Yugoslavia, due to the propelling Olympic boom following the economic and infrastructural development of the city. Inspired by the Kassel Documenta, the Skenderija center hosted the largest art event in Yugoslavia, 'Jugoslovenska Dokumenta', held in 1987 and 1989.[264]

The intense construction activities were fostered by the preparation for the mega event and contributed to the densification of functions in Marijin Dvor. Several architectural projects were realized: such as the Holiday Inn Hotel designed by Ivan Štraus (built in 1983), the Republic Electric Company building (built in 1978 in New Sarajevo, westwards of Marijin Dvor), UNIS offices twin towers (built in 1986 as

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[262] Pedrotti Meehan. Kate. "Yugoslav Unity and Olympic Ideology at the 1984 Sarajevo Winter Olympic Games". In: Grandits, Hannes and Taylor, Katrin. Yugoslavia's Sunny Side: A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950s-1980s). (Budapest: Central European University Press). 2010. pp. 336-337.

[263] I interviewed the main authors of the planning of the Olympic facilities on the surrounding mountains of Trebević, Jahorina, Bjelašnica and Igman, Zoran Doršner several times in the period from August to October 2018. According to his words, he was selected by the 'Savez Komunista-SK BiH' ('Communist League of BiH'), a sub-party of the SKJ, being one of the rare architects in Sarajevo who was interested in skiing and hiking.

[264] Note: The Dokumenta' was the basis for the wartime foundation of the 'Ars Aevi' project.

headquarters of one of the largest industrial corporations),[265] housing complexes designed by Mladen Gvozden (built in 1986) etc.[266] Of particular importance is the Republic's parliament (designed by Juraj Neidhardt 1959, built in 1982, after a second competition call), that included both elements of universal modernism as well as Bosnian tradition. The main structure, a 20-floor tower inspired by the form of the medieval tombstone ('stećak'), was marked by horizontal perpetual strips of glass and light granite panels in which the last strip was coloured in red, symbolizing the communist ideology. The adjacent horizontal building that contained the main assembly hall was covered with domes inspired by the Ottoman and Byzantine building heritage of churches and mosques – making the building a mélange of Bosnian buildings tradition based on its geopolitical contestedness, communist ideology and modernist functionalism. With this fusion, Neidhardt believed in the creation of a new 'Bosnian modernism'. (Fig. 59)

Zooming in on the construction of the Holiday Inn hotel, Štraus stated to have designed the hotel by taking inspiration from the Ottoman hans in the Čaršija: "modern paraphrase of the spatial organizational scheme of Morića Han from the 17th century. In the artistic sense, it is surprising with the yellow color of the aluminum facade of the ten-fold cube".[267] The design of the covered large atrium was inspired by the form of a circus tent, underlining the genius loci of the location: the former 'Zirkusplatz' in Marijin Dvor in the pre-socialist epochs. (Fig. 60) In an interview I had with Štraus, he underlined the fact that he closely followed the Western architectural discourse, mostly through journals and magazines. However, the American references in Štraus' work and his commitment to western modernist and post-modernist dogmas were criticized by Neidhardt.[268]

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[265] The two towers are built in order to separate the military from the civil functions of UNIS, which was a military enterprise.

[266] If looking back into the Neidhardt plan of 1955 (and its later revisions), projects such as the House of the Press, the Workers' House, Opera, National Library, National Art Gallery and other public buildings of a centrality function, stayed unrealized to date.

[267] Štraus, Ivan. Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine 1945.-1995. (The Architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina 1945-1995). (Sarajevo: OKO). 1998. p. 102.

[268] Interview with Ivan Štraus by Hubert Klumpner and Haris Piplas. In Sarajevo, Hotel Holiday Inn. April 10th 2016.
Note: The indoor design of the hotel highly reminds of the designs of John Portman, in particular his Hyatt hotels in Atlanta and San Francisco.

Besides the construction boom in Marijin Dvor, the Olympic boom accelerated the construction also in other zones of socialist Sarajevo: the Olympic village in Mojmilo[269] and Zetra hall in Koševo. The total number of build apartment units in BiH in the period from 1946 until 1976 was 611 223.[270] At the same time, the housing shortage led to the mass-construction of informal units for migrant workers, which made the third of Sarajevo's population by the Olympics.[271] (Fig. 61) The mega-scale housing estate in New Sarajevo, of Alipašino Polje, is the most vivid illustration of the overscale of Yugoslav spatial production in an attempt to mitigate the housing crisis. The decision to divert from the original urban design and 'verticalize' the buildings by adding on average 4.5 floors was done after the intervention of SK BiH.[272] (Fig. 62) The pace of the mass housing construction benefitted from the modular building system, the financial model based on salary deduction of the workers in self-managed companies, as well as the availability of public and common land. Nevertheless, the distancing of architecture and spatial planning occurred through the growing renouncement from design, setting the attention on quantitative scientific methodology, as described by Midhat Aganović:

> **It is time to create our model of urban development. The non-critical transfer of different imported models (…) cannot be accepted, nor it can have a real, practical value. The building of our philosophy, our own theory is of high necessity. It is required to thoroughly re-examine new phenomena and relationships and adapt the planning and construction processes to the big changes that were happening in our society. Scientific foundations should be the condition for creating our own attitude.[273]**

One of the most prolific critics of this scientific, large-scale model Yugoslav urbanism was the urban sociologist Milan Prelog who, under the influence of the Chicago School, pointed out the lack of social considerations within the Yugoslav large-scale planning approach. Moreover, he underlined the problems of a

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[269] The Olympic village received its post-olympic use as a collective housing estate.

[270] Aganović, Midhat. Stanovanje u SR BiH (Housing in SR BiH). (Sarajevo: Institute for architecture, urbanism and spatial planning of the Faculty of Architecture, University of Sarajevo). 1980. p. 6.

[271] Interviews (multiple) with Gordana Memišević. Sector for Research and Development. Institute of Development Planning of Canton Sarajevo. In Sarajevo and Zurich. In 2018 and 2019.

[272] Interview with architect Borislav Ćurić Kokan, December 14th 2018.
Note: Ćurić talked also about the fact that large numbers of wartime soldiers and war criminals in the 1990s had origins from Alipašino Polje proved its status as a social hotspot.

[273] Aganović, Midhat. Stanovanje u SR BiH (Housing in SR BiH). (Sarajevo: Institute for architecture, urbanism and spatial planning of the Faculty of Architecture, University of Sarajevo). 1980. p. 184.

hyperbolic focus on urban planning as a quantitative science of a technocratic society:

> **The plentiful of 'Grands Ensembles'. 'new districts' and 'mikrorejoni', which in the last two decades have grown on the periphery of all our larger cities, represent mostly monumental indictments of the powerlessness of planning cities and their growth: just as slum settlements made of improvised buildings (in which enormous numbers of the world's newly 'urbanized' population lives) represent allegation of non-controlled urbanization processes and witnesses to the anarchistic character of the contemporary technological civilization.[274]**

Bogdan Bogdanović was one of the early critics of large-scale Yugoslav urbanism. In his column 'Small Urbanism' in the newspaper 'Borba' issued in Belgrade, he denounced the negligence of the human scale in this model. Bogdanović did not propagate a new design method but expressed a desire to initiate a more sensitive approach regarding urbanization processes in Yugoslavia.[275] Milica Janković underlined the shortfall of 'ambience' in large-scale urban planning interventions: "They sprout quickly and spring quickly into life, but the ambiance is warmest, most intimate when it develops slowly, gradually, and organically".[276]

Despite the largely finished modernization and a 'built utopia', (Fig. 63) only eight years after, both the Yugoslav spatial and societal model will be put under stress in a combination of (geo)political, economic and cultural challenges.

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[274] Prelog, Milan. "Suvremene urbanističke dileme" ("Contemporary urbanistic dilemmas"). In: Pregled 59. No. 1 (1969), p. 7. (translated by the author).

[275] Bogdanović, Bogdan. Mali urbanizam (Small Urbanism). (Sarajevo: Narodna prosvjeta). 1958. pp. 11-19. (translated by the author).

[276] Janković, Milica. "O fenomenu ambijenta u savremenom gradu" ("About the phenomenon of ambience in the contemporary city). In: Arhitektura i Urbanizam. No. 67. 1971. p. 58. (translated by the author).
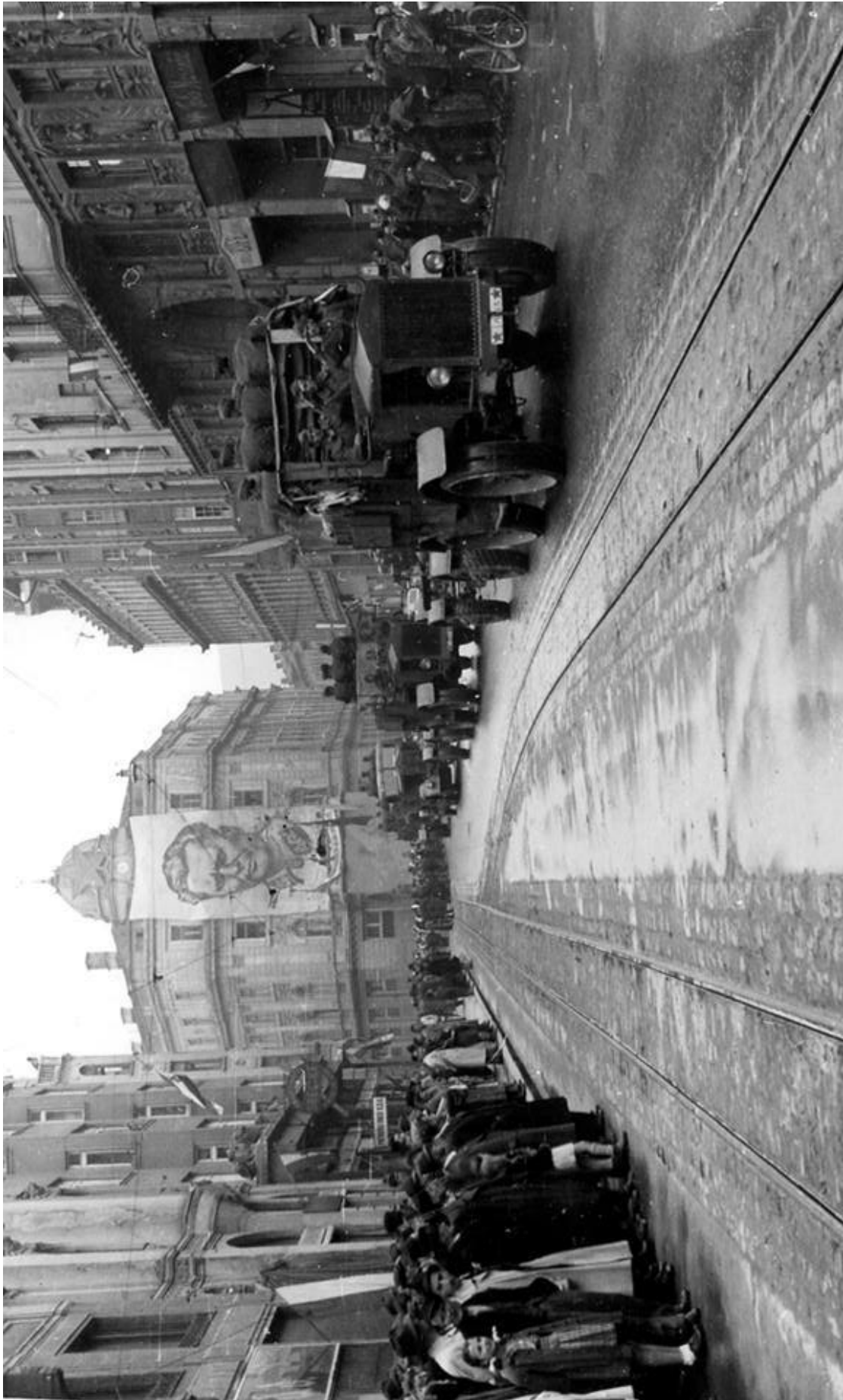
Fig. 34: Tito's partisans marching into Sarajevo

АНТИФАШИСТИЧКО ВЕЋЕ
НАРОДНОГ ОСЛОБОЂЕЊА
ЈУГОСЛАВИЈЕ
Број одлуке 3

5/43

О Д Л У К А

ДРУГОГ ЗАСЕДАЊА АНТИФАШИСТИЧКОГ ВЕЋА НАРОДНОГ ОСЛОБОЂЕЊА ЈУГОСЛАВИЈЕ

о изградњи Југославије на федеративном принципу

На основу права сваког народа на самоодређење, укључујући право на отцепљење или на уједињење са другим народима, и у складу са истинском вољом свих народа Југославије, осведоченом у току трого- дишње заједничке народно-ослободилачке борбе која је сковала нераз- друживо братство народа Југославије, Антифашистичко веће народног ослобођења Југославије доноси следећу

О д л у к у :

1. Народи Југославије никада нису признали и не признају раскомадање Југославије са стране фашистичких империјалиста и дока- зали су у заједничкој оружаној борби своју чврсту вољу да остану и даље уједињени у Југославији.

2. Да би се остварио принцип сувености народа Југослави- је, да би Југославија претстављала истинску домовину свих својих на- рода и да никад више не би постала доменом било које хегемонистичке клике, Југославија се изграђује и изградиће се на федеративном прин- ципу, који ће обезбедити пуну равноправност Срба, Хрвата, Словенаца, Македонаца и Црногораца, односно народа Србије, Хрватске, Словенач- ке, Македоније, Црне Горе и Босне и Херцеговине.

3. У складу са таквом федеративном изградњом Југославије, која се темељи на најпунијим демократским правима, јесте чињеница да већ сада, у време народно-ослободилачког рата, основне органе на- родне власти код појединих народа Југославије претстављају народно- ослободилачки одбори и земаљска антифашистичка већа народног ослобо- ђења (Главни народно-ослободилачки одбор Србије, Земаљско антифашис- тичко веће народног ослобођења Хрватске, Словенски народно-ослободи- лачки одбор, Земаљско антифашистичко веће народног ослобођења Босне и Херцеговине, Земаљско антифашистичко веће народног ослобођења Црне Горе и Боке, Земаљско антифашистичко веће народног ослобођења Санца- ка, иницијативни органи за Земаљско антифашистичко веће народног ос- лобођења Македоније), и да је Антифашистичко веће народног ослобоће- ња Југославије врховно законодавно и извршно претставничко тело на- рода Југославије и врховни претставник сувенитета народа и државе Југославије као целине.

4. Националним мањинама у Југославији обезбедиће се сва национална права.

5. Ова одлука ступа одмах на снагу.

дне 29 новембра 1943,
    у Јајцу.

За Антифашистичко веће
Народног ослобођења Југославије

Секретар   М.П.   Претседник
Р.Чолаковић,с.р.   Др.И.Рибар,с.р.

Fig. 35: The 'AVNOJ' declaration

Fig. 36: KPJ posters reflecting the relation between ideology, modernization and urbanization

Fig. 36: KPJ posters reflecting the relation between ideology, modernization and urbanization

In this issue

NO. 9 IN LIFE'S SERIES ON
**THE HISTORY OF
WESTERN CULTURE**

LIFE

FIRST PICTURES OF
MARSHAL TITO
IN HIS YUGOSLAV HIDE-OUT

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Fig. 37: Tito's and Yugoslavia's repositioning in the West and its media after 1948

1945.

Fig. 38: The borders of Yugoslavia after 1945 and 1948
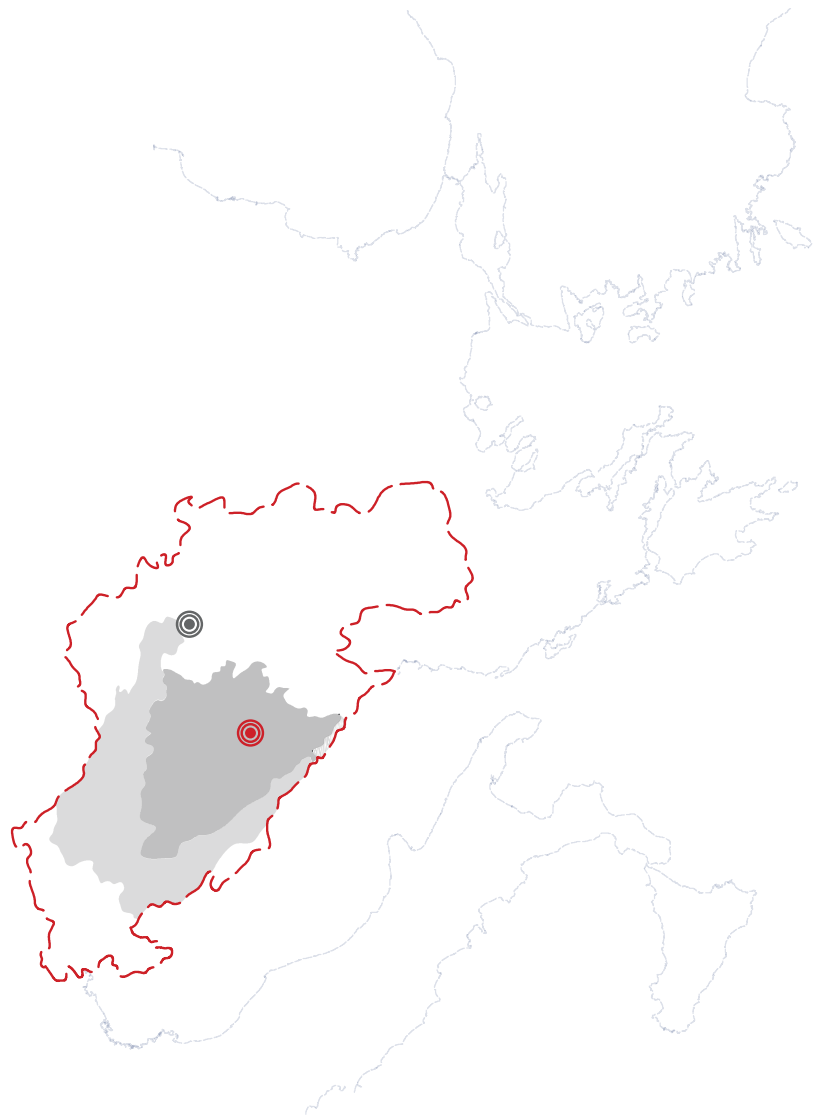
1948.

People's Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Previous Territory of NDH

Iron Curtain

Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia

Belgrade

Sarajevo

Fig. 38: The borders of Yugoslavia after 1945 and 1948

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BELGRADE DECLARATION OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES, 1961 (Excerpts) Adopted at the First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, Belgrade, 6 September 1961
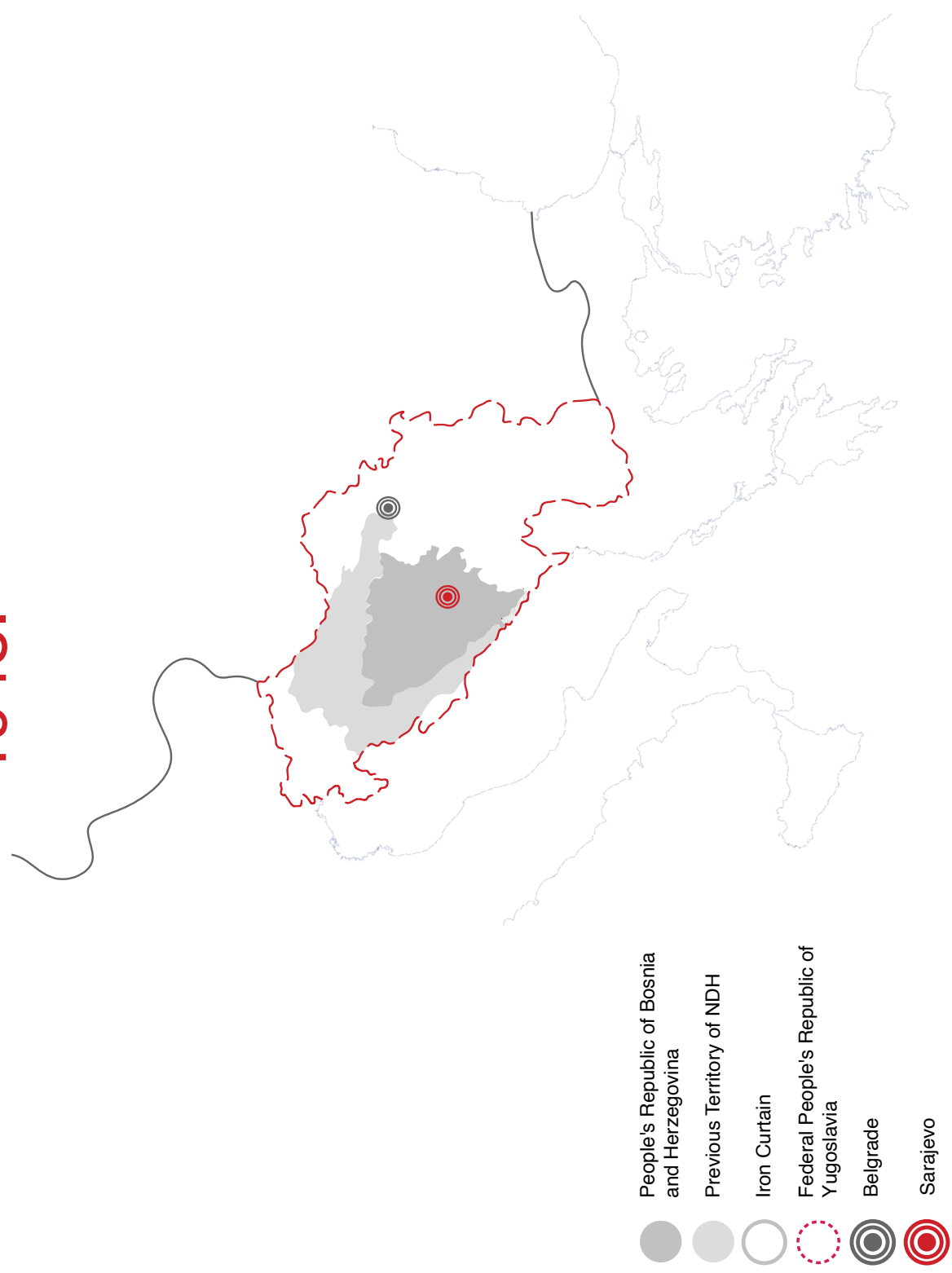
Declaration of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries

The Conference of Heads of State or Government of the following non-aligned countries :

1. Afghanistan, 2. Algeria, 3. Burma, 4. Cambodia, 5. Ceylon, 6. Congo, 7. Cuba, 8 Cyprus, 9. Ethiopia, 10. Ghana, Guinea, 12. India, 13. Indonesia, 14. Iraq, 15. Lebanon, Mali, 17. Morocco, 18. Nepal, 19. Saudi Arabia, 20. Somali 21. Sudan, 22. Tunisia, 23. United Arab Republic, 24. Yemen 25. Yugoslavia, and of the following countries represented observers :

1. Bolivia, 2. Brazil, 3. Ecuador

was held in Belgrade from September 1 to 6, 1961, for the purpose exchanging views on international problems with a view to contributing more effectively to world peace and security and peaceful co-operation among peoples.

The Heads of State or Government of the aforementioned countries have met at a moment when international events have taken a turn the worst and when world peace is seriously threatened. Deeply concerned for the future of peace, voicing the aspirations of the vast majority of people of the world, aware that, in our time, no people and no government can or should abandon its responsibilities in regard to the safeguard of world peace, the participating countries—having examined in detail, an atmosphere of equality, sincerity and mutual confidence, the current state of international relations and trends prevailing in the present current world—make the following declaration :

The Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries not that there are crises that lead towards a world conflict in the transition from an old order based on domination to a new order based on co-operation between nations, founded on freedom, equality and social justice for the promotion of prosperity ; considering that the dynamic processes and forms of social change often result in or represent a conflict between the old established and the new emerging nationalist forces considering that a lasting peace can be achieved only if this confrontation leads to a world where the domination of colonialism-imperialism and neo-colonialism in all their manifestations is radically eliminated ; And recognizing the fact.

That acute emergencies threatening world peace now exist in this period conflict in Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America and big power rivalry likely to result in world conflagration cannot be excluded ; that to eradicate basically the source of conflict is to eradicate colonialism in all

economic and social development of all mankind. The participating countries also consider that :

(a) The non-aligned nations should be represented at all future world conferences on disarmament ;

(b) All discussions on disarmament should be held under the auspices of the United Nations ;

(c) General and complete disarmament should be guaranteed by an effective system of inspection and control, the teams of which should include members of non-aligned nations.

19. The participants in the Conference consider it essential that an agreement on the prohibition of all nuclear and thermonuclear tests should be urgently concluded. With this aim in view, it is necessary that negotiations be immediately resumed, separately or as part of the negotiations on general disarmament. Meanwhile, the moratorium on the testing of all nuclear weapons should be resumed and observed by all countries.

20. The participants in the Conference recommend that the General Assembly of the United Nations should, at its forthcoming Session, adopt a decision on the convening either of a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to discussion of disarmament or on the convening of a world disarmament conference under the auspices of the United Nations with a view to setting in motion the process of general disarmament.

21. The participants in the Conference consider that efforts should be made to remove economic imbalance inherited from colonialism and imperialism. They consider it necessary to close, through accelerated economic, industrial and agricultural development, the ever-widening gap in the standards of living between the few economically advanced countries and the many economically less-developed countries. The participants in the Conference recommend the immediate establishment and operation of a United Nations Capital Development Fund. They further agree to demand just terms of trade for the economically less-developed countries and, in particular, constructive efforts to eliminate the excessive fluctuations in primary commodity trade and the restrictive measures and practices which adversely affect the trade and revenues of the newly-developing countries. In general they demand that the fruits of the scientific and technological revolution be applied in all fields of economic development to hasten the achievement of international social justice.

22. The participating countries invite all the countries in the course of development to co-operate effectively in the economic and commercial

fields so as to face the policies of pressure in the economic sphere, as well as the harmful results which may be created by the economic blocs of the industrial countries. They invite all the countries concerned to consider to convene, as soon as possible, an international conference to discuss their common problems and to reach an agreement on the ways and means of repelling all damage which may hinder their development ; and to discuss and agree upon the most effective measures to ensure the realization of their economic and social development.

23. The countries participating in the Conference declare that the recipient countries must be free to determine the use of the economic and technical assistance which they receive, and to draw up their own plans and assign priorities in accordance with their needs.

24. The participating countries consider it essential that the General Assembly of the United Nations should, through the revision of the Charter, find a solution to the question of expanding the membership of the Security Council and of the Economic and Social Council in order to bring the composition and work of these two most important organs of the General Assembly into harmony with the needs of the Organisation and with the expanded membership of the United Nations.

25. The unity of the world Organisation and the assuring of the efficiency of its work make it absolutely necessary to evolve a more appropriate structure for the Secretariat of the United Nations, bearing in mind equitable regional distribution.

26. Those of the countries participating in the Conference who recognise the Government of the People's Republic of China recommend that the General Assembly in its forthcoming Session should accept the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China as the only legitimate representatives of that country in the United Nations.

27. The countries participating in the Conference consider that the German problem is not merely a regional problem but liable to exercise a decisive influence on the course of future developments in international relations.

Concerned at the developments which have led to the present acute aggravation of the situation in regard to Germany and Berlin, the participating countries call upon all parties concerned not to resort to or threaten the use of force to solve the German question or the problem of Berlin, in accordance with the appeal made by the Heads of State or Government on September 5, 1961.

The Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries resolve that this Declaration should be forwarded to the United Nations and

brought to the attention of all the Members States of the world Organisation. The present Declaration will be also forwarded to all the other States.

Fig. 39: The NAM Declaration of 1961

Fig. 39: The urban plan and the resulting urban morphology of New Calcutta
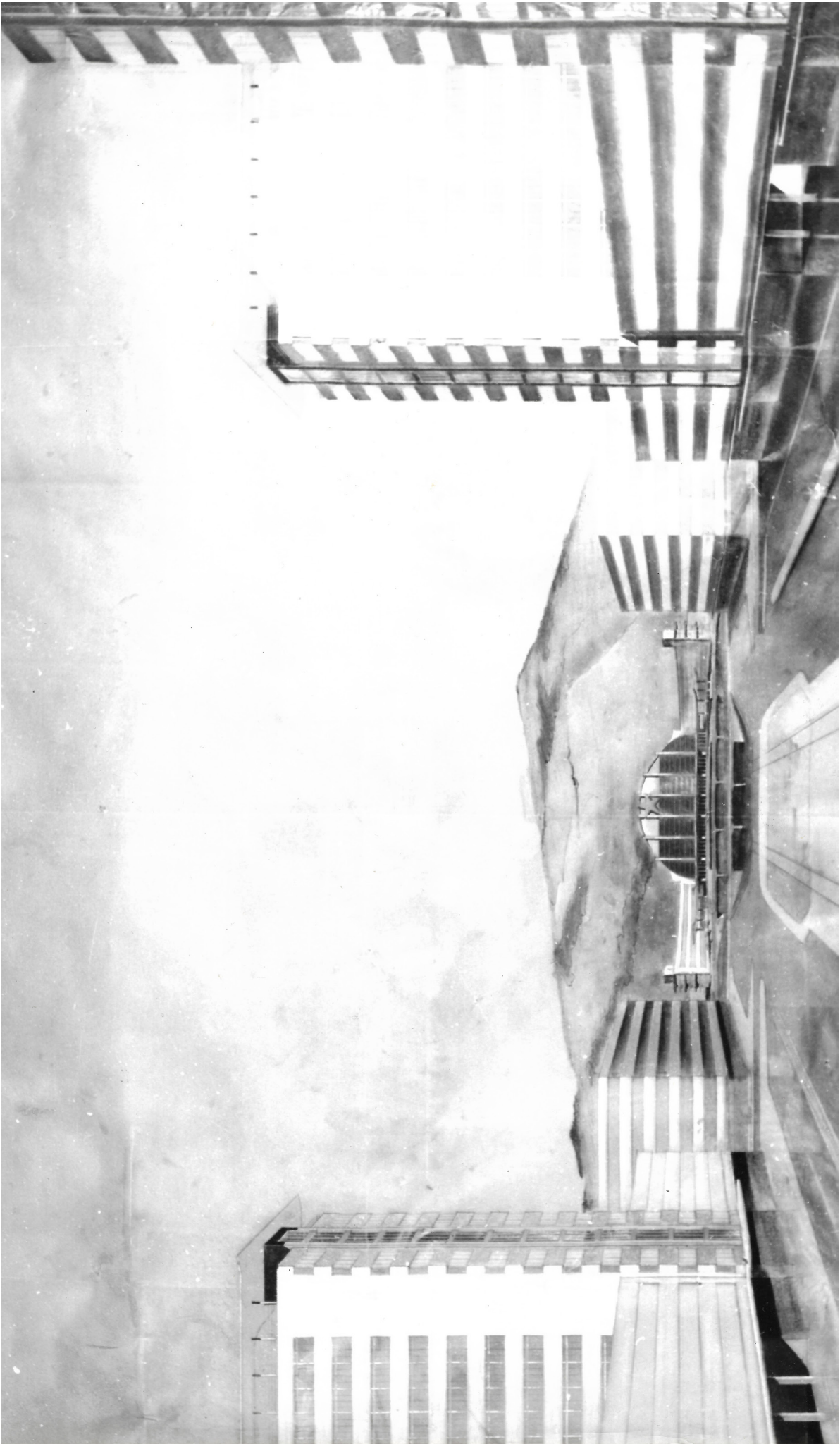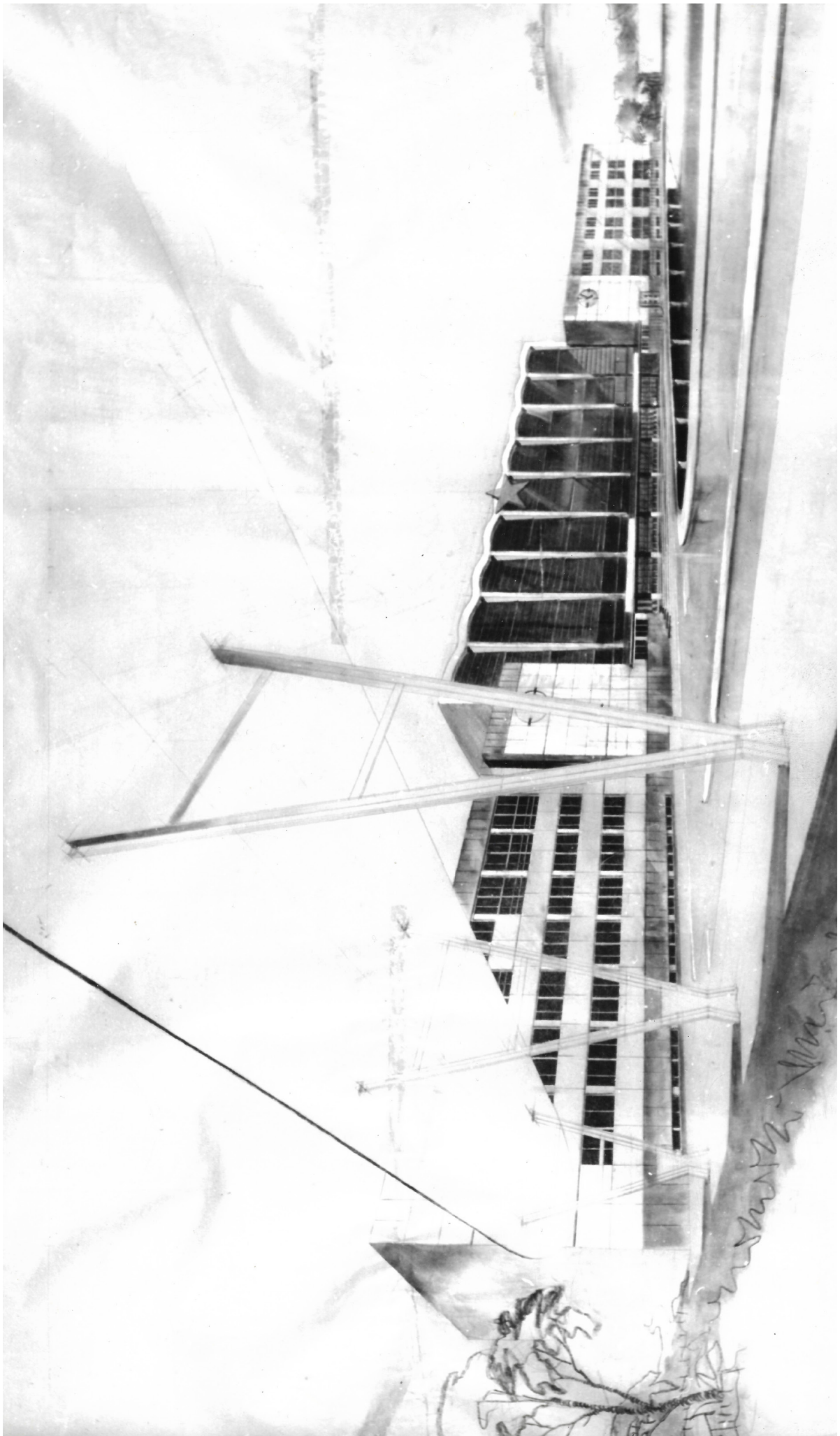
Fig. 40: Socialist realist plans for Marijin Dvor and designs for the Central Railway Station

Fig. 40: Socialist realist plans for Marijin Dvor and designs for the Central Railway Station

Sarajevo Generalni urbanistički plan

Namjena površina

zone stanovanja
stanovanje
rezervati

zone rada
industrija
rezervati industrije
skladišta
poljoprivreda

zone odmora i rekreacije
gradsko zelenilo
fiskultura i sport
vangradska rekreacija
zaštitno zelenilo
botanička bašta

površine specijalne namjene
gradski centri
univerzitet
bolnice
sajmište
sportsko vazduhoplovstvo
groblja
vrtlarija
uređaj za dispoziciju otpadnih voda
servisi gradske čistoće
gradsko smetljište
toplana
rezervisane površine

saobraćaj
putevi
postrojenja putnog saobraćaja
željezničke pruge i postrojenja
aerodrom

Fig. 41

Fig. 41: GUP - Typical modernist monofunctional land use designations

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postojeće izgrađene površine

I etapa izgradnje 1963—1970. godine

II etapa izgradnje 1971—1977. godine

III etapa izgradnje 1978—1985. godine

IV etapa izgradnje poslije 1985. godine

granice rekreativnih područja

Fig. 41: GUP - Intended urban development phases

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Fig. 42: The urbanization of New Sarajevo since its establishment around 1900 until 2010

Fig. 43: GUP - Gridding the valley for future traffic and mobility planning
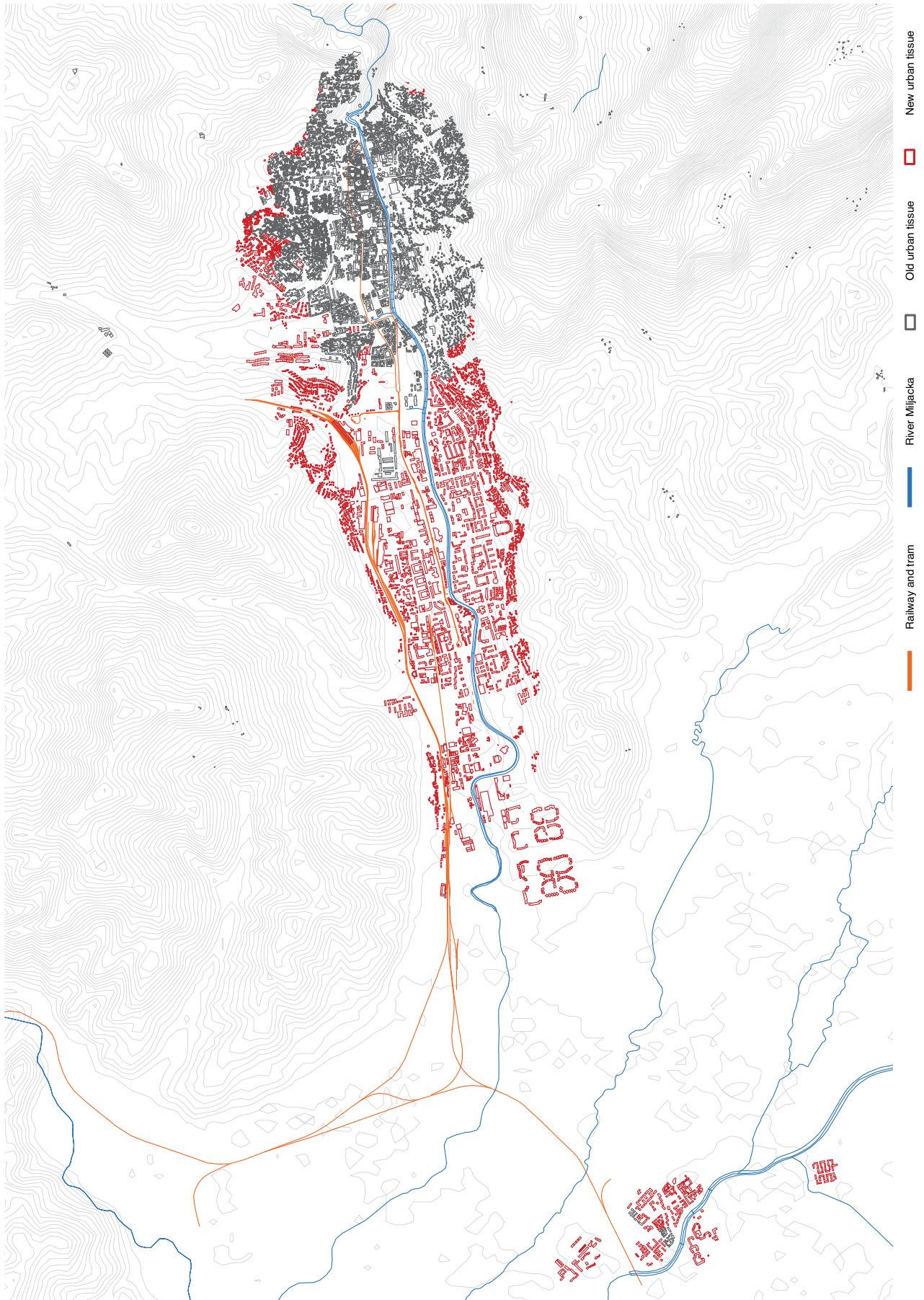
Fig. 44: The urbanization boom of pre-Olympic Sarajevo, 1945-1978
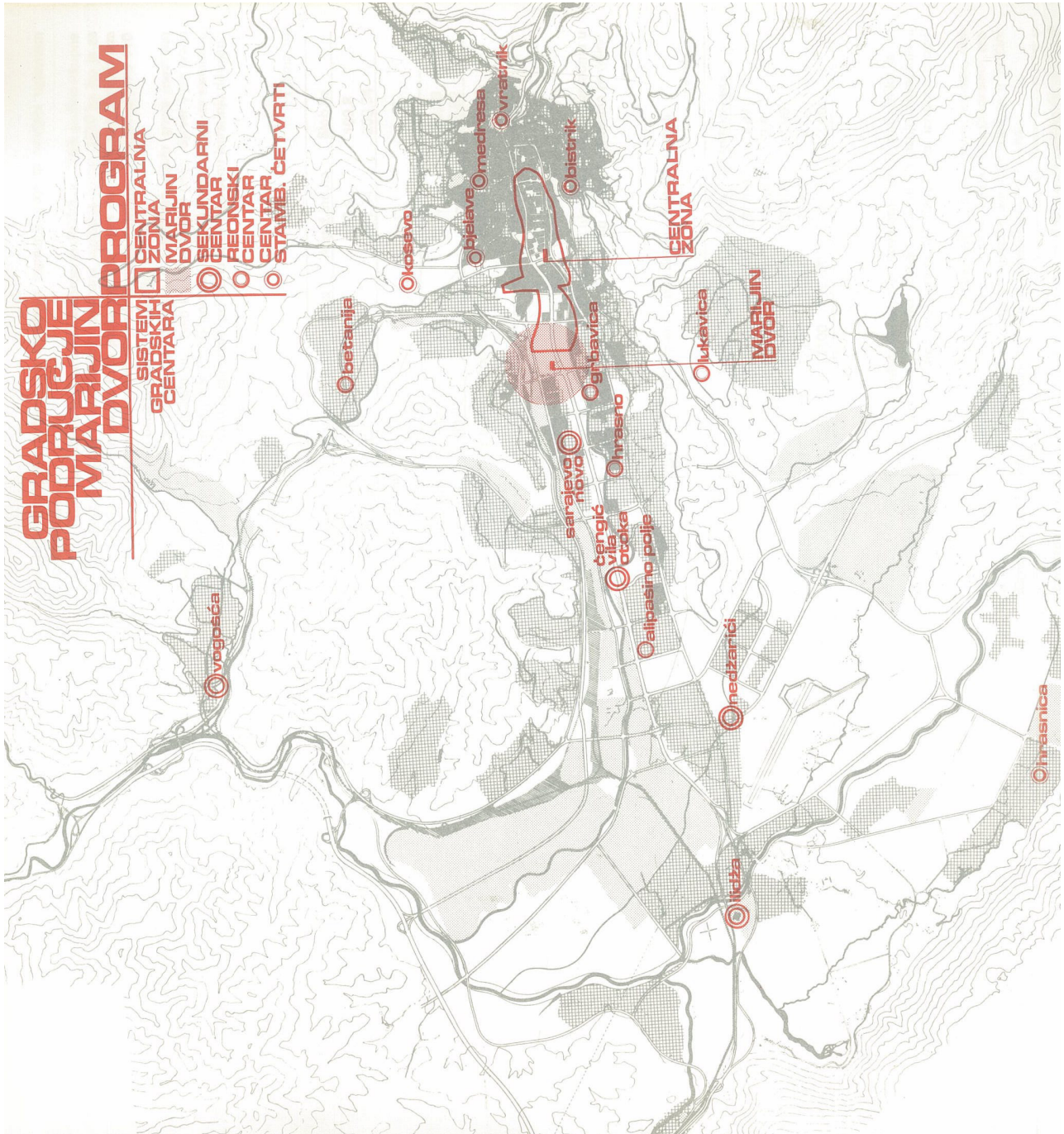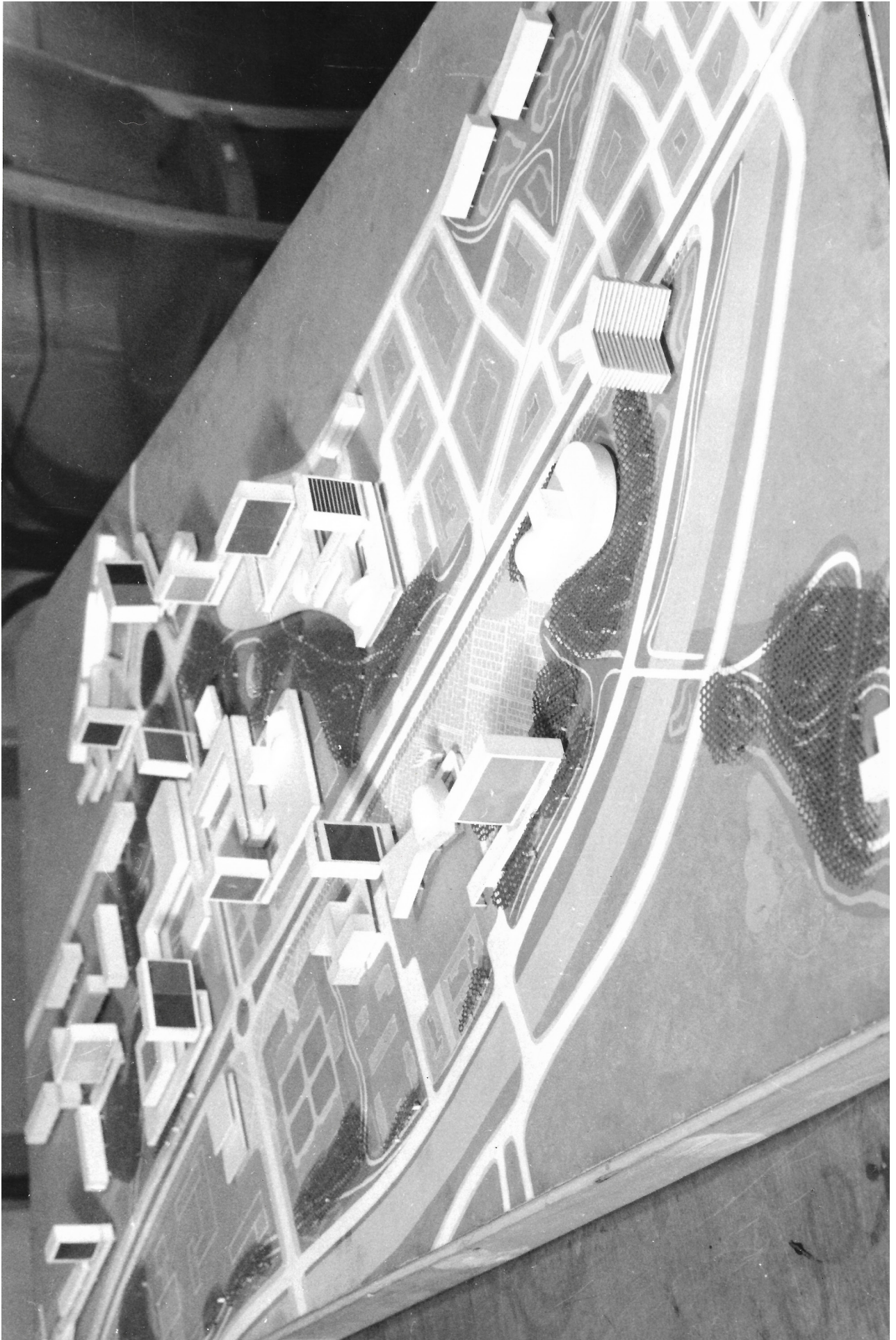
Legend:
- New urban tissue
- Old urban tissue
- River Miljacka
- Railway and tram

Fig. 45: The centrality of Marijin Dvor

Fig. 46: The model of Neidhardt's urban design for Marijin Dvor

Fig. 46: The model of Neidhardt's urban design for Marijin Dvor

Fig. 47: Marijin Dvor's and its connection to the hinterlands
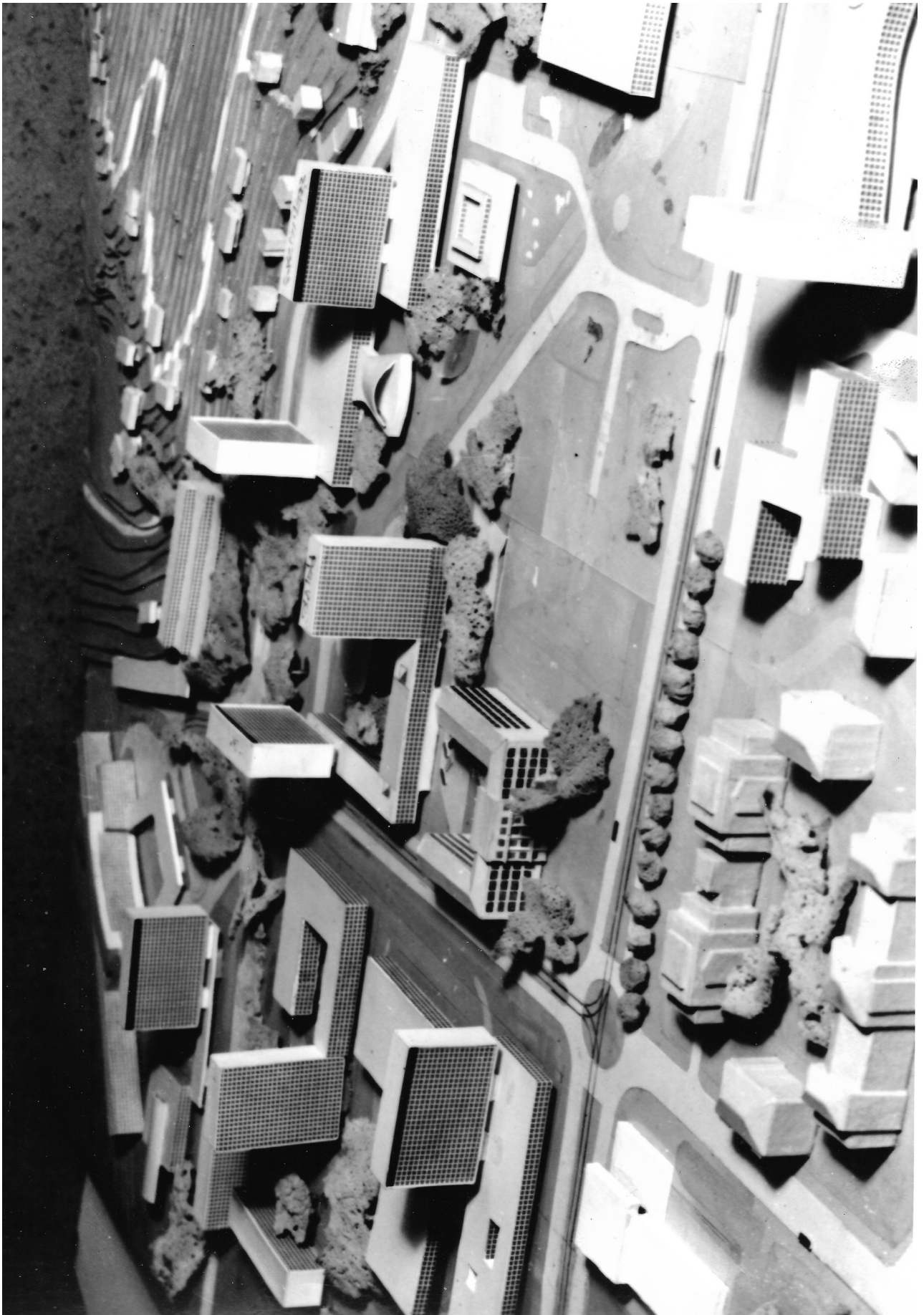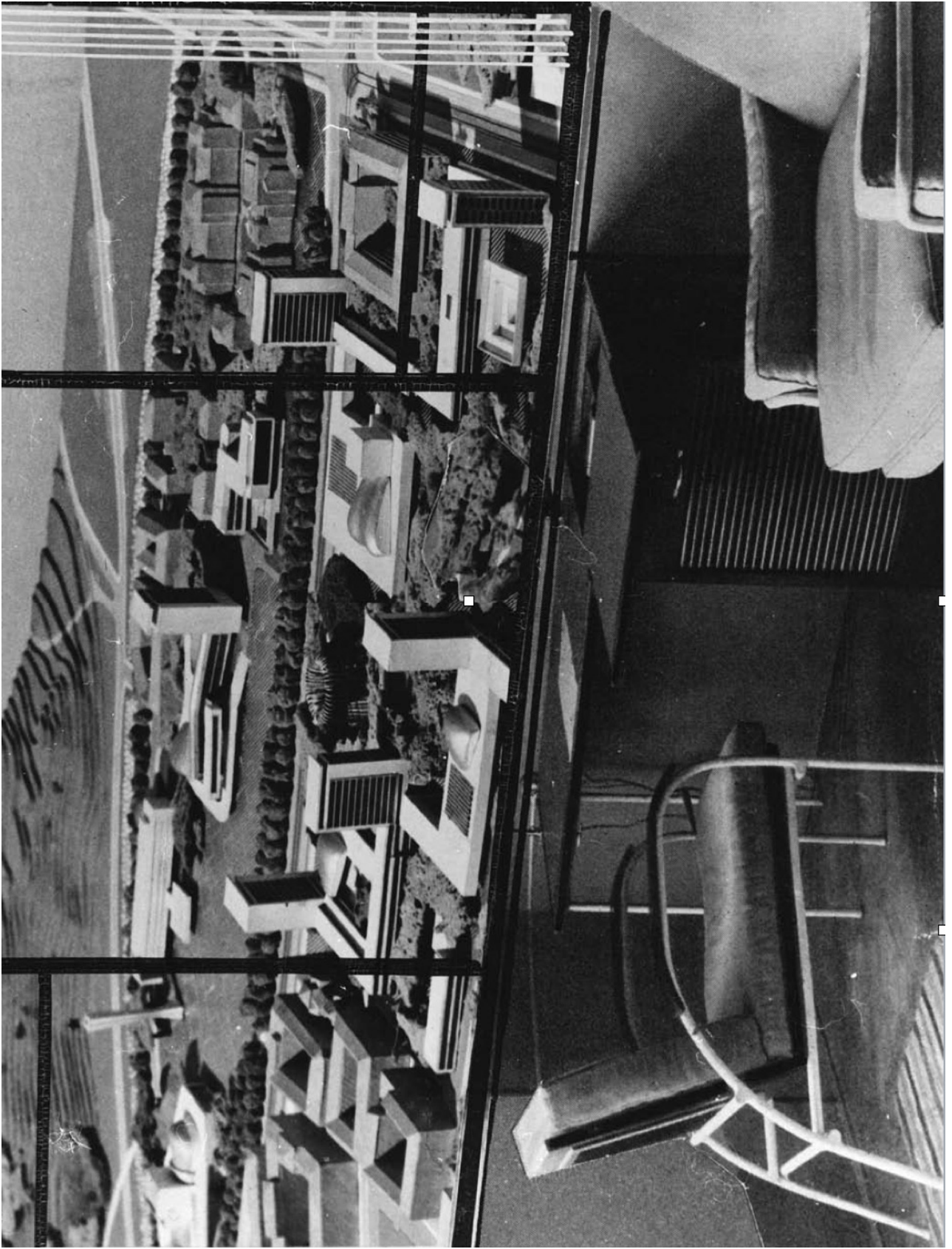
Fig. 48: The 'Carpet City' - bird view
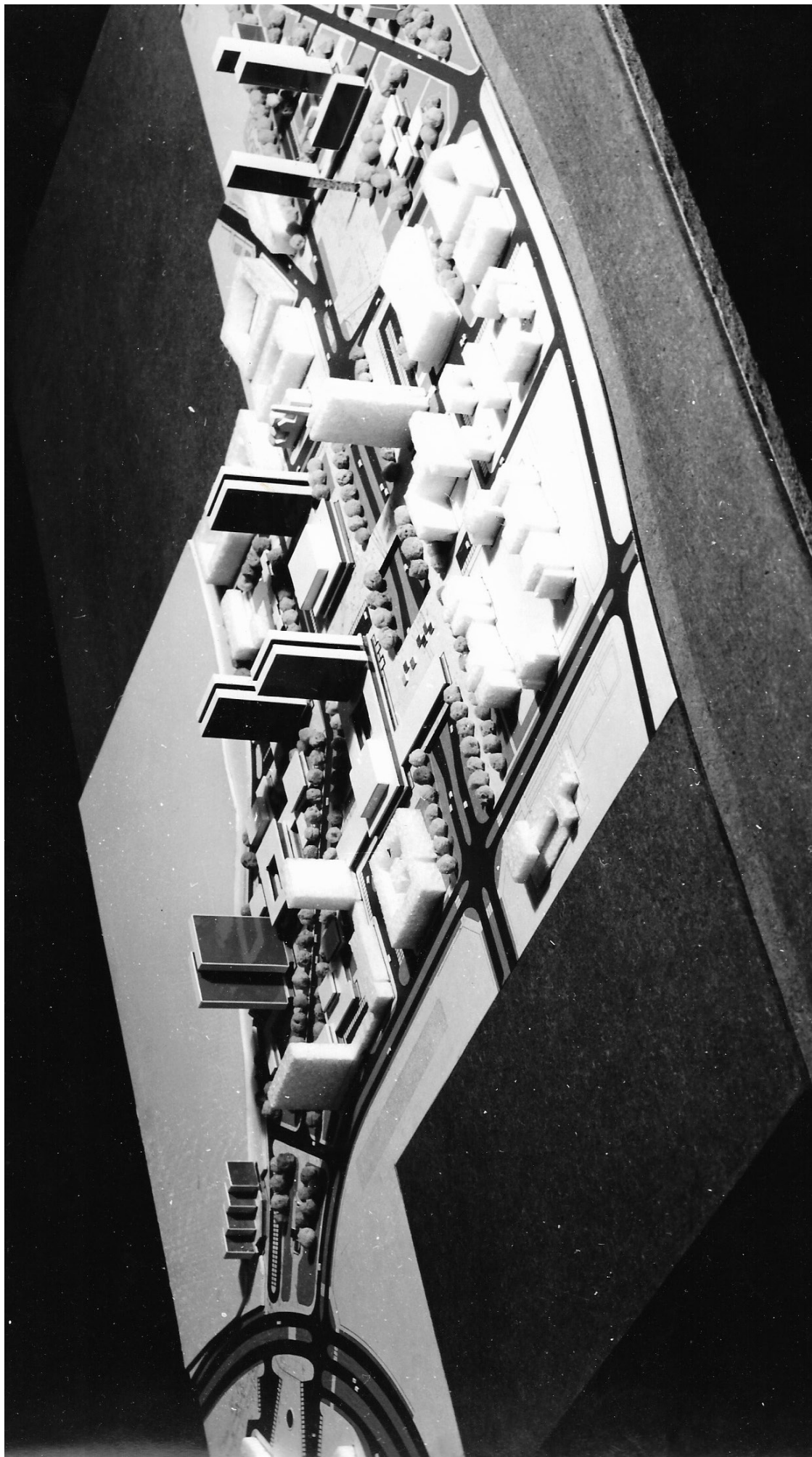
Fig. 49: Urban design for Marijin Dvor by Vladimir Milinović et al., 1967

**Fig. 49: Urban design for Marijin Dvor by Živorad Janković and
Halid Muhasilović, 1975**

1945 - 1978
Modernist Period
Marijin Dvor

River
New Buildings
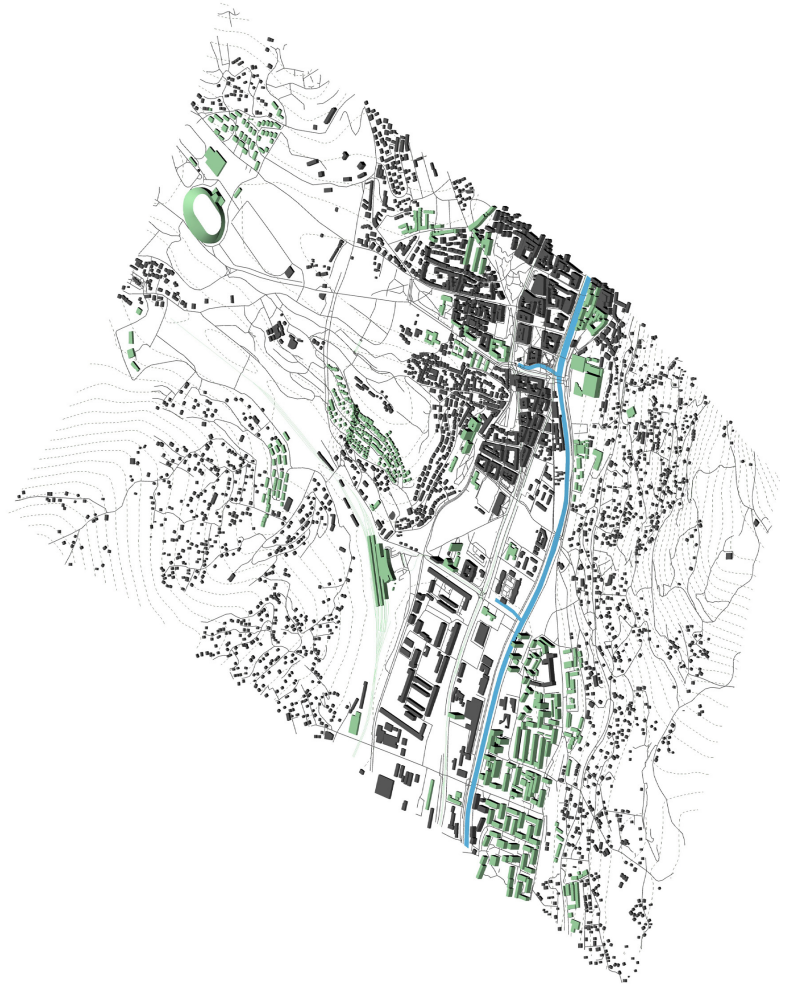
Fig. 50: The modernist construction boom in Marijin Dvor, 1945-1978

Fig. 51: Marshal Tito overlooking the model for Skenderija
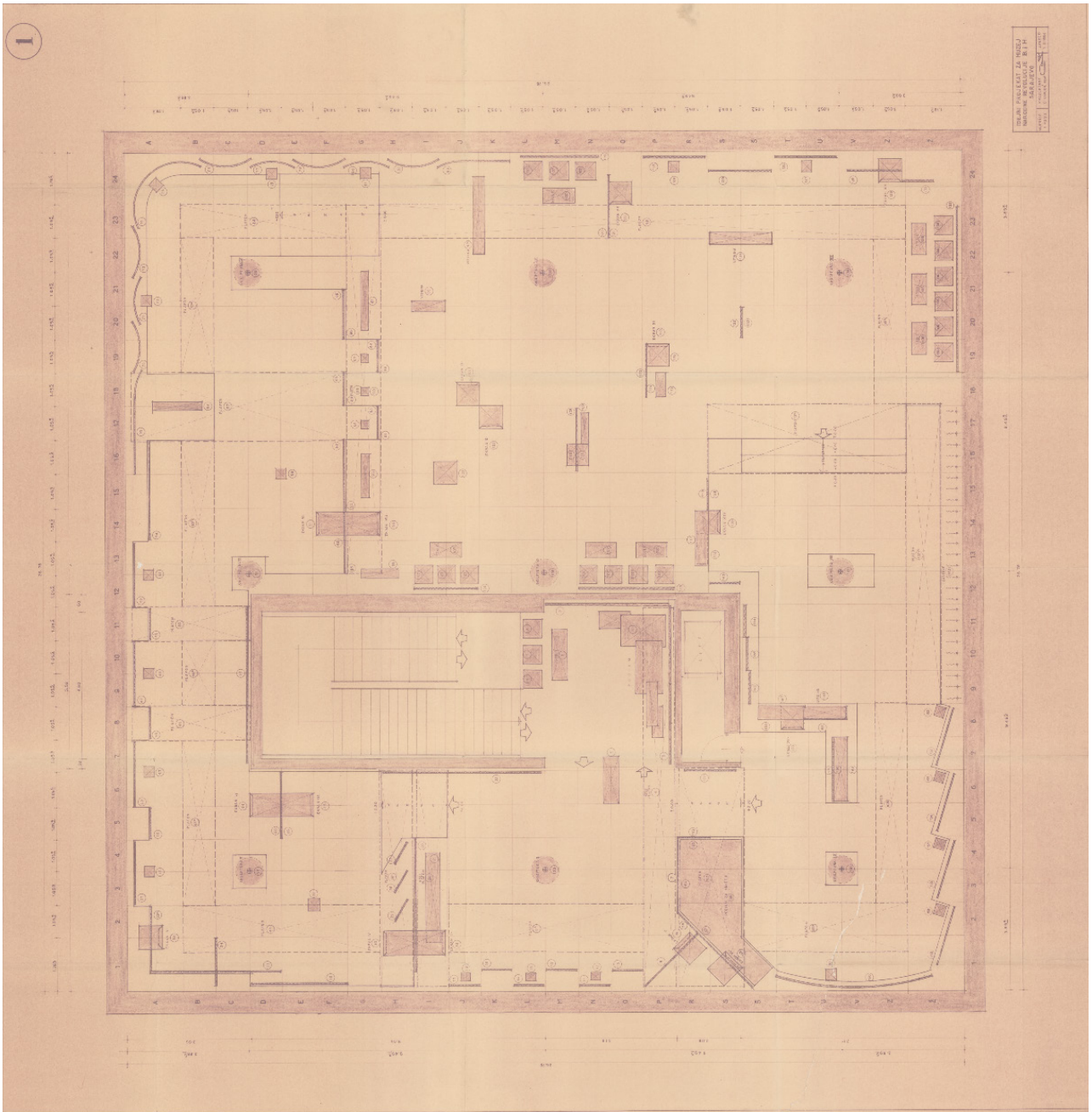
Fig. 52: The original drawing of the Museum's cuboid

Fig. 53: Exterior of the Museum
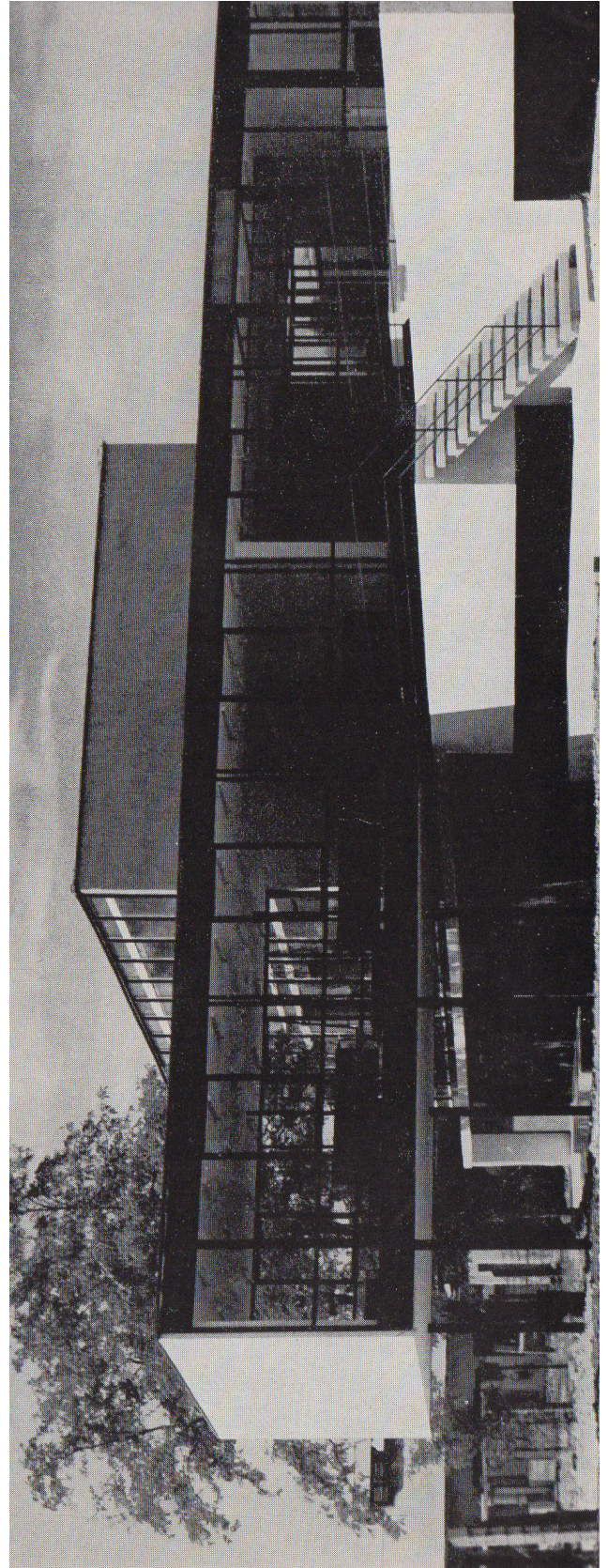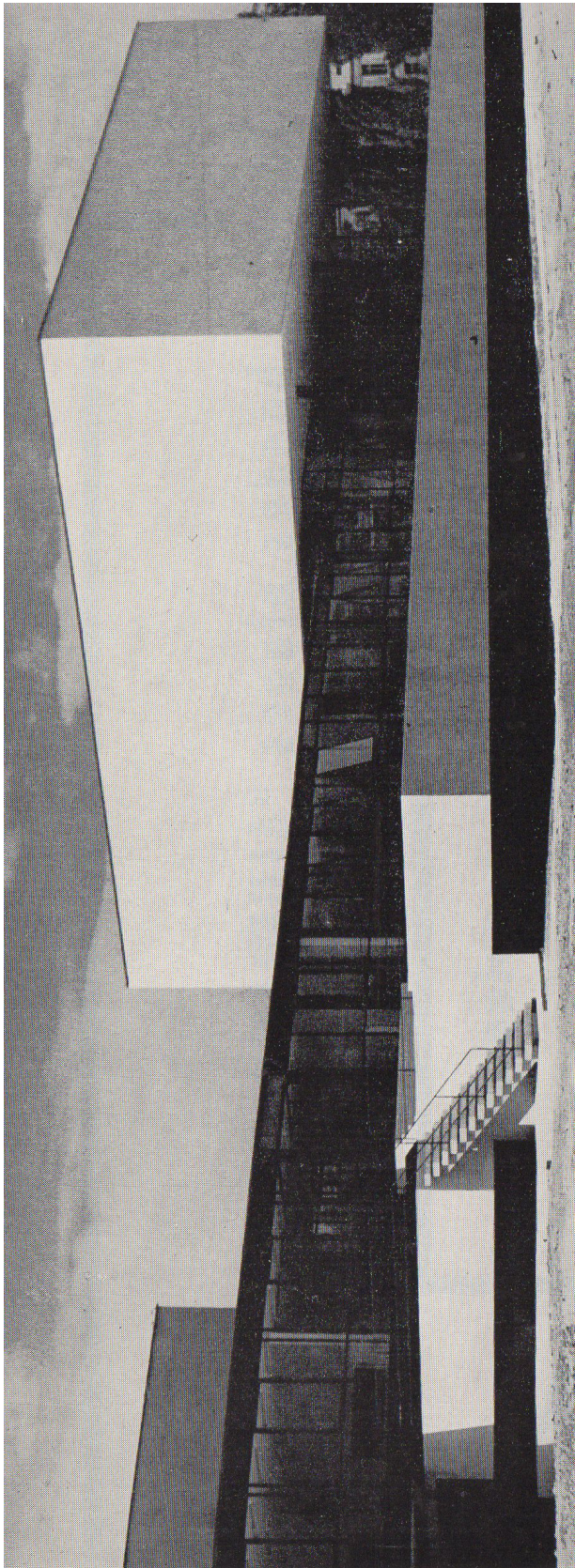
Fig. 54: The Museum after its completion
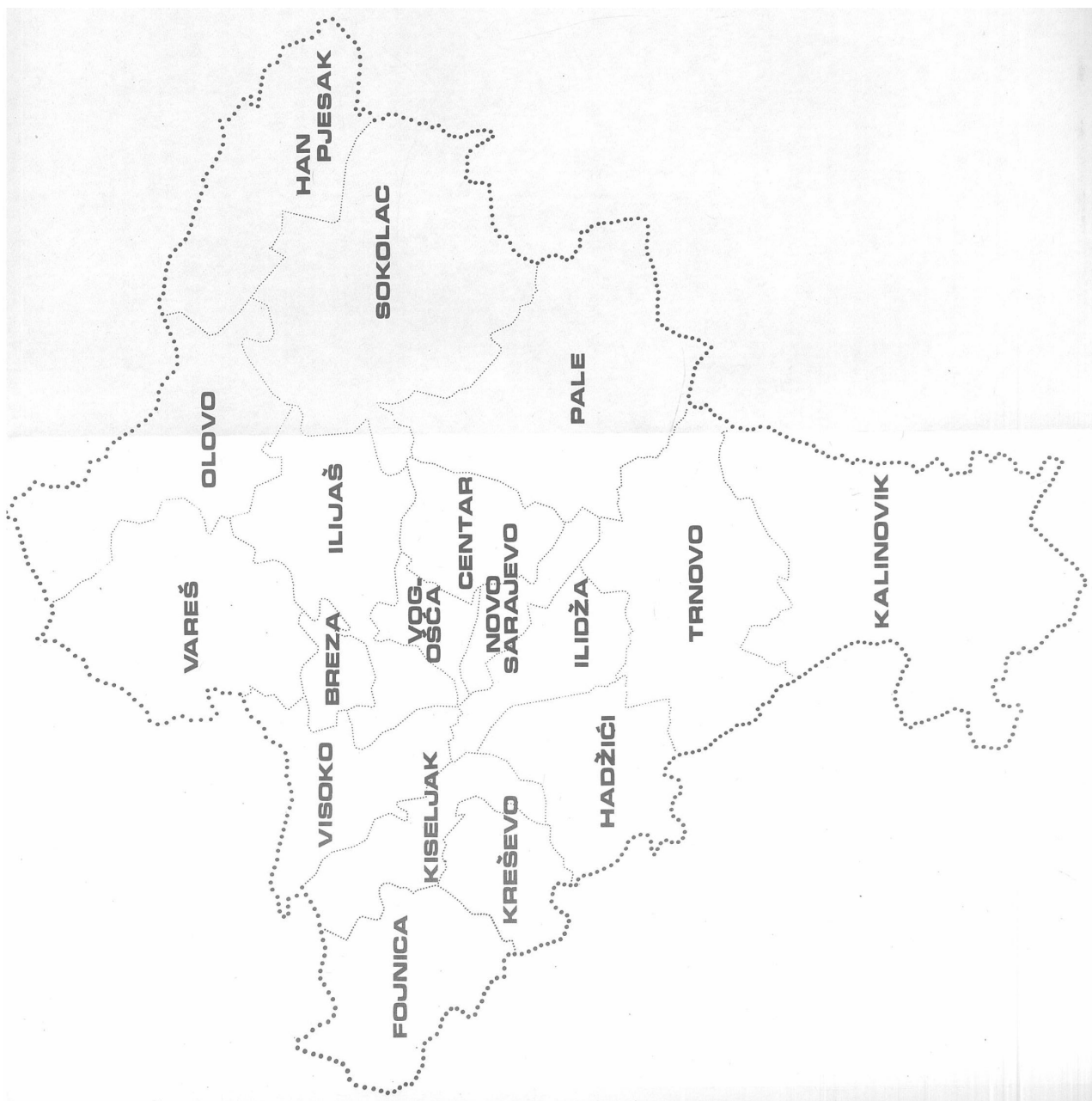
Fig. 55: The new metropolitan borders

Fig. 56: Analysis of functions and programs of Marijin Dvor

Fig. 56: Analysis of functions and programs of Marijin Dvor

Fig. 57: Three Scenarios for future development of Marijin Dvor

Fig. 57: Three Scenarios for future development of Marijin Dvor
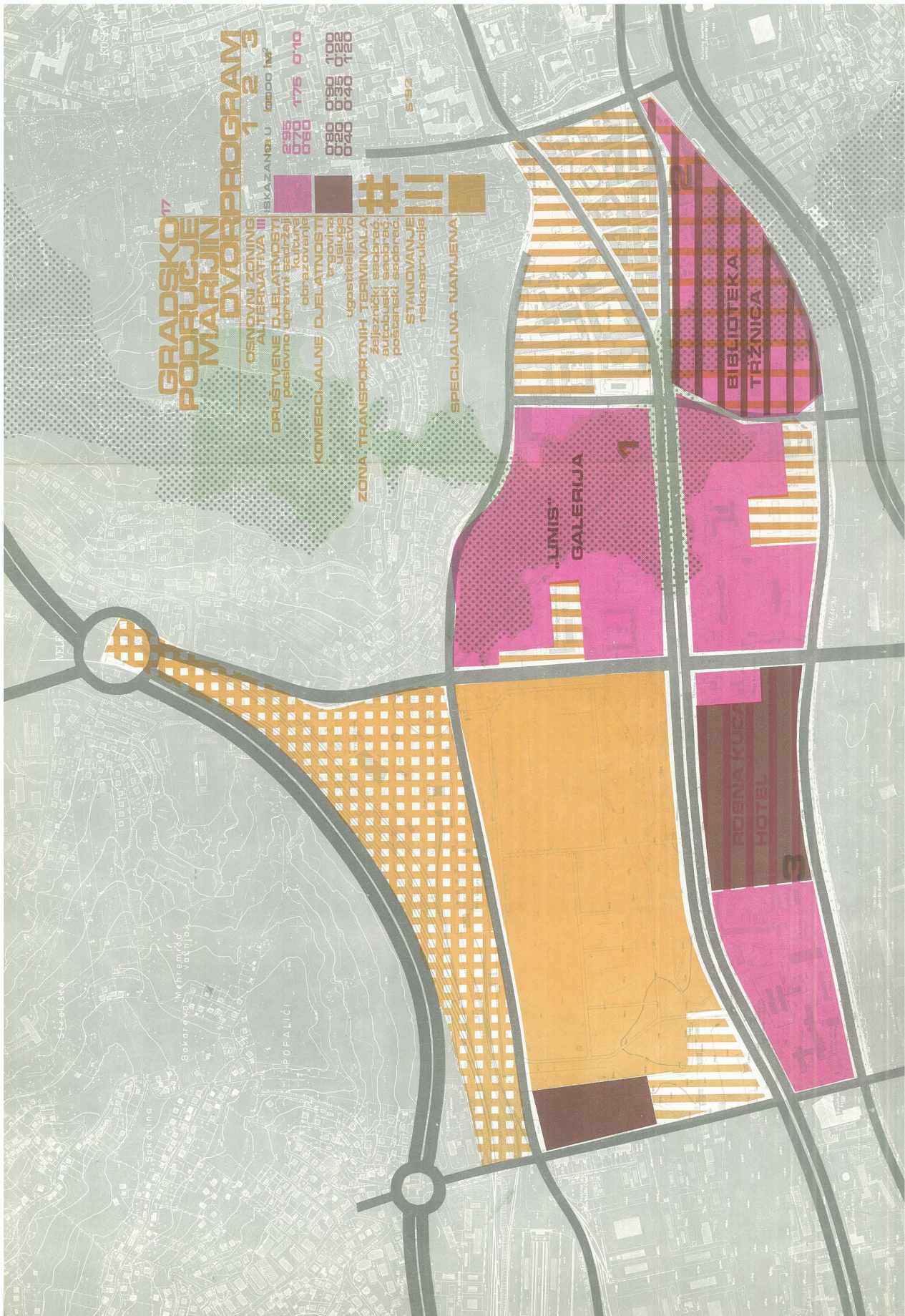
Fig. 57: Three Scenarios for future development of Marijin Dvor

Fig. 58: Geopolitical proxy wars on 'terra neutra'
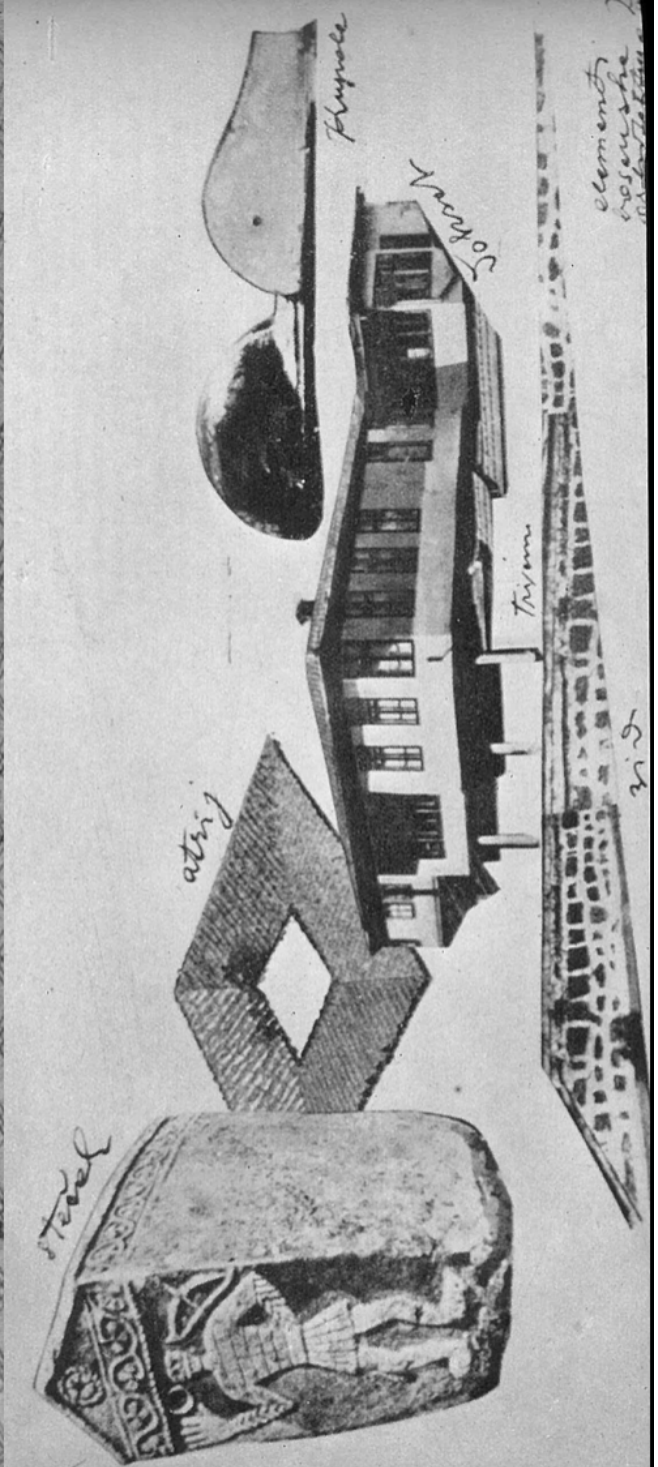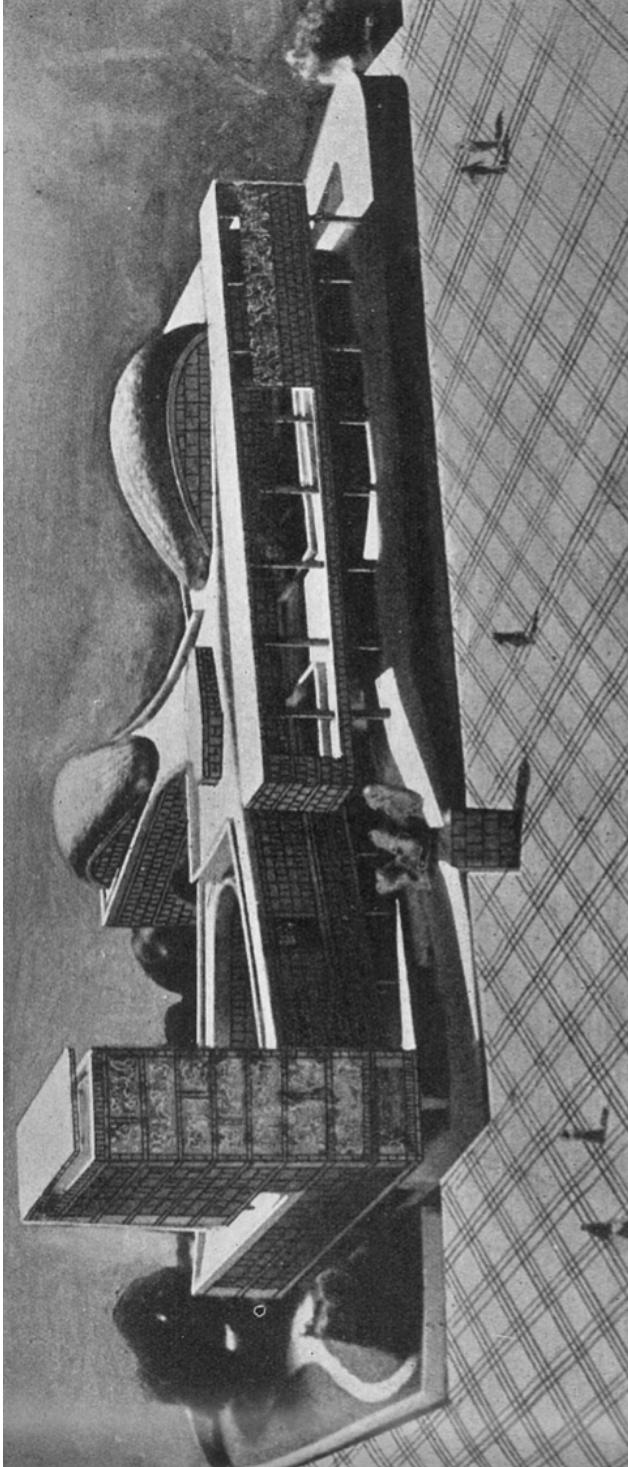
Fig. 59: Neidhardt's early design version of the Parliament complex incl. inspiration sources

Fig. 59: The Parliament Complex
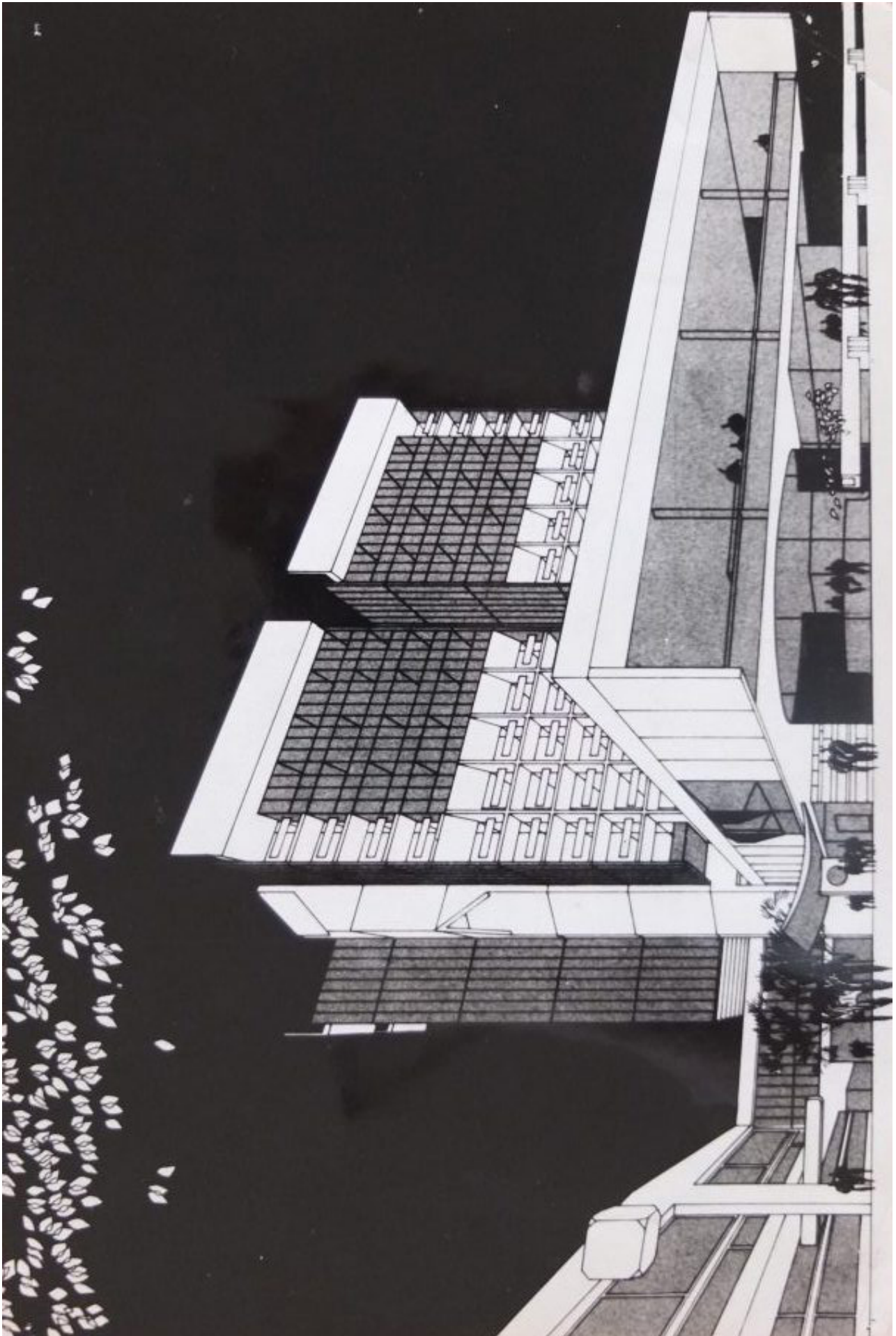
Fig. 60: Štraus' architectural design of the Holiday Inn
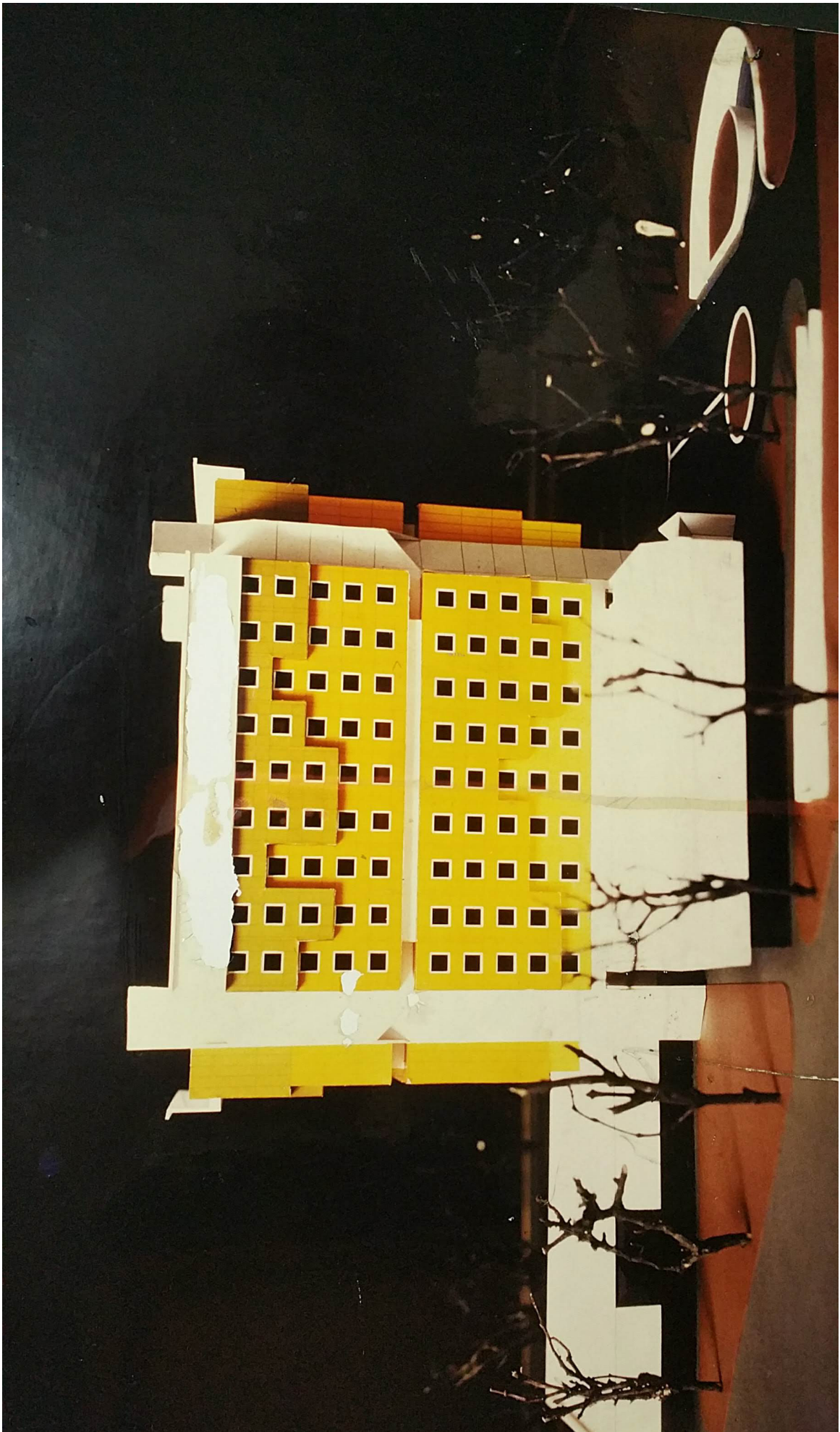
Fig. 60: The model photo of Holiday Inn's architectural design
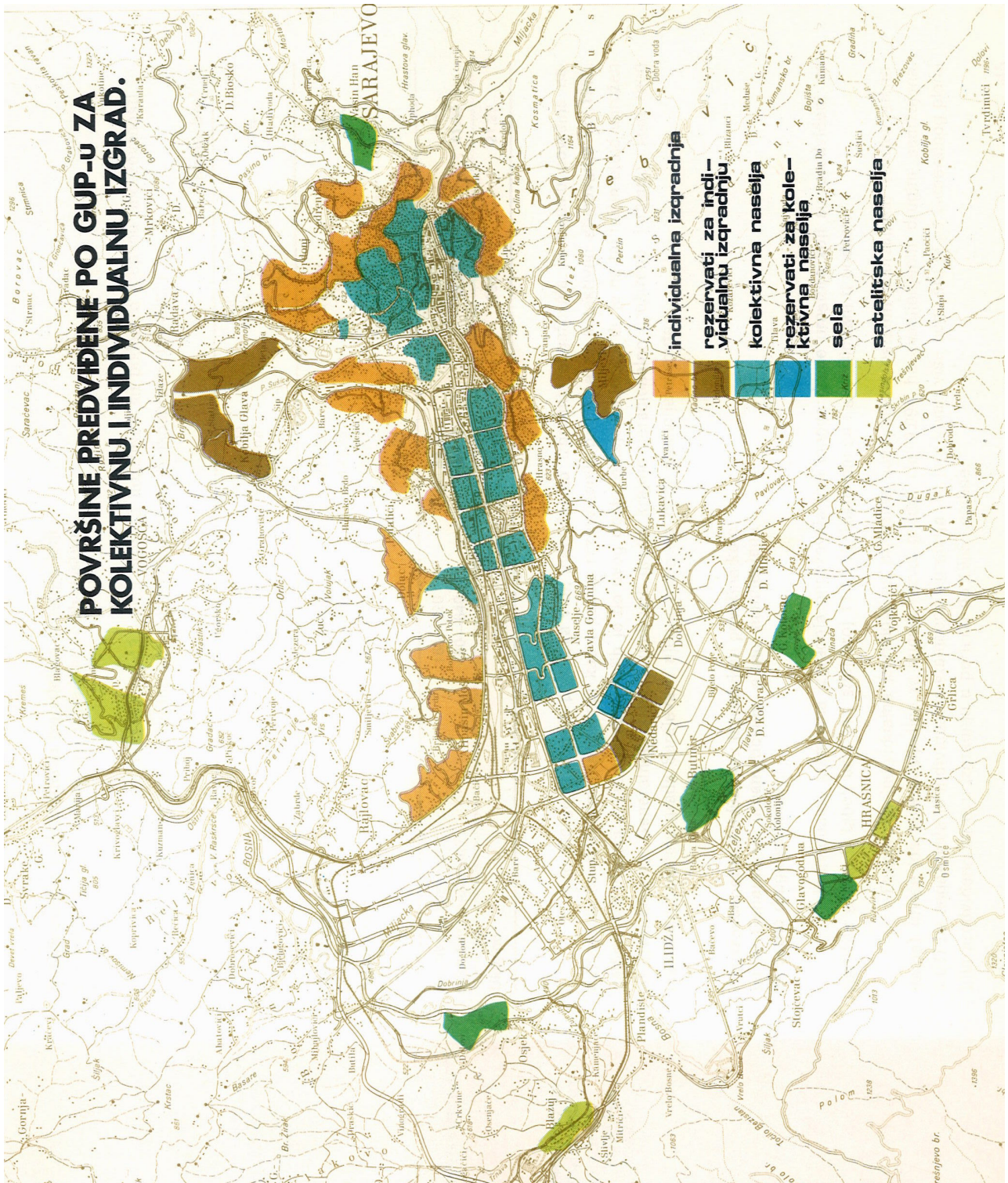
Fig. 61: The overview of designated land use in terms of indvidual and collective housing
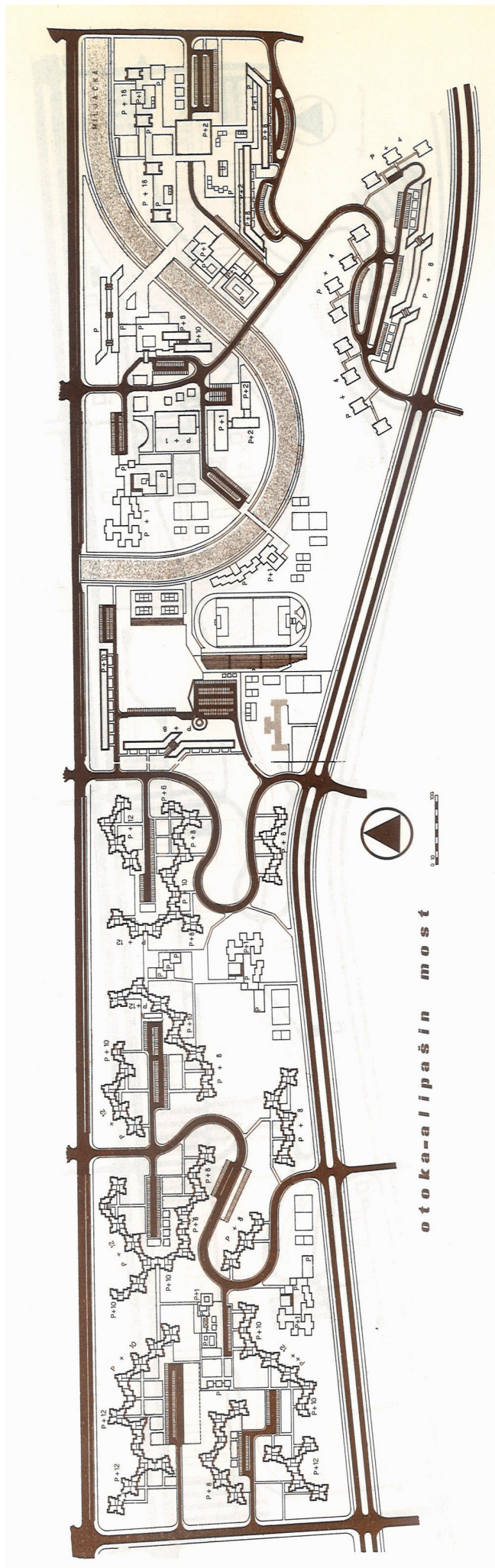
Fig. 2: ETH Zurich/U-TT Urban Toolbox
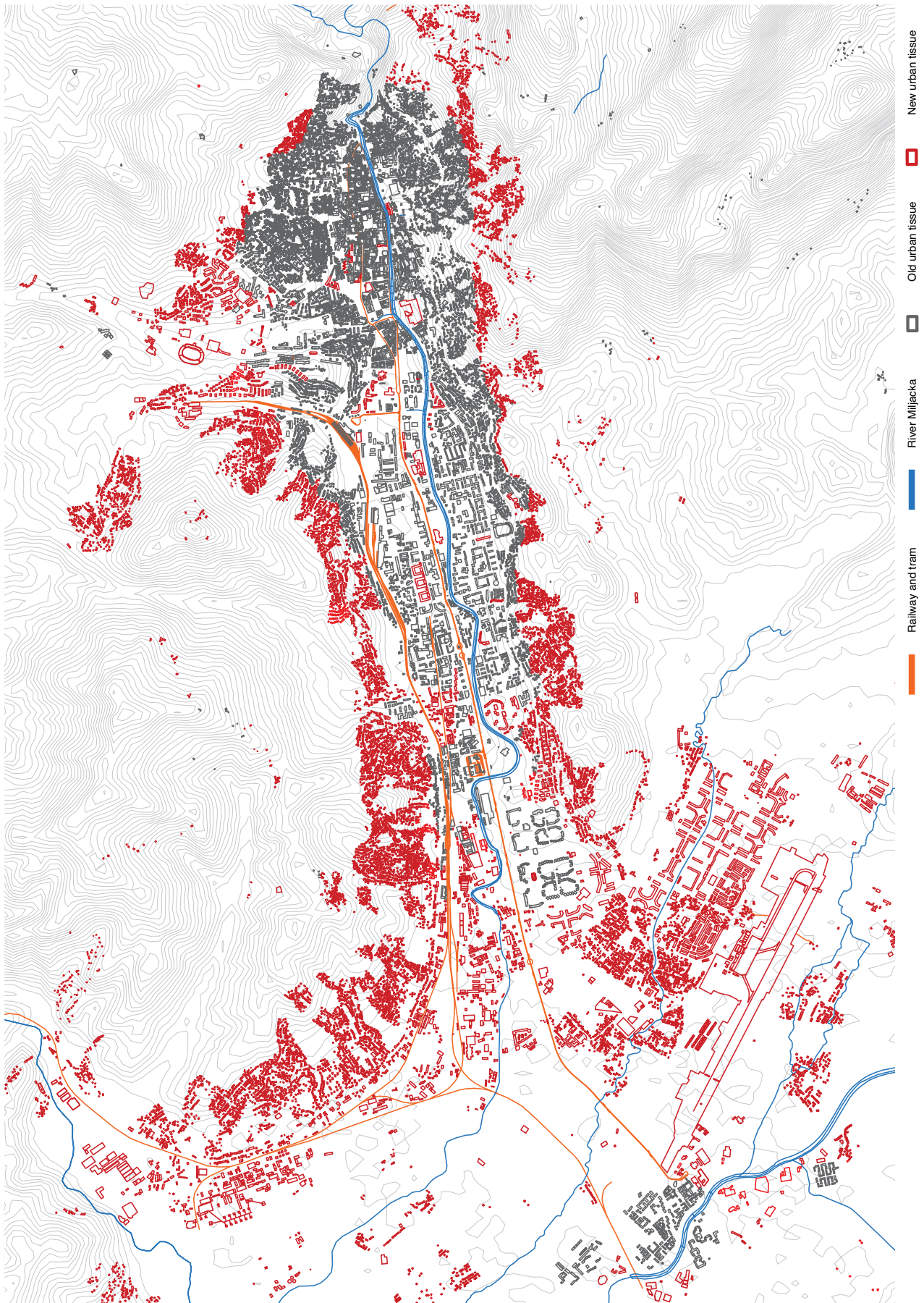
Fig. 63: The Olympic development of Sarajevo, 1978-1992

Legend: New urban tissue · Old urban tissue · River Miljacka · Railway and tram

1978 - 1992
Olympic Boom Period
Marijin Dvor

River
New Buildings

Fig. 63: The Olympic development of Marijin Dvor

V DE-URBANIZATION OF THE URBICIDAL DYSTOPIA (1992-1996)

Cracking base: Collapsing Blocs vs. local fractures

Josip Broz Tito died on May 4th, 1980. With his authority gone, the political, economic and cultural differences among the Yugoslav Republics began to intensify. The over-ambitious Yugoslav societal, and with it, the spatial model started to implode. In order to understand the dissolution of Yugoslavia and its implications on the transformation of Sarajevo from a socialist-modernist city to one, which was territorially divided and destroyed, it is imperative to offer a detailed introduction of its societal circumstances of the 1980s and early 1990s. The Yugoslav decentralized self-management economic system, its 'Bratstvo i Jedinstvo' and non-alliance principles had, for decades, masked deep-set societal issues. When the nation's economy began to experience a downturn in the early 1980s, catalyzed by the end of the socialist ideology in Europe and with it the necessity for a neutral bloc, the main pillars of Yugoslav society started to crumble.

The flagship system of workers' self-management, which had defined the Yugoslav economic paradigm, began to show significant economic downsides. Financial problems became apparent in budget statistics from this period, which showed a radical growth in debts: US$ 168 million in 1956 to US$ 6.1 billion in 1980.[277] In the same year, the foreign debts climbed to US$18 billion.[278]

> **The major cause of Yugoslavia's debt crisis was the over-expansionary economic policies of the Tito era, including heavy reliance on foreign borrowing. The problems these policies precipitated were compounded by Yugoslavia's unique system of workers' self-management, which encourages inflation, prevents rational allocation of investment, and makes it difficult for the federal government to come to grips with the country's external financial problem.[279]**

The decentralized self-management governance concept required a massive bureaucratic apparatus that swallowed large swaths of public funds in order to keep itself operational:

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[277] Flaherty, Diane. "Economic Reform and Foreign Trade in Yugoslavia". In: Cambridge Journal of Economics. Vol. 6. No. 2. 1982. pp. 126-7.

[278] Hudson, Kate. Breaking the South Slav Dream: The Rise and Fall of Yugoslavia (London: Pluto Press). 2003. p. 58.

[279] Central Intelligence Agency. Yugoslavia: Key Questions-Answers on the Debt Crisis - An Intelligence Assessment. EUR 84-10011. January 1984. p. 1.
Source: https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/0005361799
(last accessed: July 2nd 2017).

> **In spite of the high claims for the self-management system, the workers were not to be trusted to manage their affairs. They were to be kept strictly under the control of the local party bureaucracy. The motives for this policy were not, of course, simply ideological. If the workers had been allowed to exercise genuine rights of self-management, tens of thousands of party bureaucrats would have lost their power and their comfortable jobs.[280]**

Despite the success in constructing emblematic public buildings, sports facilities, and infrastructure, as well as alleviating the housing shortage, the Sarajevo Olympics brought to the surface the economic and political cracks in the Yugoslav federation that would eventually rupture in the late 1980s:

> **In reality, however, the Sarajevo Olympic Games opened up a dangerous space in Yugoslav society, a space that exposed some of the economic and political issues that would become tragically unworkable by the end of the decade. Inter-republican rivalries, suspicion of corruption and financial malfeasance, accusations of nationalism, fascism, and 'anti-communism', and exasperation with the federal system.[281]**

Being a non-aligned country, Yugoslavia's crisis was intensified after the fall of the Berlin Wall, which symbolized the end of the Cold War and the global bloc division and accelerated the fundamental reconceptualization of the entire European continent. Mimica emphasized Yugoslavia's new geopolitical position as the following: the "buffer zone between the 'good' guys in the West and the 'evil' guys in the East, or vice versa, became obsolete".[282] Stephen Graham relates the end of the bipolar global system with the emergence of ethnic hatred:

> **The deliberate devastation of urban living spaces continues apace. Fueling it are multiple, parallel transformations which together characterize the postcolonial, post-Cold War world. Here we must consider a veritable blizzard of factors: the unleashing of previously constrained ethnic hatreds since the end of the Cold War bipolar system.[283]**

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[280] Lydall, Harold. Yugoslavia in Crisis. (Oxford University Press). 1989. pp. 78-79.

[281] Pedrotti Meehan. Kate. "Yugoslav Unity and Olympic Ideology at the 1984 Sarajevo Winter Olympic Games". In: Grandits, Hannes and Taylor, Katrin. Yugoslavia's Sunny Side: A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950s-1980s). (Budapest: Central European University Press). 2010. p. 337.

[282] Mimica, Vedran. "West Balkan Affair and Architecture of Transition". In: The Berlage Affair. (Barcelona: Actar). 2017. p. 164.

[283] Graham, Stephen. "Introduction: Cities, Warfare, and States of Emergency" In: Graham, Stephen (Ed.). Cities, War and Terrorism: Towards an urban geopolitics (Malden, MA: Blackwell). 2004. p. 6.

As with its geopolitical status, Yugoslavia's communist ideology, too, became a relic overnight. As Dejan Jović emphasized, the country's foundations as a socialist project, were irreversibly destabilized by the decay of socialism in Europe.[284] This ideological vacuum provided the 'final nail' in the Yugoslav coffin.

The Yugoslav crisis was further catalyzed by political populism, which is reminiscent of the political landscape of Europe in the mid-end 2010s: a rejection of multiculturalism in favor of the idea of the nation-state. The prime example was the 'Srpska Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti-SANU' ('Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences') Memorandum from September 1986, postulating a political and cultural program to reorganize the Yugoslav Federation. The Memorandum argued that the establishment of the confederated and decentralized system in the constitutional reforms of 1963 and 1974 slowed down the economy and contributed to the increase of bureaucracy and the secessionist aspirations of the other Republics.[285] The Memorandum was personified in the populist and extremist politics of Slobodan Milošević.[286] In his historic speech on June 28th, 1989, Milošević gathered almost two million people in Kosovo's Gazimestan to commemorate the 600th anniversary of Serbia's defeat against the Ottoman Empire. The date coincides with the anniversary of both the assassination of Franz Ferdinand in 1914 and the resolution of the Cominform in 1948. (Fig. 64) SKJ, the main political pillar of Yugoslav communism after Tito, dissolved during its 14th Congress in January 1990, publicly revealing the different conceptions and visions among the Republics about the

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[284] Jović, Dejan. Yugoslavia: A State that Withered Away. (West Lafayette IN: Purdue University Press). 2009.

[285] For more on the SANU Memorandum, please see the full document published at the website of the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia:
Source: https://www.helsinki.org.rs/serbian/doc/memorandum%20sanu.pdf (last accessed: August 23rd 2016).
Note: In reality, the document had set its focus on solving the 'Serb question', advocating for national and cultural unity of Serbs across Yugoslavia, in the case of its dissolution. Furthermore, the Memorandum asserted that Serbia took an inferior status in the Federation by claiming that its social and economic development had been hindered after Tito's constitutional reforms of 1963 and 1974. By promoting the centralization of the state and giving back the power to the federal institutions in Belgrade, the Memorandum attempted to prepare the political grounds for Serbia's dominance in future Yugoslavia. The Memorandum was an internal document of SANU that leaked and was published by the daily newspaper 'Večernje novosti' in Belgrade on September 24t 1986. Even though the leadership of the 'Savez Komunista Srbije-SKS' ('League of Communists of Serbia'), a sub-party of the SKJ, fiercely criticized the Memorandum for its nationalistic nature, the Memorandum's conceptual fathers and co-signer, the novelist Dobrica Ćosić became later the President of the 'Savezna Republika Jugoslavija-SRJ' ('Federal Republic of Yugoslavia') from June 1992 to June 1993. SRJ consisted only of Serbia and Montenegro.

[286] His political program throughout the latter half of the 1980s focused on blaming the overdimensioned and corrupt bureaucracy for hindering Yugoslavia's development. To solve it, he initiated the so-called 'Antibureaucratic Revolution'.
For more, please see e.g.: Milosavljević, Olivera. "Antibirokratska revolucija 1987-1989" ("Antibureaucratic Revolution 1987-1989). in: Fleck, Hans-Georg and Graovac, Igor (Eds.). 8th Dialogue of Historians. (Bonn: Friedrich Naumann Foundation). 2004.; Vladisavljević, Nebojša. Serbia's Antibureaucratic Revolution: Milošević, the Fall of Communism and Nationalist Mobilization (New York: Palgrave Macmillan). 2008.; Cohen, Lenard. Serpent in Bosom: The Rise and Fall of Slobodan Milošević. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press). 2001.

future of Yugoslavia: Serbia's preference for centralism opposed Croatia's and Slovenia's autonomy aspirations. In an interview in June 1990, Milovan Đilas expressed concerns about the ethnoreligious war between Serbian and Croatian nationalisms over the multiethnic BiH: "the question of BiH cannot be solved (…) without a civil war, as the division of BiH is not viable".[287] His predictions of nationalists taking power in Yugoslavia strikingly coincided with Francis Fukuyama's prognosis in his emblematic book 'The End of History and the Last Man', in which Fukuyama described the new world order after the end of the Cold War:

> **Even though communism is dead, it is rapidly being replaced by an intolerant and aggressive nationalism. It is premature to commemorate the passing of the strong state - so the argument goes - for where communist totalitarianism fails to survive, it will simply be replaced by nationalist authoritarianism, or perhaps even by fascism of a Russian or Serbian variety.[288]**

The interplay of ethnic conflicts, combined with political polarizations regarding the future dissolution of Yugoslavia, received its most severe political and territorial manifestation in the multi-religious SR BiH, in which different ethnicities campaigned for diametrically opposite propositions for the same geographical territory. This phenomenon is described by the political scientists Jon Elster, Claus Offe and Ulrich Preuss as followed:

> **Where ethnic divisions play a role and where the difficulties of the political agency are still burdened with the additional problem of nation-state-building, then political polarization and uncivilized forms of political competition and struggle prevail.[289]**

Consequently, the first democratic elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina took place in November 1990 and further accelerated the disintegration of the Yugoslav Federation.[290] Despite SKJ's monopoly of power for 45 years – not least of which

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[287] The panel discussion was organized by the 'Opštinski Komitet Saveza Socialističke Omladine Vojvodine-OK SSOV' ('Municipal Committee of the Communist League Youth of Vojvodina') and the newspaper 'Pokret'.
Source: http://www.yugopapir.com/2018/08/jugoslavija-sta-dalje-milovan-ilas-i.html?m=1 (last accessed: July 12th 2017).
Note: Đilas who died in 1995 was the last survivor of the 'big four' of the KPJ/SKJ together with Tito, Aleksandar Ranković and Edvard Kardelj. He served as President of the Federal Assembly from 25th December 1953 until 16th January 1954 and as Deputy Prime Minister of Yugoslavia. Đilas was arrested and condemned to 10 years in imprisonment after criticizing the Yugoslav abstention in the UN regarding the Soviet intervention in Hungary in 1956.

[288] Fukuyama, Francis. The End of History and the Last Man (New York: Free Press). 1992. p. 36.

[289] Elster, Jon; Offe, Claus and Preuss, Ulrich. Institutional design in post-communist societies (Cambridge University Press). 1998. p. 148.

[290] Vladimir Goati argues that citizens of SR BiH (as well as in SR Croatia, SR Slovenia, and SR Macedonia) wanted a change in power. On the contrary, in SR Serbia and SR Montenegro, politicians who were close to the former SKJ, dominated the elections.

media control and sufficient financial resources – the newly established ethno-nationalist parties won the elections.[291] Human rights lawyer Zoran Pajić explained the victory of these parties as the result of a lack of democratic history (referring to the Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian and communist epochs):

> **After so many years of a comfortable collective identity within the Yugoslav system, the common man was simply unprepared to take on the responsibility to exercise his individual freedom. The easiest option was therefore to seek another form of collective identity, another protective shield against the confusion. This was nationalism. Many politicians quickly realised that the nationalist ticket was a lifeboat for them also.[292]**

Alija Izetbegović, President of the SDA, was elected by the collective state presidency as the first President of BiH. Izetbegović, along with Stjepan Kljuić (HDZ) and Radovan Karadžić (SDS) made up the other two-thirds of the tripartite presidency body, took radically different standpoints on the political and territorial future of Sarajevo, BiH and Yugoslavia. These three parties formed a coalition, sealing the fate of the unifying principles of 'Jugosloven' and 'Bratstvo i Jedinstvo'. (Fig. 65)

The territory of Sarajevo became once more the hotspot of a spatio-political dispute. The 1978 territorial reform that upscaled the city to ten metropolitan municipalities provided a crucial impetus for the fragmentation of the city. The territorial distribution of ethnic group majorities correlated with the election success of the ethno-nationalist parties in the respective urban and suburban municipalities. The elections confirmed the divisions: SDS received a relative majority in Sarajevo's suburban municipalities of Ilijaš, Ilidža, and Pale. The severity of the post-election

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For details, please see: Goati, Vladimir. Izbori u SRJ od 1990 do 1998: Volja građana ili izborna manipulacija (Elections in the SRJ from 1990 until 1998: The will of citizens or electoral manipulation). (Beograd: Centar za slobodne izbore i demokratiju). 2001. p. 39.

Note: According to a survey 28.1% of supporters 'Демократски покрет Србије – ДЕПОС' ('Democratic Movement of Serbia'), 21.4% of supporters of the 'Српска Радикална Странка – СРС' ('Serbian Radical Party') and 18.3% of supporters of the 'Социјалистичка Партија Србије – SPS' ('Socialist Party of Serbia') supported the recognition of borders among Yugoslav republics as new international borders, indicating a preference for inner-Yugoslav border alterations in favor of Serbia. (please see p. 64).

[291] The Stranka Demokratske Akcije - SDA (Party of Democratic Action), supported predominantly by Bosniak Muslims, received 36% of the votes, the 'Srpska Demokratska Stranka – SDS' ('Serbian Democratic Party') received 30%, and the 'Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica – HDZ' ('Croatian Democratic Union') 18% of support. The 'Savez Reformista' ('Union of Reformists') received 9% and the Communist Party only 6%. Source: "Izvještaj o rezultatima izbora u SR BiH".("Report of the election results in SR BiH"). Izborna komisija, Skupština SR BiH (Election Committee of the SR BiH Assembly). Sarajevo, December 1990. (translated by the author).

[292] Pajić, Zoran. "Bosnia-Herzegovina: From multi-ethnic co-existence to 'Apartheid'…and back". In: Payam Akhavan (Ed.). Yugoslavia: The Former and the Future: Reflections by Scholars from the Region (Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institute and Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development). 1995. p. 153.

fragmentation threats was palpable in the words of the then-Mayor of Sarajevo, Muhamed Kreševljaković, who warned about the negative repercussions of political, ethnic and territorial division:

> **At this moment, Sarajevo is in an unsettled political position and with many communal problems. It is obvious that the city does not live as a unique entity, as there are many municipalities, and everything is fragmented.[293]**

Throughout 1991 and in early 1992, the Sarajevo city government was exposed to systematic secessionist campaigns as the SDS advocated to formalize the territorial separation of the municipalities they controlled from the jurisdiction of the city government. On the contrary, SDA and HDZ campaigned for a spatio-administrative status quo. This discrepancy was described by the British journalist and security expert Glenny Misha, who made the connection between the political and territorial rearrangement of Europe in 1918 and its post-Cold War 'afterpains' that reached Sarajevo in the early 1990s:

> **Moreover, the botched peace settlements after 1918 multiplied what we, at the end of the twentieth century, known to be the fatal virus of democracy, namely the division of the body of citizens exclusively along ethnic-national or religious lines. [294]**

From revolutionary protests to urban frontlines

Marijin Dvor was built to represent a new era, and yet another new epoch, the one of BiH's independence, had been decided at the same location. It embodied the new, socialist modernist Sarajevo by becoming the political, economic and cultural hub in the city: home to the Parliament, new university buildings and the business district. The Parliament building that was initially designed to symbolize the 'Bratstvo i Jedinstvo', became, on the contrary, the place where vehement conflicts and heated debates among ethnonational political representatives during the post-SKJ era took place.

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[293] In: Oslobođenje. December 21th 1990. p. 10.

[294] Glenny, Misha. The Fall of Yugoslavia: The Third Balkan War (London: Penguin Books). 1996 (revised version). pp. 146-148.

Approximately 100'000 protesters gathered in Marijin Dvor on April 6th, 1992, demanding a new revolution: the resignation of the ethnonationalist government coalition whom they held responsible for the political fragmentation of Sarajevo and BiH. Neidhardt's Parliament building, symbolizing the center of the governmental power, together with its large square were the logical locations for the protests. (Fig. 66) Shots from snipers sitting on the Olympic Holiday Inn Hotel (SDS' informal headquarters) were fired at the protesters, killing six.[295] These were considered the first casualties of the war in Sarajevo turning the end of the Cold War into a 'Hot War'. On the same day, the European Community recognized the independence of BiH, exactly 47 years after Tito's partisans liberated Sarajevo and proclaimed the revolution.

According to Biljana Plavšić, a high-profile member of the SDS, the Serb paramilitary forces aimed to divide Sarajevo into two ethnic zones. Marijin Dvor, as the geographical and political center of the city, represented, in their opinion, the most convenient area to halve the city. "Everything west of the Holiday Inn"[296] was supposed to belong to the future ethnically clean Serb territory. Momčilo Krajišnik, a high ranking SDS-politician, proposed this division plan of the city to Izetbegović, who refused.[297] Separated into two sections, Sarajevo known as the 'Jerusalem of Europe' would have received urban ethnic boundaries (such as Belfast or Nicosia), becoming a 'Yugoslav Beirut'.[298]

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[295] Donia, Robert. Sarajevo: A Biography (London: Hurst and Company). 2006. p. 282.

[296] Plavšić's words are quoted in an article in the New York Times republishing an interview with the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). "Sarajevo siege deepens defying efforts at peace". In: New York Times. 27th September 1992. p. 3.
Source: https://www.nytimes.com/1992/09/27/world/sarajevo-siege-deepens-defying-efforts-at-peace.html
(last accessed: January 13th 2018).
Note: Plavšić, a former Professor of Biology at the University of Sarajevo, defended her theory of ethnic cleansing, the murder or relocation of entire populations, as a natural phenomenon, unavoidable due to the genetic deformation of Bosnian Muslims. She pleaded guilty and was convicted by the ICTY for "Persecutions on political, racial and religious grounds (crimes against humanity, Article 5)" on February 27th, 2003 and sentenced to 11 years of imprisonment.
Please see: Inić, Slobodan. "Biljana Plavšić: Geneticist in the Service of a Great Crime". In: Bosnia report (London). No. 19. June-August 1997.; ICTY Case Information Sheet IT-00-39 & 40/1.
Source: http://www.icty.org/x/cases/plavsic/cis/en/cis_plavsic_en.pdf
(last accessed: July 18th 2017).

[297] A conversation between Momčilo Krajišnik and Izetbegović on April 8th, 1992 in the BiH Assembly Building ended with Izetbegović's refusal to divide the city into ethnic zones. Please see: "Interview with Momčilo Krajišnik" at Face TV Sarajevo, September 27th 2013. Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z68qlxrwTEA (last accessed: July 23rd 2017); Interview in 'Večernje novosti'. Belgrade, April 4th 1996. (translated by the author).
Note: Krajišnik was later convicted of "crimes against humanity, acquitted of genocide and complicity in genocide" in September 2006 and sentenced to 27 years of imprisonment. Please see ICTY Case: IT-00-39-T.
Source: http://www.icty.org/x/cases/krajisnik/cis/en/cis_krajisnik_en.pdf
(last accessed: July 21th 2017).

[298] In: NIN. Belgrade, 27th November 1992. p. 23.

The artist and comedian group 'Nadrealisti' from Sarajevo predicted in 1989 that, due to the geopolitical symbolism of Sarajevo, if there will be a new Wall in Europe, it can only be erected in Sarajevo.[299] Bogdan Bogdanović,[300] highly criticized the SDS leadership's plan to divide the city along ethnic lines. He argued that Sarajevo's 'noble syncretism', assembled through the contested history, will vanish if erecting division walls:

> **Instead of the Berlin Wall, we would have 5-6 Sarajevo Walls. (...) Instead of New Alexandria, we would get old Babylon. Instead of the city of 'noble syncretism', in which cultures, religions, and languages are intertwined, at every step and at each meeting, in every street, the city we would have is the one divided upon squares-casemates, as they were divided in old Babylon according to human races, languages, cults and skin color.[301]**

The territorial division of Sarajevo was supposed to serve as a model for the future division of BiH. (Fig. 67) Karadžić emphasized the importance of Sarajevo multiple times, stating that BiH cannot be an independent country, while SDS is holding a part of the capital city. In his opinion, the battle of Sarajevo would decide the war, with the city being either divided or destroyed.[302] Warren Zimmermann, then U.S. ambassador to Yugoslavia, recalled from an interview he had with Karadžić, his plan to ethnically divide Sarajevo into two parts by erecting walls:

> **He told me that Sarajevo was going to be the Serbian capital, and I expressed some surprise, since it's largely a Muslim city. He said "Well, we're going to divide it up" and that "We will have the Serbian area, and that will be part of the Serbian Republic, we will have a Muslim area, and we will have a Croatian area, so nobody will have to live next to another ethnic group. There will be divisions. I asked him about the divisions. He said "Yes, we are going to build walls that will separate all of these areas".[303]**

For more on the concept of urban boundaries, see: Pullan, Wendy. Frontier urbanism: The periphery at the centre of contested cities. The Journal of Architecture. Vol. 16. No. 1. 2001. pp. 15-35. (translated by the author).

[299] Interviews (multiple) with Zenit Đozić, co-founder of the 'Nadrealisti'. Sarajevo, Venice and Zurich. 2015-2018.

[300] Bogdanović despite being both former Dean of the Architecture Faculty at the University of Belgrade and the Mayor of the city of Belgrade, and a persona with a high reputation was forced to leave Serbia in the early 1990s, due to political pressure by the Milošević regime for his anti-nationalist politics. He died in exile in Vienna on June 18th 2010.

[301] ibid. p. 64.

[302] Donia, Robert. Od izbora do mrtve tačke: Geneza opsade Sarajeva 1990-1994 (From the elections to a dead point: The genesis of the Sarajevo siege 1990-1994). Declaration of the expert witness in case IT-98/29/1-The Prosecutor vs. Dragomir Milosevic (The Hague Tribunal for War Crimes in former Yugoslavia document). 2006. (translated by the author).
Note: Robert Donia was called as an expert during the court case at the 'The Hague Tribunal for War Crimes in former Yugoslavia' thematizing the bombardment of Sarajevo. He referred to the stenograms of the Assembly of the SDS-controlled Republika Srpska-RS.

[303] Transcript of interview with Warren Zimmermann. In: Death of Yugoslavia Archive. 3/87 UBIT 677-678, pp. 9-10.

After fruitless demands for the division of Sarajevo, with Marijin Dvor as ground zero due to its centrality, the SDS leadership placed Sarajevo – with the support of the 'Vojska Republike Srpske-VRS' ('Army of Republika Srpska') – under a military siege, geographically sealing off the city from its hinterlands by encircling it with a 60 km long frontline. (Fig. 68) This act reminds of Clausewitz's definition of war as the continuation of politics by different means:

> **We hold all our areas, all the municipalities and the settlements around Sarajevo. (…). We hold our enemies in complete encirclement so that they cannot receive military assistance, either in manpower or in weapons.**[304]

Bogdanović described the mortal dimension of the frontline as a total spatial boundary for the civilians: "the invisible delimitation was inviolable, a res sacra. Any unauthorized overruns across the drawn lines were paid for on the spot."[305] Sarajevo's geography, demography and topography were jointly responsible for the effectiveness of the siege. As the city developed in a narrow valley, it was naturally vulnerable to bombings and attacks from the slopes of the hills and mountains. Clusters of villages with ethnic Serb majorities located on the suburban slopes, which were annexed to the city territory in 1978, helped to establish the military repression. According to Curtis King, the topography of Sarajevo turned out to be an especially favorable element to lock the city under siege, as the: "dominant characteristic of the city was the ring of mountains surrounding it, placing the city in a bowl visible and vulnerable to anyone who occupied the rim of high ground on the outside edges."[306] The frontline intersected the mahalas built on the slopes at elevations between 530 m and 950 m. (Fig. 69) Sarajevo's 'green lungs' including the Olympic mountain Trebević, which Neidhardt connected with Marijin Dvor through green corridors, became the host of heavy artillery cannons used to bombard the city.

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[304] Donia, Robert. Iz Skupštine Republike Srpske 1991–1996 (From the Assembly of the Republic of Srpska 1991-1996). (Sarajevo: University Press). 2012. p. 171.

[305] Bogdanović, Bogdan. Tri ratne knjige (Three war books). (Novi Sad: Mediteran Publishing). 2008. p. 64. (translated by the author).

[306] King, Curtis. "The siege of Sarajevo: 1992–1995". In: Robertson, William (Ed.). Block by block: The challenges of urban operations. (Fort Leavenworth: U.S. Army Command and General Staff College Press). p. 241.

The SDS paramilitary forces together with the 'Jugoslovenska Narodna Armija-JNA' ('Yugoslav People's Army') that turned pro-Serb applied multiple military tactics, such as barricades, heavy artillery, sniper fire and infantry throughout the urban battlefield. King postulated that the battles in Sarajevo represented one of the most brutal urban military actions in modern warfare, comparing it to Stalingrad: "At various times, the siege included moments of high-intensity street fighting, lengthy siege operations dominated by bombardments and sniper fire, and political posturing".[307] The besieging forces had overwhelming military power at their disposal: 260 tanks, 120 mortars, MIG airplanes and innumerable light weapons.[308]

The only escape through the siege was a subterranean channel, the 'Tunnel of Hope', dug below the UN-controlled airport. The secret operation started on March 1st, 1993, on the first anniversary of the referendum for BiH's independence. The tunnel opened on July 1st, 1993 and was 785,5 m long, and approimately. 1m wide and 1,5-1,8m high, becoming the city's sole vital lifeline.[309] After three years under siege, my family and I left Sarajevo for Berlin, going through the Tunnel on March 27th, 1995. Sarajevo suffered the longest siege of a city in modern military history: in the 1425 days of siege, an average of 350 000 people were enclosed in the city, killing 13 952, injuring 70 000 and destroying at least 35 000 buildings and houses.[310] The total damage to the public utilities and business infrastructure exceeded US $30 billion, while an estimated 100 000 jobs were lost. An average of 329 shell-impacts per day fell on the city, for an estimated total of 2 600 000 shells.[311]

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[307] Ibid. p. 235.

[308] FAMA. Survival Guide. (Sarajevo: FAMA). 2012. Note: FAMA was an initiative of artists, designers and media experts from Sarajevo who created a knowledge base regarding the survival strategies in the city. In 1994 FAMA held a temporary exhibition in front of the National Theatre named 'Survival Art Museum' showing the survival tactics of the citizens.
Source: https://www.famacollection.org/The_Siege_of_Sarajevo_Museum_Project_Presentation_Document_(march2012).pdf (last accessed: November 2nd 2017).; Prosecutor v. Stanislav Galic: Judgement and Opinion. ICTY (International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia). Judgement of: December 5th 2003. Source: https://archive.is/20120716103929/http://sim.law.uu.nl/sim/caselaw/tribunalen.nsf/6c3f0d5286f9bf3cc12571b500329d62/31f622000d199e48c12571fe004be26e?OpenDocument#selection-710.6-740.0
(last accessed: November 4th 2017).

[309] For more regarding the information on the tunnel and its meaning in the wartime as well as postwar museal function, please see: Hamber, Brandon. "Conflict museums, nostalgia, and dreaming of never again". In: Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology. 18(3). 2012.

[310] For more on the wartime casualties in Sarajevo, please see: Final report of the United Nations Commission of Experts established pursuant to security council resolution 780 (1992). Study of the battle and siege of Sarajevo Annex VI.

[311] Donia, Robert. Sarajevo: A biography (London: Hurst and Company). 2006.

The de-urbanization manifested itself in the devastation of the city's architectures, infrastructures and landscapes, resulting in near total damage to the built environment of Sarajevo.[312] The urbicide broke down the city's infrastructure and denied civilians access to basic commodities, such as electricity, gas, and water, but also food and medicine. This constituted a vivid example of 'war by architecture', as framed by Andrew Herscher, who addressed wartime architectural destruction as a form of contesting identities and political ideologies embedded in urban space.[313]

Rather than seeing the intended division of destruction of New Sarajevo and Marijin Dvor as an antithesis to socialist spatial production, I assert that the ideological backgrounds of war itself became a driver of spatial transformation, which leaned on Allen Feldman's theory about the violence in Northern Ireland. He postulates that "contexts for the inception of violence are frequently transformed by their ideological representation and the material reproduction of violence",[314] where violence should be recognized as "transformative practice that constructs novel poles of enactment and reception" becoming "the condition of its own reproduction".[315] After analyzing Sarajevo's contested history of 'Non-Aligned Urbanism', its intense volatility, in terms of alternating periods of societal progress and intense destruction, becomes an evident trajectory in explaining its discontinuous development. Sarajevo can, therefore, be defined as a figurative example of 'geopolitical landscape' in which, according to Colin Flint: " (…) social relations and geographic spaces are continually formed and reformed across spatio-temporal layers commonly known as war and peace".[316]

Therefore, the siege needs to be recontextualized not as a historical particularity but be placed as a period between Sarajevo's socialist construction and post-war reconstruction. In this case, the actors who modified the cityscape of Sarajevo require special attention – as both the Serb nationalist military through large-scale

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[312] Prstojević, Miroslav. Sarajevo: Ranjeni grad (Sarajevo: A wounded city). (Sarajevo: Ideja). 1994. (translated by the author).

[313] Herscher, Andrew. "Warchitectural Theory". In: Journal of Architectural Education. 61:3. 2008. pp. 35-43.

[314] Feldman, Allen. Formations of Violence: The Narrative of the Body and Political Terror in Northern Ireland. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press). 1991. p. 21.

[315] Ibid.

[316] Flint, Colin. "Intertwined spaces of peace and war: The perpetual dynamism of geopolitical landscapes". In: Kirsch, Scott and Flint, Colin. Reconstructing Conflict: Integrating war and post-war geographies. (London: Routledge). 2011. p. 33.

and ideologically-fueled destruction, and the citizens of Sarajevo through their small-scale appropriations, became agents of spatial transformations.

Killing the city: Anthropomorphic origins of urbicide

Lasting for almost four years, the siege resulted in an urbicidal annihilation, which targeted specific buildings as integral components of identity-related significance. It revealed the spatial dimension of war – an attempt to destroy the notion of urbanity that embodied collective, multi-ethnic plurality of Sarajevo's communities – as a basis for the intended urban division rooted in ethnonationalist homogenization ideas.

The 'Warchitecture' catalogue published by the BiH Association of Architects (DAS-SA BiH) in June 1993, which recorded the destruction of buildings important for the function and identity of the city,[317] states that 2/3 of the damaged or destroyed buildings were public buildings of non-religious importance. (Fig. 70) The majority of them originated from the socialist period, making the intention for the destruction of the multi-ethnic and Yugoslav remnants of the city clear. Nonetheless, many buildings connected to Muslim heritage were destroyed too: the Ottoman-era Magribija mosque in Marijin Dvor, as well as the Austro-Hungarian-era building that hosted the Oriental Institute. The pseudo-Oriental City Hall/National Library was targeted both for its oriental semantics and for its written databases of Bosnia's multireligious history. The latter two were, in fact, buildings from the Austro-Hungarian period but were bombarded due to their program or stylistic direction. The targeted destruction was easy due to geographic coordinates that the VRS inherited from the JNA, which contained precise locations of more than 1300 important buildings in Sarajevo.[318] Among them were the main post building, the TV

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[317] Interviews with Borislav Ćurić Kokan, one of the main protagonists of Warchitecture. In Sarajevo and Zurich. September 2018 and December 2018.
More information: Warchitecture (Sarajevo: DAS-SA BiH). 1993.

[318] Interview (anonymous) with a former officer of the Bosnian army. October 28th 2017.
Note: The military maps were made by the 'Institut za geopolitičke studije"Institute for geopolitical studies') in Belgrade, which was under the control of the JNA.

tower, the headquarters of the 'Oslobođenje' newspaper, the Olympic Hall Zetra (used as a hub for the distribution of humanitarian aid) the State Electric Enterprise headquarters of Ivan Štraus – buildings that were punctually and deliberately destroyed in order to accelerate the supply and information channels. The intent to modify history, erase the identity and harm the collective memory of Sarajevo had an etymological dimension, as well. After occupying and dividing the city, SDS planned to replace the Ottoman toponym 'Sarajevo' with a name closer to the Serb orthodox tradition, namely, 'Ninoslavgrad' or 'Kotromangrad'.[319]

Urbicide was the instrument for paving the way for ethnic cleansing and the city's definitive division. The term, originally coined by Marshall Berman in 1987,[320] found visibility for the first time in the international discourse through Bogdan Bogdanović's writings in 1992, vividly illustrating the systematic military campaign both against the city and its human communities. Bogdanović was one of the loudest voices in Serbia against Milošević's ethnonationalistic politics. Through his work, the siege earned widespread international attention, including the one in the architectural discourse. He described this destruction as a murder of the city – punishment for its spirit of multi-cultural cosmopolitanism, which had grown out of the myriad of cultural influences:

> **A very systematic technique of the siege, as well as Karadžić's lucid rectification by which it is justified, show the clarity of the initiative. The attacks are not aimed at the goal of just destructing Sarajevo but to 'kill the city in it'. He probably wants to punish it for its former spirit tolerance and cosmopolitanism, but also to ethnically clean it. (...) In the eyes of the whole world, the mindless demolition of Sarajevo will remain another dark 'Serbian formula' in the history of modern civilization.[321]**

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[319] "Report: Serbs Would Change Name of Sarajevo". in: Associated Press. November 10th 1992.
Note: The report sources the information from an interview of Radoslav Unković (Director of the Heritage Department of the Bosnian Serbs' Republic) to the Belgrade newspapers 'Večernje Novosti'.
Source: https://www.apnews.com/33f5d010e6ee75c81c8668b74d8bdb12
(last accessed: January 2nd 2018).

[320] Berman was Professor of Political Science and Urbanism at The City College of New York and City University of New York. He proposed the term urbicide to describe the urban destruction in New York, in particular in the Bronx of the 1980s:. For a detailed overview:
Berman, Marshall. "Falling towers: City life after urbicide". In: Crow, Denis (Ed.) Geography and Identity: Living and Exploring Geopolitics of Identity. (Washington D.C.: Maisonneuve Press). 1996. pp. 172-192.

[321] Bogdanović, Bogdan. Tri ratne knjige (Three war books). (Novi Sad: Mediteran Publishing). 2008. p. 63.
(translated by the author).

Bogdan Bogdanović described the destructors as 'city haters',[322] driven by 'urbophobia': a reactionary rural predisposition against the multicultural urban identity of Sarajevo. Bogdanović stated in his correspondence with French intellectuals in 1993 on the topic of the wartime situation in Sarajevo the following: "Our French friends, for example, were interested in whether we can at least know how many anti-urban impulses have been wrought into the basic drivers of this war?"[323] Nonetheless, Bogdanović's dichotomic account of the urban/civilized vs. rural/primitive was criticized by Carl Grodach for its generalization of identities.[324] Martin Coward noted its reduction of the complexities of violence to solely anti-urban barbarism.[325] Coward argued, rather, for the intricate interrelation of the physical destruction of urbanity and the sought for destruction of the basis of cultural heterogeneity, which confirms the connection between culture and architecture:

> **Urbicide refers to the 'killing' (by destroying its conditions of possibility) of that which characterizes urbanity: heterogeneity. Since buildings constituted the spatiality of existence as fundamentally shared/public (...) destroying the buildings that make up the urban fabric, is essentially a destruction of the conditions of possibility of heterogeneity.[326]**

Dževad Karahasan drew a connection between the devastation of immaterial culture to physical architecture, arguing that if a city's architectural artifacts are destroyed, the culture and community will share the same fate: "A city exists, (...) as long as what symbolizes its durability, survives".[327] The French sociologist and philosopher Pierre Bourdieu followed a similar line of thought. According to him, architectural destruction can lead to 'soft violence' that disrupts the roots, values

[322] For details on the concept of the 'city haters', please see: Bogdanović, Bogdan. Murder of the City (New York: The New York Review of Books). 1993.

[323] Bogdan, Bogdanović. Tri ratne knjige (Three war books). (Novi Sad Mediteran Publishing) 2008. pp. 61-62.

[324] Grodach, Carl. "Reconstituting Identity and History in Post-war Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina". In: City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action. 6:1. 2002. pp. 61-82.

[325] Coward, Martin. Urbicide: The Politics of Urban Destruction (London: Routledge). 2009.

[326] Coward, Martin. Urbicide and the Question of Community in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Doctoral Dissertation. University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Department of Politics. 2001. p. 158.

[327] Karahasan, Dževad. "Le Coeur de la ville: Trois tableaux" ("The Heart of the City: Three Pictures"). In: Iveković, Rada and Blažević, Dunja (Eds.): Hommage à Sarajevo. Destruction de l'image (A Hommage to Sarajevo: Image of the destruction). (Paris: l'Harmattan and Le Mans: La Fonderie). 1993. p. 21.

and symbolic expressions of a social or political group.[328] The French and British architects Brigitte Piquard and Mark Swenarton also correlated the anthropomorphic barbarism towards architectural structures of importance for the identity of local communities. They argue that the interlinkage of ethnic cleansing and dehumanization leads to urban destruction in which the architecture becomes the enemy, which can be perceived as an early alarming sign of genocidal intentions:

> **The systematic destruction of buildings or building traditions has been a means erasing altogether the memories of a community and its presence from a specific location. In this case, architecture becomes the enemy. Indeed, the destruction of historical buildings and places of memory can be early-warning signs of ethnic cleansing, as dehumanization and destruction of patrimony are two of the first steps in a genocidal process. (…) As in every case of symbolic violence, the dehumanization of people is accompanied by an anthropomorphic attitude towards buildings that sees them as something to be 'wounded' or 'humiliated'.[329]**

This analogy can be traced in the urbicide of Sarajevo as the destruction of symbolic architectural artifacts stands, thus, in direct correlation with the aim to destroy the city as a symbol of diverse communities, utilizing violence that "transforms, often fundamentally, the values, meanings, and identities of architecture".[330] In other words, urbicide was a violent strategy, fired up by ethnic nationalism, intending to homogenize the city and disavow its cultural, political and social plurality. The urbicidal campaigns affected historic buildings, public and sacred monuments, aiming to erase particular ethnic or collective identities of Sarajevo that epitomized the common Yugoslav past. Andrew Herscher interprets this conjunction between post-communist identities, architecture, and destruction thus: "postsocialist ethnicity (...) might be a social construction partly materialized by transformations of architecture into ethnic artifacts through violent destruction".[331]

All across the ex-Yugoslavia, it was open season for architecture. Seen as cultural markers of the 'toxic other', specific architectural landmarks were targeted and

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[328] Note: For Bourdieu's theories please see: Bourdieu, Pierre. Esquisse d'une theorie de la pratique (Sketch of a theory of practice). (Paris: Droz). 1972. p. 18.

[329] Piquard, Brigitte and Swenarton, Mark. "Learning from architecture and conflict". In: The Journal of Architecture. 16:1. 2011. p. 6.

[330] Herscher, Andrew. "Warchitectural Theory". In: Journal of Architectural Education. 61:3. 2008. p. 42.

[331] Herscher, Andrew. "Architecture, destruction and the destruction of Yugoslavia". In: Stierli, Martino and Kulić, Vladimir. Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia: 1948–1980. Exhibition Catalogue. (New York: The Museum of Modern Art). p. 114.

subjected to intense spatial violence early on during the war. The bombardments of the old town in Dubrovnik and the devastation of Vukovar in Croatia in 1991, being among the first examples. The destruction of the Ottoman heritage in BiH, such as the UNESCO-protected Ferhadija Mosque in Banja Luka,[332] as well as the destruction of the Old Town bridge in Mostar,[333] vividly depicted both the ideological and architectural dimensions of the conflict.

Yet, compared to other cities in ex-Yugoslavia, Sarajevo represented a unique case of the destruction in its siege, due to the systematic deprivation of its inhabitants' basic human rights. A report by the Council of Europe's Committee on Culture and Education that was published in September 1993 vividly illustrated the massive demolition of the city's urbanity:

> **It is plain that Sarajevo has suffered badly at the hands of its attackers. (…) There has been serious damage to the urban fabric. The infrastructure is badly damaged. Most buildings are damaged significantly including ancient monuments. (…) The structural and property damage in Sarajevo as a result of the siege included specifically protected targets such as hospitals and medical complexes, (…) as well as cultural property.[334]**

With the targeting of symbolic objects, the conflict turned into an architectural proxy war. The destructive powers targeted buildings of (multi)cultural symbolism, aiming for a de-identification of citizens with their city. The architecture theoretician Robert Bevan, called the attempt to break collective identities through destruction of architecture a "disorientating exile from the memories they have invoked"[335] as "the link between erasing any physical reminder of (…) collective memory and the killing

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[332] Ferhadija mosque is located in Banja Luka, a city in the northwestern part of BiH, then controlled by the SDS. It had no direct war impacts or nearby frontlines. The mosque was blown up with the precise placement of dynamite in a terrorist attack. The SDS member and wartime president of the municipality of Sokolac in Eastern BiH, Milan Tupajić, stated as a witness in the ICTY trial against Krajišnik: "There is a belief among the Serbs that if there are no mosques, there are no Muslims. And by destroying the mosques, the Muslims will lose a motive to return to their villages". In the ICTY trial against Milošević, a witness claimed that Simo Drljača, SDS's Chief Police Officer in the town of Prijedor in northwestern BiH, stated: "With their mosques you must not just break the minarets. You've got to shake up the foundations because that means they cannot build another. Do that, and they'll want to go. They'll just leave by themselves."
Sources: http://www.icty.org/x/cases/krajisnik/trans/en/050629IT.htm (p. 15432).
http://www.icty.org/x/cases/slobodan_milosevic/trans/en/030708ED.htm (p. 23887).
(last accessed: July 18th 2017).

[333] The Stari Most (Old Bridge) as destroyed by mortar fire by the Hrvatsko Vijeće Obrane - HVO (Croatian Defense Council) under control of HDZ in a campaign of ethnic cleansing and destruction of Ottoman heritage.

[334] "Study of the battle and siege of Sarajevo". Final report of the United Nations Commission of Experts established pursuant to security council resolution 780 (1992). Annex VI - Part 1.. S/1994/674/Add.2 (Vol. II). New York. 1994.

[335] Bevan, Robert. The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War (London: Reaktion Books). 2007. pp. 8, 140.

of the people themselves is ineluctable".[336] Sabahudin Špilja understood Sarajevo as a multi-ethnic 'ecumenopolis', a world in itself, in terms of both the world being present in Sarajevo (due to the global media outreach) and the presence of the world religions in the city that made it an object of destruction.[337]

One of the most illustrative examples on an architectural proxy war with the intent to destroy the emotional association with the built environment, is the case of the pseudo-Oriental National Library of BiH (former City Hall), which was deliberately shelled and ignited by incendiary grenades in the night from August 25th to 26th 1992 (Fig. 71):

> **Approximately 1 200 000 book items and 600 sets of periodicals were destroyed. Administrative documents and the card catalogues, computer equipment, microfilms and photograph laboratories, the rare book and other special collections, and the university library, which was housed in the same building. It seems the Nazis burned about twenty million books. But not in one place (rather, in about 45 different places). August 27th 1992 in Sarajevo, then, may have been the most significant book burning in history. In one day, and one night: a million and a quarter of books.[338]**

Librarians, firefighters and ordinary citizens formed a human chain to pass books and archive material from the burning building into trucks. In interviews, participants who risked their lives to save some of the books testified both about the people's will to resist and the kinship to the architecture of the city:

> **Serb fighters in the hills ringing Sarajevo peppered the area around the library with machine-gun fire, trying to prevent firemen from fighting the blaze along the banks of the Miljacka river in the old city. (…) Asked why he was risking his life, fire brigade chief Kenan Slinić, sweaty, soot-covered and two yards from the blaze, said: "Because I was born here and they are burning a part of me." [339]**

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[336] ibid. p. 13.

[337] Špilja, Sabahudin. "Attempts at (war)reading the town". In: Warchitecture (Sarajevo-DAS SA BiH). 1993. p. 20.

[338] On the destruction of the National Library please see the article of the Chief Librarian of the National Museum of BiH:
Bakaršić, Kemal. "The Libraries of Sarajevo and the book that saved our lives". In: The New Combat: A journal of Reason and Resistance. Vol. 3 (Autumn 1994). pp. 13-15.
Note: This mass book-burning act introduced another term to the international discourse, the systematic eradication of cultural monuments associated with a particular ethnic or religious group: 'memoricide'. It was primarily coined by the Croatian-French historian Mirko Grmek (please refer to: Grmek, Mirko. "Memoricide". In: Collegium Antropologicum. Vol. 16. 1992.

[339] Pomfret, John. "Battles for Sarajevo Intensify as Bosnian Peace Conference Opens'. In: Associated Press. 26th August 1992.

Mary Kaldor, Professor of global governance at the London School of Economics (LSE), in her article "Sarajevo's Reproach", calls the conflict in Sarajevo a 'new war', on the grounds of its particular dualisms: amalgams of international conflict and ethnic war, as well as of cosmopolitan solidarity and nationalist exclusionary notions:

> **[This] bizarre war, quite unlike earlier wars, definitely a twenty-first-century phenomenon. It is characterized by a strange mixture of parochialism and cosmopolitanism, nationalism and transnationalism, exclusiveness and humanitarianism".[340]**

Radical de(recon)structions of New Sarajevo and Marijin Dvor

Following the JNA's departure from the 'Marshall Tito' (former Austro-Hungarian von Phillipovich-Kaserne) military barracks in June 1992, the frontline between Marijin Dvor and southern part of New Sarajevo, Grbavica, along the Miljacka river, solidified. The district was turned into a lethal landscape: Sarajevo's main artery, the longitudinal 'spine', became the most dangerous street in the world, known as the 'Sniper Alley'.[341] (Fig. 72) The primary features of the GUP - generous avenues, open spaces and green corridors originating from Yugoslav planning paradigms – became 'lethal landscapes', aiming to delimit mobility flows, disable everyday activities, prevent public gatherings and, therefore, paralyze the city. The amount of public space shrank drastically and everyday activities were moved to indoor or sheltered areas. The permeable modernist morphology of New Sarajevo enabled a 'panoptic view' for the snipers, making it more dangerous than the organic Ottoman and the dense orthogonal Austro-Hungarian fabrics. (Fig. 73) Snipers occupied residential high rises of New Sarajevo and positions in or above the mahalas on the slopes. Bizarrely, Sarajevo's Ottoman concept of the right to the view from the surrounding mahalas on the slopes, which also inspired Neidhardt's 'Carpet City', became an advantage in a deliberate killing campaign of civilians.

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[340] Kaldor, Mary. "Sarajevo's Reproach". In: The Progressive. September 1993. pp. 21-23.

[341] Kapić, Suada. The Siege of Sarajevo: 1992–1996. (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga). 2000.

Marijin Dvor's architecture also suffered immensely under the destruction efforts. The Museum of the Revolution was severely damaged due to its location directly at the frontline. (Fig. 74) The ideology of Tito's revolucija vanished and the Museum changed its name to the Historical Museum of BiH,[342] but it kept its architectural program and even partly kept its operations going:

> **All museums in Sarajevo displayed UNESCO flags sent to them by the Museum Documentation Centre, Zagreb; unfortunately, these provided no protection. (...) Approximately 4% of the paintings collection has suffered shrapnel damage, while around 4% of three-dimensional objects, 0.21% of archival material, 1% of the library and just over 5% of the documentation centre are damaged. (…) The theft of about 10 weapons occurred at the Historical Museum, where over 200 objects were damaged in a break-in with attempt to steal. (…) Present condition of buildings, depots: 23 holes in roof from direct shell impacts. All glass surfaces to roof broken. All infrastructure installations (heating, lighting, water, telephone) damaged. Windows and roof temporarily repaired with plywood and plastic sheeting. Storage depots in basement suffer from high humidity levels and water damage from broken pipes, all windows were without glass but have been protected with metal-reinforced plastic sheeting. Only a few rooms useable.[343]**

The staff worked diligently under lethal conditions to make repairs to the Museum throughout the siege:

> **We found that not only did the museum operate, but that staff had continued to work there every day during the war. Staff carried out major repairs to the building themselves, as no-one else was prepared to do this. In full view of snipers in apartment buildings behind the museum, they spent 2 weeks patching the roof and dug 300 metres of trench to lay a gas line to their basement office.[344]**

The Museum's collections were saved by the efforts of the individual employees who risked their lives to enter the building surrounded by a landmined no man's land on one side and 'Sniper Alley' on the other.[345] Nevertheless, the structure of the Historical Museum was heavily damaged:

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[342] Please see next Chapter for details.

[343] "Ninth Information Report on war damage to the cultural heritage in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina". Presented by the Committee on Culture and Education. Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. ADOC7464. January 19th 1996.
Source: https://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/XRef/X2H-Xref-ViewHTML.asp?FileID=7398&lang=EN
(last accessed: October 24thd 2017).

[344] Ibid. (last accessed: October 26th 2017).

[345] Interviews (multiple, anonymous) with employees of the Historical Museum of BiH. In Sarajevo. May 2015, April and May 2016..

The outer shell – surfaces of roofs, façades and pavement – [are] in a state of disrepair and even crumbling. It is possible to state that 50% of stone cladding is damaged or missing and that ground floor's transparent glass and iron façade has severe corrosion throughout all segments and some are nearly collapsing.[346]

The human scale of the spatial destruction is well summarized by Đenana Buturović, the wartime director of the National Museum of BiH.[347] She outlines how the employees prioritized the protection of the Museum's collections, rather than thinking about on which side of the intended 'Sarajevo Wall' the building will belong in the future:

In such an extreme situation, you act like in a hospital. First you save the patient, and later you decide if he should go to court. It was the same in our situation: first you protect the object, and only then you decide to which country it belongs.[348]

Different buildings, such as the Holiday Inn, radically changed their architectural program. The hotel was transformed to the informal SDS headquarters and base of operations for its snipers, later becoming the headquarters of the UN-peacekeeping mission. In mid-1992, it changed program once again, functioning until the end of the war as a media hub for the international press, aside from its southern façade which was emptied as it was exposed to the Marijin Dvor-Grbavica frontline and its adjacent snipers. This is the reason why the majority the footage of Sarajevo's 'MTV-era war' was taken in Marijin Dvor. It was also the source of a common joke among Sarajevans that the city boasted the 'only hotel in the world where you reject a room with a view'. The continuous bombardments and sniping on the Holiday Inn were a clear military strategy to prevent the reports about the siege in international media. A notion I heard multiple times is the anecdote in which an international journalist asked a VRS soldier why he shelled a hotel full of journalists from around the world. He apparently apologized and said that he originally targeted the National Museum, which is located across the street. (Fig. 75) The Parliament building of Neidhardt in Marijin Dvor, symbol of the common socialist Yugoslav past, modernist progress and the political power of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian state was destroyed in targeted

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[346] Čaušević, Amir and Rustempašić, Nerman. "A Case Study: Restoration of Historical Museum in Sarajevo (1963): A Modernist Ruin". In: International Journal of Architectural Heritage. Vol. 2. No. 1. 2018. p. 140.

[347] Van der Hoorn, Mélanie. "Witnessing Urbicide: Contested Destruction in Sarajevo". In: Indispensable Eyesores: An Anthropology of Undesired Buildings, NED-New edition, 1st ed., (New York: Berghahn Books). 2009. pp. 58-79.

[348] ibid. p. 63.

bombardments with incendiary grenades during May and June 1992,[349] following direct bombardment orders by the VRS General Ratko Mladić: "hold the Presidency and the Parliament under fire with direct hits".[350] Ivan Štraus described the barbaric dimension of the destruction of the UNIS twin towers (nicknamed among Sarajevans 'Momo and Uzeir' after characters from a radio show in them 1970s; the Bosniak and a Serb name symbolized the convivence and ethnic mixing in the city in the 1980s) in his wartime diary in May 1992, while helplessly watching live their burnings (Fig. 76):

> **The barbarians burned one of the two glass towers of the UNIS Business Center in Marijin Dvor. Both of them were already heavily damaged, but now one of the twins is burning. I watched it being helpless, with the immense sorrow, flames sprang through its windows, while my thoughts passed through the days of its construction and my pride on them. (...) I could not push the image away of the tower burning like a torch![351]**

The spatiality of the cultural resistance triggered international attention also in the realm of architecture.[352] The New York-based architect and theorist Lebbeus Woods arrived in Sarajevo in 1993, falsely declaring himself as a warzone reporter to join the war-resistance, claiming that architecture has to be part of both the problem and the solution. He offered a vivid analysis of the anthropological and spatial realities in the city:

> **Snipers had turned streets into lethal shooting galleries, and artillery gunners had turned ordinary buildings where people worked and lived into incendiary death traps. It was clear that architecture was part of the problem—the killing of thousands of innocent men, women, and children (...).**

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[349] Štraus, Ivan. Sarajevo: L'architecte et les barbares. (Sarajevo: Architecture and barbarians). (Paris: Éditions du linteau). 1994. Note: Štraus' diaries were published in French but also re-published as articles in a series of publication in BiH.

[350] BIRN (Balkans Investigative Reporting Network (BIRN). Mladić under the magnifying glass: A war criminal or the person from the frontpages? (Sarajevo: BIRN). 2012. p. 46.

[351] Štraus, Ivan. "Arhitektura i barbari" ("Architecture and barbarians"). In: Sarajevske Sveske No.21/22. pp. 61-62. Note: this article is an excerpt of Štraus' diary from Sunday, June 7th 1992. (translated by the author).

[352] Note: In an interview with Sarajevo architect Stjepan Roš in Sarajevo (November 27th 2018) I got to know that the French President, François Mitterand, stopped in last minute an airplane with international architects on the way to Sarajevo to take off from Paris in 1993. The goal was to organize workshops and foster post-war reconstruction strategies for Sarajevo. Roš interpreted Mitterand's move as another proof of anti-Bosnian and pro-Serb politics of France. The only architect, besides Woods, to make it to Sarajevo was Thom Mayne. According to Roš, Mayne was afraid to leave the National Gallery of BiH (the venue of the workshop) and spent seven days locked inside the Gallery surrounded by Marlboros and whiskey. I could not trace any workshop results in the archives of the National Gallery. Thom Mayne did not respond to my e-mails.

In his articles in the beginning of the 2000s, he related the ideological background of the annihilation of the UNIS twin towers to the catastrophe of September 11[th,] 2001 and the attack on the World Trade Center, that goes along with the assertion of Sarajevo's role as an urban laboratory to test and predict global trends:

> **For anyone who saw the burning twin towers in Sarajevo, in the summer of 1992, which were attacked by terrorists bent on undermining the morale of the people of that cosmopolitan city, the attacks on the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York, nine years later, with the same goals in mind, came as no great surprise.[353] The steel and glass monuments to enlightened progress in an age of industrial society are gutted hulks and with them the ideologies and values they embodied. Sarajevo's skyscrapers were prime targets of gunners in the hills together with minarets and domed mosques, the great library, the post office, the university buildings, and all others that symbolized reason and its promise of humane civil life. (…) The burning towers of Sarajevo are markers at the end of an age of reasons, if not of reason itself, beyond which lies a domain of almost incomprehensible darkness.[354]**

The architectural theorist Adrian Lahoud defines the cataclysmic events of September 11th as a moment in which the "protective membrane that sealed the Third World from the First was punctured by the spear point of United Airlines Flight 175 at 9:03 am on September 11th 2001," in his article 'Post-Traumatic Urbanism'.[355] What is essential for this dissertation is that Lahoud also describes the moment that occurs after an image of the future is destroyed before being replaced by a new vision. Lahoud claimed that this urban 'traumatic experience' can be solved only through creating a new vision. It became obvious that visions for Sarajevo's reconstruction needed to harness the creative energy generated through the siege crisis and utilize it in the post-disaster recovery to revitalize, not only physical architecture and its programs, but also the human communities. Lebbeus Woods, together with Paul Virilio and Anthony Vidler, pointed out the hardship to re-create communities and the ingrained memories, lives and ideologies that are damaged or

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[353] Woods, Lebbeus. We saw it coming. In: Domus. September 7th 2011.
Source: https://www.domusweb.it/en/architecture/2011/09/07/we-saw-it-coming.html
(last accessed: January 25th 2017)

[354] Lebbeus Woods. War and Architecture. (Princeton Architectural Press). 1994.

[355] Lahoud. Adrian. "Introduction: Post-Traumatic Urbanism". In: Rice, Charles; Lahoud, Adrien and Burke, Anthony (Eds.). Architectural Design-Thematic edition: Post-Traumatic Urbanism. No. 207. September/October 2010. p. 15.

erased after disasters: "The complexity of buildings, streets and cities, built up over time and across the span of innumerable lives, can never be replaced".[356]

Reconstruction principles can be divided into three ways: restoration back to 'normalcy' that was present before the outbreak of the conflict through the reparation of buildings, and secondly, by replacing ruins with new buildings. the third way defined by Joseba Zulaika as: "radical disruption of the ordinary social rules by which a community was governed prior to the war situation."[357] The latter is the most relevant for understanding Wood's radical reconstruction agency in wartime Sarajevo. He produced a series of avant garde designs, mostly simple hand-drawings and collages, accompanied by short descriptive texts, proposing to rebuild the city from the salvageable remains of the pre-war urban fabric. He addressed specific socialist modernist buildings, such as the UNIS towers, the Parliament building, the State Electric headquarters, or the Austro-Hungarian tobacco factory, in Marijin Dvor, as a general demonstration of how his principles might work in particular cases. (Fig. 77)

Woods predicted that future societal shift from communist socialism to post-war capitalist democracy will cause severe changes in everyday lifestyles and therefore, urban spaces will need to adapt to the new realities:

> **The pre-war normal no longer exists, having been irrevocably destroyed. (…) A new normal that modifies or in some ways replaces the lost one (…) can only be created with their consent and creative participation. The reconstruction of old buildings must enable new ways and ideas of living. The familiar old must be transformed, by conscious intention and design, into the unfamiliar new. (…) The apartment and office blocks that survive destruction must provide the day-to-day spaces for the new ways of living to be enabled by their 'radical reconstruction'.[358]**

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[356] Vidler, Anthony, Virilio, Paul and Woods, Lebbeus. The Storm and the Fall. (Princeton Architectural Press). 2004. p. 15.

[357] For the explanation of the Basque conflict and its implication on urban space please see: Zulaika, Joseba. Basque Violence: Metaphor and Sacrament. (Reno: University of Nevada). 1988. p. 34.
Note: Zulaika mostly referred to Basque cities after the violence during the conflict between the Spanish government forces and the ETA in the late 1970s.

[358] Woods. Lebbeus. War and architecture: Three Principles. Published on December 15th 2011.
Source: https://lebbeuswoods.wordpress.com/2011/12/15/war-and-architecture-three-principles/
(last accessed: July 23th 2018).

Perceiving himself as an outsider, a conceptualist who could contribute to the reconstruction through developing mere design principles, Woods clearly counted on harnessing the creative energy ingrained in the resistance of Sarajevo's citizens, utilizing it as a basis for post-conflict reconstruction, and creating new, 'Sarajevian', architecture with it:

> **The intention in Sarajevo was to consciously reshape its world, turning ruins and battered remnants into a new kind of architecture, a uniquely Sarajevan architecture, and something of which the city's people could be proud. The goal was also to establish some basic rules of reconstruction, keeping in mind the enormous task of rebuilding the damaged city that would begin when the terrorists were defeated, and people could turn their energy to building the new city I had forecast in my manifesto, and a new way of civic life.[359]**

Hasan Ćemalović and Said Jamaković, both former presidents of the Architects' Association of BiH (DAS-SA BiH) told me during interviews that on the question regarding reconstruction visions of local architects, that it was too early to think about what needs to be done in the post-war period. Nevertheless, DAS-SA BiH launched the initiative 'Warchitecture' to document and map out the destruction and revealed it to the local and global discourse later. According to one of the project leaders Borislav Ćurić Kokan:

> **We knew that we lived in a special moment and felt the need to document the urbicide. We also thought that our material could be used for BiH to lobby at international instances, such as the International Courts of War Crimes and Human Rights, regarding war reparation and conviction of war criminals. We also wanted to reveal to the professional audiences the killing of a European cultural city at the verge of 21th century and initiate a discussion on the future reconstruction of Sarajevo.[360]**

The exhibition of the mapping of building destruction, consisting of drawings, maps and photographs, was shown later, among others, at the Pompidou Centre, Milano Triennale, receiving large International attention.[361] In addition, Jamaković was the head of the wartime Director of the City's Institute of Planning of Development and

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[359] Woods. Lebbeus. War and architecture: The Sarajevo window. Published on December 2nd 2011.
Source: https://lebbeuswoods.wordpress.com/2011/12/02/war-and-architecture-the-sarajevo-window
(last accessed: August 25th 2018).

[360] Interview with Borislav Ćurić Kokan. In Zürich. December 14th 2018.

[361] The Milano Triennale exhibition was curated and organized by Ćurić who later taught at Institute d'Architecture de l'Université de Genève.

in charge for supporting citizens in wartime infrastructures: temporary protection barriers, food distribution, establishing alternative modes of transport, creating alternative electric power and water sources, among others.[362]

The urbanism of wartime Sarajevo can be seen as a 'laboratory of the extreme'[363] from which lessons can be learned regarding the variety of architectural agencies beyond the act of building. In order to contribute to the survival of the city and its community, the architect transformed from the designer of the socialist utopia to the researcher, publicist, politician, activist, or simply, the protector of the urban civilization.

Waiting for Godot: Popular resistance and global solidarity

Public institutions closed, industrial production stopped, commercial activities halted and the transportation system collapsed. Schools were closed down or organized informally in basements or shelters. The citizens of Sarajevo were forced to adapt to new extreme realities, thus uncovering the micro-spatial dimension of a conflict over territory and identity. Besides the anthropomorphic rationale of the destruction of its architectures, also search for food and fuel, protection from snipers and the creation of temporary graveyards introduced radical reprogrammings to the city's public spaces. Sarajevo's landscapes suffered devastating damage. From the officially registered 26'211 trees in Sarajevo's urban zone in 1992, 20'094 of them (approx. 76%) had been destroyed or cut down by citizens to be used for fuel.[364] (Fig. 78)

The radical transformations of Sarajevo can be viewed in relation to the theories of Zygmunt Bauman who compared the 20th century's 'solid' modernity with 'liquid' modernity as a new unprecedented societal setting, arguing that it confronts

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[362] Interview with Said Jamaković. Wartime director of the City Institute of Development Planning and former President of BiH Architects' Association. In Sarajevo. November 28th 2018.

[363] For details on the laboratory of extreme concept implied o the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, please see: Weizman, Eyal. The Hollow Land: Israel's architecture of occupation. (New York: Verso). 2017. (in particular p. 9).

[364] Kantonalno Javno Preduzeće 'Park' (Cantonal Communal Enterprise 'Park'). Štete na urbanom zelenilu Sarajeva (Evaluation of the war damage to urban greenery of Sarajevo). (Sarajevo: Kanton Sarajevo). 1996. (translated by the author).

individuals with a series of challenges they have never encountered before. According to his theory, social forms and institutions no longer have enough time to solidify and cannot serve as frames of reference for human actions and long-term life plans, so individuals must find other ways to organize their lives.[365] This theory, if applied to the extreme conditions of urbicidal Sarajevo, contributes to a multi-scalar perspective on the radical wartime transformations adding to the existing definitions of urbicide. Therefore, it is worthwhile to shed light on the dimensions of resilient, informal, spatial and cultural patterns and agencies that affected the city's micro-geographies, as a result of the large-scale cataclysmic destruction.

Everyday exposure to snipers, bombardments and the landmine-polluted, no-go frontlines, profoundly changed the pedestrian flows in the city. The city under siege, similarly to the uniqueness of scrutinizing the urbanism of wall-divided Berlin as described by Oswald Matthias Ungers and Rem Koolhaas in their 1977 'City as green archipelago' manifesto,[366] became an urban capsule where the war destruction and lack of amenities created a de-urbanized city. In effect, the city became a large, ruralized landscape. New geographies of wartime Sarajevo enforced utilitarian appropriation of space and adaptation to new conditions, producing new spatial patterns. The Sniper Alley and other vulnerable and exposed parts of the urban landscape were protected by textile fabric, shipping containers, destroyed buses, cars, cement blocks, or sandbags. (Fig. 79) The protection barriers were also installed along the north longitudinal road, parallel to the Sniper Alley. This artery became the 'Road of the salvation', reclaiming public space, and enabling an east-west permeability in the city in terms of social interaction, transporting goods and information sharing.

The vast collective public green spaces of Marijin Dvor and New Sarajevo, mostly pre-communist agricultural land, 'nationalized' and urbanized during socialism, were taken back by the communities. The more sheltered and safer public space zones were informally parceled and redistributed for agricultural purposes

[365] Bauman, Zygmunt. Liquid Times: Living in an Age of Uncertainty (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press). 2007.

[366] Hertweck, Florian and Marot, Sébastien (Eds.). The City in the City – Berlin: A Green Archipelago, A manifesto (1977) by Oswald Mathias Ungers and Rem Koolhaas, with Pieter Riemann, Hans Kollhoff, and Arthur Ovaska (Baden: Lars Müller). 2013.

transforming the former recreational landscapes into productive landscapes. (<u>Fig. 80</u>) The 1984 Olympic Games park and many other landscapes of New Sarajevo were adapted into a temporary graveyard function, as the main graveyard Vlakovo was located beyond the lines of the siege. The utilization of local ecologies became the most effective survival strategy. Moreover, social functions were important elements of solidarity and survival.[367] The rediscovery of water sources, romanticized in Ottoman travelogues, sealed by Austro-Hungarian and socialist urban and infrastructure planning, represented city's new, vital water source. The ingenuity of the citizens to modify their environment and the objects in it after the breakdown of urban infrastructures and amenities was supported by the introduction of an alternative "design culture of an aberration", as theorized by the British architecture and design critic Justin McGuirk.[368] Lebbeus Woods compared the ingenuity of Sarajevo's citizens to reprogram the city to the talent of ancient builders:

> **To survive, and to frustrate the enemies of their refined culture, people need a sense of order in their world, one that is consciously created, or designed. Sarajevans nobly showed this need by the way they dressed, in spite of the lack of water, heat, or lighting (...) incongruously strolling (...) like players from an Alain Resnais film. Inspired by this and a dash of Michelangelo's designs for the fortifications of Florence, I set out to consider how to repair damaged houses and offices in ways that embodied the elan of their inhabitants, as well as kept out the rain, snow, and cold. (...) Without the help of architects, people had built temporary walls as shields against snipers and thrown up all sorts of improvised repairs to their homes and workplaces. (...) These were extremely modest designs, made from scavenged metal, wood, and even cardboard I reasoned that these makeshift structures, though more or less effective for their purposes, created a degraded environment, which was exactly the goal of the terrorists.[369]**

One of the examples of the transformations of architectural interior spaces of a typical New Sarajevo apartment floorplan was done by the former Olympic facilities planner Zoran Doršner,[370] whose wartime work contains essays, sketches and

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[367] I remember myself my family doing urban agriculture in 1993 and 1994, an act that was almost unimaginable before the war due to the clear division between urban and rural in the proletarian socialist society.

[368] McGuirk, Justin. Welcome to Sarajevo's designs for survival. In: The Guardian. March 2nd 2011.
Source: https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2011/mar/02/sarajevo-designs-survival-bosnian-war
(last accessed: September 12th 2017).

[369] Woods. Lebbeus. War and architecture: The Sarajevo window. Published on December 2nd 2011.
Source: https://lebbeuswoods.wordpress.com/2011/12/02/war-and-architecture-the-sarajevo-window
(last accessed: September 26th 2017).

[370] Interview with Zoran Doršner. Together with Mejrema Zatrić. In Sarajevo. August 18th 2018.

journal articles represent valuable documentation on the role of the architect as a supporter of the civilian resistance during the siege. His work, especially the 'Destructive Metamorphosis', documents Sarajevo's wartime urban resilience in indoor spaces whose modification became important as a survival shelter. (Fig. 81) Doršner sketched the reprogramming of a typical socialist-era apartment unit, advising citizens on how to adapt to extreme conditions and improve the livability including reparation, protection from further destruction, organization of the lacking amenities such as water and heating etc.[371] This open-source knowledge was highly necessary. If looking at the document, 'Sarajevo-Reconstruction Projects' by city's Institute of the Planning of Development, a detailed survey has shown that the housing stock was substantially damaged:

> **Because of war destruction the housing stock has sustained substantial damage. Out of a total of 61 589 residential units in collective residential buildings, surveyed in the area of four municipalities of Sarajevo proper, 35 386 units (57,5%) have been damaged. Beside that, out of a total of app. 60 000 residential units in individual, privately owned buildings, over 60% have been damaged and over 20% destroyed.[372]**

Doršner suggested to transform the use of the living room, often destroyed or overexposed to snipers as a storage area for bicycles and other manual modes of transport, for chopping wood or for cooking. Everyday life was spatially comprised and reduced to more protected parts of the apartments with lesser windows such as corridors - that were often easier to heat. He advises to transform balconies and gardens, ones that were not oriented towards the VRS positions, into small-scale urban agriculture – a practice not very common in the socialist modernist blocks of Sarajevo. Underground areas such as basements became not only shelters in periods of extensive bombardments, but also places of social cohesion among neighbors.

The wartime reality of Sarajevo confirms the theory of Piquard and Swenarton arguing that the impact of crises affects the way people produce, understand, and

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[371] Note: The 'Destructive Metamorphosis' was later shown as part of the "Warchitecture-Sarajevo:
A Wounded City" exhibition curated by the DAS-SA BiH at the Pompidou Centre in Paris, the Arc-en-Rêve Centre d'Architecture in Bordeaux and the Storefront Gallery in New York disseminating the knowledge on wartime architectural agency.

[372] Sarajevo: Reconstruction Projects (City of Sarajevo Institute of Planning). 1996.

inhabit spaces and, at the same time, create new systems of spatial designation. They argue that "the loss of their land, their houses or their environments, or at least of the social meanings of these, is correlated to the loss of social links. Radical changes of space and environment can only lead to a radical disruption of the community".[373] Sarajevo experienced the opposite phenomenon. The annihilation pointing at the 'lieux de memoire'[374] of Sarajevo's architectures of symbolic value, as fundamental elements of the multicultural urban identity, increased the feeling for the 'right to the city'.[375] The collective traumatic experience bolstered the popular resistance. Despite the military attacks aiming to demoralize the citizens, the cultural production in Sarajevo did not vanish but received a new spatial dimension: public cultural life was transferred to backyards, basements, underground shelters and through the activation of ruins and the appropriation of derelict spaces. [376] In these conditions, attending cultural events, despite the danger, represented a symbol of urban resistance against the wartime anarchy – expressing collective solidarity and increasing the community-feeling through fostering a sense of belonging to a heroic, civic resistance. This notion was summarized by the architect Sabahudin Špilja in the Warchitecture publication revealing also the act of publishing and writing of wartime architects:

> **In darkness and smoke in the year of 1992 A.D., eight years before the beginning of the third millennium, terrified by and surprised at an explosive amount of evil around us, at the moment when the evil speaks up in an elementarily destructive manner, blindly and hellishly, a truly unique town is dying as if it were in the Middle Ages. Besieged, without food and water, without electricity and communications, without medicines and medical aid, in medieval environment, where everything stinks of arson and corpses the only light being in the fire of burning houses, one town is defending its fundamental right to life and its identity.[377]**

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[373] Piquard, Brigitte and Swenarton, Mark. "Learning from architecture and conflict". In: The Journal of Architecture. 16:1. 2011. p. 2.

[374] For details on this concept, see: Auge, Marc. Non-lieux: Introduction a`une anthropologie de la surmodernité (Non-places: Introduction to an anthropology of supermodernity). (Paris: Editions du Seuil). 1992.

[375] Please see more: Lefebvre, Henri. Critique of Everyday Life: Volume I. by, Moor John (trans). (London: Verso). 1991.; Harvey, David. "The Right to the City". In: International Journal of Urban and Regional Research. Volume 27.4. December 2003. pp. 939-941.

[376] Karamehmedović, Muhamed 'Triumph of Art". In: Sarajevski memento (Sarajevo: Ministarstvo kulture i sporta Kantona Sarajevo). 1997. pp 64-74.

[377] Špilja, Sabahudin. "Attempts as (war) reading the town". In: Warchitecture (Sarajevo: DAS SA BiH). 1993. p. 20. (translated by the author).

Culture created a psychological buffer between the destructors and the citizens. This collective response to the crisis incorporated a political dimension, according to the BiH art historian Asja Mandić: "The personal became the collective. The collective transformed into the political".[378] The destroyed City Hall/National Library during bombarding assaults was used for temporary events such as wartime classical music performances, such as that of Vedran Smailović, the 'Cellist of Sarajevo' who played Tomaso Albinoni's 'Adagio'.[379] The civic resistance evoked a global echo of solidarity with intellectuals and activists from across the globe. (Fig. 82) The exhibition 'Witnesses of Existence' by a group of local artists was held in ruins across Sarajevo. The largest took place reactivated the remnants of the former Red Cross headquarters (designed by Helen Baldasar, built in 1929) in Marijin Dvor infusing it with cultural programs, a building previously given for public use through a cinema function during socialism in the 1960s. This temporary wartime reprogramming reveals another programmatic shift as a result of appropriation practices. (Fig. 83) The exhibition was invited to the 45th Venice Biennale of Arts. Achille Bonito Oliva, Biennale director, described Sarajevo, as a city besieged by "regressive, tribal ferocity".[380] Mirsad Purivatra, one of the exhibition's organizers, spoke in 1993 about the wartime modus operandi of artists and cultural workers, underlining the purity of artistic and curatorial production in precarious conditions:

> **I'm happy I've had this experience of living under the siege. After two years we are going back to elementary values and appreciation - to see things like a child - and the works of the artists are like that. They are elementary - like Altamira, maybe - just made from what we find around us, because there are no art materials.[381]**

[378] Mandić, Asja. "The Formation of a Culture of Critical Resistance in Sarajevo". In: Third Text. 25:6. 2011. p. 734.
Please see also:
Maček, Ivana. Sarajevo under Siege: Anthropology in Wartime (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

[379] Please see: Galloway, Steven. The Cellist of Sarajevo (London: Riverhead Books). 2009. Note: Smailović was later portrayed in the 'My Hero Project', which was co-founded by Karen Pritzker.
Note: In the post-war period, artistic activations took place in the City Hall by the Greek artist and protagonist of Arte Povera Movement, Jannis Kounellis, as part of the Ars Aevi project.

[380] Oliva, Achille Bonito. "Statement about 'Witnesses of Existence.". Box 165, Folder 1. 1994. Susan Sontag Papers. Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA.
Quoted from: Kotecki, Kristine. "The Future of Europe". In: Interventions. 18:5. 2016. p. 659.
Note: Parts of the exhibition were shown at the '45th Venice Biennale of Arts' in 1993.

[381] Murphy, Jay. "Witnesses of existence". In: Third Text. 9:31. 1995. pp. 77-79.
Note: Purivatra became one of the initiators of the first 'Sarajevo Film Festival' that ran during the siege, from 25th October until 5th of November 1995 and attracted approx. 15 000 visitors. The Festival that emerged out of the energy of the cultural resistance continued growing and became the leading cultural event in Sarajevo after the war.
Please see details of the history and importance of the Festival: Turan, Kenneth. Sundance to Sarajevo: Film festivals and the world they made. (Berkeley: University of California Press). 2002. pp. 89-108.

In this sense, Sarajevo's cultural resistance can be related to what the French curator and art critic Nicholas Bourriaud calls 'relational art', which he defines as the interaction of sociability and community-belonging describing how art can serve to address 'space-time elements'.[382] The cultural resistance attracted a broad spectrum of artists, intellectuals, and celebrities such as Bianca Jagger, Vanessa Redgrave and Joan Baez, who visited Sarajevo during the siege. They contributed to "a hip, intellectually fashionable profile arguably unmatched in any war zone since the Spanish Civil War", as postulated by the U.S. American cultural theorist Peter Andreas.[383] Movies further contributed to a global outreach of the conflict, such as the work of French intellectual Bernard-Henri Levy made a film entitled 'Bosna!', which "depicts the genocide suffered by the Bosnians, the silence of Western countries, and the determination of the Bosnians to resist".[384] Susan Sontag, who directed the 'Waiting for Godot' play in Sarajevo's National Theater in 1993, sent out a clear political message: 'Waiting for Godot' was a metonym for the NATO and the then newly elected U.S. President Bill Clinton.[385] The reasoning for Sontag's support should be traced in the suffering of her own Jewish family in the Holocaust. To Sontag, Sarajevo represented the hub of liberal multiculturalism and an urbane symbol of civilized Europe. Sontag had the intention to proactively advocate to end the siege by military intervention arguing that:

> **This is the first of the three European genocides of our century to be tracked by world press and documented nightly on TV. There were no reporters in 1915 sending daily stories to the world press from Armenia, and no foreign camera crews in Dachau and Auschwitz. Until the Bosnian genocide. (...) No longer can a writer consider that the imperative task is to bring the news to the outside world. The news is out. Plenty of excellent foreign journalists (most of them in favor of intervention, as I am) have been reporting the lies and the slaughter since the beginning of the siege, while the decision of the western European powers and the United States not to intervene remains firm, thereby giving the victory to Serb fascism.[386]**

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[382] Please see more: Bourriaud, Nicholas. Relational Aesthetics. (Dijon: Les Presses du Réels). 2002. (English version).

[383] Andreas, Peter. Blue Helmets and Black Markets: The Business of Survival in the Siege of Sarajevo. 2008. pp. 71-72.
The reason of the international prominence of the Sarajevo siege is also since its vicinity to media agency headquarters, in particular in Western Europe, attracted numerous of Western journalists who globalized Sarajevo's story. The first 'MTV-era war' was aired via the new satellite and cable TV technology across the world.

[384] For details on the film, please see: Henri-Lévy, Bernard. Bosna. Source: http://www.bernard-henri-levy.com/en/bosna-1994-51388.html (last accessed: February 2nd 2017).

[385] Sontag, Susan. "Waiting for Godot in Sarajevo". In: Performing Arts Journal. Vol. 16. No. 2. May 1994. p. 100.

[386] Ibid. pp. 89, 105.

The global solidarity and local resistance inspired the idea, among Paris', Belgrade's (foremostly by Bogdanović) and Sarajevo's intellectuals, to catalyze the regeneration of by proclaiming it into the headquarters of European cultural institutions under international protection. [387] By protecting its multiculturalism, 'Free Sarajevo' should have become the new urban refugium for (East)European free intellectuals, based on Sarajevo's non-aligned tradition of being receptive to different religious and ethnic groups:

> **First of all, I was skeptical, it would have been necessary to free the anguished besieged city by some sudden and wondrous action of the international forces. It would then come about the organization of a temporary Bosnian city-state, put under international protection. The further destiny of Sarajevo would begin to resolve itself. The most urgent physical restructuring of the city, which returns to life from condemnation to death, would at the same time mean its spiritual compilation. In a small but not insignificant sector of the diseased Eastern European space, the urban norms of culture, religious and national tolerance would be restored. (…) A city with the undisputedly longest tradition of convivence in this part of the world has the right to an exceptional role. His formula (much of it, we already know!) should be accepted as an undeniable paradigm. Because, if future peace is not cosmopolitan, if it is not urban, it will be barbaric, there will be peace of the soil and blood, everywhere, even on the asphalt (...) [Sarajevo should become] 'an urban refugium' for the many today who have been expelled or fled, who were offended and miserable, for those who still have the courage to think freely (…) called old-fashionably, free intellectuals. (...) In our further talks about the future - about 'Free Sarajevo' we spoke of it as an East European, or European New Alexandria. (…) Comparison with Alexandria was made perhaps, and due to the burned Sarajevo library.[388]**

Despite this idea did not succeed, which built up on Sarajevo's position as a 'Non-aligned City', the city's radical example of a non-monetary, zero-budget urban urbanism and civic and cultural resistance revealed that local environmental and cultural resources can serve as important sources of urban life, resistance and survival, different to the current high-end urbanities around the world. This phenomenon adds a relevant example of the discourse on urban resilience,and asks for a fundamental rethinking on how to define environmental, social and economic sustainability cities. The physical destruction against architecture and psychological warfare against the human communities were legally confirmed by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in the official court documentation

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[387] Murphy, Jay. "Witnesses of existence". In: Third Text. 9:31. 1995. p. 76.

[388] Bogdanović, Bogdan. Tri ratne knjige Three war books). (Novi Sad: Mediteran Publishing). 2008. pp. 59-64. (translated by the author).

within the case against the nationalist Bosnian Serb political leadership including Karadžić and military general responsible for the Sarajevo region, Stanislav Galić (Fig. 84):

> **The siege of Sarajevo, as it came to be popularly known, was an episode of such notoriety in the conflict in the former Yugoslavia that one must go back to World War II to find a parallel in European history. Not since then had a professional army conducted a campaign of unrelenting violence against the inhabitants of a European city so as to reduce them to a state of medieval deprivation in which they were in constant fear of death. (...) Inhabitants of Sarajevo – men, women, children and elderly persons – were terrorized and hundreds of civilians were killed and thousands wounded during daily activities such as attending funerals, tending vegetable plots, fetching water, shopping, going to hospital, commuting within the city, or while at home. The Majority of the Trial Chamber also takes into consideration the physical and psychological suffering inflicted on the victims. Sarajevo was not a city where occasional random acts of violence against civilians occurred or where living conditions were simply hard. This was an anguishing environment in which (...) people were killed (...) and more generally terrorized.[389]**

The Dayton Peace Agreement was signed on December 14th, 1995, opening a new era for Sarajevo as an 'ungovernable protectorate' as its wartime division was formalized by separating the city into two administrative units, mainly following the former siege frontline. The siege that lasted for 1425 days ended officially on March 1st, 1996, exactly four years after the BiH's independence referendum. It remains the longest military siege in modern human history. For the first time, citizens of Sarajevo entered the reintegrated urban neighborhoods, such as New Sarajevo's Grbavica district and the suburban municipalities of Ilijaš, Hadžići and Vogošća were 'reintegrated' into the urban territory. Nonetheless, the reconstruction of Sarajevo would be executed in an entirely different legal, economic and spatial model that would put the city in front of new challenges.

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[389] United Nations. International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of Former Yugoslavia since 1991 (ICTY). Verdict against Stanislav Galić. Case No. IT-98-29-A, date from November 30th 2006.
Source: http://www.icty.org/x/cases/galic/acjug/en/gal-acjud061130.pdf
(last accessed: August 18th 2017).
Note: Slobodan Milošević was accused of Article 3(d) of the ICTY statute for "Violations of the laws or customs of war" and "seizure of, destruction or willful damage done to institutions dedicated to religion, charity and education, the arts and sciences, historical monuments and works of art and science. He died in 2006 during his trial in detention, prior to sentencing. Please see more:
For the official ICTY statutes, please see:
Source: http://www.icty.org/x/file/Legal%20Library/Statute/statute_sept09_en.pdf
(last accessed: July 18th 2017).
For more information of Milosevic's prosecution:
Scharf, Michael and Schabas, William. Slobodan Milosevic on trial: A companion. (New York: Continuum). 2002 (in particular p. 61).; Human Rights Watch. Genocide, War crimes and Crimes Against Humanity: A topical Digest of the case law of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. 2006.; Sandholtz, Wayne. Prohibiting Plunder: How Norms Change. Oxford University Press. 2007.

Fig. 64: Milošević during the Gazimestan speech in Kosovo

Fig. 65: Izetbegović, Kljuić and Karadžić in front of the Holiday Inn hotel

Fig. 66: Mass protests in Marijin Dvor, April 5-6ᵗʰ 1992

Fig. 67: Karadžić drawing ethnic division lines in BiH

1.3.1992.
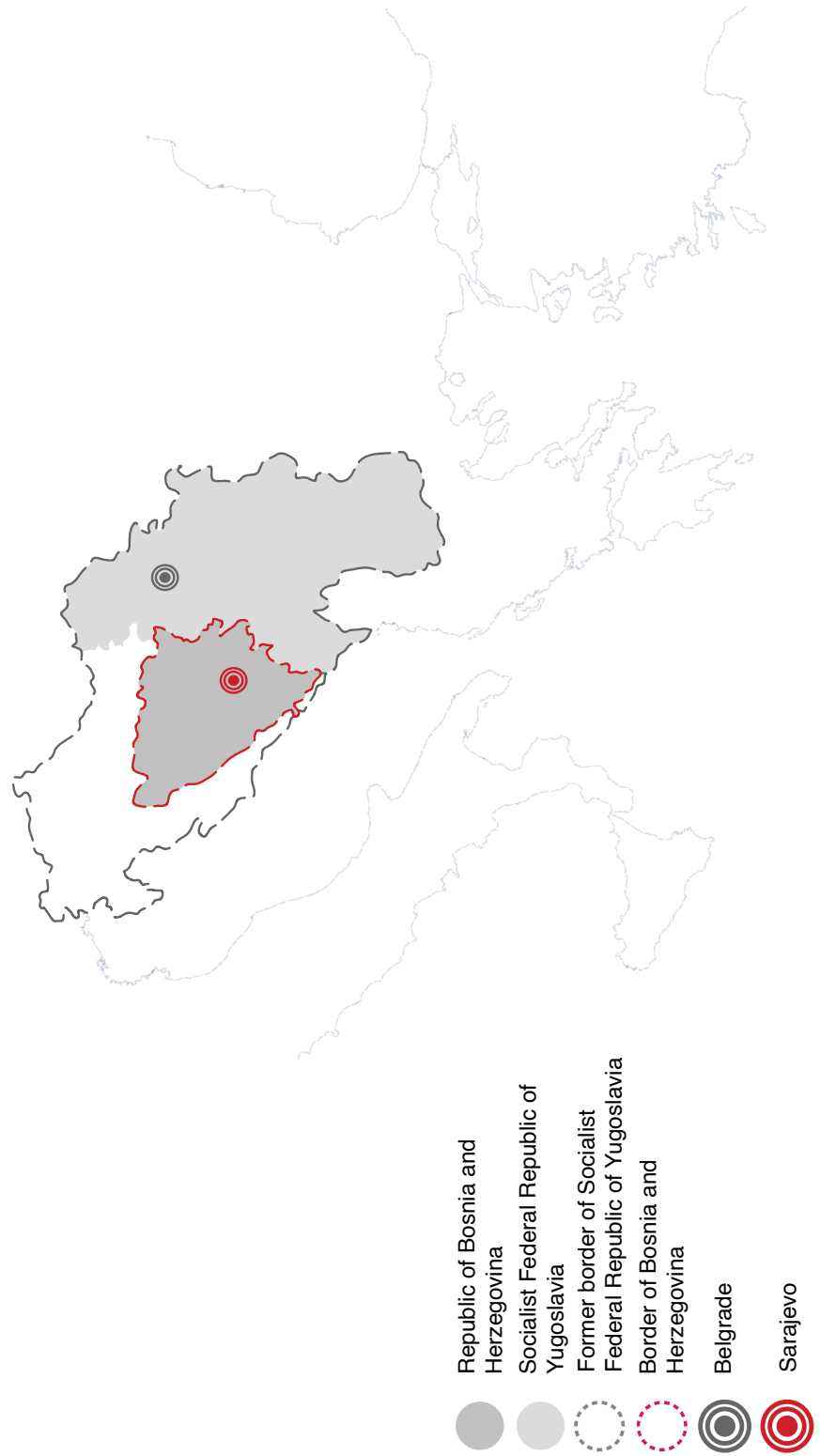
Fig. 67: Balkans on the day of the BiH independence referendum

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6.4.1992.

Republic of Bosnia and
Herzegovina

Former territory of Republic of
Bosnia and Herzegovina

Former border of Socialist
Federal Republic Yugoslavia

Border of Republic of Bosnia
and Herzegovina

Belgrade
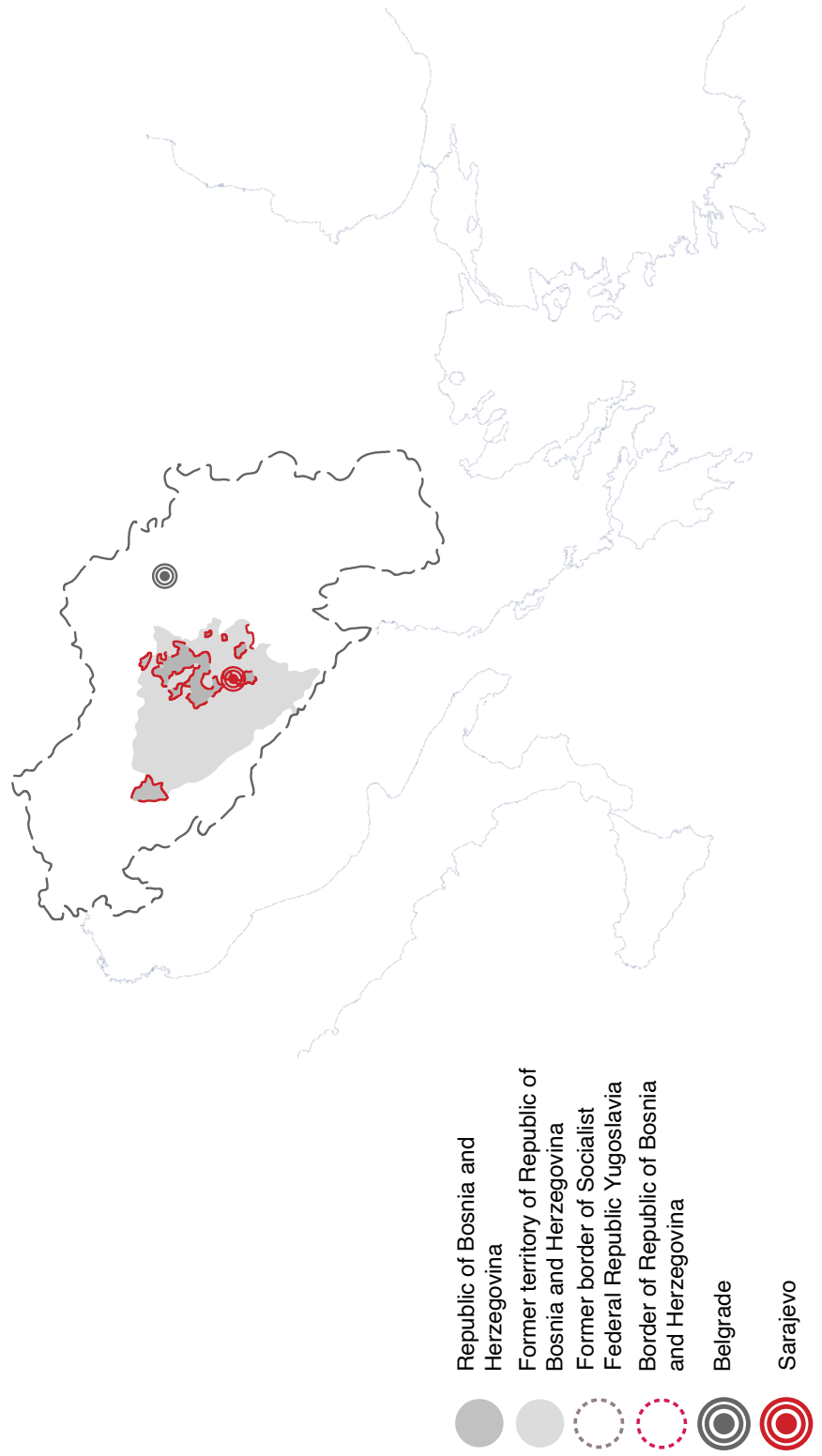
Sarajevo

Fig. 67: Frontliness and change of borders

4.8.1995.

Republic of Bosnia
and Herzegovina

Former territory of Republic
of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Former border of Socialist
Federal Republic Yugoslavia

Border of Republic of
Bosnia and Herzegovina

Belgrade
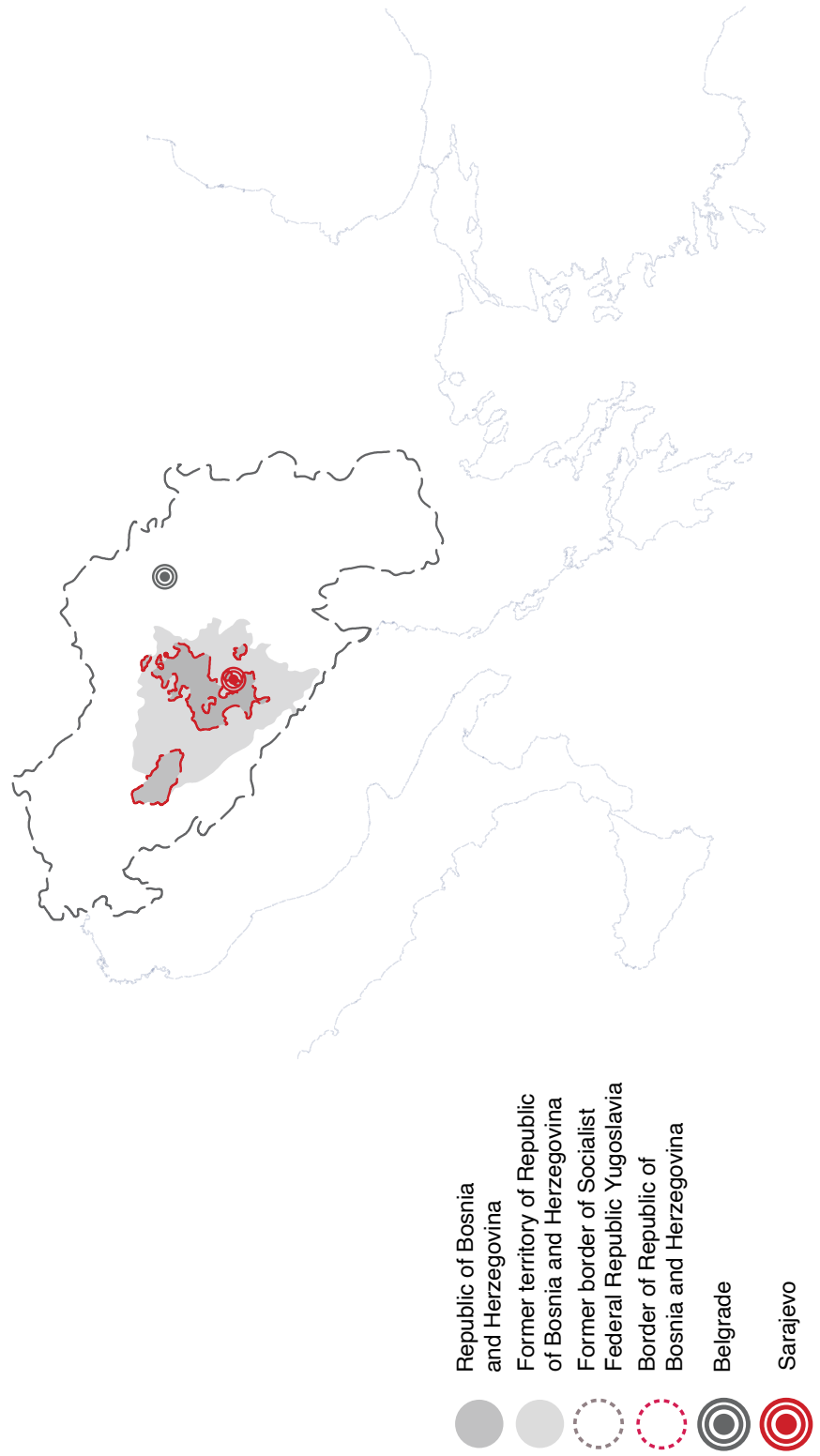
Sarajevo

Fig. 67: Frontliness and change of borders

Fig. 68: Symbolic map of the besieged city

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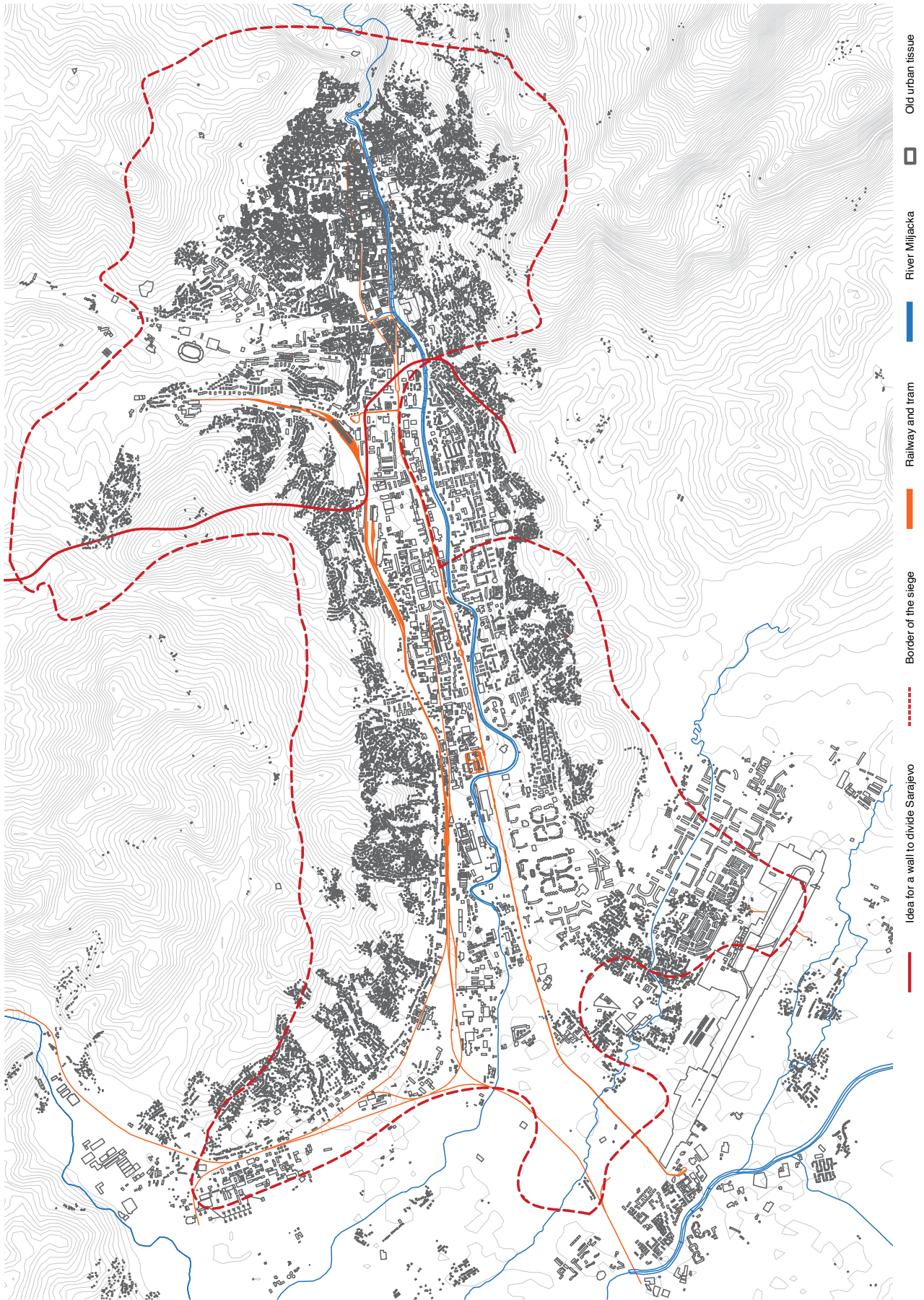
Fig. 69: The map of the of the siege (New Sarajevo is divided due to the frontline)
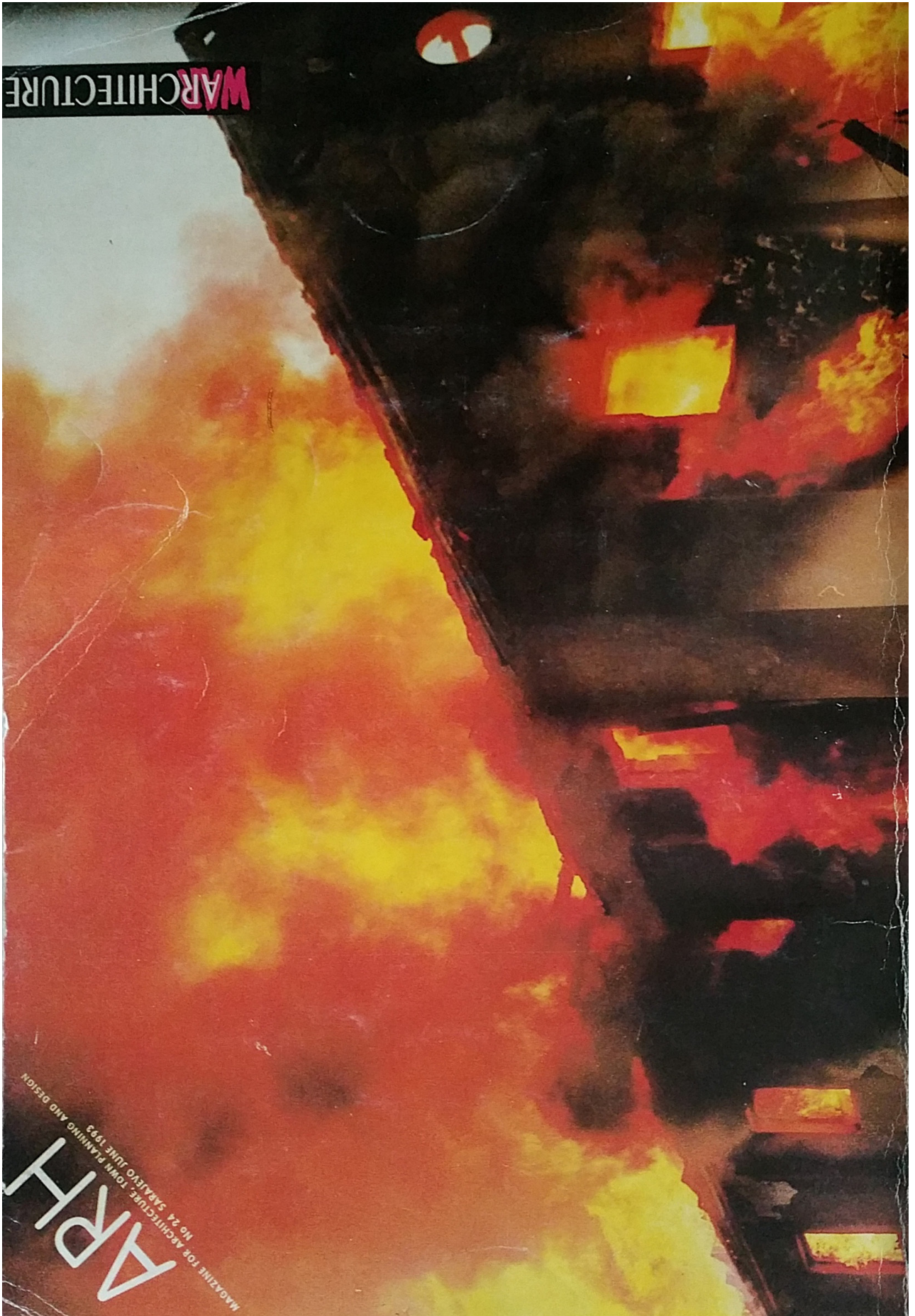
Old urban tissue

River Miljacka

Railway and tram

Border of the siege

Idea for a wall to divide Sarajevo

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Fig. 70: Warchitecture catalogue

Fig. 71: Rediscovering local ecologies during urbicide
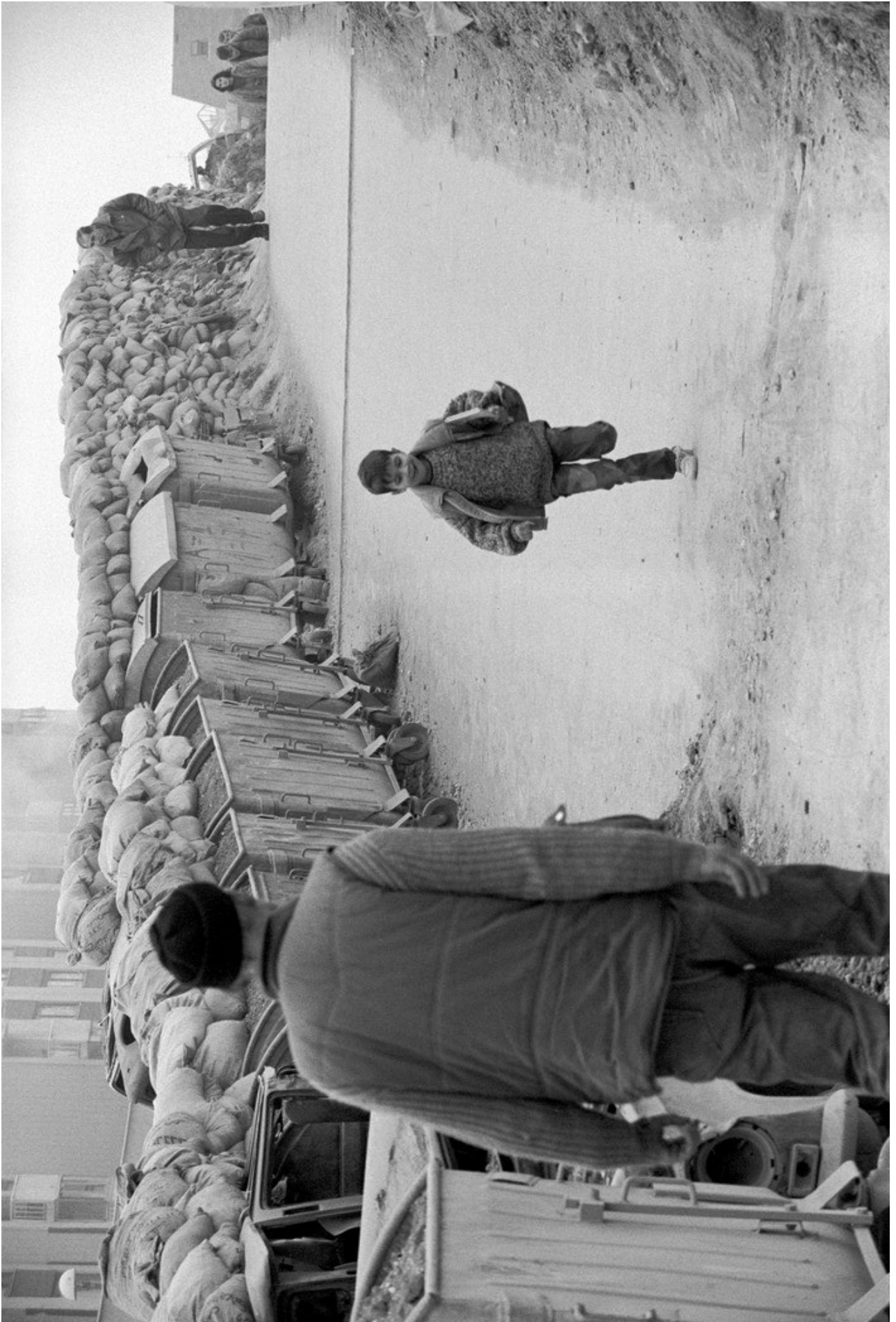
Fig. 72: Sniper Alley in New Sarajevo

Fig. 73: Lethal landscapes of Marijin Dvor

Fig. 73: Lethal landscapes of Marijin Dvor

Fig. 74: War damage of the Historical Museum
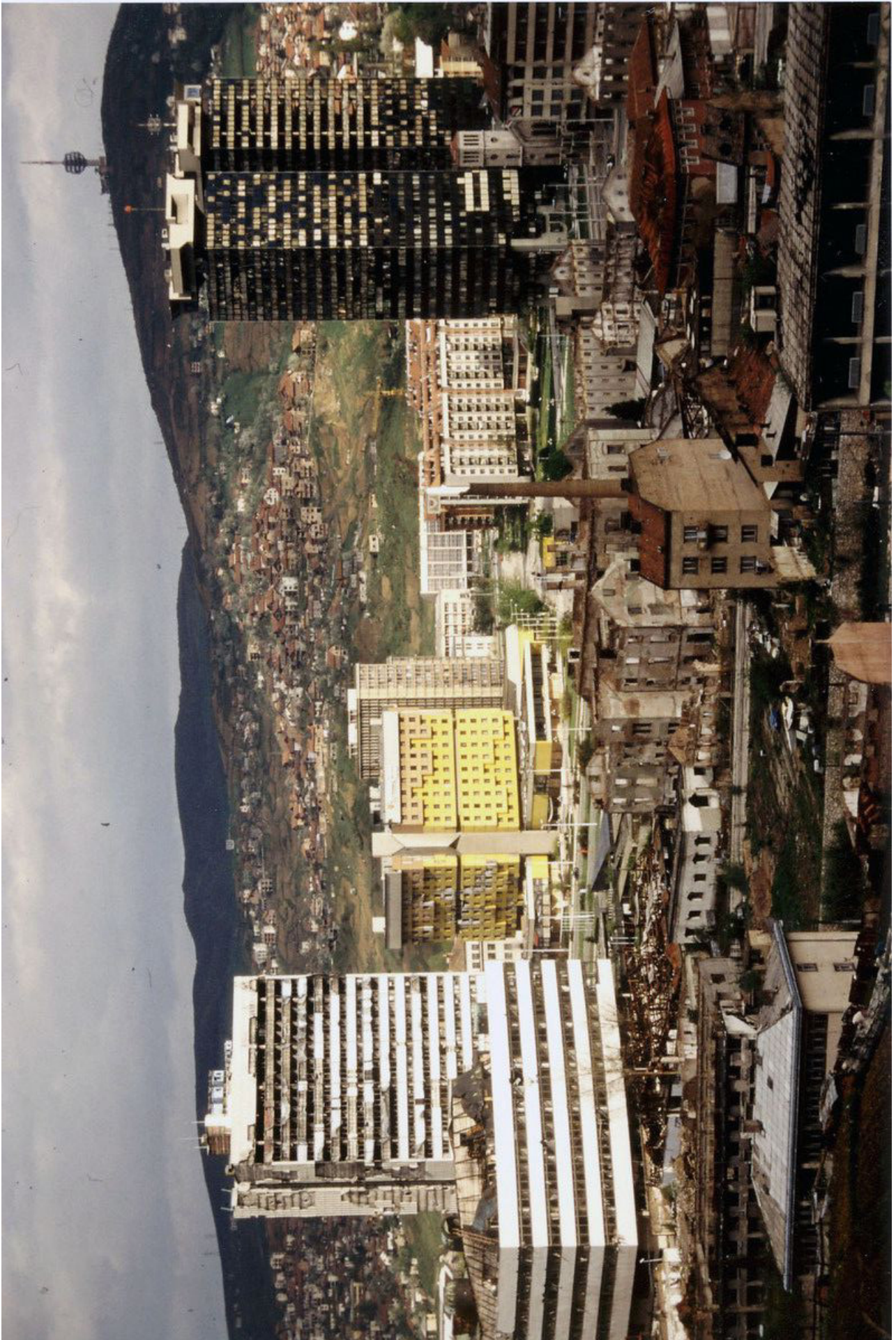
Fig. 75: The destruction of Marijin Dvor

1992 – 1996
Urbicide Period
Marijin Dvor

River
New Buildings
Destroyed / Damaged Zones
Destroyed / Damaged Buildings
Repurposed Zones
Buidlings with new use
Sniper Alley
Front Line
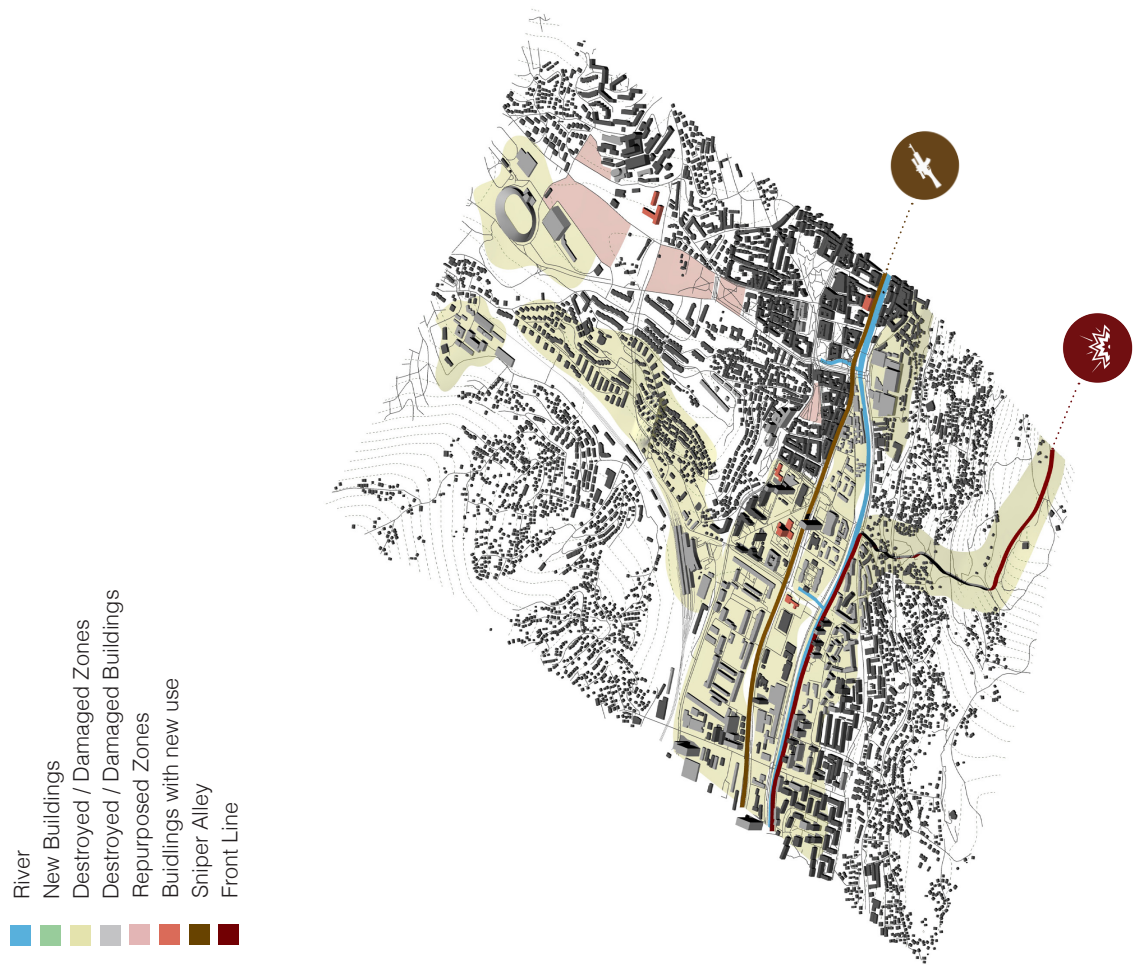
Fig. 75: The map of the destruction of Marijin Dvor

Fig. 76: The burning UNIS Twin Towers
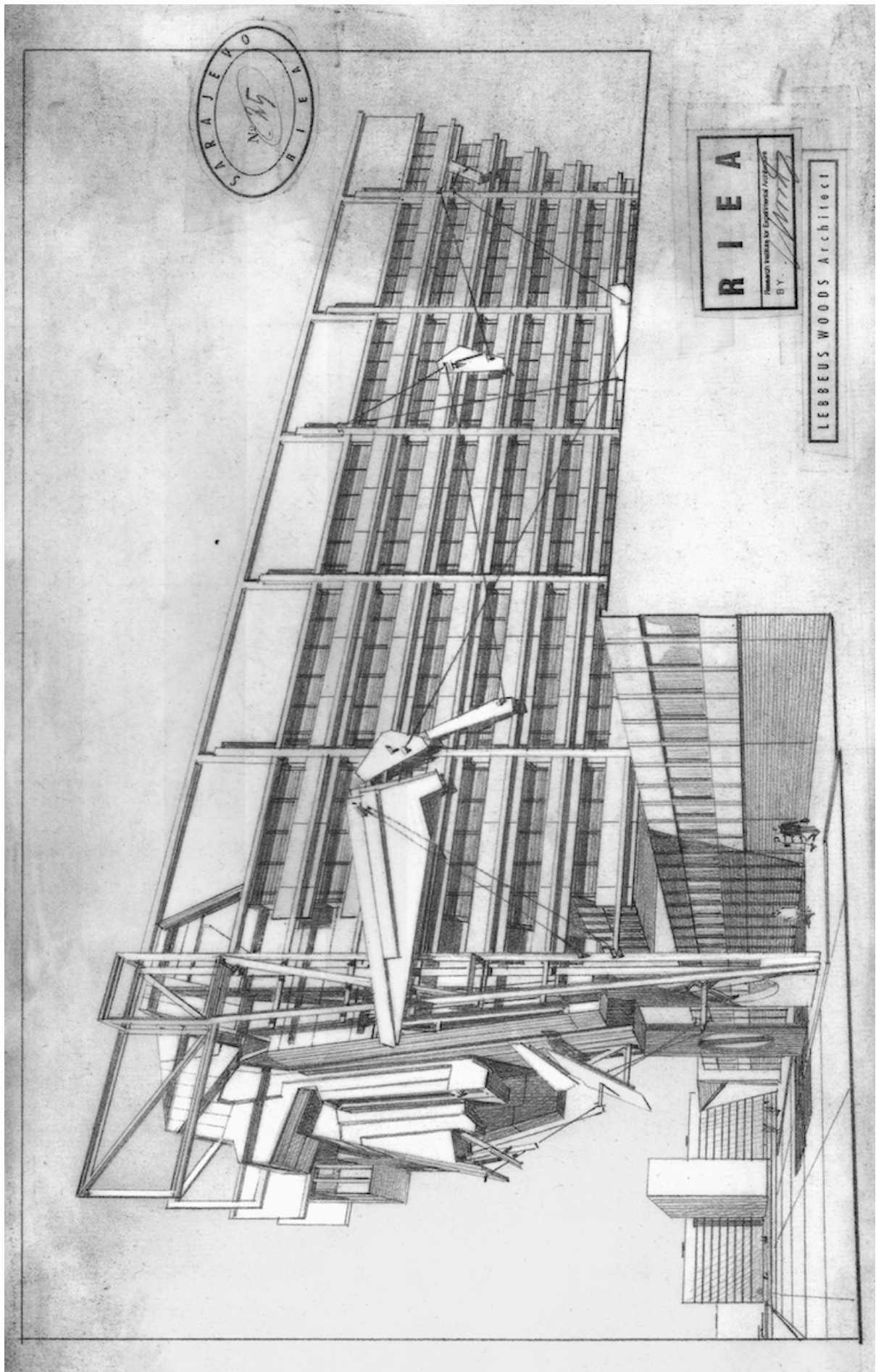
Fig. 77: Radical reconstruction ideas for New Sarajevo by Lebbeus Woods for the State Electric Company
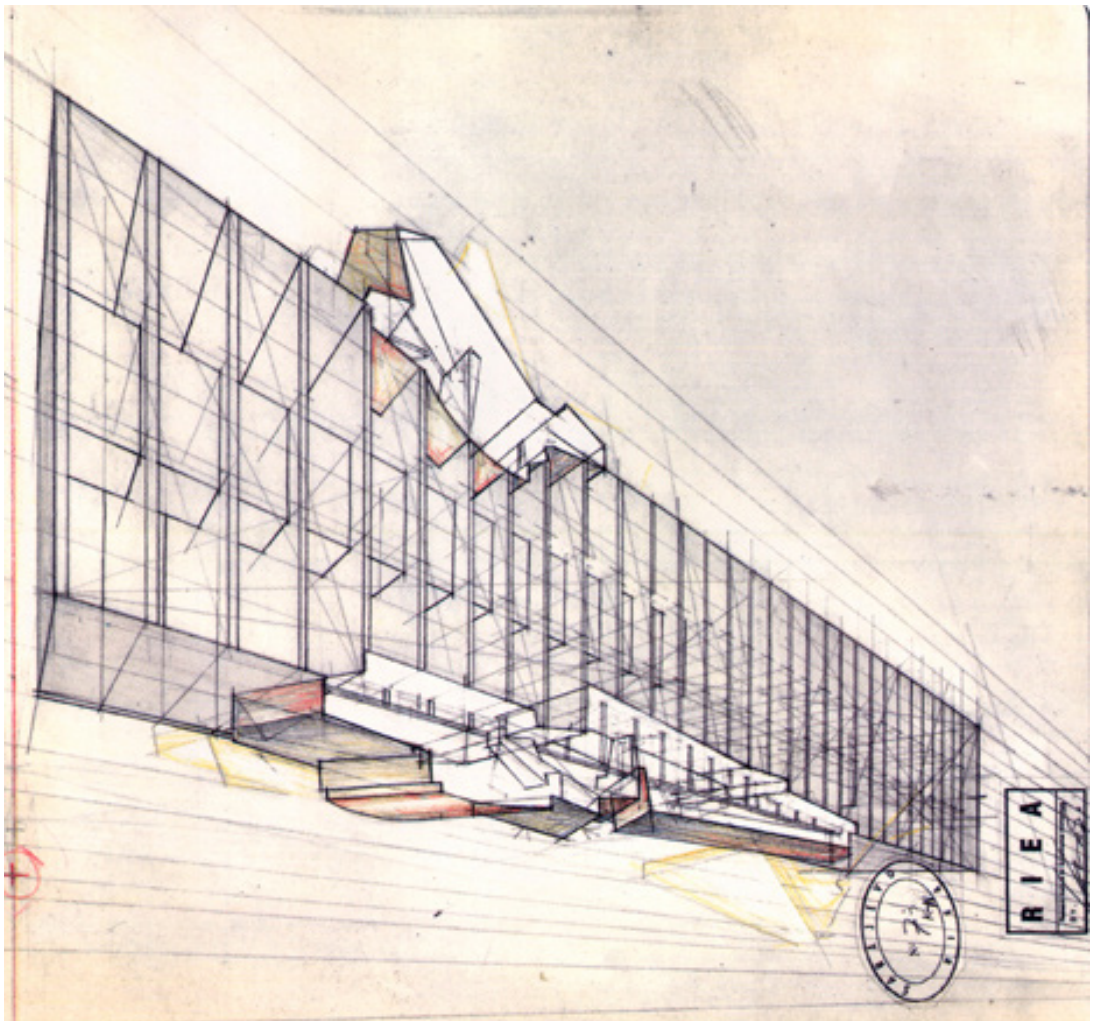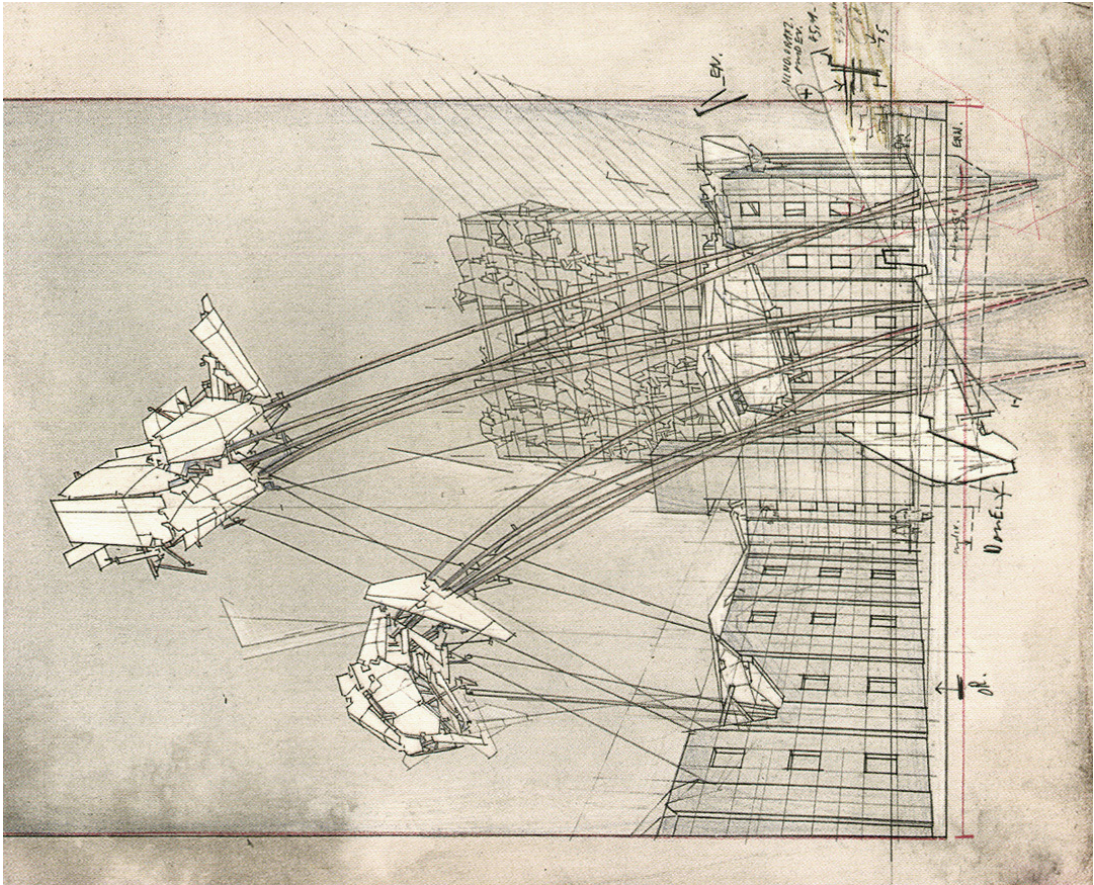
Fig. 77: Radical reconstruction ideas for New Sarajevo by Lebbeus Woods for the UNIS Towers
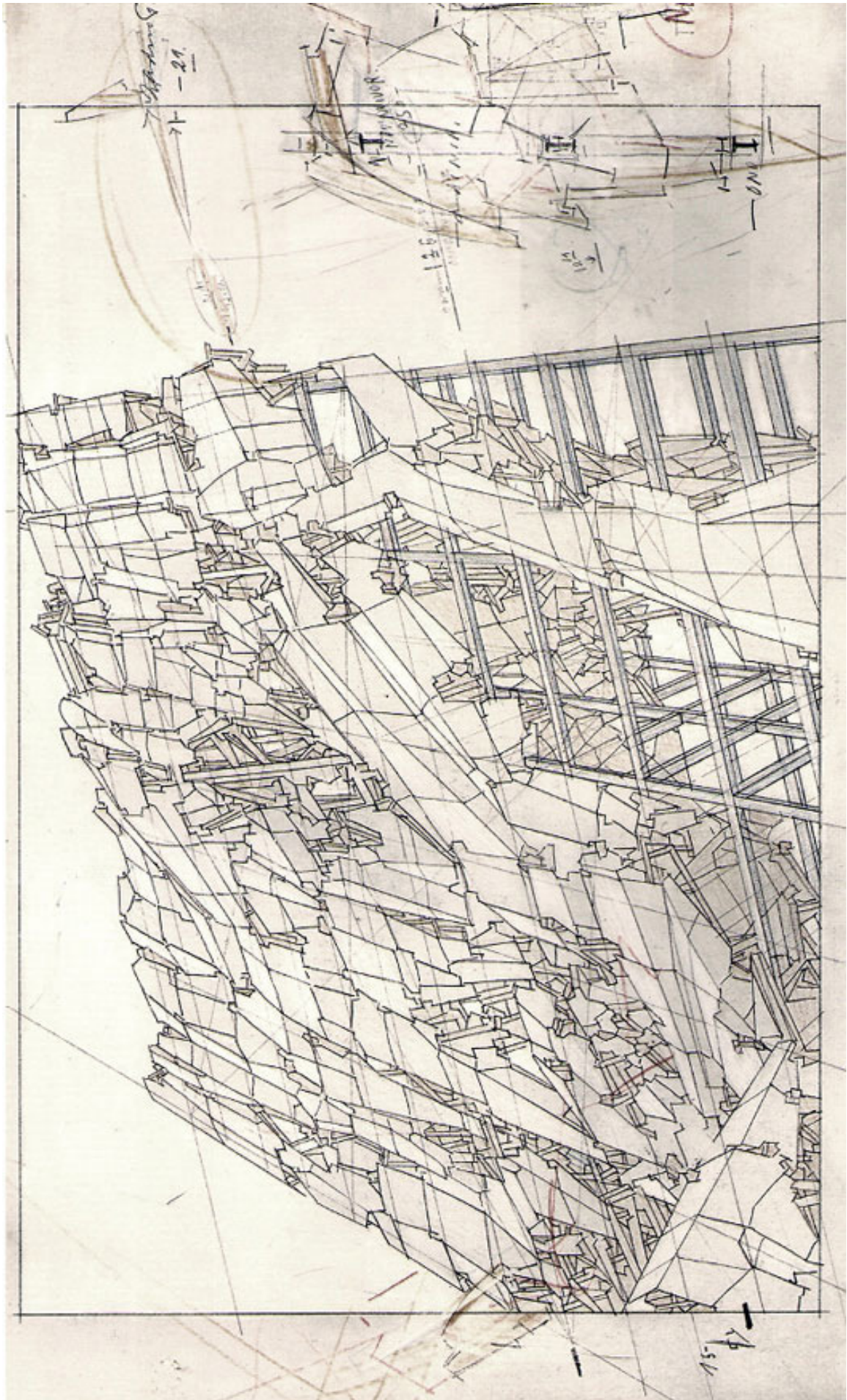
Fig. 77: Radical reconstruction ideas for New Sarajevo by Lebbeus Woods for the Parliament Building

Fig. 78: Appropriation of open spaces and local ecologies

Fig. 79: Micro interventions: Protection barriers and graffiti art 275

Fig. 79: Micro interventions: Protection barriers

Fig. 80: Transforming the former modernist recreational areas into productive landscapes

Fig. 80: Transforming the former modernist recreational areas into productive landscapes

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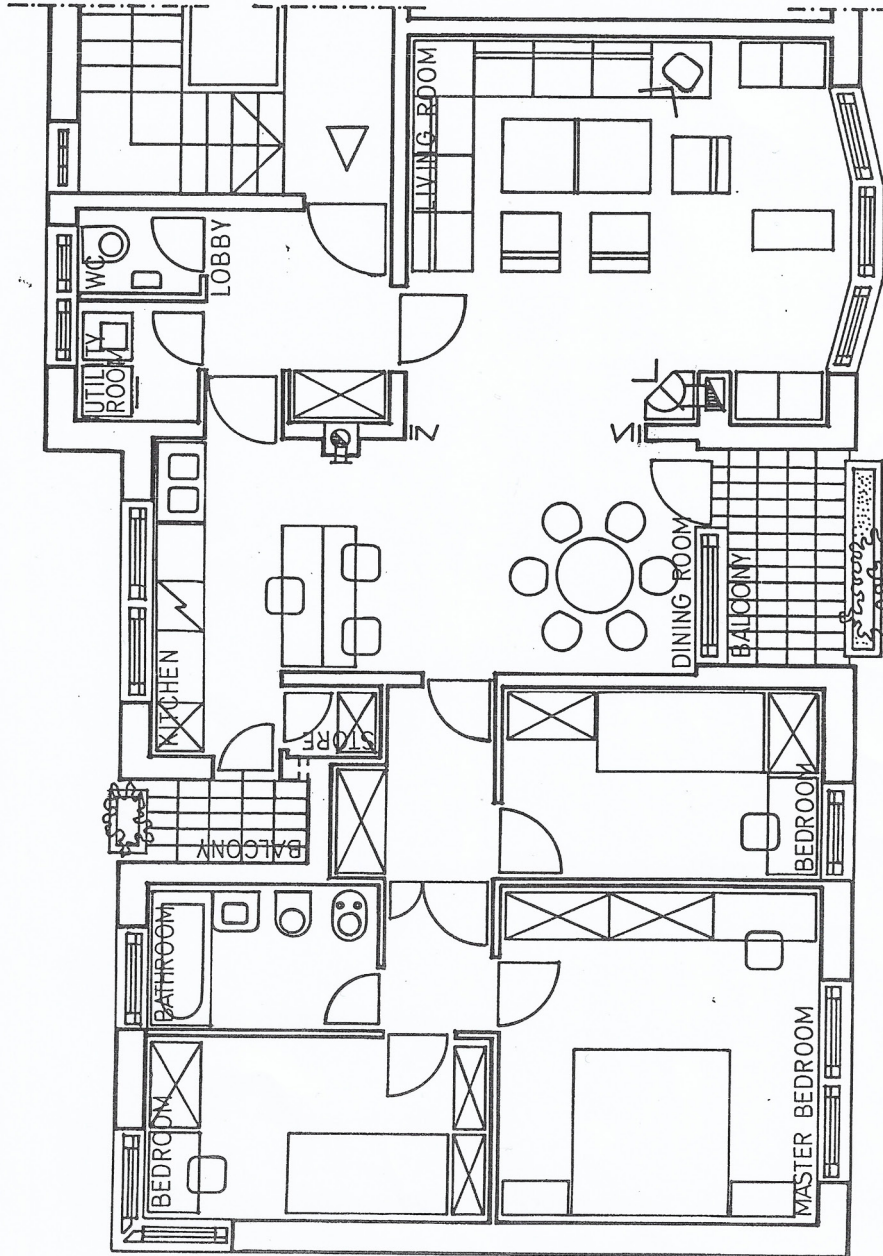
DESTRUCTIVE "METAMORPHOSIS" OF 35.000 APARTMENTS INTO ESSENTIAL FACILITIES FOR SURVIVAL
FAMILY LIVING AREA 100 m2 IN OLYMPIC SARAJEVO WINTER 1984

ARCHITECT ZORAN DORŠNER, JULY 1994

Fig. 81: The Destructive Metamorphosis (comparison of a typical New Sarajevo apartment, 1984 vs. 1994)

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WHAT HAS BEEN JEOPARDIZED:

LIFE
HOME
PEACE
WORK
PRIVACY
FREEDOM

AND

FOOD
WATER
ENERGY

AND

CULTURE

NO LONGER ABLE TO BE USED:

CENTAL HEATING
TOILET
EL. COOKING
LIGHTENING
TV
HI-FI
FRIDGE
WASHING MACHINE
BOILER
VACUUM CLEANER
FAN
FOOD MIXER

PAGE 22

BIKE AND CART STORAGE AREA

DISTROYED WITH HEAVY ARTILLERY AND FIRE

KITCHEN GARDEN

BATHROOM

WC

LOBBY

RAIN WATER COLECTION BARREL

PLASTIC WATER CONTAINERS

MORTARS AND TANKS SHELLS

WOOD CHOPPING AREA

SANDBAG PROTECTION WALL

FIREWOOD

DINING
LIVNG
TALKING
WAITING
READING
COOKING
HEATING

CHIMNEY

SLEEPING AREA

PLASTIC SHEETING PROVIDED BY UNHCR

DESTRUCTIVE "METAMORPHOSIS" OF 35,000 APARTMENTS INTO URGENT FACILITIES FOR SURVIVAL
FAMILY SHELTER 100 m2 IN CONCENTRATION CAMP SARAJEVO 1993, 1994, 1995 ?

ARCHITECT ZORAN DORŠNER, JULY 1994

Fig. 81: The Destructive Metamorphosis (comparison of a typical New Sarajevo apartment, 1984 vs. 1994)

Fig. 82: Susan Sontag in the City Hall/National Library

**Fig. 83: Design for the space and Opening of the exhibition
'Witnesses of Existence', Sutjeska Cinema, Marijin Dvor, 1993**

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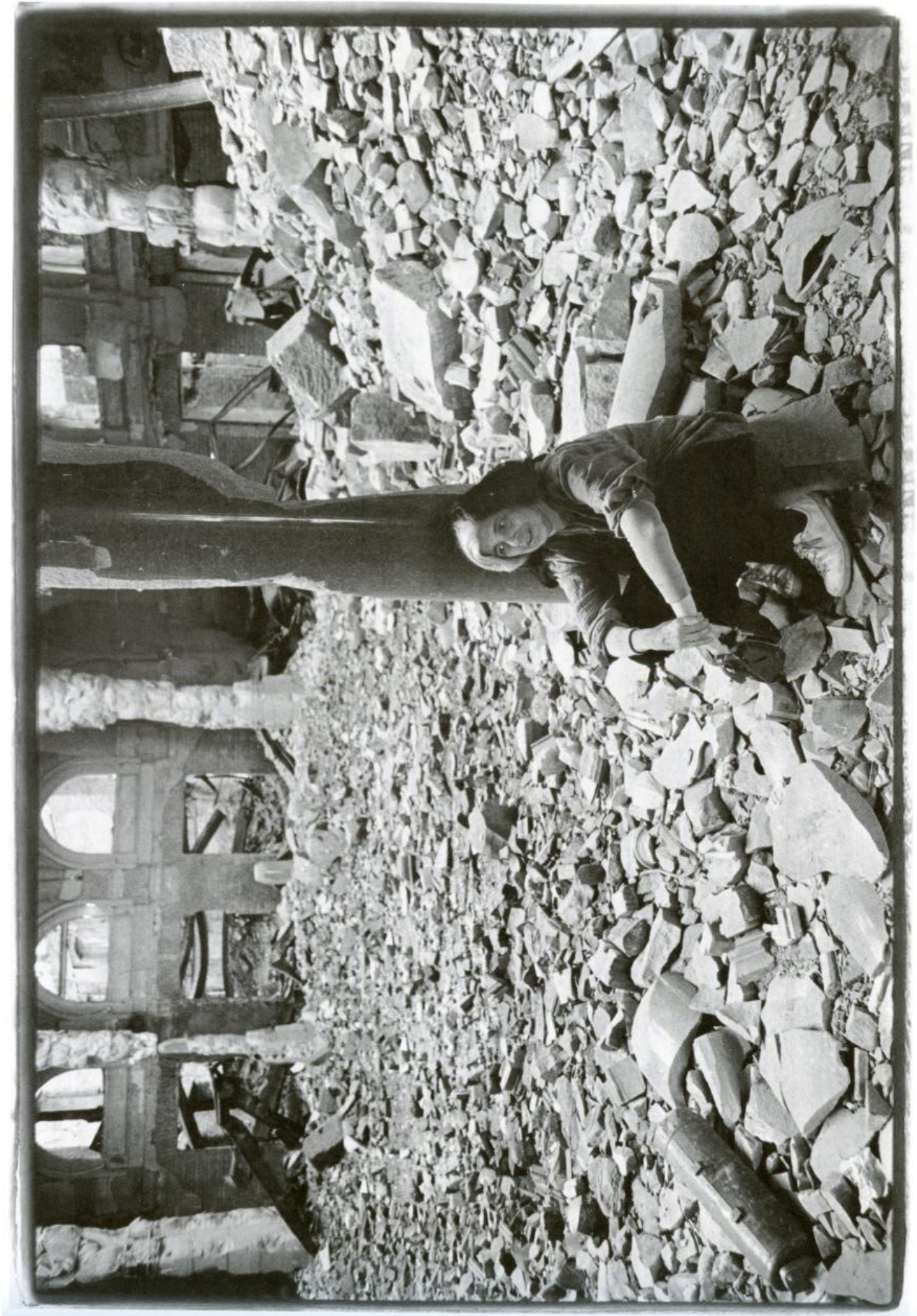
Fig. 84: Analyzing the destruction of Marijin Dvor

Fig. 84: Analyzing the destruction of Marijin Dvor

VI RESISTING DEPENDENCIES: URBAN FRAGMENTATION THROUGH RE-COLONIZATION (1996–2014)

Divide et Impere: Constructing new identities in a divided city

The pressure towards RS and SRJ became more intense in 1995, with the UN imposing severe trade sanctions against Milošević's regime. He had to give in eventually and realize that the continuation of invasive war politics in Croatia and BiH would be ruinous to any hope of a 'Greater Serbia'. 1995 brought with it several key events that served to turn western sentiment against the Milošević regime. In July, VRS forces committed genocide against Bosniaks in the East Bosnian town of Srebrenica, resulting in the death of more than 8 000 civilians - an event that will "forever haunt United Nations history", according to the UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan.[390] In August, another atrocity captured the world's attention, when shells were fired at a civilian open-air mark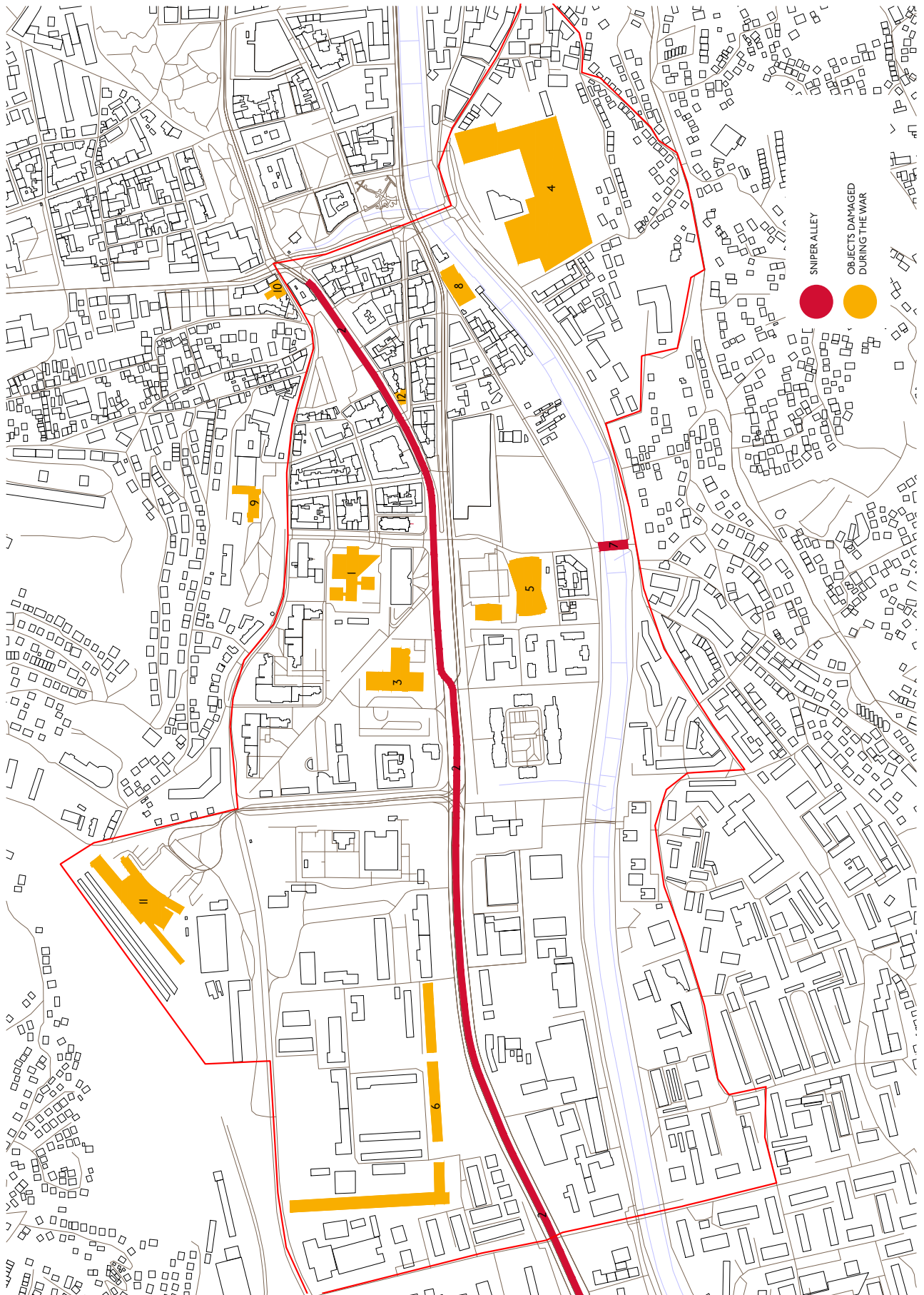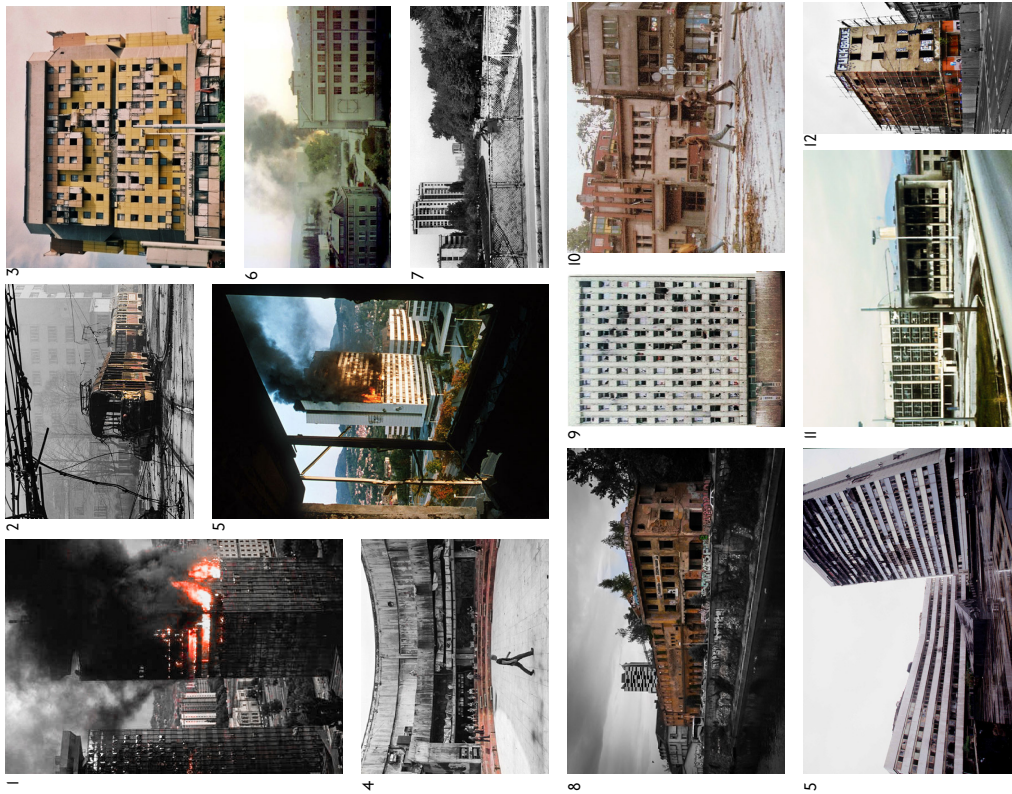et in central Sarajevo. The combination of these events led to NATO bombardments of the VRS positions around the besieged city in the summer and autumn of 1995.

The bombardments resulted in the end of the war and a cessation of combat, formalized through the Dayton Peace Agreement (DPA). The agreement was reached in the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base near Dayton, Ohio on November 21st 1995 between the presidents of BiH, Croatia and SRJ: Alija Izetbegović, Franjo Tuđman and Slobodan Milošević, under the patronage of the Clinton administration.[391] The guarantors of the Agreements bore similarities to those of the Treaty of Berlin in 1878. In this instance the Great Powers consisted of Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzales, French President Jacques Chirac, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, British Prime Minister John Major and Russian Prime Minister Victor Chernomyrdin. This international collaborative act of state-building confirmed the geopolitical dimension of the conflict that was centered around Sarajevo and BiH.[392] (Fig. 85)

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[390] UN Press Release "Srebrenica tragedy will forever haunt United Nations history, says Secretary-General on the 5th anniversary of city's fall". SG/SM/7489. July 10th 2000.
Source: https://www.un.org/press/en/2000/20000710.sgsm7489.doc.html (last accessed: April 2nd 2016).
Note: The pressure to end the war reached a fever-pitch after the VRS took over the East Bosnian enclave of Srebrenica, previously proclaimed as a demilitarized zone under UN protection. Despite international protection, Srebrenica's majority Bosniak population was slaughtered in a massacre declared as act of genocide by the ICTY.

[391] Note: The full document of the DPA is available in English language at the UN Peacemaker Platform. Source: https://peacemaker.un.org/bosniadaytonagreement95 (last accessed: March 2nd 2016). For more on the Peace Agreement, please see: Bass, Warren. The Triage of Dayton. in Foreign Affairs. Vol. 77. No. 5. September/October 1998. pp. 95-108.

[392] Holbrooke, Richard. To End a War: The Conflict in Yugoslavia-America's Inside Story-Negotiating with Milosevic (New York: Modern Library). 1999.

The war in BiH left approximately 2 million people displaced as a result of forced migration. Approximately 150'000 people of all ethnicities left Sarajevo. Until 1998, 89'000 Bosniaks, 2'000 Croats and 1'000 Serbs came to the city as returnees.[393] The peace agreement did not provide a de-ethnonationalization of the political landscape. The first elections in BiH in 1996 saw the victories of the same parties as in 1990: SDS, SDA and HDZ, which received more than 3/4 of all votes,[394] contributing to a petrification of political hostilities and continuous tensions.

The DPA, consisting of several annexes (one of them being BiH's new constitution), was intended as a temporary governmental solution meant to de-escalate post-war tensions. It turned, however, into permanence, creating an inefficient and paralyzed governmental structure on the national level as it legalized the ethnic division through the establishment of two subnational 'entities': the Croat-Bosniak Federation (FBiH) and the Serb dominated Republika Srpska (RS). Foreign control was ensured by including permanent international peacekeeping forces stationed in-country, as well as the institution of the OHR (Office of the High Representative),[395] de-facto confirming BiH's status as an international protectorate.

The DPA had tremendous implications on the future spatial organization of Sarajevo. It legitimized the division and amplified the implications of contestedness in terms of nation-building, ethnicity, identity and their relation to territory. David Campbell defined this dogma as "the apartheid-like logic of international diplomacy's political

Note: The Dayton negotiations reveal bizarre situations that are important to understand the post-war division of the city. After losing Srebrenica, the BiH Government was in control of only one more enclave in Eastern Bosnia that included the town of Goražde. Milošević agreed to a land corridor between Sarajevo and Goražde on the cost of RS in late-night whisky session in Dayton with Richard Holbrooke. The corridor received its informal name: 'Scotch Road'

[393] International Crisis Group. Rebuilding a Multi-Ethnic Sarajevo: The Need for Minority Returns. ICG Bosnia Project Report No. 30. 1998 Source http://www.crisisgroup.org (last accessed: January 20th 2018).

[394] The results for the national parliament were as follows: SDA 37.50%, SDS 24.11% and HDZ 14.10%. Službena stranica Centralne izborne komisije Bosne i Hercegovine (Central Election Committee of Bosnia and Herzegovina).
Source: http://www.izbori.ba/Default.aspx?CategoryID=45&Lang=3 (last accessed: July 10th 2017).

[395] The official description of the OHR:
"The Office of the High Representative (OHR) is an ad hoc international institution responsible for overseeing implementation of civilian aspects of the Peace Agreement ending the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The position of High Representative was created under the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, usually referred to as the Dayton Peace Agreement (…). The High Representative is working with the people and institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the international community to ensure that Bosnia and Herzegovina evolved into a peaceful and viable democracy on course for integration in Euro-Atlantic institutions. The OHR is working towards the point where Bosnia and Herzegovina is able to take full responsibility for its own affairs."
Source: http://www.ohr.int/?page_id=1139 (last accessed: July 22nd 2017).

anthropology".[396] Instead of the frontline and SDS's intentions to divide Sarajevo by building a wall in Marijin Dvor, the alternative proposal that emerged out of the cultural resistance movement – to establish a neutral capital city district, as a symbol of multiethnic cosmopolitanism – was ignored in Dayton. In these plans, Marijin Dvor was designated to become the government district with no jurisdiction of either entity, but a neutral seed for the future reconciliation.

Instead, the DPA fragmented the city's metropolitan region as it was defined in the 1978 territorial reform, and dissected it topographically, culturally and urbanistically. The line, predominantly following the former frontline, although not in the form of a physical barrier, separated historically-grown cultural and economic regions and spatio-culturally evolved territories – into newly-defined administrative zones. Srdjan Jovanovic Weiss described this phenomenon as 'Balkanization':

> **Balkanization – as this phenomenon has come to be known – is thus a spatial-political concept, endowing fundamental social notions of conflict and enmity with spatial processes of territorial fragmentation, and the shattering of social space into a multiplicity of enclaves that are internally homogenous and externally hostile to each other.[397]**

The DPA also inscribed the division of Sarajevo by transforming the wartime frontline into an ethnic border, moved at the expense of the RS, as agreed during the intense negotiations in Dayton between the SRJ and BiH government delegations. Milošević 'granted' Sarajevo to the BiH government: "You deserve Sarajevo, you stayed there through the siege and the shelling".[398] This decision de-iure divided Sarajevo into two parts: 'City of Sarajevo' and the 'City of Serb Sarajevo' (later renamed into 'East Sarajevo'), which was described in Annex 2 of the DPA entitled: 'Sporazum o međuentitetskoj liniji razgraničenja' ('Agreement of the inter-entity division line'). Grbavica, as well as the suburban municipalities of Ilidža, Vogošća and Ilijaš were reintegrated into the city territory. The southern and southeastern parts

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[396] Campbell, David. "Apartheid cartography: The political anthropology and spatial effects of international diplomacy in Bosnia". In: Political Geography. Vol. 18. 1999. p. 395.

[397] Jovanovic-Weiss, Srdjan. "Shifting to capitalism: Novi Sad vis-à-vis Belgrade - Prospects of Preserving a non-national Capital next to a national capital". in Brillembourg Alfredo; Klumpner, Hubert and Piplas, Haris. City Action Lab: Integrated Toolbox for Central-Eastern European Cities. ETH Zürich D-ARCH. unpublished work. 2018. p. 13.

[398] Sheridan, Michael. "Muslims learn to fear Tudjman's embrace". In: The Independent. November 25th 1995. Source: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/muslims-learn-to-fear-tudjmans-embrace-1583547.html (last accessed: March 6th 2016).

of the metropolitan region, such as most parts of the Olympic Trebević mountain and the southwestern part of the Sarajevo valley were given to the RS and formed, together with the satellite town Pale, the new Serb-dominant town. The maps in Dayton were on the scale 1:600'000, making the division line often unclear and object to dispute between the two still hostile communities. (Fig. 86)

The border was also moved 1 km uphill compared to the former frontline between Marijin Dvor and Grbavica on the left bank of the Miljacka to the south – uphill to the slopes of Trebević in the neighborhood of Vraca. Neidhardt's green corridors that aimed to connect Marijin Dvor to Trebević, despite their partial realization during socialism, were definitively interrupted by the new border, creating distorted relationships of the inner city with its hinterlands. Furthermore, as the former frontlines were largely landmined the access to these areas became an issue of safety and security. The emotional distance of Sarajevans with their 'Hausberg' ('home hountain') was intensified by the wartime memories as the VRS held positions on Trebević, hosting snipers and heavy artillery.[399]

The majority of the Serb population that suddenly found itself behind new 'enemy lines' began an exodus from 'non-Serb' areas of the city after a powerful propaganda campaign by media controlled by the Government of RS.[400] Approximately 63'000 ethnic Serbs left the re-integrated parts of the city. Most of them ended on the other side of the DPA-line, in Serb Sarajevo.[401] Besides the war destruction and the upcoming demographic imbalance, the parts of the districts left behind were willfully damaged before the exodus: in particular, housing, service infrastructure and public space. The example that many of the dead on the FBiH side of Sarajevo

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[399] Please see more: Piplas, Haris. "Merging old and new green infrastructure on the mission for the revival of Sarajevo". Recovering Trebević Mountain: The urban landscape of Sarajevo. by Fetzer, Ellen (Ed.). (HfWU Nürtingen-Geislingen: International Master in Landscape Architecture Publication);
LE:NOTRE Forum Sarajevo 2014. Landscapes of Sarajevo - Introductory document.
Source: http://ln-institute.org/landscape_forum/landscape-forum-public-2014.php
(last accessed: July 29th 2018).

[400] Note: The name 'Serb Sarajevo' was changed according to a decision of BIH's Constitutional court on September 24th 2004
For the official documentation, please see: Zakon o izmjenama zakona o Gradu Istočno Sarajevo. No.: 01-479/05
from July 27th 2005.
More on the exodus, in particular on the security situations: Louis Sell, "The Serb Flight from Sarajevo: Dayton's first failure". In: East European Politics and Societies. 14:1. 2000. p. 15.

[401] Bollens, Scott. "On narrow ground: Planning in ethnically polarized cities". In: Journal of Architectural and Planning Research. No. 13. 1996. pp. 120-139.

were exhumed and taken to graveyards in RS serves as a morbid anecdote for this final separation.

The ideological disparities were further bolstered by the introduction of new street names, signage and commemorative monuments that contaminated and marked occupied territories as new mono-ethnic political spaces neglecting the historical "urbane ecumenism of Sarajevo".[402] The new symbols were supposed to "act as vehicles for cultural meaning" being therefore "vital in maintaining, reproducing and transforming culture",[403] as theorized by Sherry Beth Ortner. The distinguishing dimensions were also signaled through the contest over the preferred usage of Cyrillic (in RS) or Latin (in FBiH) scripts, recreating the division line of the 1054 church schism. This battle over contested territories largely reminded of the situation in Palestine, as described by Eyal Weizman:

> **[Occupied Palestinian territories] have become the battlefield on which various agents of state power and independent actors confront each other, meeting local and international resistance. Within them, the mundane elements of planning and architecture have become tactical tools and means of dispossession.[404]**

The physical manifestation was to evoke a larger sense of belonging and a new identity. The dispute over Gavrilo Princip and Sarajevo's role in the instigation of the Great War was answered via placing the statue of Gavrilo Princip[405] in a location close to the inter-entity border in East Sarajevo's Lukavica district. The erection of another monument devoted to the Russian diplomat Vitaly Churkin, who vetoed the British initiative in 2015 to proclaim the Srebrenica massacre as genocide at the UN, exposed the geopolitical standpoints in East Sarajevo directly. (Fig. 87). Architecture was utilized as a physical manifestation of political programs of the ethno-nationalistic parties on both sides of the entity line, defining new value systems in physical space – what Benedict Anderson

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[402] Allcock, John B. Explaining Yugoslavia (London: Hurst). 2000. p. 348.

[403] Ortner, Beth Sherry. "On key symbols". In: American Anthropologist. No. 75. 1973. p. 1339.

[404] Weizman, Eyal. Hollow land: Israel's architecture of occupation (London, New York: Verso, 2007). pp. 4-5.

[405] "Russia vetoes UN move to call Srebrenica 'genocide'". In: BBC News. Source: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-33445772. July 8th 2015. (last accessed: March 14th 2018).; "Memorial to Russia's UN Ambassador Vitaly Churkin Proposed in Republika Srpska". In: Sputnik News. February 28th 2017.
Source: https://sputniknews.com/europe/201702281051104265-russia-un-veto-srebrenica-churkin
(last accessed: March 12th 2018);
Note: Vitaly Churkin was Russia's Permanent Representative to the United Nations Security Council from 2006 until 2017.

described in the case of theagency of museums, maps and censuses in post-colonial South-East Asia: "to say of anything that it was this, not that; it belonged here, not there".[406] The institutionalized territorial division was further marked with particular buildings that symbolized the new identities. By constructing mostly sacred building to represent post-communist ideologies, the ethno-religious paradigm was translated into urban space, marking the newly 'occupied' zones – a phenomenon that Henri Lefebvre calls the "political strategy of space".[407] These ethno-nationalist dogma, symbiotic with the reinvention of the pre-communist religious identities, can be related to Hobsbawm's notion of "the nation as invented tradition",[408] which was recreated through new buildings that ignore the common past and 'invent' a new 'national' building tradition. The simultaneous reconstruction of different religious sites was seen as a symbolic counter-reaction to their destruction: "in the post-Dayton period mosques and churches in Bosnia have, in effect, replaced any national flags that might have marked an ethnicity's territorial control immediately after the war."[409] Besides the construction of multiple churches in East Sarajevo, the most significant architecture of this paradigm shift is the King Fahd Mosque, due to its investment sum of $9 million, located in the western part of New Sarajevo in the close vicinity to the 1984 Olympic Village and the entity line. (Fig. 88) The mosque was built in an architectural style that strongly differs from Bosnian Ottoman era mosques, uncovering how both ideology and financial flows follow geopolitical patterns and play out in space.[410] The financial connection of Bosnian Muslims to the Islamic world dated mostly from their participation in Yugoslav diplomatic corps, which had operated also in Non-Aligned Islamic countries, during the political and economic cooperation programs of the NAM:

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[406] Anderson, Benedict. Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism (Second edition). (London: New Left Books). 1991. p. 184.

[407] Lefebvre, Henri. The Urban Revolution. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press). 2003. p. 100.

[408] Hobsbawm, Eric. "Ethnicity and nationalism in Europe today". In: Balakrishnan, Geetha (Ed.). Mapping the nation (London: Verso). 1996. pp. 255–266.

[409] UNESCO 144th Session: The Situation of the Cultural and Architectural Heritage as well as of Educational and Cultural Institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Paris. April 19th 1994.
Source: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0009/000969/096973Eo.pdf
(last accessed: April 2nd 2018).

[410] Saraljić, Eldar. "The Return of the Consuls: Islamic networks and foreign policy perspectives in Bosnia and Herzegovina". In: Southeast European and Black Sea Studies. Vol. 1. Issue 2. 2011. p.184.

A Muslim background was a positive advantage for anyone hoping to get on in the Yugoslav diplomatic service. By the mid-1960s there were prominent Bosnian Muslim diplomats serving in several Arab states and Indonesia.[411]

The newly established diplomatic corps of independent BiH largely included the former Yugoslav Bosnian Muslim diplomats who, in midst of war and the atrocities of the 1990s, were lobbying for financial injections and weapons, which were imported from Islamic countries and avoiding the weapons embargo. After the war, the investments shifted to building mosques, Islamic centers and libraries in order to input cultural influence. These projects were funded by Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Jordan, Kuwait, among others (who in the following years redirected their investment focus to real estate). The BiH President, Alija Izetbegović, who advocated for the investments confessed: "They would not give us money for factories. (…) They would only support building mosques". [412]

The urban fabric of both the City of Sarajevo and East Sarajevo were confronted with the necessity to represent the power of the particular ethnic and political dogmas. Each part of Sarajevo, divided by the inner-BiH border, constructed the physical shape of its own new social, cultural and political organization, what Claus Offe holistically frames as "a transition to new economic order, new legal and constitutional order, and new rules of social integration".[413] Their division additionally contributed to a paralysis and political stasis of post-war Sarajevo as the DPA spatialized both the ethnic and political division of the city.

New game, new rules: Deregulation and privatization

With the independence of BiH, the City of Sarajevo was promoted from a regional to a national capital city. The city was administratively divided between the state level,

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[411] Malcom, Noel. Bosnia: A Short History (New York University Press). 1996. p. 197.

[412] Pejić, Nenad. "The Suicide Of Multiethnic Sarajevo?". In: Radio Free Europe. April 25th 2010. Source: http://www.rferl.org/content/The_Suicide_Of_Multiethnic_Sarajevo/2023847.html (last accessed March 23rd 2015).

[413] Offe Claus. Varieties of transition: The East European and East German experience (Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press). 1997.

FBiH, Canton of Sarajevo, City of Sarajevo, municipalities, as well as the smallest organizational units in BiH: the MZs. This created a perplexing new central-local relationship and ambiguous dispersion of legislative power. BiH and Sarajevo became almost ungovernable, as rhetorics of ethnic tensions and territorial disputes gradually weakened the governmental agencies. The institutional transformation, induced by the DPA, had substantial implications on the city's functioning and planning mechanisms. This fragmentation of decision-making resulted effectively in a decrease of executive power to enforce laws and regulations.

The Sarajevo metropolitan area, established in the reform of 1978, lost a significant part of its territory to East Sarajevo. The remaining parts came under the auspices of the Canton of Sarajevo, established in the DPA, which received most of the responsibilities and budgetary authority. The City Government, meanwhile, kept a symbolic, representative function. On the FBiH and national levels, different ethnic and political interests represented through various assemblies and councils were distributed along a 'positive discriminatory' ethnic quota. These intricacies have constantly decelerated consensus and, therefore, paralyzed society. The MZs kept the position as the lowest administrative level as in the socialist system, but were subjected to more political pressure, and saw their roles diminished.[414]

The economic shift was palpable from the closure of many large-scale industrial enterprises from the communist era due to the wartime devastation – or by the looting of retreating army forces. The rise of unemployment originated mostly from the concentrated unskilled labor that originated from both the socialist large-scale urbanization endeavors and both wartime and post-war refugees flows. The planned economy and the dominance of primary sectors, such as industrial production, were replaced by a service-based economy. This restructuring caused the highest unemployment rate in Europe in BiH, a continuous rate of above 35%, peaking at 43.5% in 2013.[415] Sarajevo had in the year 2000 the second highest

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[414] Interviews (multiple) with Mensur Čolaković. President of MZ Kovačići. In Sarajevo and Zurich. 2017-2019.

[415] "Bosnia and Herzegovina Unemployment Rate". In: Trading Economics.
Source: https://tradingeconomics.com/bosnia-and-herzegovina/unemployment-rate (last accessed: February 2nd 2018).

unemployment rate of all CEE capitals at 20%, with only Tbilisi being higher.[416] The new era marked the end of the state-controlled economic supply and demand, regulation of income, provision of healthcare, education, housing and other public amenities – de-facto abolishing the welfare state.

As in 1990, the centralized political decision-making of the SKJ was transformed into democratic political plurality. The self-managed (but centrally-planned) economy underwent market-driven economic liberalization processes – towards neoliberal capitalism. These societal changes brought structural transformations to the use, tenureship and ownership of land - creating a new jurisdictional reality. The privatization of state assets had already begun in 1990 with the initiative of Ante Marković in which the workers would become shareholders of their enterprises.[417] The Yugoslav ownership and tenureship system was abolished with the new law 'Zakon o pretvorbi društvene u državnu svojinu' ('Law on conversion of public into state property') from November 7th 1994.[418] This law officially transformed common societal property into public, state property that was given to privatization, an act that Iván Tosics defines as the disappearance of one of the "main pillars of the socialist city-development model".[419] This privatization annuled the 1946 land reform on collectivization and planning of resources in a top-down, strategic manner, resulting in an intensive land parcellation. Effectively, as common societal property ceased to exist, it systematically dispossessed workers and citizens who were legal co-owners of public assets (mainly housing, factories, public buildings), due to the fact that fractions of their salaries had gone into a common fund to finance the construction of these during the socialist period.

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[416] "Global Urban Indicators Database (GUID) for Istanbul+5" (Global Urban Observatory: United Nations Centre for Human Settlements-HABITAT-Version 2). (Nairobi: UN-Habitat). 2002.

[417] The Assembly of SFRY passed the Law on Social Capital ("Official Gazette of SFRY" No. 84/89 and 46/90) on the privatization in the then social enterprises, initiated by Ante Marković as an update to the Yugoslav workers self-management. He proposed the model of working shareholding, i.e. that the workers who worked at the time at public enterprises are entitled to purchase shares of that company and become its shareholders.

[418] Službeni list RBiH (Official gazette of RBiH). No. 33/94. Decision was taken during a session on November 7th 1994 and start of implementation effectively from January 1st 1995.

[419] Tosics, Iván. "City development in Central and Eastern Europe since 1990: the impact of the internal forces". in Hamilton, Ian, Dimitrowska-Andrews, Kaliopa and Pichler-Milanović, Nataša. (Eds). Transformation of cities in central and Eastern Europe: Towards globalization (Tokyo: The United Nations University Press). 2005. p. 58.

The intended effect of the systematic dispossession and privatization was to de-politicize the economy and disempower the existing political elites. The belief was that time would eventually sort out the functions of the new societal mechanisms and establish a balance between the private and the public interests. This is perhaps best described by Chris Webster's and Lawrence Lai's argument that "state and markets co-evolve, complementing each other and, by trial and error, discovering better ways of distributing responsibilities between private and public sectors and between private and collective action".[420] The effect was the exact opposite as the new-old ethnonational elites instrumentalized the privatization mechanisms to foster their own socio-political agendas via clientelist real estate development, generating financial income to remain in power. Bollens also emphasizes how these practices hindered democratization processes: "Amidst transitional uncertainty, political forces competed to position themselves assuring that any new political dispensation or movement toward democracy does not harm their interests."[421]

The BiH governments, according to its official statements, initiated privatization with the aim of fostering the transition to a market economy and reducing the maintenance expenditures of the public sector. This defined it as "a comprehensive process that provides a range of opportunities for domestic and foreign natural and legal persons to participate in the purchase of state capital, including enterprises, banks and real estate with existing tenancy rights".[422] The privatization tenders attracted local and international investors, many of them former warlords, humanitarian aid dealers and weapon smugglers who were often informally appointed by the governmental agencies in order to avoid the UN embargo on weapon imports during the war. These war profiteers took privileged position due to their proximity to the political power.[423] The newly privatized reality paved the way for the future urban development of Sarajevo, with many of the beneficiaries of the

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[420] Webster, Chris and Lai, Lawrence Wai-Chung. Property rights, planning and markets - Managing spontaneous cities (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar). 2003. p. 2.

[421] Bollens, Scott. "Intervening in Politically Turbulent Cities: Spaces, Buildings and Boundaries". In: Journal of Urban Technology. Vol. 16. No. 2-3. 2009. p. 82.

[422] Official privatization definition taken from the website of the Agency for Privatization of FBiH:
Source: http://www.fipa.gov.ba/investiranje/privatizacija/default.aspx?id=47&langTag=hr-HR
(last accessed: April 10th 2016). (translated by the author).

[423] Andreas, Peter. "The Clandestine Political Economy of War and Peace in Bosnia". In: International Studies Quarterly. No. 48. (Brown University). 2004. pp. 29-51.

period becoming some of the most powerful actors in the city. The architectural dimension of the symbiosis between ethnonational and political fragmentation and dubious investors is visible from the definition of Jovanovic Weiss:

The process of national fragmentation has unleashed as well a new class of close-to-power, shady real-estate entrepreneurs, and their emergent populist architectural styles as a substitute for the official architecture and urbanism.[424]

Through their influence, Sarajevo's formally socialist planned urbanism has been replaced with a more investor-driven paradigm. As a result, the annihilated socialist city was densified with new programs through adding ad-hoc, 'invasive' generic commercial and shopping function on top of the existing urban fabric, in particular in its most attractive node, Marijin Dvor. (Fig. 89) These neoliberal policies were fostered through deregulation that was mostly dealt out by 'econocrats' who had minimal consideration regarding the spatial and human implications of privatization. Post-urbicide Sarajevo therefore missed the opportunity for a comprehensive reconstruction of both its damaged physical fabric and the reconciliation of its communities. The revitalization of the social, economic and ecological urban networks required an integrated and multi-stakeholder approach that, ultimately, did not occur due to the ethnic division, and an economic and legal model that favored 'predatory' practices. This differed from Sultan Barakat's definition of a holistic urban reconstruction:

Reconstruction as a developmental challenge is about addressing the micro level needs of communities within a macro (…) strategy driven by the need to reinforce peace as much as by the need to induce growth. [It is] a range of holistic activities in an integrated process designed not only to reactivate economic and social development but at the same time to create a peaceful environment that will prevent a relapse into violence.[425]

Already in 1995, urban researchers, such as Jon Rowland, arrived in Sarajevo and recommended a multi-sectoral approach to integrated reconstruction programs,

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[424] Jovanovic-Weiss, Srdjan. "Shifting to capitalism: Novi Sad vis-à-vis Belgrade - Prospects of Preserving a non-national Capital next to a national capital". In: Brillembourg Alfredo; Klumpner, Hubert and Piplas, Haris. City Action Lab: Integrated Toolbox for Central-Eastern European Cities. ETH Zürich D-ARCH. unpublished work. 2018. p. 13.

[425] Barakat, Sultan. "Post-war reconstruction and development: Coming of age". In: After the Conflict: Reconstructions and Redevelopment in the Aftermath of War. by Barakat, Sultan and Wardell, Gareth (Eds.). International Library of War Studies Series (London: I.B. Tauris). 2005. pp. 11.-12.

pointing out the necessity to prevent future conflicts and utilize urbanism as a reconciliation instrument.[426] Despite such recommendations, Sarajevo's reconstruction was executed in a series of discoordinated ad-hoc micro-actions with no application of an overall reconstruction strategy. (Fig. 90)

The general mood of the society was closely related to the pace and success of the urban rehabilitation efforts. After the first reconstruction wave from 1996 until 1999, the initial positive atmosphere in the society was replaced by a lethargic, frustrating and pessimistic zeitgeist. The crisis manifested itself on different psychic and social levels that can be traced to post-traumatic experiences, as defined by Jacqueline Barus-Michel:

> **Crisis at the level of the relationship that results in disintegration of links, solidarity, confusion of roles, paranoid reactions of attack-defense, grievances; crisis at the level of the social organizational unit that results in disinvestment, feeling of insecurity and crisis at the level of society that results in withdrawal to particular interests, incivility, delinquency, refusal of authority.[427]**

By analyzing the reconstruction of Sarajevo through another lens, applied by Lamphere-Englund in the 'Aleppo Project', it is clear that the process failed all three requirements of a successful reconstruction: ensuring public support, providing a safe economic and regulatory context and securing legal and accountability frameworks.[428]

Despite the ruling prejudice that the lack of funding was the main obstacle for the failure of the regeneration of Sarajevo, this argument does not stand when looking into the amounts invested by the international community. The World Bank, the EU, and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) estimated the pledged reconstruction assistance at approximately $5.1 billion, only in the first phase of the reconstruction period, from 1996 until 1999.[429] By the end of 1998,

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[426] Rowland, Jon. "Rebuilding Sarajevo". In: Disaster Prevention and Management. Vol. 4. No. 1. 1995. pp. 32-37.

[427] Barus-Michel, Jacqueline. "Dossier: Les multiples visages des crises" ("Dossier: The many faces of crises"). In: Les Cahiers de psychologie politique. No. 14. January 2009.
Source: http://lodel.irevues.inist.fr/cahierspsychologiepolitique/index.php?id=299
(last accessed: July 12th 2017). (translated by the author).

[428] Lamphere-Englund, Galen. The Aleppo Project: Rebuilding Sarajevo. (Center for Conflict Negotiation and recovery, School of Public Policy, Central European University Budapest). July 2015. p. 32.

[429] World Bank Operations, Department Bosnia and Herzegovina. Post-Conflict Reconstruction and the Transition to a Market Economy: An OED Evaluation of World Bank Support (Washington, D.C.: World Bank). 2004. p. xi.

the majority of Sarajevo's building stock, mostly collective housing, had been restored to a semblance of 'normality', even while significant issues remained with property restitution and ownership. Most roads and transportation networks were also repaired within three years following the end of the siege.[430]

Without a cohesive implementation of the reconstruction strategy for individual dwellings, a vast amount of anarchistic micro-reconstructions, as well as new informal housing, was added to the slopes around Sarajevo, mostly by internally displaced war refugees and returnees whose homes were destroyed. The migrants were attracted by the capital city's economy, which was more successful due to stronger investment flows compared to the rest of the country.

The reconstruction insufficiently amplified and built upon the wartime resistance energy, largely ignoring the human cultural and relational capital of the city as well as the 'lieux de mémoire'.[431] The crucial balance between the necessary economic growth, and community empowerment important for the post-war revitalization and reconciliation, was principally neglected. Sarajevo was put into a moment of uncertain future as the wartime reconstruction ideas of architects, cultural workers and critical intellectuals did not translate into an overall societal and urban development strategy. On the contrary, it adapted to the new realities of a capitalist, neoliberal post-socialist society, providing a fertile ground for corruption and system abuse.

Urbanistic instruments as catalyzers of fragmentation

The socialist city was an incarnation of the political ideology of the SKJ and the architects and planners who gave shape and program to the socialist Sarajevo relied on ideology, architectural ingenuity, science-based planning parameters and new

[430] Lamphere-Englund, Galen. The Aleppo Project: Rebuilding Sarajevo. (Center for Conflict Negotiation and recovery, School of Public Policy. Central European University Budapest). July 2015. p. 16.

[431] Nora, Pierre and Kritzman, Lawrence. Realms of memory: Rethinking the French past (New York: Columbia University Press). 1996.

construction normatives. The post-socialist planning legislation remodeled the institutional structure, providing a planning framework that would largely support and regulate market operations, a general concept postulated for Central-Eastern European post-socialist cities by Marcuse et. al.[432] In Sarajevo, this paradigmatic shift was deepened through the war destruction and the DPA-induced division of the country and the city.

The sectoral nature of mandates in infrastructural and urban planning remained as it was in the socialist system. In the new epoch, urban planning was again assigned to the 'Zavod za Planiranje Razvoja Kantona Sarajevo-ZPR' ('Institute of Development and Planning of Canton Sarajevo')[433] and the overview of construction and execution to the supervision of the 'Zavod za Izgradnju' ('Institute of Construction') – but now both were delegated to the Cantonal level. This rearrangement sealed the division between planning procedures, design and construction.[434] The decentralized and fragmented distribution of competencies meant a fundamental shift in the decision-making processes. Realizing this negative trend, scientific voices pleaded towards giving back the power to the metropolitan and regional bodies at the beginning of the 2000s across Ex-Yugoslavia.[435] Instead of gaining more responsibilities due to the holistic challenges of post-war reconstruction, agencies, such as the the ZPR, lost many of their mechanisms on the municipality level, such as nomination and execution procedures of the 'Regulacioni Plan-RP' ('Regulation Plan').[436] The City of Sarajevo Government also experienced a significant reduction of policy instruments compared to socialist period. In terms of responsibilities in urban planning, the city government kept only a part of the RP-related procedures inside its newly established Department for Urban Planning, Investments, Housing and Communal Works.[437]

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[432] Nedović-Budić, Zorica and Tsenkova, Sasha with Marcuse, Peter "The urban mosaic of post-socialist Europe" In. The Urban Mosaic of Post-Socialist Europe: Space, Institutions and Policy (Heidelberg: Physica). 2006. pp. 7-8.

[433] After the DPA and the constitutional reform, this former Urban Planning Institute of the City of Sarajevo was transferred to the level of the Canton.

[434] Interviews (multiple) with Gordana Memišević. Sector for Research and Development. Institute of Development Planning of Canton Sarajevo. In Sarajevo and Zurich. 2018 and 2019.

[435] Milašin, Nada; Spasić, Nenad; Vujošević, Miodrag and Pucar, Mila (Eds.) "Održivi prostorni, urbani i ruralni razvoj Srbije" ("Sustainable spatial, urban and rural development of Serbia"). In: Symposium Proceedings. Institut za arhitekturu i urbanizam Srbije - IAUS Belgrade. 2012. (translated by the author).

[436] Interviews with employees of the City and Canton of Sarajevo vovernments. In Sarajevo. 2017.

[437] Personal communication with the Sarajevo Cant Minister for Urban planning and Environment, Zlatko Petrović on June 4th 2013. Note: In August 2017, the majority of the RP mechanisms was transferred to the level of the Municipalities.

The ZPR, as the responsible institutional authority in the realm of spatial and urban planning of the city, issued its first post-war 'Prostorni Plan-PP' ('Spatial Plan') on August 31st 2006, with a validity until 2023.[438] (Fig. 91) The conduction of the PP was confirmed under the Decision Nr. 01-02-12363/03 of the Cantonal Parliament from July 10th, 2003. The PP was developed and prepared in textual and graphical form (on the scale of 1:200'000).[439] The reasoning why it was issued retrospectively for the period from 2003 to 2006 was explained in interviews and conversations with employees from the ZPR and local architects and urbanists. They cite political instabilities and economic uncertainties in the post-war period as the primary driver. The fact that the PP was prepared in a hasty manner is noticeable through several linguistically incorrect formulations and poor graphical solutions. Out of its 225 pages, 110 pages enclose the detailed description of its encompassing perimeter, namely the Canton of Sarajevo borders. The general voice of the document is highly descriptive with some qualitative indication about potentials for future development. In its introductory part, the authors enlist general and specific goals of which several are very general: "respecting human rights", "making material goods accessible", "creating an ambience of comfortable living", among others.

During the implementation of the PP, it proved to be burdensome to regulate the somewhat anarchistic reconstruction of individual houses in the mahalas and to steer the deregulated economic system characterized by immense investment pressures. The PP and the RPs further catalyzed unbalanced and unsustainable development of the city, lacking visionary and systematic urban development strategies for the post-conflict and post-socialist city, what Patsy Healey formulates as a creation of "self-conscious collective efforts to re-imagine a city, urban region or wider territory".[440] In RS, its 'Urbanistički Zavod RS' ('Urbanistic

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[438] Prostorni Plan Kantona Sarajevo 2003.-2023. (Spatial Plan for the Sarajevo Canton for the Period from 2003 to 2023). Zavod za Planiranje Razvoja Kantona Sarajevo (Development Planning Institute of the Sarajevo Canton). 2006.
Source:http://zpr.ks.gov.ba/sites/zpr.ks.gov.ba/files/pp/Prostorni_plan/PP_PROSTORNA_OSNOVA_rezime%20m.pdf.   (last accessed: January 10th 2019). (translated by the author).

[439] Official Gazette of Sarajevo Canton, No. 16/03. 2003.
Decision on the Initial steps for developing of the Spatial Plan of Canton Sarajevo for the Period from 2003 until 2023.
Source: http://zpr.ks.gov.ba/sites/zpr.ks.gov.ba/files/Odluka_pristupanje_izradi_pp_16_2003_v1.pdf
(last accessed: January 2nd 2019). (translated by the author).

[440] Healey, Patsy. "The treatment of space and place in the new strategic spatial planning in Europe". In: International Journal of Urban and Regional Research. Vol. 28. 2004. p. 54.

Agency of RS') produced its own PP that also encompassed East Sarajevo, by hiring a team of experts from Serbia led by urbanist Borislav Stojkov.[441]

The GUP from 1961 was updated in 1983, being valid for the period 1986-2015.[442] In post-DPA Sarajevo its name was shortened to 'Urbanistički Plan-UP' ('Urbanistic Plan'), indicating also its degradation in terms of the level of its strategic dimension. As of 2019, the UP that expired in 2015 was still not prepared, due to political pressures and lack of human resources.[443] (Fig. 92) Public funding decreased, and with it, the institutional capacities shrank. The long-term planning mechanisms, such as the UP, became increasingly unfeasible to adapt as mandates and administrative jurisdictions in terms of planning responsibility changed. The knowledge on socialist city planning that was the basis for preparing the GUP became outdated, vanished in the destruction of archives and 'brain drain' or was made obsolete in the new societal and political context.

With the overall globalization and liberalization tendencies, service-provision, commerce and tourism became the focus of Sarajevo's development. The privatization implied the necessity to attract capital, shifting the focus of urban planning as services provision for the public good into a reactionary agent following the desires of the investors. Urban policies were increasingly turned into tools for urban marketing, producing the image of a competitive city that will help the stigmatized post-urbicidal city rise on the international scala of attractiveness and livability rankings, rather than providing a regeneration of its damaged fabrics and wounded communities. The implication of globalization on local spaces were also noted by Haas: "The current processes of globalization, city marketing, localization, commercialization, and medialization are, via fascinating new forms of visual phenomena and marketing energies, transforming and reurbanizing cities across the globe".[444]

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[441] Измјене и Допуне Просторног Плана Републике Српске до 2025. године. (Modifications and Addendums of the Regulation Plan of Republika Srpska until 2025). Министарство за просторно уређење, грађевинарство и екологију (Ministry of Spatial Planning, Construction and Ecology). 2013. (translated by the author).

[442] I explain the 1986-2015 GUP in this section and not in the previous chapter, as its importance for urban development of Sarajevo was more relevant for the period 1996-2014 than for 1986-1992.

[443] Interview (anonymous) with highly ranked employee of the ZPR. In Sarajevo. December 1st 2018.

[444] Haas, Tigran. "New Urbanism and Beyond". In: New Urbanism and Beyond: Designing Cities for the Future (New York: Random House Incorporated.). 2008. p. 12.

The aim to attract investments and businesses to increase 'urban competitiveness', propelled the quantitative measures of investments as the most important success measures in urban development. Sarajevo's Cantonal authorities started to promote the image of the generic city, as an intrinsic symbol of successful globalization. Through the document 'Investment Guide-Sarajevo: A Profitable Business Location' the Cantonal authorities intended to inform potential investors providing them with procedural information (establishing businesses, receiving permits etc). (Fig. 93) The Guide provided a selective list of investment locations in which construction was preferred. Sarajevo's strategic spatial potentials were reduced to attracting investments to disconnected micro-locations:

> **The Investment Guide is directed at potential investors with the purpose of providing a range of useful procedural information (company foundation, acquiring construction permits). More importantly, however, it provides a list of potential investment locations in which undertaking of construction is preferred, as well as the intensive visual support in the form of images and maps that are to represent the city as the 'profitable business location'. Here the representation is employed in a rather more pragmatic form - the territory of the city is reduced to the range of locations 'covered' by the Master plans that selectively reproduce the city of the future.[445]**

The phenomenon of urban competitiveness is inherently different from the socialist planned economy and urban development paradigms aligned around state ideology, industrialization, national defense and the availability of natural resources, such as in the post-World War II Five-Year Plan. This dichotomy between the societal paradigms was effectively summarized by Geoffrey Hodgson: "the central issue in the long debate between socialism and capitalism is often characterized as one of planning versus markets."[446]

The PP also aimed to "profile the Sarajevo Canton as an environment of a profitablebusiness". It is perhaps indicative of the larger theme that this chapter of the document was the longest of the entire volume. This goal appeared to be the most powerful tool to globalize Sarajevo and "profile Sarajevo as the regional and European metropolis" by "making the environment attractive to international

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[445] Zatrić, Mejrema and Piplas, Haris. "Representationless Urban Images: Contrasting Formal Planning Narratives and Informal Realities In Sarajevo". In: Conference Proceedings: AESOP (Association of European Schools of Planning) 26th Annual Congress. July 2012.

[446] Hodgson, Geoffrey. "Socialism against markets? A critique of two recent proposals". In: Economy and Society. Vol. 27. 1998. p. 407.

capital".[447] In order to accelerate the investments, the construction of an image of a competitive and attractive entrepreneurial climate was pushed to the forefront of urban development, neglecting strategic urban planning, public interest and socio-cultural aspects. These parameters reveal in summary a phenomenon that Kiril Stanilov characterized as unsustainable discontents of transitional urban planning and development,[448] due to the notion of "capitalistic thinking as an ability to capture invisible value",[449] as postulated by Hernando de Soto.

The maintenance of public space, social cohesion and urban ecologies was neglected, on the account of fostering a culture of consumption. Urbanism and architecture for the public good were not at the forefront of the new policies. They lost legitimacy as guardians of public interests and resources, and builders of a better future, as it was the case in the socialist period. Alternatively, 'public opinions' were directed by media, easily controlled and manipulated by powerful players, often revealing overlaps of economic, identitary and political interests. Images of glitzy façades in newspaper articles created a false image of societal needs, dogmatically promoting investments that would bring the necessary employment. The manipulations were founded on the legitimate fears of the population of the high unemployment rates and nurtured by their desperate search for stability. These phenomena were observed by Barakat in other post-disaster zones in post-World War II Europe and contemporary Middle East and Africa:

> **The problem of fragile relationships between people and institutions are related to and compounded by unclear, or unstable divisions of power, transitory political institutions and poorly developed civil society and civic culture. Furthermore, the chaos of war often destroys or credits traditional social structures and authorities, whilst new political structures made remain fragile, as often new authorities lack legitimacy and credibility or are tarnished by perceived links to partisan interests.[450]**

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[447] Prostorni Plan Kantona Sarajevo za Period Od 2003. do 2023. godine. ("The Spatial plan for Canton Sarajevo for the period 2003-2023). Zavod za Planiranje Razvoja Kantona Sarajevo. (Institute of Development and Planning of Canton Sarajevo). 2006.
[448] Stanilov, Kiril. "Urban development policies in Central and Eastern Europe". In: Kiril Stanilov (Ed.), The Post-Socialist City. Urban Form and Space Transformations in Central and Eastern Europe after Socialism (Dordrecht: Springer Verlag). 2007.

[449] De Soto, Hernando. The mystery of capital: Why capitalism triumphs in the West and fails everywhere else (New York: Basic Books). 2000.

[450] Barakat, Sultan. "Post-war reconstruction and development: Coming of age". In: Barakat, Sultan and Wardell, Gareth (Eds.). After the Conflict: Reconstructions and Redevelopment in the Aftermath of War. International Library of War Studies Series (London: I.B. Tauris). 2005. p. 12.

Origins of the investment flows coincided with traditional geopolitical players present in Sarajevo for centuries: Western Europe, USA, Turkey and Russia. The presence of Middle Eastern countries and China additionally complicated the overlap of interest spheres. The involvement of Western international organizations added to the complexity. The International Financing Institutions (IFI), incorrectly predicted that Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) would be a significant factor to depoliticize the economy.[451] A larger amount of FDIs and IFI loans was invested in punctual reconstruction, short-term projects as part of sectoral initiatives, due to the disinterest or inability of local authorities to apply for project funding that included strategic and urban planning.[452] Moreover, IFIs supported the institutional reforms and the process of privatization, a phenomenon John Williamson defined as the 'Washington consensus neoliberal manifesto',[453] that fostered the financing of Sarajevo's reconstruction through privatization of large state-owned enterprises, and promotion of small-scale entrepreneurship as stated in a report of the World Bank:

> **It is tempting to argue that special conditions in Bosnia-Herzegovina would favor a direct government involvement in increasing production through the restarting of the state-owned enterprises. Nevertheless, growth and job creation in Bosnia, apart from that driven by the reconstruction program, will most likely come from expansion in the services sector and light industry, set up by private entrepreneurs. Therefore, the basic strategy for economy revival should be a reliance on the private sector as the main engine of increased production and employment.[454]**

The effects of political fragmentation and an influence of globalization and neoliberalism weakened the local participation in what Marcuse et al. described as:

> **With the main effect of globalization and neoliberalism being to weaken local institutions, the localities have been pushed to be innovative in making alliances and negotiating the conditions for their future development. The presence of powerful**

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[451] Please see for details: Chandler, David. (Ed.). Peace Without Politics? Ten Years of International State-Building in Bosnia (New York: Routledge). 2006.
[452] Interview with Ian Brown. Director of BiH branch of EBRD. In Sarajevo. October 30th 2017.

[453] The "Washington Consensus" was introduced in 1989 by the economist John Williamson working at the Institute for International Economics, an international think tank based in Washington, D.C. describing the economic policy paradigms of Washington-based institutions, including the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (WB) and the U.S. Treasury Department. The policies, among others, included privatization of state enterprises, market deregulation and trade liberalization and primarily developed for the recovery of Latin American countries from the economic and financial crises of the 1980s.
Williamson, John: "What Washington Means by Policy Reform". in: Williamson, John (Ed.): Latin American Readjustment: How Much has Happened (Washington: Institute for International Economics). 1989.

[454] The World Bank. Bosnia and Herzegovina: Toward Economic Recovery (Washington D.C.: World Bank). 1996. p. xxvi.

global actors makes the participatory model of governance even more relevant and the involvement of local players more crucial to decision-making.[455]

The poorly developed civic society could not ensure sufficient public participation, for example inside the MZs. The 'javne rasprave' ('public discussions'), as an official participation mechanism to publicly discuss the RPs, were reduced to a pro-forma measure. The citizens in the MZs were often presented with pre-decided documents.[456] The MZs lacked legal, economic and political power to contest the decisions, which were backed by the municipal or cantonal authorities and supported by powerful investors tied to politics and control over the media. The exclusivity and lack of consideration for ethnic reconciliation bolstered the conflict-generated urban stress, similarly to the reconstruction of post-wall Berlin and post-war Beirut, as described by Bollens as a:

> **(...) "willful amnesia" and collective silence on the part of political leaders, financial sponsors, and urbanists. (…) Efforts to recreate cities as commodities in order to attract tourist dollars and foreign investment are obliterating spaces, formerly inclusive of diverse ethnic groups and income classes.**[457]

Similar changes were immanent to other post-communist cities, too. Sasha Tsenkova summarized the implication of the new democratic and capitalist system on urban space across the Balkans and the CEE-Region:

> **These transitions to democracy, to markets and to a decentralized system of governance are major drivers of urban change. Similarly, the local responses to these drivers of change as well as global pressures (competition for markets, trade, etc.) and policy reforms at the national level (privatization of industry, deregulation of real estate markets, trade, social policy reforms, etc.) set the framework for specific changes in the economic, social, institutional and spatial structure of the city.**[458]

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[455] Zorica Nedović-Budić and Sasha Tsenkova with Peter Marcuse. Introduction: The urban mosaic of post-socialist Europe in The Urban Mosaic of Post-Socialist Europe. p. 7.

[456] Interview with Zvonko Bošnjak. President of the MZ Marijin Dvor. In Sarajevo. February 16th 2019.

[457] Bollens, Scott. "Intervening in Politically Turbulent Cities: Spaces, Buildings, and Boundaries". In: Journal of Urban Technology. Vol. 16. No. 2-3. 2009. p. 82.

[458] Tsenkova, Sasha. "Beyond transitions: Understanding urban change in post-socialist cities". In: Tsenkova, Sasha, Nedovic-Budic, Zorica (Eds.). The Urban Mosaic of Post-Socialist Europe: Spaces, institutions and policy. (Heidelberg: Physica-Verlag). 2006. p. 23.

The new legal, social, political and economic realities fostered urban policies, which demonstrated merely receptive and corrective attitude towards investor-driven urbanism. It resulted in the fragmentation and segregation in the city, traffic congestion, air pollution and an increase of stress on public infrastructures – ultimatively bolstering particular political and economic interests over aspirations to the improvement of life quality. The result was a haphazard building boom by private initiatives with a disregard to strategic urban planning. Simultaneously, there was a lack of investment and dedication to public space, which could have served as a contribution of architecture as a measure of reconciliation.

Predatory urbanism in Marijin Dvor

Marijin Dvor, as the city's most attractive nucleus, with excellent mobility connections and public transport options, was under the heaviest investment pressure. Therefore, it requires a close investigation in order to illustrate the architectural and urbanistic dimensions of the new political, social and economic realities. (Fig. 94) This will establish comparability to the previous chapters in terms of exemplifying and understanding Sarajevo's radical spatial transformation. Marijin Dvor once more became a contested battlefield, this time of competing investor vehicles from across the geopolitical arena. The neoliberal economy aggressively flooded the district in the form of shopping centers, retail, and other commercial spaces. Marijin Dvor was converted into a space of consumer culture, exclusively for tourists and citizens with high purchasing power: "especially where the investment pressure is highest, such as in Marijin Dvor or along the main mobility arteries of the city, the real-estate development thrived in the form of producing predatory, segregatory and exclusive architectures".[459] At the same time, comparable phenomena have been observed across the Balkans and the CEE-Region. As the Czech urban geographer Ludék Sýkora explained through the case studies of Budapest, Prague and Warsaw: "new commercial property development (…)

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[459] Interviews (multiple) with Prof. Vesna Hercegovac-Pašić. former Dean of Department of Urban Planning and Urban Design of Faculty of Architecture, University of Sarajevo. In Sarajevo. 2015-2019.

focused on major urban centers: even within those it helped to revitalize only certain parts of their urban space."[460]

Less attractive parts of the city were left out so Marijin Dvor and other growth poles became not only the nodes of investments, but at the same time, of segregation. The differentiation of income and social inequality became physically evident. Instead of becoming a neutral district and a model of reconciliation, as proposed during the wartime cultural resistance, investment pressure and the steady climb of prices only served to increase spatial fragmentation and gentrification.

The geopolitical origins of investment vehicles were multifold. The role behind international financial flows can be observed through an analysis of the International Investment Bank of Bahrain (IIB) and International Finance Corporation (IFC), a branch of the World Bank, which invested 35 million EUR. The lack of shopping and commercial infrastructure, a program that was not in the focus of the socialist urbanistic model, created a fertile investment climate in these domains. The continuous capital flow was not suspended even during the global financial crisis of the late 2000s. Sarajevo became the hotspot for investments that were redirected to the city's growth nodes, such as Marijin Dvor, after being diverted from more saturated markets:

> **Bosnia and Herzegovina's very stringent banking and urban planning regulatory environment, which has minimised the impact of the financial crisis, has ensured that there is a balanced real estate development. Moreover, the crisis provided an excellent opportunity for us to lock-in contracts given that construction material prices are attractive and contractors' terms are reasonable at present. Currently, Bosnia and Herzegovina faces a profound shortage in the supply of prime quality office space. Existing shopping and leisure infrastructure is very antiquated and significantly short of international standards in terms of not only size but also the depth and the variety of the facilities. This has created a considerable pent up demand for such infrastructure, especially amongst the upper and middle strata of Sarajevo's population.[461]**

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[460] Sýkora, Ludék. "Commercial Property Development in Budapest, Prague and Warsaw'". In: Enyedi, György. (Ed.). Social Change and Urban Restructuring in Central Europe (Budapest: Akadémiai). 1998. p. 110.

[461] "IIB's Bosnia project on track". Interview with IIB chief executive officer Aabed Al Zeera. In: Trade Arabia Manama. February 1st 2010.
Source: http://www.tradearabia.com/news/BANK_174104.html. (last accessed: January 5th 2017).

Even during the financial crisis that emerged in 2008, the construction boom continued in Sarajevo, with capital coming from Islamic banks, following the sharia law-based banking principles. According to this principle, the creation of profit from interest rates is forbidden, triggering the quick re-investment of the accumulated capital. Sarajevo became one of the release points for deploying such investments.[462] Most investments flew through the financial instruments of the BBI bank that was established and is run by individuals originating from the Yugoslav diplomatic corps and professional networks, formerly mostly active in NAM countries. Moreover, architectural and urbanism produced via this model, such as the King Fahd Mosque, clearly served to increase political and cultural influences. These investments, therefore, cannot be reduced solely to figures in foreign investment statistics as their impact was also to bolster the politico-religious power structures of the post-communist society.

'Acupunctural' interventions increased the built density at the cost of the formerly abundant, pompous public spaces throughout the modernist urban fabric, designated by the GUP and proposed in the Neidhardt plan. The fact that Marijin Dvor was located at the frontline and experienced significant wartime damage accelerated the aggressive invasion of its ruinous spaces. Public open spaces and former industrial facilities were degraded to commodities and transformed into real-estate assets, after being privatized by the highest bidder, enabling an aggressive investor-driven 'Parzellenstädtebau' ('parcel-by-parcel urbanism'). Miodrag Vujošević et al. observed the symbiosis between transitional authorities and real estate in Serbia and other Western Balkan cities that they described in the following way:

> **(…) grossly non-competent administration (that) primarily serves the interests of the most powerful actors, causing a pauperization of vast social brackets (and) parallel the rise of smaller groups of the 'better-offs'. [463]**

This model exposes what Rancière postulated as "the scandal of democracy": while promising equality, this model creates an oligarchical context in which political

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[462] Khan, Feisal. 2010. "How Islamic is Islamic Banking?". In: Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization. Vol. 76. pp. 805-820.

[463] Vujošević, Miodrag, Zeković, Slavka and Maričić, Tamara. "Post-Socialist Transition in Serbia and Its Unsustainable Path". In: European Planning Studies. Vol. 20. No. 10. 2012. p. 1713.

power seamlessly fuses with the economy.[464] Public buildings and spaces of Marijin Dvor remained without direct care due to the shifting ownership rights and levels of responsibility, which led to a high level of deterioration. The physical degradation of public buildings intensified in the years after the end of the war, due to the decrease of public subsidies and legal grey zones.[465] Oftentimes, the public and green spaces were regarded as potential building sites, after being intentionally neglected with no substantial maintenance. Literature Professor Nenad Veličković, one of the loudest local critics and intellectuals, vividly illustrated this 'invasion' on Marijin Dvor and other zones in New Sarajevo:

> **Urban visionaries spat out another city area, changed the regulation plan, released the land from its ultimate purpose and introduced it to its ultimate intent. They sneaked participation procedures documentation through quick public hearings, briefly: misusing power and through the holes in the law light 'illuminated' a new residential-business condominium. (…) Yesterday Marijin Dvor and Grbavica, today Malta and Čvila, tomorrow of the Otoka and Gorica. Meter per meter, inch per inch, the city turns into a wild suburb, despite the law that most resembles a golf course - a game in which the rich conquer the field by advancing from hole to hole.[466]**

In aesthetic and typological terms, new post-modern capitalist architecture was designated to succeed the socialist modernist spatial paradigm that was labeled politically undesirable by the ethnonationalist political leadership. Glitzy, corporate generic architecture, which symbolized progress and freedom, served as a refreshment after the devastating war and the to-date unwanted socialist modernist heritage. (Fig. 89) In this dissertation, I do not attempt to evaluate the stylistic elements of this architectural shift, but rather to examine their symbolic message: the glass façades were supposed to suggest booming economies of 'global cities' or at least indicate growth and prosperity after years of destruction and depression. This 'internationalization' and symbiosis of the public hand and private investors were effectively summarized by Haas:

> **Urban planning and design, in adopting international trends, has led to the creation of architectural and commercial uniformity in many cities. A move toward sameness**

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[464] Rancière, Jacques. Hatred of Democracy (New York: Verso). 2006.

[465] Szelényi, Ivan. Cities under socialism-and after. in: Andrusz, Gregory, Harloe, Michael and Szelényi, Ivan (Eds.). Cities after Socialism: Urban and Regional Change and Conflict in Post-Socialist Societies, (Oxford: Blackwell). 1996. pp. 286-317.

[466] Veličković, Nenad. Excerpts from the article "Sarajevo, prćijo moja!", originally published In: Deutsche Welle. Submitted material presented at the Reactivate Sarajevo Forum, May 28th 2015. Moderated by Haris Piplas and Mejrema Zatrić.

of places is further stressed by strong conjunction between development planning and real estate development, which increasingly exists in the hands of urban developers rather than as a local initiative.[467]

In proprietary terms, real estate developers privatized public assets and built on top of privatized, formerly commonly owned land resources. This model is perhaps best exemplified by the 'Magros Import-Export' company (the former tobacco factory from the Austro-Hungarian period), which was annihilated during the war. The plot was originally designated to become the new central city square, after a competition in 1991.[468] The privatization of the 'Magros' areal did not have the typical characteristics of a privatization bid, but rather those of a real estate auction. The bidders did not intend to reconstruct the factories and restart the industrial production but were interested in the value of the land plot that can be transformed into a future real estate asset. In the public bid, the 'Al-Shiddi Group' from the United Arab Emirates offered 105 million KM, 'Avaz' 30 million KM and 'Unioninvest' 4 million KM to buy the Magros industrial zone.[469] As the highest bidder, Al-Shiddi received the right to buy the asset. 'Unioninvest' appealed and received a negative response on December 23rd, 2005 from the responsible institution, the 'Kantonalna Agencija za Privatizaciju-KAP (Sarajevo Canton Privatization Agency). The hostilities resulted in death threats to the chief of KAP during the appeal process. The company 'Avaz', which publishes the daily newspaper with the largest circulation in BiH, launched an aggressive media campaign to discredit the 'Al-Shiddi Group'. Eventually, the appeal was denied, Magros' production not revitalized but cleared out and replaced with the SCC (Sarajevo City Center) Mall: a 5-floor flat structure functioning as a shopping center and a 21-floor tower functioning as a hotel, despite the preliminary building permit only covering the first eight floors. It was designed by local architect Sead Gološ of 'GRUPA-ARH' and built by the construction company 'ANS-Drive'.[470] The company, which was responsible for building significant commercial real estate in post-war Sarajevo received the commission to

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[467] Haas, Tigran and Olsson, Krister. Emergent Urbanism: Urban Planning & Design in Times of Structural and Systemic Change (London: Routledge). 2014. p.1.

[468] Large parts of the Magros were located on the plot and buildings of the former tobacco factory built during the Austro-Hungarian period.

[469] "Najpovoljnija ponuda Al-Shiddija" ("Al-Shiddi offered the highest bid"). In: Oslobođenje. Nov 9th 2005. (translated by the author).

[470] Note: This same studio was engaged in designing several commercial objects in post-war Sarajevo such as the renovation of Hotel 'Evropa', BBI-Shopping Mall and Bosmal Centar. All these objects are connected with investments from the Middle East.

build the 'Gaddafi Tower' in 2010 in Tripoli, relying on economic ties inherited from the NAM.[471] The post-war urban development of Marijin Dvor followed the main longitudinal artery of the city and neglected Neidhardt's diagonal axis that was supposed to connect the new central park to the central train station.[472] While the train station was renovated after the war, due to the disconnection of lines to other ex-Yugoslav republics and the debt of the public railways enterprise, there are only a few trains a day and no international lines departing from Sarajevo. This has led to a severe decay of the train station and the surrounding structures. Avaz, after the unsuccessful appeal for Magros, Avaz's owner Fahrudin Radončić,[473] privatized an industrial zone of the former textile factory 'Alhos' on the fringes of Marijin Dvor, close to the central train station. Avaz constructed the 'Avaz Twist Tower' by taking out a 22.5 million KM loan from the 'Razvojna Banka' ('Development Bank') of FBiH, an institution created initially to support the revitalization of agricultural production.[474] The 38-story Twist Tower was designed by the local architect Faruk Kapidžić of 'ADS Studio'. Just as in the case of SCC, the industrial legacy and genius loci was thoroughly ignored with the new designs.

The majority of the local press praised these generic designs and construction of these commercial objects celebrating the economic progress. The commonly shared public spaces executed during the SKJ regime were superseded by spaces that represent consumption and high purchasing power. Bosnian-Croatian bestselling author, Miljenko Jergović, called the status of commerce and shopping in the new value system "shopping as the new spirituality",[475] similar to Jürgen Habermas' theories of shopping as the new church.[476] This paradox could be interpreted through the theories of Lefebvre who described shopping mall projects

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[471] "ANS Drive iz Sarajeva gradi Gaddafi Tower" ("ANS Drive from Sarajevo constructs the Gaddafi Tower"). In: Dnevni Avaz. Oct 8th 2010. (translated by the author).
Note: Libya was besides Indonesia, Iraq and Egypt, the most important trade partner of the SFRJ

[472] The construction of the SCC shopping mall eventually sealed the plot designated as a future central park.

[473] On October 30th 2009, Radončić found a political party Savez za Bolju Budućnost - SBB (Alliance for a Better Future) that eventually became a top 5 political parties in every election in Sarajevo after 2010.

[474] Canonical ID:10SARAJEVO134_a "Bosnia: Radoncic poised to be a new player in Bosniak politics". in: Wikileaks: Source: https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/10SARAJEVO134_a.html# (last accessed: June 2nd 2017).

[475] Jergović, Miljenko. "Robna Kuća". ("Department Store"). In: Dani. (20)80. 1998. (translated by the author).

[476] Please see more in: Habermas, Jürgen. "Secularism's Crisis of Faith: Notes on Post-Secular Society". In: New perspectives quarterly. Vol. 25. 2008. pp. 17-29.

as places of demonstrated opportunity and place of privilege: "the place of happiness in a daily life, miraculously and marvelously transformed".[477] In the otherwise grey and war-wounded post-war city of Sarajevo, cold and smoggy in winter, polished and designed interior spaces appeared to the impoverished citizens as a refugium into a new world full of color and opportunities. In the text 'Communication and consumerism in neoconservative times', Nestor García Canclini made the relationship between consumerism and citizenship, arguing that the level of political participation depends on the spending capacity of the consumer:

> **Consumerism, a product of globalization, has generated a new conception of the citizen, while the quantity of goods that a person can acquire determines the social status that they have and therefore the role of the ordinary citizen.[478]**

Moreover, the consumer culture received its religious dimension. Investors, such as Al-Shiddi in the case of SCC's, based the mall concept on sharia laws: no pork, alcohol, gambling or other 'immoral activities' were allowed. These policies brought back the Islamic dimension in urban development of Sarajevo for the first time since 1878, revealing the close relations of economic flows to cultural and religious agendas.

The two other shopping malls in Marijin Dvor were both designed by the Studio 'Non-stop' from Sarajevo, run by architects Igor and Sanja Grozdanić. 'Importanne' a shopping/office/residences complex was built by the investment of this Croatian-Dutch company, which had earlier unsuccessfully attempted to privatize the 'Magros' area. 'Alta' Mall was built by the company Triland Ltd. from Houston, Texas. The owner of Triland mysteriously disappeared in 2009 leaving the company in debt, which was confiscated by the Hypo-Alpe-Adria bank.[479] The construction of 'Alta' occurred on top of the public park through infill development, further decreased the amount of open and green space in Marijin Dvor. An overall trend became evident:

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[477] Lefebvre, Henri. Writings on Cities. (Malden: Blackwell Publishers). 2000. p. 84.

[478] García Canclini, Nestor. "Los estudios sobre comunicación y consume el trabajo interdisciplinario en tiempos neoconservadores" ("Communication and consumerism in neoconservative times"). In: Diálogos de la comunicación. No. 32, 1992. (translated by the author).

[479] Interview (anonymous) with architect from Sarajevo. In Sarajevo. February 14th 2015.

the decay and gradual disappearance of open space accelerated the shift of public and social life to indoor, commercial spaces.

Other locations in Marijin Dvor were contested, too. The Skenderija Center is currently under discussion to be cleared out and replaced by housing and commercial towers. The project is on the radar of the Dubai Investment Corporation (DIC), in collaboration with the Cantonal Government and has an approximate worth of $300 million. The project has been dubbed as a 'Little Dubai'.[480] I detected additional similar investment-driven architectural projects on other locations in the wider Marijin Dvor area. Large part of the Kvadrant 'B' plot, the 'Vaso Miskin Crni' industrial complex are in discussion for the construction of housing and commerce high rises with up to 45 floors. The UNIS towers[481] are supposed to receive a 30-floor high third tower, UNITIC 3. Holiday Inn changed ownership multiple times. In the mid-2000s, Holiday Inn was bought by Alpha Baumanagement from Austria, which envisaged to expand the hotel with another 25-floor tower and a flat structure that would host a congress center. The transformation of Hastahana provoked an energetic discussion. After its agricultural use during the war, the ruinous remnants of the former Ottoman military hospital were removed and the space was used as a temporary public space. (Fig. 95) The revelation of plans for a future congress center in 2017, provoked a heated debate between the local community represented by the MZs and the municipal authorities. Following that, the municipality launched a design competition, which was largely boycotted by local architects and the first prize was not given. The listed projects would cover the majority of open space in Marijin Dvor and intensify the existing traffic congestion, social segregation and overall spatial fragmentation.

The former military barracks 'Marshall Tito',[482] ruined during the war, were envisaged to be transformed into a new University Campus financed by US donations. (Fig. 96) The military program was supposed to be

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[480] "Mali Dubai-Skenderija na prodaju: Investitor iz Dubaija želi uložiti 300 miliona Eura". ("Little Dubai-Skenderija on sale: Investor from Dubai wants to invest 300 million Euro"). In: Radiosarajevo news portal. January 26th 2018. Source: https://www.radiosarajevo.ba/vijesti/bosna-i-hercegovina/kome-je-obecana-skenderija-investitor-iz-kuvajta-zeli-ulo/288996 (last accessed January 28th 2019).

[481] The UNIS towers went into ownership of a joint venture named UNITIC (United Investment and Trading Company) between UNIS Holding and Kuwait Consulting& Investment Co.

[482] The former 'von Phillipovich Kaserne' from the Austro-Hungarian period.

replaced by an educational function, which would open this large plot to public use, as originally intended in the Neidhardt plan (who originally proposed housing slabs and public parks). A Turkish-American company won the international design competition in 2001.[483] Due to the corrupted leadership of the University and the non-transparent expenditure of the donation funding, the US government sued the University. The trial was eventually settled by offering the US Embassy payback by allowing the construction of the Embassy object in the eastern tract of the plot on the size of 40'000m^2.[484] This situation exemplified the influence of geopolitics on the construction of Marijin Dvor and Sarajevo well. The Embassy represents an exclusive, walled-off capsule with very restricted access in the middle of the central district today.

The international competition was organized for the construction of the Sarajevo Concert Hall in 1999, which included international jury members, such as Zaha Hadid. (Fig. 97) The Hall was already envisaged in Neidhardt's plans, on part of the plot in Marijin Dvor's 'Kvadrant B' placed partly on the former Austro-Hungarian tobacco factory (next to Magros). It never came into realization due to the lack of funding for the construction and unclear land ownership titles that got additionally perplexed after the privatization processes.[485]

The privatization and construction processes' lack of transparency in the construction of the projects in the post-war period were characterized by a lack of compromise between stakeholders and public participation in general. This created tractions and deep mistrust in political parties and governmental instruments, in particular, the ones of urban planning. The visible changes in the city made the authorities publicly accountable for the decrease in quality of life. In 2017, the authority of the RP was delegated from the city to the municipality level (Fig. 98) in an attempt to increase the decision-making power on the lower governmental instances. The frustration among the interviewed citizens and local experts was immense, underlining the reality of investors' circles who are empowered by

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[483] Interview (anonymous) with a University of Sarajevo Professor. In Sarajevo. January 14th 2018.

[484] Ibid.

[485] Interview with Hasan Ćemalović. Architect and wartime President of BiH Architects' Association. In Sarajevo. November 12th 2018.

governmental bodes to operate with a minimum of public participation mechanisms and supported by an uncritical, self-financed media coverage. Tosics, such as the majority of canon produced in post-socialist urban research throughout the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s observed a similar situation in Hungary and other CEE-countries but spoke in favor of decentralization and fragmentation in the service of the market forces:

> **The new roles that urban planning has to play require new tools, as the direct regulation of the socialist period (i.e. very detailed zoning ordinances, direct state intervention on plot level to determine new use) is not in accordance with the challenges posed by market-orientated development.[486]**

Moreover, Tosics summarized the moment, in which the public sector lost its dominant role as the provider of public good: "the less planning control, the more the emerging market tendencies change the city towards the uncontrolled market-type city".[487] The authorities in Sarajevo entered a dangerous field of para-sovereignty over most parts of especially attractive zones, such as Marijin Dvor.

Architects and urbanists became tools in the hands of the influential investors. Large parts of the guild did not proactively engage to improve the precarious reality of Sarajevo and failed to battle the segregation, commercialization and gentrification. On the contrary, they helped to produce architecture that guaranteed the highest possible revenue through selling and renting square meters. The social reformer role of the architect, as postulated by Charlesworth,[488] as the moderator between the capital and the public good, vanished. Vedran Mimica sharply summarized the situation in the post-Yugoslav countries:

> **Transition from one party political system and state regulated economy to parliamentary democracy and free markets was characterized by the disappearance of unquestionable authorities, universal dogmas and basic ethics. Social transitions introduced the falling to pieces, instability, uncertainty and lack of definition. Under such circumstances, defining language, speech, expression, creativity and discipline represents a titanic effort for architects in Western Balkan countries.[489]**

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[486] Tosics, Iván. "City development in Central and Eastern Europe since 1990: the impact of the internal forces". in Hamilton, Ian, Dimitrowska-Andrews, Kaliopa and Pichler-Milanović, Nataša. (Eds). Transformation of cities in central and Eastern Europe: Towards globalization (Tokyo: The United Nations University Press). 2005. p. 62.

[487] Ibid. pp. 61-62.

[488] Charlesworth, Esther. "Deconstruction, reconstruction and design responsibility". In: Architectural Theory Review. Vol. 13. No. 1. 2008. pp. 69-79.

[489] Mimica, Vedran. "West Balkan Affair and Architecture of Transition". In: The Berlage Affair. (Barcelona: Actar). 2017. p. 162.

The design and planning professions moved to a marginal position in society. With only a few public commissions and competitions, the public and semi-public architectural and urban design offices lost importance and closed down. The most essential design office from the socialist period 'Dom', which operated as a semi-public self-managed agency, responsible for large parts of New Sarajevo's housing schemes, was emptied and its entire archive put on trucks and driven to the Sarajevo landfill.[490]

These urban and architectural projects were enabled by the district scale plans: RPs, which were often prepared in advance or directly commissioned by investors who privatized the particular land properties. The fundamental modifications of the RPs, which allowed e.g. to double the height of buildings compared to the original plans, were made possible by a legal loophole in the form of Article 46 of the 'Zakon o prostornom uređenju i planiranju Kantona Sarajevo' ('Law on Spatial Design and Planning of Canton Sarajevo'):

The Article 46 allowed was originally an instrument for minor corrections of the plan, for example, if the graphics and textual part of the plan are not coherent. Article 46 would transform from a marginal to the primary urban planning tool. Through time the tolerance level has been raised, as it represents an arbitrary interpretation of the law. It was a crucial instrument in the harmful post-war period urban development.[491]

Finally, the so-called a posteriori legalization of buildings granted building permits and repatriating the illegal or semi-legal structures into the official legal system. Many architects participated in the procedure by providing de-iure design and construction drawings of already existing informal buildings constructed in the post-war anarchy, necessary for legalization. This situation also contributed to a further diminishing of trust in the public institutions and minimized the role of the architect in the public opinion. According to most local colleagues I had interviews and conversations with, the target group of architects and urbanists who had been

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[490] Interview with Hasan Ćemalović. Architect and wartime President of BiH Architects' Association (DAS-SA BiH). In Sarajevo. November 12th 2018.

[491] Ibid. Note:
The law was altered in June 2017. With the new law the corrections cannot be made without receiving approval by the respective municipality councils.
Zakon o prostornom uređenju Kantona Sarajevo. (Law on spatial organization). In: Službene Novine Kantona Sarajevo (Official Gazette of Canton Sarajevo). Year XXII. No. 24.
Source: https://ms.ks.gov.ba/sites/ms.ks.gov.ba/files/broj24.pdf (last accessed: January 22nd 2019). (translated by the author).

taught in the socialist system were most frustrated. Informality was considered as 'cancer' in the urban tissue. Moreover, the post-socialist commercial architecture did not fit inside their vision of a socialist modernist utopia either. This had a significant impact not only on the negative public opinion but of the self-esteem inside the profession in post-war Sarajevo.

The immediate postwar period necessitated spatial solutions that would have had to confront destruction, while alleviating post-war traumas, new identities and the economic restructuring, creating a chance to catalyze a sustainable future of the city. Štraus sharply criticized this situation on the ground, defining it as a more intense destruction of Sarajevo than during urbicide:

> **The way it is now being built, upgraded or 'planned', 'reconstructed and redesigned' is bigger damage to Sarajevo than the one from the war. It remains a permanent blunder and will testify, whether we want to admit it today or not. The anonymous architects are aware of this, hiding their participation in this primitive procedure. For what happens to Sarajevo on his most valuable surfaces and points, which we have so carefully guarded in the city center, there will be no convincing words of justification.[492]**

Popular retreat: People's enclaves of cultural infrastructure

As explained in the latter subchapter, the urban development model of post-war Sarajevo had a strong commercial character. The construction of public and cultural infrastructures during this period was almost non-existent.[493] An interview with the Head of the Public Buildings Department at the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Sarajevo revealed that no significant public building was constructed in Sarajevo after 1991.[494] The reconstruction and maintenance activities of existing public buildings received scarce funding and many have fallen into decay:

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[492] Aida Abadžić-Hodžić. "Danas u arhitekturi više nema vizionara" ("There are no visionaries in architecture today"). Interview with Ivan Štraus. In: Sarajevske Sveske. No. 43-44. 2014. p. 57. (translated by the author).

[493] Interviews (multiple) with Prof. Adnan Pašić. Co-chair of the Public Buildings Department at the Faculty of Architecture, University of Sarajevo. Several occasions in 2018 and 2019.

[494] Ibid:
Note: The first public building, the University of Sarajevo Main Library, was funded by the Saudi-Arabian Development Fund and is currently in the preparatory phase of drafting construction documents (as of March 2019). It will be built in the University Campus in Marijin Dvor.

In some cases, museums complain of poor relationships with their political masters ranging from lack of support and indifference, lack of understanding about what they are doing, to outright obstructiveness and political interference. These complaints could be voiced by publicly-owned museums around the world. However, in Bosnia-Herzegovina, these problems are exacerbated by the war situation where the concern of authorities is inevitably focused on urgent humanitarian and defense problems and the needs of museums are seen as having a low priority.[495]

Aside from the commercial programs that were introduced to Marijin Dvor, the urban legislation labyrinth left certain areas in a jurisdictional no man's land. With the division of BiH as stipulated by the DPA, the state-owned National and Historical Museums, located in Marijin Dvor, ended up in a legal vacuum, systematically ignored and excluded from any major renovation or upgrading plans.[496]

As a symbolic remnant of the socialist era, it is worthwhile to analyze the Historical Museum as a crystallization point of the new societal shift due to its physical shape, change of program and importance to the local communities. By the end of the siege, the wartime destruction of the Museum was evident in terms of advanced physical damage, as the demarcation of the Museum with UNESCO flags did not prevent bombardements on the structure. As the Yugoslav socialist modernist building style exemplified by the Museum became an undesired remnant of the pre-war communist period, it was punished with institutional ignorance by the ruling ethnonationalist parties in the post-war period. This translated into a year-long lack of maintenance following the war. The dependency on an abundant budget to display and celebrate Tito's 'revolucija' was over. This situation was paralleled by other buildings that represented the common Yugoslav history. In all cases, these structures suffered due to their immediate inability to establish a long-term modus operandi disconnected from the communist doctrine.

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[495] Ninth Information Report on war damage to the cultural heritage in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, presented by the Committee on Culture and Education. Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Doc. 7464. January 19th 1996.
Source: https://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/XRef/X2H-Xref-ViewHTML.asp?FileID=7398&lang=EN
(last accessed: July 8th 2017).

[496] Interview with a highly ranked employee of the BiH National Ministry of Civil Affairs. In Sarajevo. March 3rd 2012.

The Museum's association with the communist ideology branded it as an artifact of 'difficult heritage'[497] – an undesirable object of the common Yugoslav past. The didactic and symbolic necessity for the Museum ceased to exist as Yugoslavia collapsed and its political and cultural raison d'être abruptly disappeared. Hence, by changing the name into the Historical Museum of BiH from the Museum of Revolution, as well as condemning its program, the authorities were able to make a clear political statement. Already in 1990, with the collapse of socialism and ensuing political changes, the first initiative to change the name and the program of the Museum was launched in the Assembly of SR BiH, which was controlled by the coalition between SDS, HDZ and SDA. The 'Stručni kolegij' ('Professional Collegium') of the Museum argued in favor of its decision to rename the institution into 'Historical Museum of BiH' and to expand the concept and scope of its activities "Because of the content-related and historical-scientific unsustainability, the separation from the historical unity and an outdated museological presentation".[498] The decision included the expansion of its historical coverage and include the historical epochs from the arrival of the Slavs until today. The ethnic conflicts in the Assembly delayed the decision, which was confirmed only in 1993. During the urbicide, the permanent collection of the Museum of Revolution was heavily damaged, with parts of it stolen or dislocated to the basement of the Museum. (Fig. 99). Nonetheless, the Museum never reached the intended coverage of archeological periods but merely changed the name and removed its permanent collections.

The Museum was effectively a war-damaged structure with a new name and no content in 1996. (Fig. 100) A Ministry of Culture at the state level of BiH was not envisaged in the DPA. In addition, the inner-BiH political and ethnic divisions contributed to the fact that the secessionist politicians loyal to RS openly denied support for state institutions. The state level of BiH received only minor levels of responsibility, as the majority of the decision-making power was transferred to the legal instances of the entities, cities, cantons and municipalities:

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[497] Macdonald, Sharon. Difficult Heritage: Negotiating the Nazi Past in Nuremberg and Beyond. (London/New York: Routledge). 2008.

[498] National Committee for Heritage Preservation. Decision of the proclamation of the Historical Museum of BiH as a National Monument. 2012.
Source:http://aplikacija.kons.gov.ba/kons/public/uploads/odluke_bos/Sarajevo_Historijski%20muzej%20kompl%20BOS.pdf
(last accessed: February 2nd 2019). (translated by the author).

Museums can fall under a number of different political authorities ranging from the Republic to district, cantonal or municipal governments. The Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport of the Republic maintains overall authority for museum policy. Education, Science and Culture is to become a responsibility of the Federation Government; its ministry will be based in Mostar, according to the Dayton Agreement. The transition from communist rule and political problems arising from the war have caused uncertainty as to which authority some museums are accountable. The director of the Museum of Herzegovina in Mostar told BHHR that for 5 or 6 months they fell under the authority of the town, then the okrug (district) and now he understood they may fall under the Republic.[499]

The architect Boris Magaš distanced himself from the building in an ideological re-interpretation of his own work. As a 'convertite', he was hired multiple times by the Catholic church to design objects for celebrating the post-communist identities. In an interview given to the magazine of the Catholic Franciscan, he distanced himself from the building, calling the reason the fact that he did not participate in the execution of the building. Moreover, Magaš seemed to downplay the building's political connotation and ties to the KPJ/SKJ by claiming that the building belongs to the 'abstract phase' of his architectural career:

I understood Sarajevo as a memorial for the innocent, for all the people who lost their lives in situations that they could not mainly influence by themselves. (…) Due to the fact that I was not involved in creating the interior and that I did not participate in the further realizations of the details is partly the reason why I do not mention it anymore. I prefer to recall it as an abstract phase of my own architecture.[500]

However, in another interview Magaš mentions another reason and relativizes the fact that the purpose and program of the Museum were clearly to celebrate Tito's revolucija. He stated that he designed it as a monument for all innocent victims, which was not contained in the original competition brief of which Magaš must have been aware of:

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[499] "Ninth Information Report on war damage to the cultural heritage in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina". Presented by the Committee on Culture and Education. Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Doc. 7464. January 19th 1996.
Source: https://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/XRef/X2H-Xref-ViewHTML.asp?FileID=7398&lang=EN
(last accessed: July 2nd 2017).

[500] Žunić, Alen. Interview with Boris Magaš. "Our politicians do not have a clue about architecture". In. Vijenac: Novine Matice hrvatske za književnost, umjetnost i znanost. XXII. 518: 22. 2014. (translated by the author).

This is not a monument of any regime or a political party. This is a monument to those who stayed upright and who died. What will happen in the perspective to that object, I do not know. But it will outlive both me and you.[501]

This shift of the architecture's political and ideological connotation is reminiscent of the shift from 'austrophobia' to 'austrophilia' of Sarajevo's Austro-Hungarian architecture. It is worth looking at the explanation of the British architect and theorist Neil Leach, who argues that there is nothing inheritably political about any building or any architectural style. Leach believes that architecture's semantic association is essential and disputes its existence within a temporal memory. This makes it inherently unstable as it depends on a historical memory within the collective imagination. After it fades, the associations are lost but the architecture may be appropriated by a new political ideology.[502] In the case of the Museum, the case is even more contrasting: the architect himself politically re-interpreted and distanced himself from his own design work.

Nonetheless, the legal limitations, political blockades and lack of funding, institutional frameworks and maintenance allowed for a series of bottom-up activities, informal and appropriatory urban practices. It resulted in a cultural, architectural and urban agency outside of markets and official institutions as a micro-example of a democratized urbanization, different from the highly controlled and commercialized space in the newly constructed generic buildings that invaded the rest of Marijin Dvor. Especially after 2012 and the definitive cessation of state grants, the functioning of the Historical Museum was organized on a voluntary and informal basis, with the leadership of a few cultural workers took control of its management.[503] These appropriations of space and their clustered use produced informal programs on the verge between legal and illegal as the dedication of

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[501] "Ljudskost u domeni građenja" ("Humanity in the domain of building"). Interview with Boris Magaš. In Svjetlo riječi. May 2011. (translated by the author).

Note: Svjetlo riječi is the magazine of the Bosnian Franciscan order. As similar in other religion-influenced media in post-socialist Yugoslavia, loud critique of the atheist communist era is omnipresent. The focus of the interview is on his work on sacral objects. It appears that the interviewer is formulating tendentious questions for Magaš, who is accepting and following this critical line. Magaš was also the adviser for architecture and urbanism of the first Croatian president Franjo Tuđman, president of the ethnonationalist party HDZ, after the first multipartite elections in Yugoslavia 1990.

[502] Leach, Neil. "Architecture or Revolution". In: Leach, Neil (Ed.). Architecture and Revolution: Contemporary Perspectives on Central and Eastern Europe. (London: Routledge). 1999. pp. 112-126.

[503] Interviews (multiple) with the director of the Historical Museum of BiH, Elma Hašimbegović. 2015 and 2016.

funding by public policies for cultural institutions was minimal in general. Milica Topalović explained the interlinkage between the consequences of privatization, new institutions and legal obstacles that catalyzed the emergence of informal cultural and artistic practices in the Balkans and the CEE Region:

> **(…) It can be asserted that culture and art have remained the weakest if not marginalized urban sectors. (…) In the transition from an old to new use, new cultural spaces simultaneously underwent a change of ownership, through privatization and denationalization. Typically, for valuable state property, this transformation involved multiple hindrances, from legal obstacles, property speculation and lack of capital to the lack of transparency and public scrutiny. In the process, culture and art have often emerged "in the gap", as an unstable, interim user.[504]**

The Museum therefore fits into a range of similar phenomena of informal cultural space across post-socialist transition countries, which functioned largely independent of state funding: 'Rex Cinema' in Belgrade, 'Proekt Fabrika' in Moscow, the temporary use of 'Palast der Republik' in Berlin, to name a few.

Contrary to the marginalization of culture in the public sector, Sarajevo's local culture and art scene actively supported the informal functioning of the Museum, e.g. Bosnian-American artist Nebojša Šerić-Šoba stated that "a country without a built culture, which we currently don't have, is doomed to failure."[505] The informal urban practices converted the Historical Museum into a space of overall, inter-ethnic cultural activity, transforming it into products of appropriation of civic life and activity, signaling the existence of bottom-up and popular activities as an exclave in the otherwise commercialized environment. The Museum's reprogramming revealed community empowerment as well as the interactivity of identity production in terms of the relationship between space and community. Already Lebbeus Woods announced needs for such scenarios in his visionary 1993 writing:

> **Because governments and commercial corporations cannot be expected to take the initiative in establishing new and multilayered societies, the impetus for their**

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[504] Topalović, Milica. "The Hawker, the Band, the Tycoon and the Creative Director: Urban reuse in the post-socialist city". in Brillembourg Alfredo; Klumpner, Hubert and Piplas, Haris. City Action Lab: Integrated Toolbox for Central-Eastern European Cities. ETH Zürich D-ARCH internal publication. To be published in 2019. p. 245.

[505] Hamzić, Amina. "Bosnia's Ars Aevi open - But awaiting own home". In: Balkaninsight. July 12th 2012.
Source: http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/bosnia-s-ars-aevi-open-but-awaiting-own-home
(last accessed: June 2nd 2018).

creation must come from below, from people who begin to build directly, without the sanction of any institutionalized authority.[506]

Coincidentally, the renaming of the Museum, including the word 'History', occurred in the same year as Fukuyama announced the "end of history", making a powerful example of the (geo)political shift in Sarajevo:

In the post-historical period (…) there will be neither art nor philosophy, just the perpetual caretaking of the museum of human history. I can feel in myself, and see in others around me, a powerful nostalgia for the time when history existed.[507]

Its new program included a new permanent collection of people's' personal belongings of everyday objects, donated by the citizens themselves, that helped survive the siege of Sarajevo.[508] This ideological conversion of the Museum represented another reasoning for RS politicians to distance themselves from this institution.

One section temporarily hosted the collection of modern art of the 'Ars Aevi', which was later moved to the Skenderija Center. Ars Aevi is supposed to move into its own building, adjacent to the Historical Museum designed by Renzo Piano in the 2000s in his position of the 'Ambassador of Good Will' of UNESCO.[509] Building upon the global visibility of Sarajevo's cultural resistance, Ars Aevi focused on the show of solidarity of other European contemporary art museums that donated artworks to Ars Aevi. Its collection became the most valuable one in the Balkans. Nevertheless, the fragmentation is also palpable here as Piano retracted from his first plans to create a building ensemble both physically and programmatically integrate the Ars Aevi Museum into the existing volume of the Historical Museum, because of its unclear legal status.[510]

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[506] Woods, Lebbeus. War and Architecture, Pamphlet Architecture No. 15 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Architectural Press). 1993. p. 10.

[507] Fukuyama, Francis. "The end of history?". In: Dalby, Simon; Routledge, Paul and Tuathail, Gearóid. The Geopolitics Reader. (New York and London: Routledge). 1998. p. 124.

[508] McGuirk, Justin. "Welcome to Sarajevo's designs for survival". In: The Guardian. March 2nd 2011.
Source: https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2011/mar/02/sarajevo-designs-survival-bosnian-war
(last accessed: September 17th 2017).

[509] Interview (anonymous) with member of Sarajevo's cultural scene. In Sarajevo. October 28th 2017.
Note: I am in possession of three different architectural design propositions of Renzo Piano conducted between 2000 and 2008, which I analyzed for the dissertation.

[510] Interviews with Enver Hadžiomerspahić. Founder of Ars Aevi. October 2017 and February 2019.

The visions that Marijin Dvor becomes the city's cultural district was fostered through the international competition for the Sarajevo Concert Hall in 1999 that included Zaha Hadid as Jury member. The lack of local participation, unclear ownership status and lack of funding contributed to the failure of this projects.[511] Ivan Štraus also emphasized the potential of Marijin Dvor to become the cultural hub of Sarajevo and BiH:

> I would like the [Ars Aevi] Museum of Contemporary Art to be built in Marijin Dvor. The reason is to concentrate on existing and future cultural and artistic contents. We already have a small concentration of such contents: from the Art Gallery of BiH to the National Theater, then with small breaks the Academy of Performing Arts, the Academy of Fine Arts and cultural and sport center Skenderija. All of this is near Marijin Dvor. Together with the National Museum, the Ars Aevi and Historical Museum, all is located on the Miljacka and its bridges. Which city does have something like this?[512]

The new leadership of the city realized the negligence of cultural and public buildings. In 2018, a public enterprise was established, formalizing the status of Ars Aevi, but failed to include the Historical Museum due to legal issues.[513] The Historical Museum was selected in 2018 for the Getty Foundation program 'Keeping it modern' that assigned $130 000 for conducting architectural and engineering projects for its restoration but not the execution of the restoration. Nevertheless, the solution for the Museum's legal rehabilitation, as well as long-term funding for its maintenance is not in sight yet. The answer of how this physical restoration of the building would integrate the material and immaterial layers of the Museum's historical trajectories since 1990 was: war destruction and position in a no man's land during the war, its status as 'difficult heritage, the politically 'contaminated' original program, a new name and more than twenty years of alternative practices. The National Museum experienced existential difficulties and was eventually closed to the public in 2012 and re-opened after a media campaign based on the bottom-up initiative 'Culture Shutdown'[514] by Azra Akšamija, and Assistant Professor in Art

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[511] Interview with Hasan Ćemalović. Architect and wartime President of BiH Architects Association. In Sarajevo. November 12th 2018.

[512] Abadžić-Hodžić, Aida. "Danas više nema vizionara u arhitekturi" ("Today there are no more visionaries in architecture"). Interview with Ivan Štraus. In: Sarajevske Sveske. No. 43-44. June 2014.

[513] Interviews (multiple) City of Sarajevo Mayor Abdulah Skaka and Vice-Mayor Milan Trivić. In Sarajevo. 2017 and 2018.

[514] Interviews (multiple) with Azra Akšamija and project collaborator Jasmin Mujanović. 2013 and 2014.

and Architecture at the MIT. The action was upscaled by the solidarity of the citizens and a picket inside the Museum. The action was picked up through a systematic campaign led by the NGO 'Akcija', named 'Ja sam Muzej' (I am the Museum'), supported by the EU.[515] (Fig. 101) I participated in both the promotional campaign in 2012 as well as the picket in 2015, receiving a direct impression regarding its procedures. The initiatives were successful and the National Museum in 2015 with the funding support of the BiH's Ministry of Civil Affairs and the Museum won the 'Europa Nostra' Award. Nevertheless, the initiative was also criticized for its formalization through EU and BiH government funding that built upon the civic action and joined only in the later phases. In early 2019, the political obstacles were vivid again: the RS representatives who sit in the state institution inside the Parliament Complex designed by Neidhardt, which is in the immediate vicinity of the National Museum, refused to support the vote regarding the sharing of the central heating system with the Museum.[516]

As an antidote to the argument that culture was the cause of the war in BiH it is the question of how to synergize research, civic action, culture and architectural agency? How can educational, social and relational capital be harvested and turned into an important driver of urban revitalization and reconciliation? How can one de-fragment a city? (Fig. 102) The next chapter will explain a set of activities that propose to become this glue and become a catalyst for the revitalization and reactivation of human, relational and spatial potentials of Marijin Dvor and Sarajevo.

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[515] Interviews with employees of NGO 'Akcija'. In Sarajevo. September 2016.

[516] "Ministarstvo prosvjete i kulture RS: Nećemo da finansiramo Zemaljski muzej u Sarajevu" ("Ministry of education and Culture of RS: We do not want to co-finance the National Museum in Sarajevo"). In: Radiosarajevo News Portal. March 3rd 2019. Source: https://www.radiosarajevo.ba/vijesti/bosna-i-hercegovina/ministarstvo-prosvjete-i-kulture-rs-necemo-da-sufansiramo-zemaljski-muzej-u-sarajevu/328894 (last accessed March 5th 2019).

Fig. 85: The signing of the Dayton/Paris Peace Agreement

14.12.1995.

Federation of Bosnia
and Herzegovina

Republic of Srpska

Former border of Socialist
Federal Republic Yugoslavia

Border of Republic of
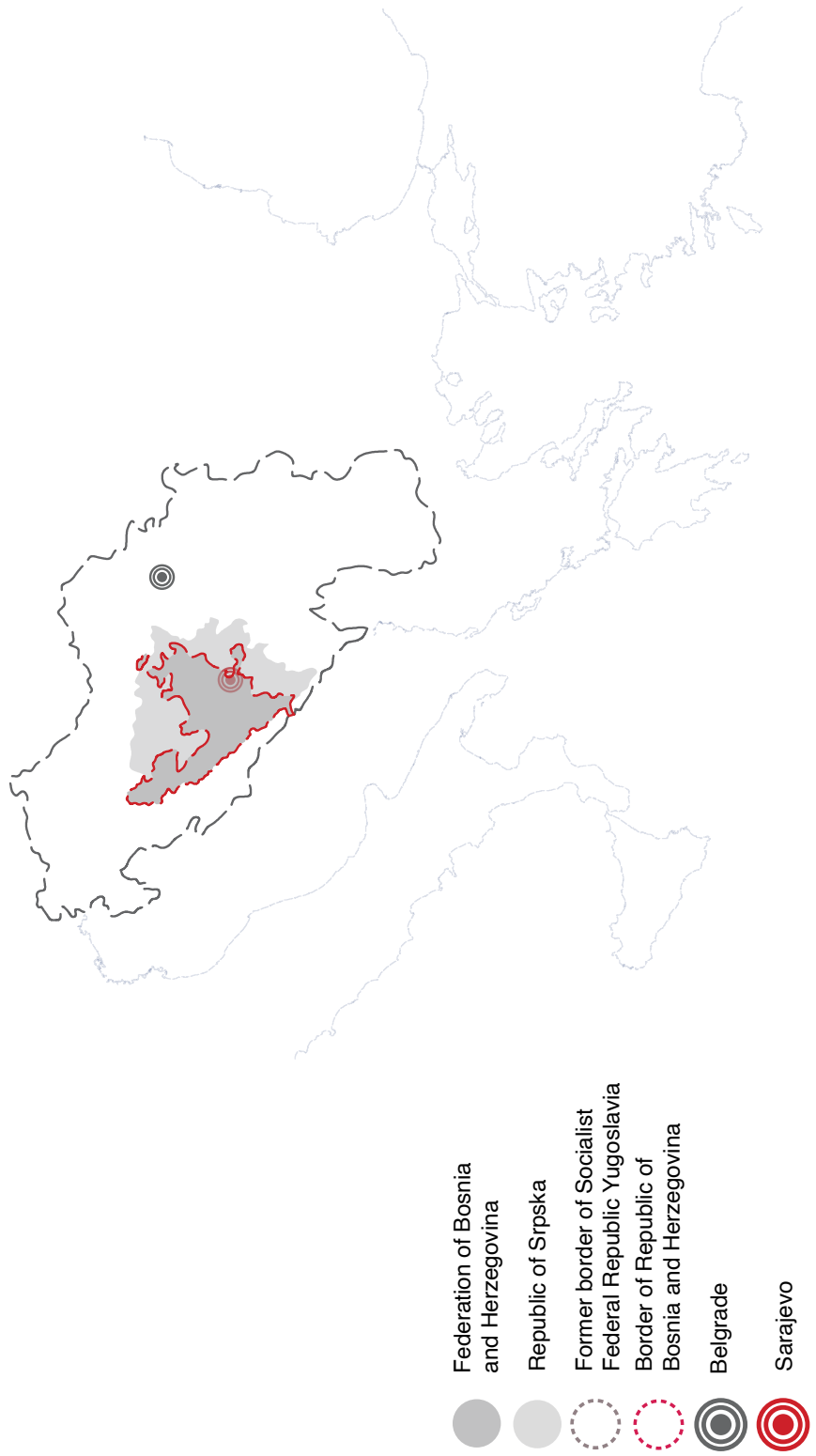Bosnia and Herzegovina

Belgrade

Sarajevo

Fig. 85: The borders after the Dayton/Paris Peace Agreement

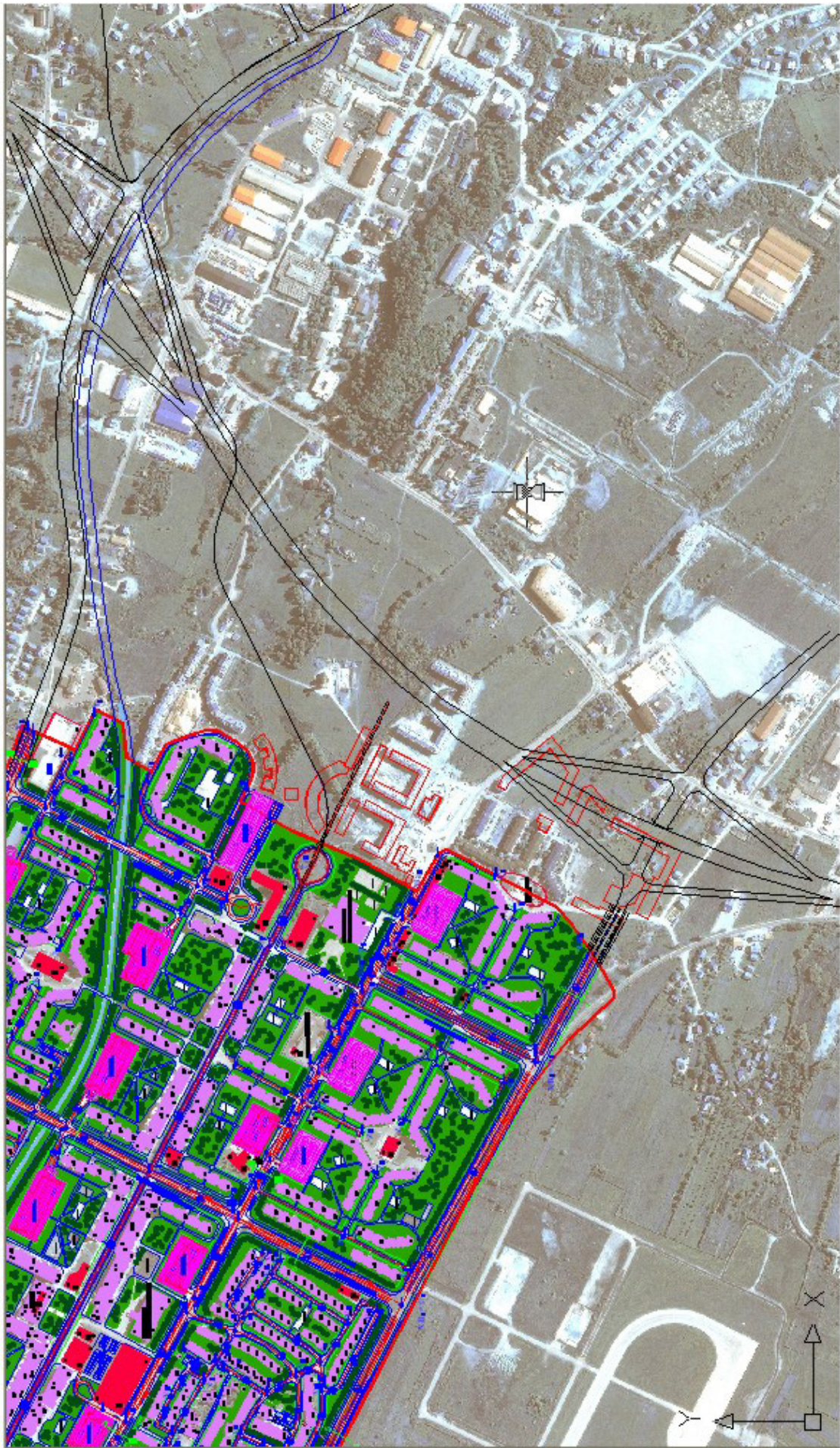**Fig. 86: Former frontline turned into administrative border dissecting buildings and infrastructures**

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Fig. 86: Former frontline turned into administrative border dissecting buildings and infrastructures

Fig. 86: Former frontline turned into administrative border dissecting buildings and infrastructures

329

Fig. 87: Monuments of provocation

Fig. 87: Monuments of provocation
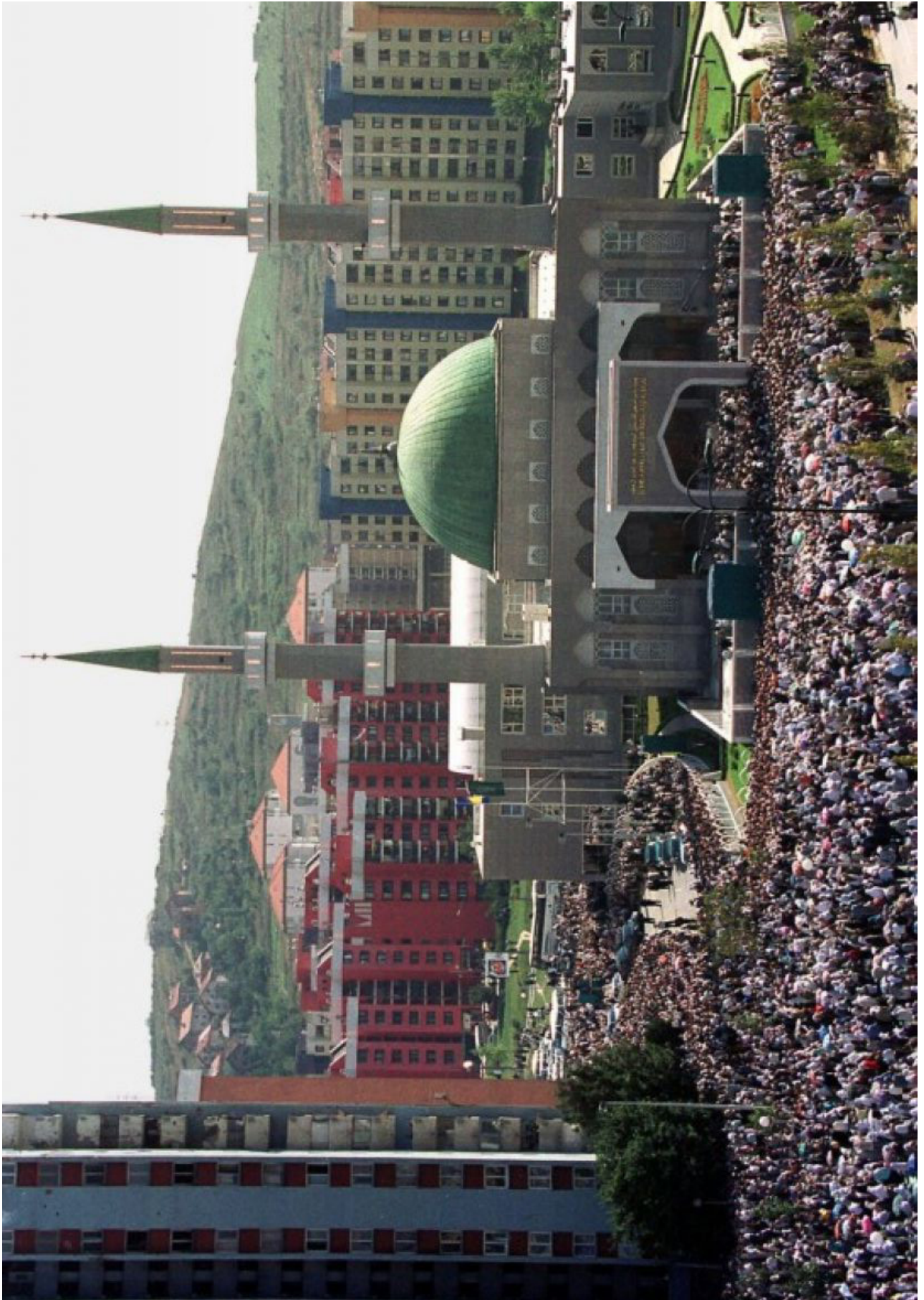
Fig. 88: New sacred programs superimposed on the fabric of the socialist modernist city

Fig. 89: The densified cityscape of Marijin Dvor

Fig. 90: Reconstructing the city back to normality?

Fig. 90: Reconstructing the city back to normality?

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Fig. 90: Reconstructing the city back to normality?

Fig. 90: Reconstructing the city back to normality? 337

Fig. 90: Reconstructing the city back to normality?

Fig. 90: Reconstructing the city back to normality? 339

Fig. 91: Canton Sarajevo Spatial Plan (2003-2023)

340
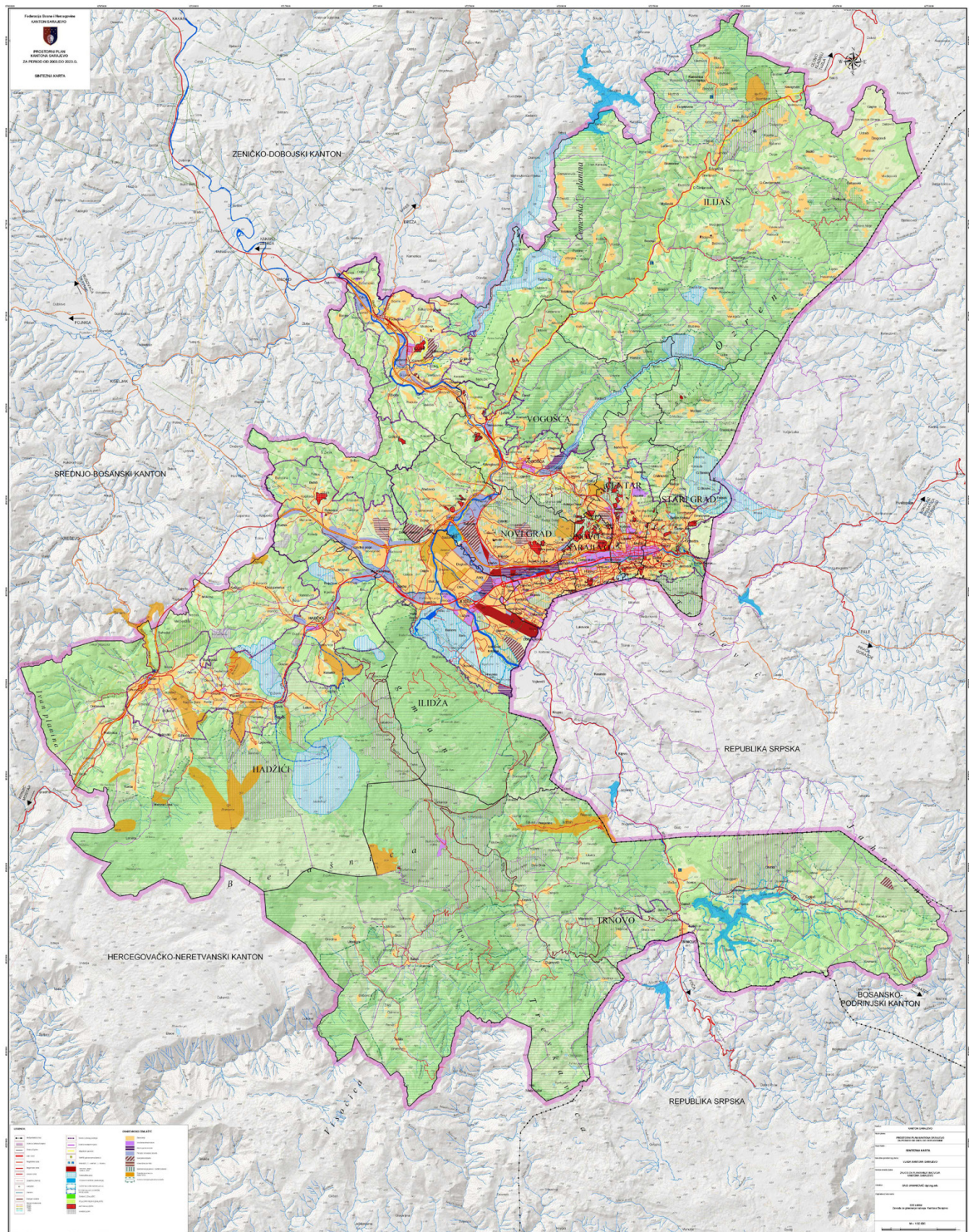
nacrt

URBANISTIČKI PLAN GRADA SARAJEVA ZA URBANO PODRUČJE

SARAJEVO

HADŽIĆI

ILIJAŠ

PALE

TRNOVO

1986 · 2015

Fig. 92: GUP (1986-2015)

Fig. 92: GUP (1986-2015) 342

Fig. 92: GUP (1986-2015)

Fig. 93: 'Investment Guide-Sarajevo: A Profitable Business Location'

Fig. 94: Analysis of the post-war transformation of Marijin Dvor

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open space- large green areas
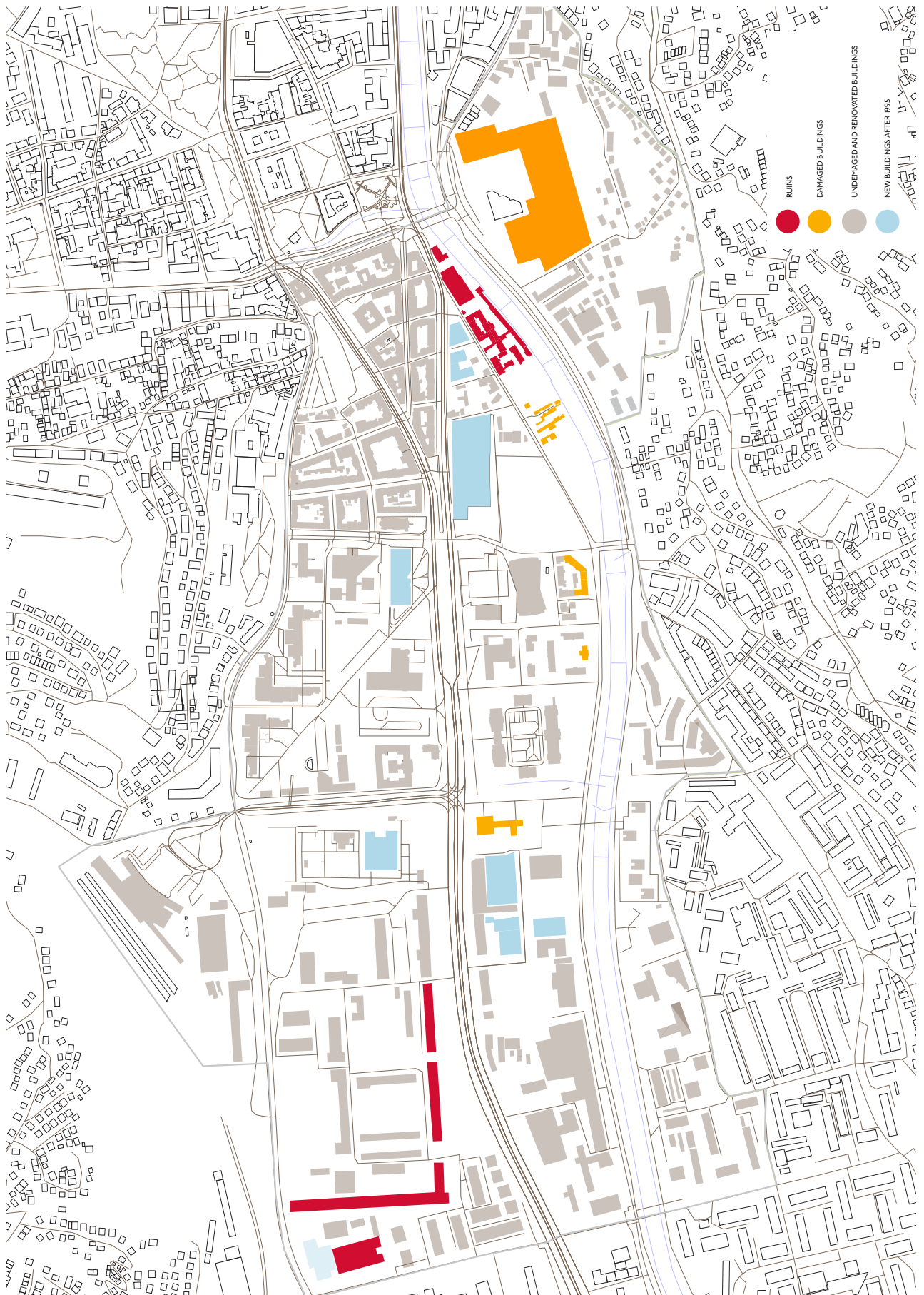
open space- small green areas

open space- public areas
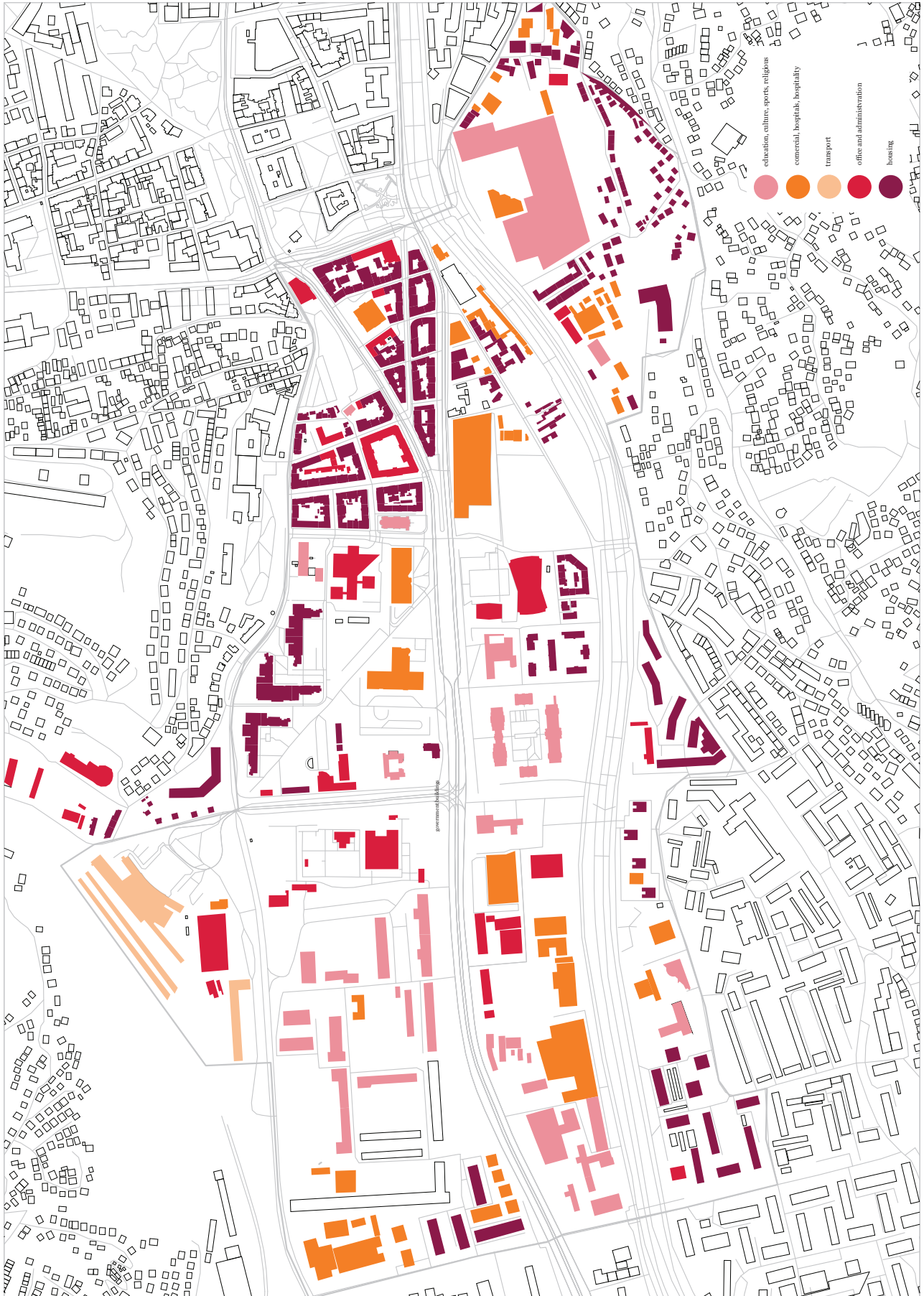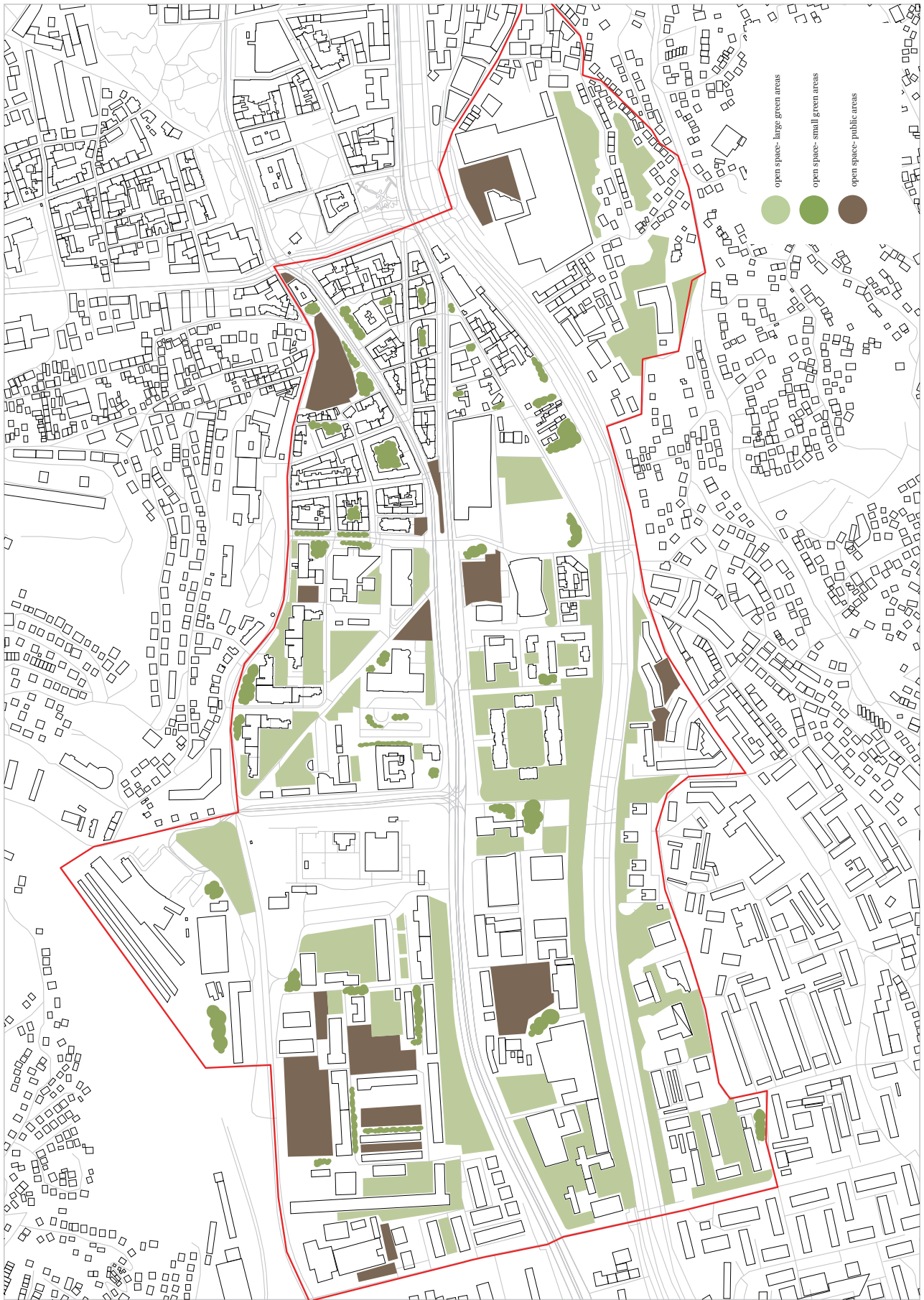
Fig. 94: Analysis of the post-war transformation of Marijin Dvor

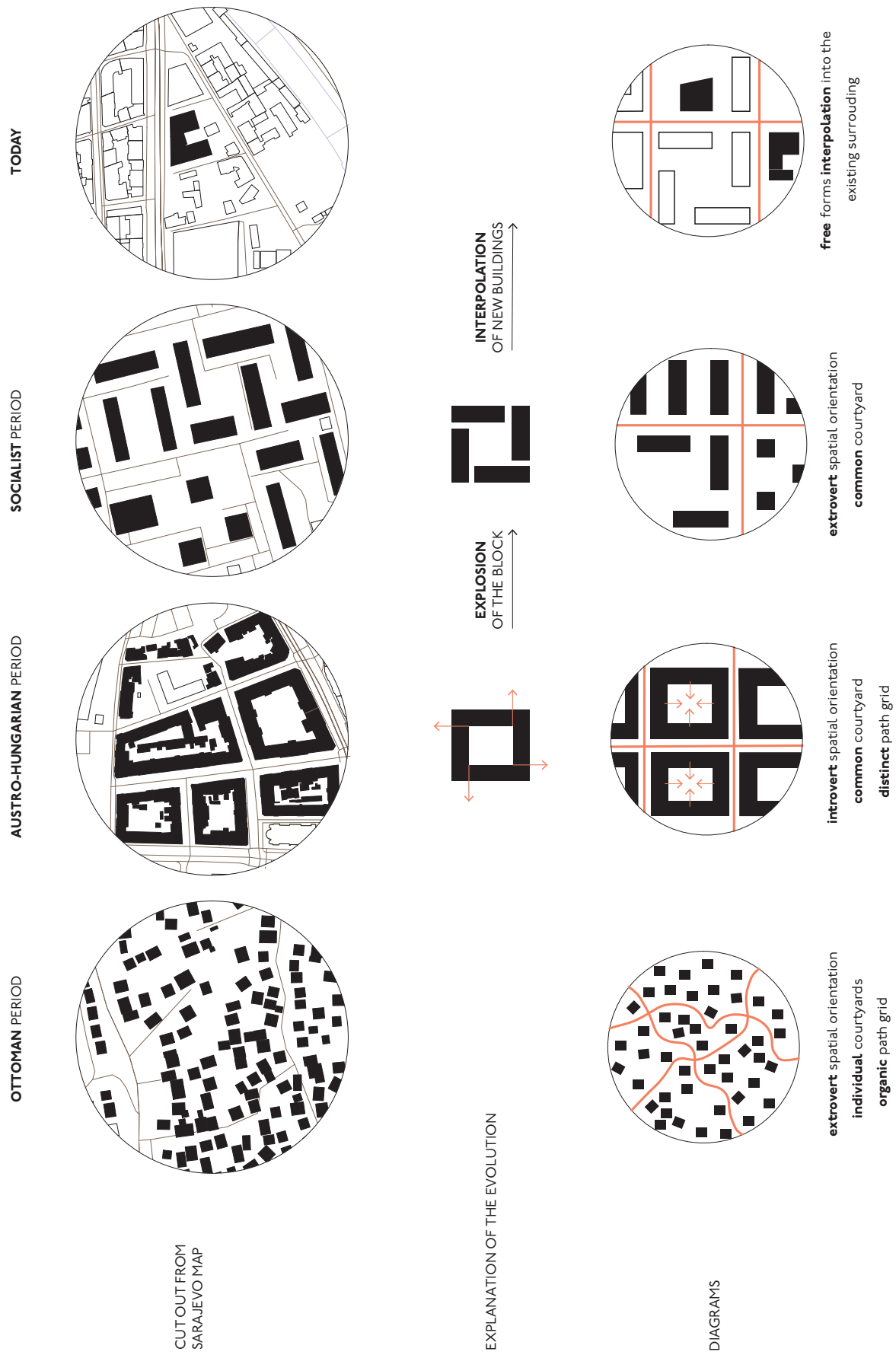**Fig. 94: Analysis of the post-war transformation of Marijin Dvor**

TODAY

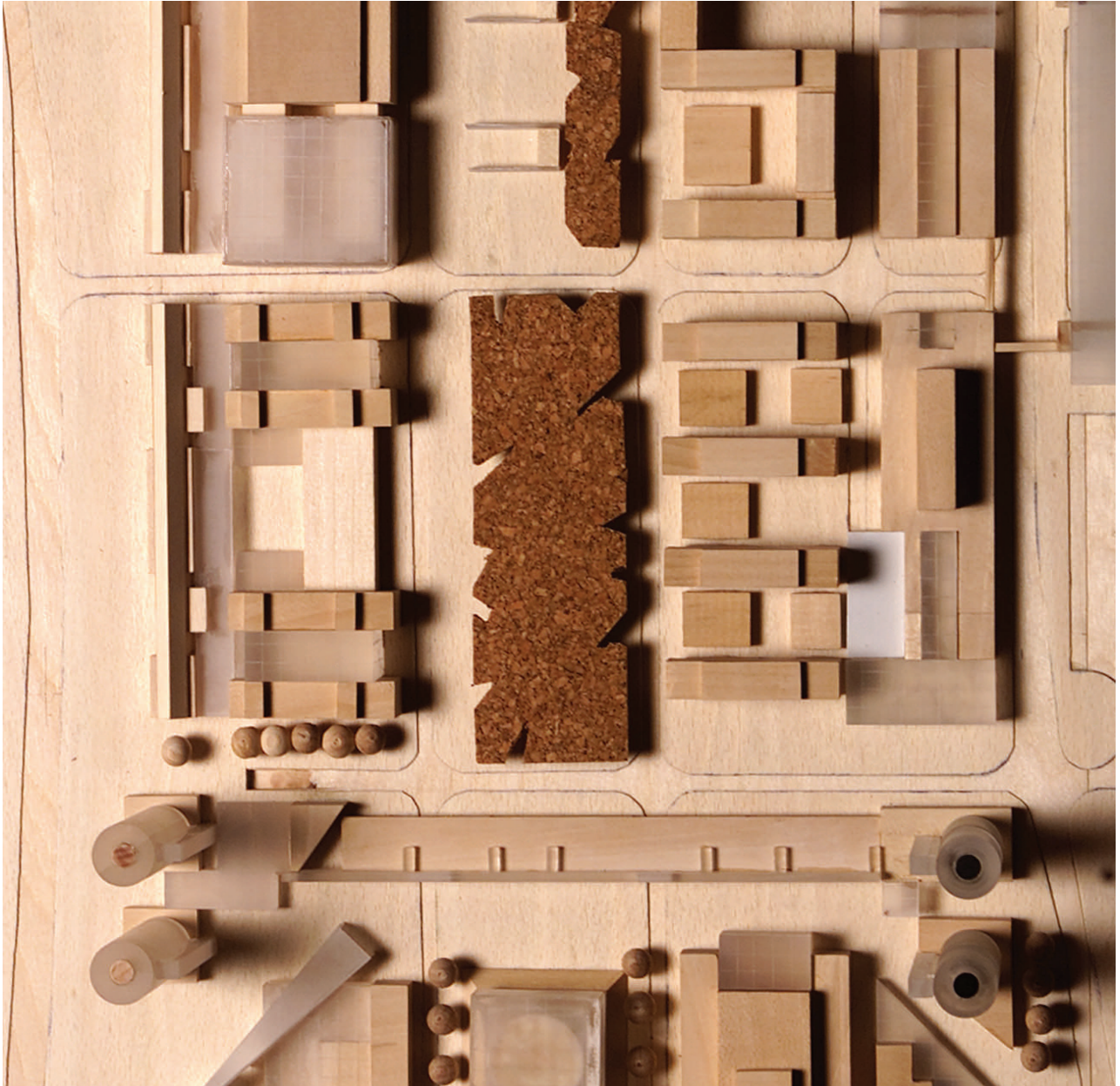**SOCIALIST** PERIOD

AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN PERIOD

OTTOMAN PERIOD

CUT OUT FROM
SARAJEVO MAP

EXPLANATION OF THE EVOLUTION

EXPLOSION OF THE BLOCK

INTERPOLATION OF NEW BUILDINGS

DIAGRAMS

extrovert spatial orientation
individual courtyards
organic path grid

introvert spatial orientation
common courtyard
distinct path grid

extrovert spatial orientation
common courtyard

free forms **interpolation** into the
existing surrouding

Fig. 94: Analysis of the post-war transformation of Marijin Dvor   349

Fig. 95: Hastahana today

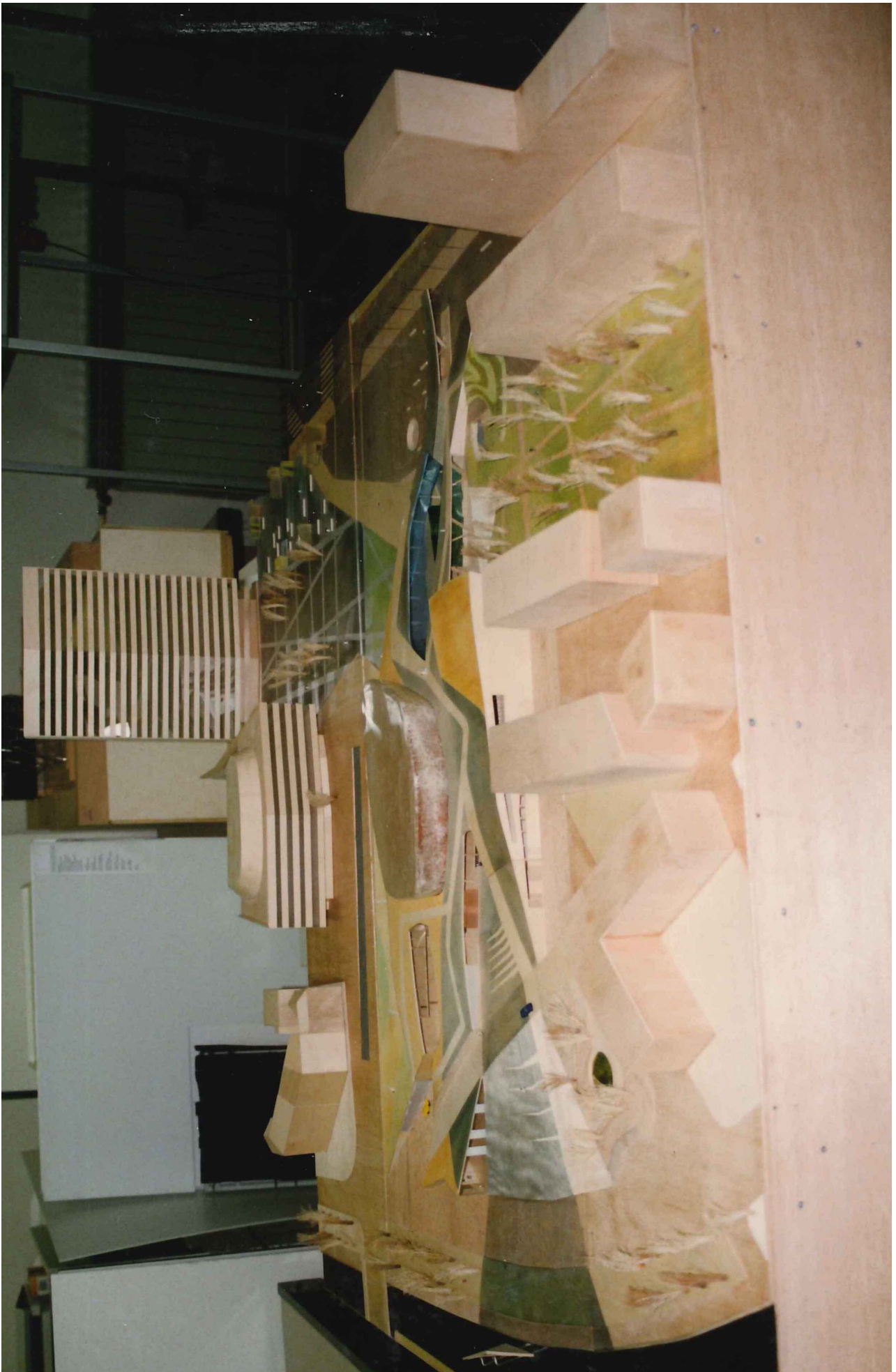**Fig. 96: Campus transformation (3rd Prize, design by the Roš duo)**

Fig 97: The Campus competition
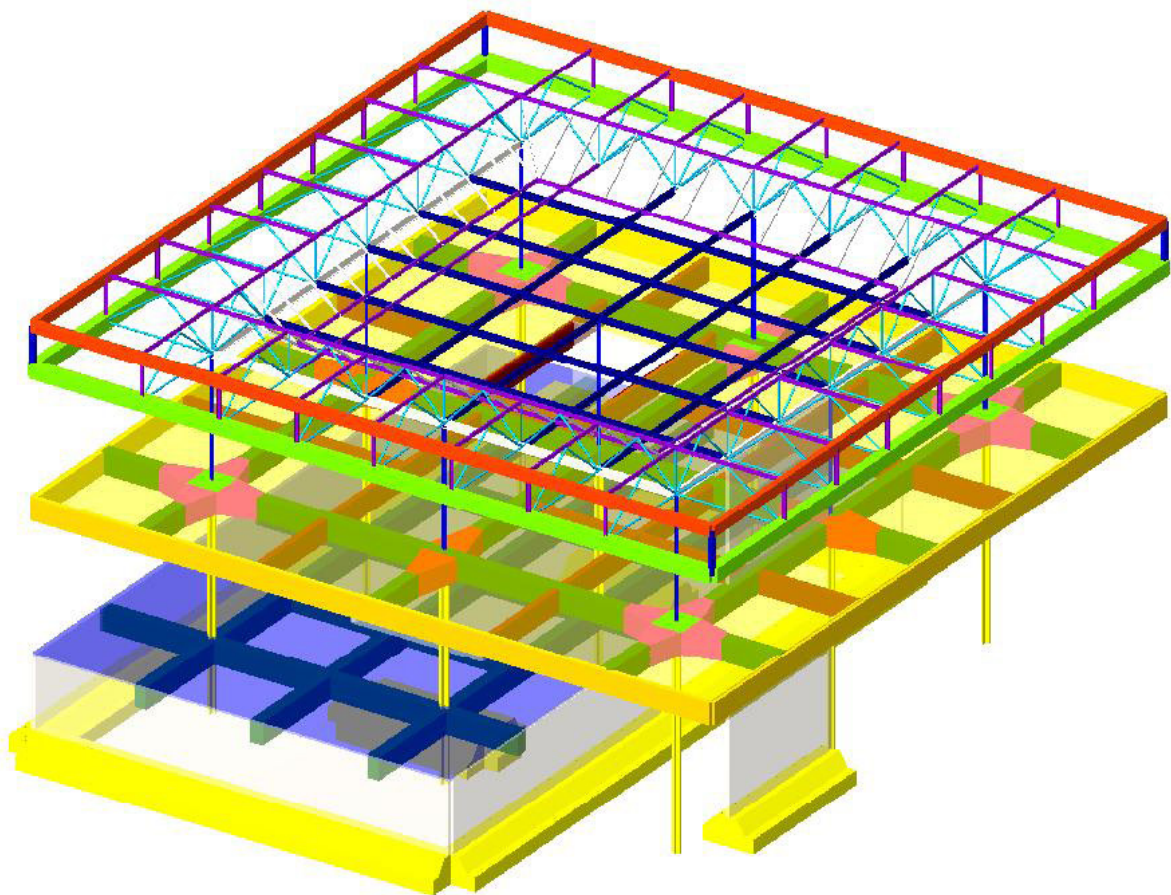
Fig. 98: Regulacioni Plan for Marijin Dvor

Fig. 99: Diagnosis of the Historical Museum damage

Fig. 100: The Historical Museum today

Fig. 101: The 'Ja sam Muzej' campaign

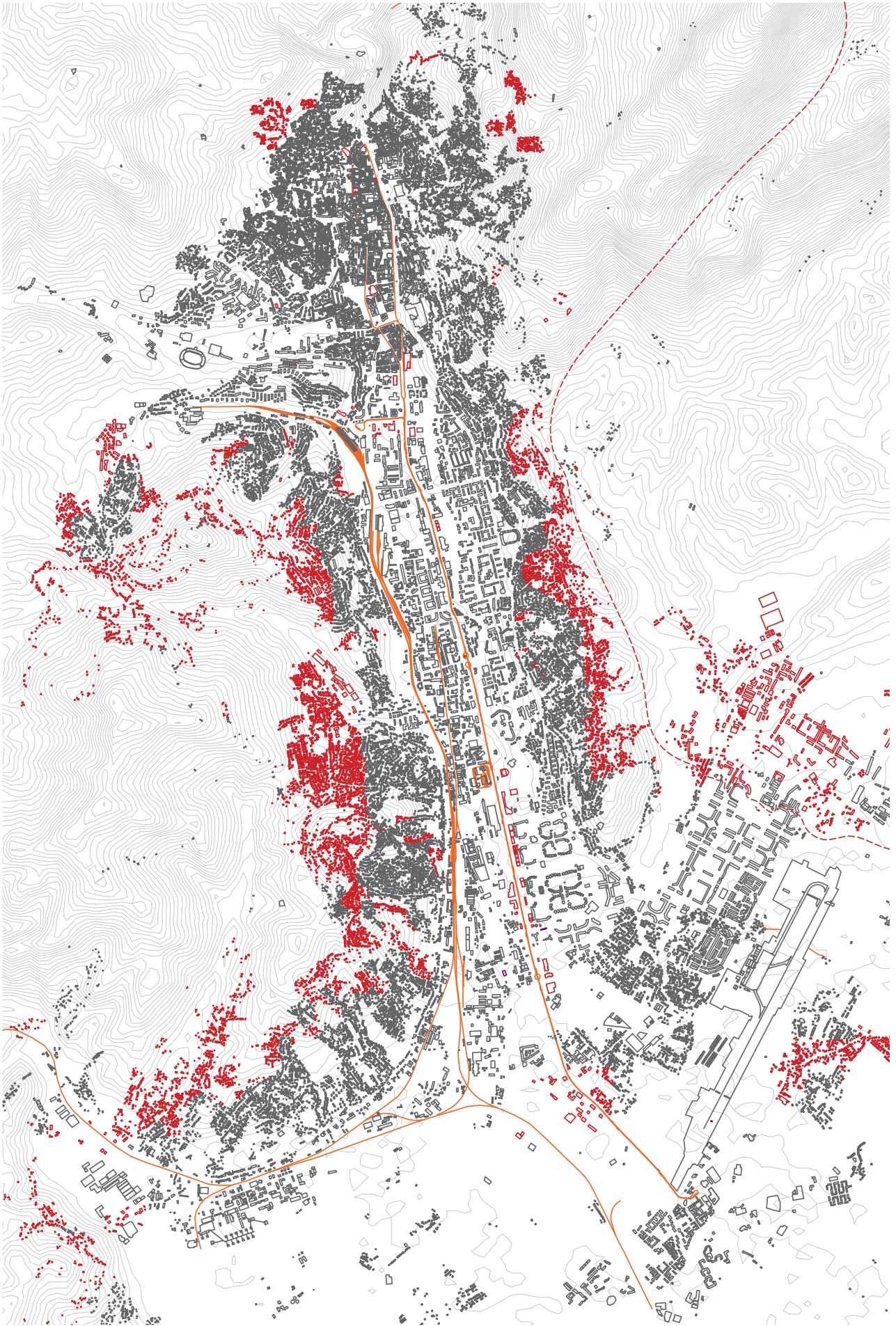**Fig 102: The urban development of Sarajevo, 1996-2014**

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Fig 102: The urban development of Marijin Dvor, 1996-2014

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VII PERFORMATIVE EXPERIMENT: REACTIVATE SARAJEVO

Sarajevo 100 years after the assassination: The 'Bosnian Spring'

In late spring 2014, my dissertation was accepted by the doctoral committee of the ETH Zurich Department of Architecture. Just a few weeks later, around the globe, events took place commemorating the 100th anniversary of the assassination of Franz Ferdinand. A common theme of these events was the hope for a century of peace after a century of war. Amidst this global remembrance, and as part of its own World War II commemorations, Sarajevo re-opened one of its chief architectural symbols, the National Library/City Hall on May 9th, 2014. The City Hall became a shining symbol of reconstruction and bright prospects for a future integration into the EU.[517] The architectural symbol of burnt knowledge, whose destruction was watched around the world, rose from the ashes.

2014 also showed the opposite side of the coin in Sarajevo. Almost 20 years after the DPA, it was clear that Sarajevo had failed to utilize its catastrophe as, what the British historian David Arnold called „an engine for historical transformation".[518] During this time, public polls continuously revealed that the vast majority of citizens were highly frustrated by the political, environmental and socio-economic situation in Sarajevo. The percentage of civic dissatisfaction rose to 87%, proving that the post-war society and its accompanying urban model had failed. The war destruction, political paralysis, DPA-induced constitutional straitjacket, poverty and social exclusion placed a chokehold on the post-urbicidal city. International statistics showed BiH as the country with one of the highest youth unemployment rates in the world.[519] As a result, Sarajevo became a city notorious for a low quality of life. This situation in Sarajevo led to an exodus. BiH was among the countries with the highest relative number of nationals living abroad with the trends of this exodus only to accelerate in the upcoming years.

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[517] The majority of the funding for the reconstruction was provided by Austria.

[518] Arnold, David. Famine: Social crisis and historical change. (Oxford, UK: Blackwell). 1988.

[519] The World Bank. Unemployment, Youth Total: Modeled International Labour Organization estimate (ILOSTAT database). Source: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.1524.ZS (last accessed: October 11th 2018).

The valley's delicate ecology experienced immense environmental decay. Despite much of its socialist-era heavy industry being destroyed during the war, Sarajevo received the infamous title of the 'most polluted capital of Europe'.[520] The inefficient public services, including public transportation, led to an increase of individual vehicles. The growth of the wild settlements expanded. The disempowered and impoverished citizens, comprised of the former working class, wartime refugees and rural migrants, turned to low-cost informal heating systems. Sarajevo, depicted in Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian era travelogues as a paradise-like symbiosis of green gardens and a myriad of water sources and organic architecture, experienced major water reductions due to the lack of investment in underground water infrastructure. With both the economy and local environment in complete chaos and disarray, it was not long before the situation on the ground reached a fever pitch – this time in the form of protests. What was believed to be an image of the past and of the 1990s 'MTV-era war' returned to the cityscape of Sarajevo: images of burning architecture. The resulting destruction was the culmination of the 'Bosnian Spring' – a lashing out by the underprivileged, impoverished and unemployed of Sarajevo, who turned their anger and desperation against the city's government buildings. (Fig. 103)

Among the main triggers for the violent protests were unsuccessful and often corrupt neoliberal privatization of state-owned amenities, political populism, poverty, and media censorship. Government buildings became hated symbols of the entanglement between corrupted politics, pollution, poverty and speculation. The relation between power and architecture had clear spatial implications. Architecture became the epitome of social exclusion and segregation, symbolized through new sacred and commercial buildings. Despite the clear public outcry, the protests were largely ignored or downplayed by media - often controlled by the ethnonationalist parties - or misused to brand them as monoethnic protests, in order to justify their populist politics.

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[520] Please see for more information of the relation between pollution and the uprising: Castán Broto, Vanesa et. al. "Stigma and Attachment: Performance of Identity in an Environmentally Degraded Place". In: Society and Natural Resources. 23:10. 2010. pp. 952–968.: Habeš, Suad, Obradović, Zarema, Ridžal, Aida and Aldžić, Asmir. "Air pollution by nitrogen oxides in Sarajevo from 2005 to 2010". In: Journal of Health Sciences. 3:10. 2013. pp. 250-254.

While preparing the research plan for the submission to the doctoral committee, I was working as an external adviser of the Sarajevo Canton Ministry of Urban Planning and Environment. While attending one of the meetings at the ministry building located in central Sarajevo, one of those most affected by the riots, I suddenly found myself in a smoky and desperate atmosphere. Employees I encountered were frightened, shocked and disoriented. It was in this moment that I recognized the existence of a delicate balance between Sarajevo's citizenry and its institutions – the latter of which would be critical to any hope of enacting meaningful change.

It was out of this realization that the most important question arose: how to take action in this city? While I myself am a Sarajevan, my life's path has taken several turns, which would need to be addressed to proceed with my endeavor. How to position myself as someone who lived between Sarajevo and Berlin but currently works in Zurich? How to balance out the personal trajectory, keep the productive enthusiastic subjectivism of dealing with my hometown but still maintain my objectivism as a doctoral candidate? How to look beyond my personal story growing up in Sarajevo through all the eras explained in the previous chapters: socialism, war and post-war?

Just as my own history has shaped my ability to contribute to the city, it has also served to make it particularly challenging to diagnose. How can Sarajevo's traumatic experience be reversed and how to revive the and translate it into transformational energy? How can Sarajevo, being a neuralgic point of the 20th century in human history, enrich the urban discourse of the 21st century, keeping in mind its role as a locus of (geo)political power palpable in the almost surreal contrast between decay and shiny new constructions in Marijin Dvor?

Being aware of all the aforementioned challenges, this experience culminated in my decision to rethink my methodological approach from the mere theoretical position and to install the dissertation at the intersection between academia and theory, activism and practice. It motivated me to work on an applied research model and

engage to improve the precarious conditions. How can the dissertation contribute to challenge the current urban model of Sarajevo?

The logical question arose: how can one operate as an architect and urbanist in this city? How to operate in a country and a city that has no architectural chamber or official association of architects despite both the Prime Minister and President being architects themselves? How can one be an academic researcher in a city where most archives were destroyed in the 1990s war or are inaccessible behind closed doors, forgotten or neglected?

These dilemmas led to the formulation of the research question for this part of the dissertation: How can a self-executed experiment of spatial agency serve to influence the city's long-term urban reactivation positively? How can lessons learned in Sarajevo be exported to other Balkans cities and beyond?

Engaging in a crisis: Finding the role of the architect

After defining 'what' to do, immediate questions about the 'how' arose. By building on the notion of Sarajevo as an urban laboratory, the experiment should serve to establish the grounds for research into the context of Sarajevo, with the anticipation that it would lead to the development of an alternative spatial model. Therefore, I looked into theoretical and methodological foundations in the discourses on reflective practice, spatial agency and applied research, in relation to architecture and urban design. These narratives narrowed my approach in creating a symbiosis between the theoretical chapters of the dissertation and the Reactivate Sarajevo Performative Experiment as a bridge to the future practical implementation of my work.

In the first step, I investigated the discourse on the role of architecture and architects in the era of the troubling 'urban planet' building upon the notion of crisis as a chance for positive change. I was particularly interested in how the strong

correlation between theory and practice could help create momentum for finding new ways to address the urban challenges. In exploring this discourse, I inadvertently found myself at the center of a heated debate on whether or not to focus on how built environment (or spatially operating) professions can give answers to crucial societal issues such as economic crises, political populism, social segregation and climate change.

The perspectives that support the argument of the inability of architects to engage in these themes were summarized in the curatorial statement of the 16th Biennale of Architecture in Venice: "There's no reason to feel depressed by not being able to solve the big problems of the world, because architects don't have the power".[521] The situation in Sarajevo in the mid 2010s was a paragon case study of a plethora of big problems, which could not be solved through well-meant design ideas alone. In neglecting the 'big problems', architects largely ignore the majority of human beings as well – a postulate that rings true when looking at the protests in Sarajevo. Naturally, the part of the profession that claims for the focus on aesthetic and esoteric aspects of design is simultaneously geographically limited, targeting mostly the wealthy countries, would be wrong for my dissertation.

The questions of an 'identity crisis' due to the insufficient societal relevance of the built environment professions were themes prevalent throughout professional media. The majority of critical voices in the 2000s and 2010s highlighted the lost role of architects as agents of social progress. Even starchitects, such as David Chipperfield, criticized the lack of building better societies – beyond the mere construction of physical objects:

> **Architecture is in a sort of crisis. We have lost our social purpose. What we are seeing now is construction as a product of investment. We are building a lot, but we are building big investment projects, as if we're doing architecture without architecture.**

[521] Frearson, Amy. "Architects can make a big impact at a very small scale", Interview with Grafton Architects, Curators of the 16th Biennale of Architecture in Venice. In: Dezeen.
Source: https://www.dezeen.com/2018/05/23/grafton-architects-interview-venice-architecture-biennale/
(last accessed: May 23th 2018).

It is more about investment than it is about urbanism. We used to be involved in planning and building cities, building societies.[522]

Realizing these issues, I was searching for platforms where the great problems of Sarajevo can be resolved – how architecture and urban design can become a tool for societal change. I was inspired by the philosophy of ETH Zurich/UTT Chair of Architecture and Urban Design that seemed relevant for address post-conflict Sarajevo – becoming both a researcher and an activist-architect, aiming to define a brief for the future development of Sarajevo – a participative, alternative model that will implement the results of my doctoral research:

Now, at the turn of the century, we are amidst a seismic shift, perhaps marked most visibly by the fall of the Twin Towers as a radical breaking point in our society and culture. Here you see cities as a meeting point for conflict - in Aleppo and in Damascus - and even if they are not literal wars, you also see battles fought on the streets of cities like Caracas and São Paulo. In the 21st century, given the life of this social revolution that is catapulted through social media, the architect has to reinvent its task as a moderator or mediator of these forces. (…) The role of the architect is to judge the needs of the city and effect them through the built environment. In this sense, we like to create our own briefs for how the city should get built.[523]

Moreover, the opinion of another advocate of the proactive role of the architects, Justin McGuirk, encouraged me to utilize doctoral research as the most appropriate format to investigate an urban context in order to possess sufficient knowledge to propose solutions for change:

Urban inequality is one of the great challenges of the century. Most urban growth is taking place in the developing world, and it is mostly not being supported by governments or facilitated by architects. (…) They have a valuable role to play in reorienting the profession. They remind us that architecture is a social act and they provide the exemplars that prove to governments that change is within their grasp. (…) For one thing, architects working in poor communities have to be extroverts. They have to get to know the communities they want to work in, understand their needs and make them participants in the process.[524]

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[522] Dalley, Jan. "Interview with David Chipperfield on the crisis of architecture". In: Financial Times. May 4th 2018. Source: https://www.ft.com/content/617a3a3c-4ed9-11e8-a7a9-37318e776bab (last accessed: May 6th 2018).

[523] Amaya, Laura. "Interview with Alfredo Brillembourg, founder of Urban-Think Tank". In: Archinect. April 10th 2015. Source: https://archinect.com/features/article/124819398/interview-with-alfredo-brillembourg-founder-of-urban-think-tank (last accessed: May 12th 2018).

[524] I discussed this topic with Justin McGuirk on different occasions during our collaboration. Nevertheless, this article provides an overarching summary of his argument:
McGuirk, Justin. "Activist architects: Designing social change". In: Al Jazeera. October 1st 2014.

The inspiration for my methodological approach is, among others, derived from the writings of Linda Groat and David Wang. These brought a relevant perspective on the relations between the practice of architecture and ways to establish a research strategy:

> **Typically, researchers who seek to illuminate complex phenomena in real-life settings may not be able to rely on well-established research designs (strategies) and tactics to address the research questions of interest. In this relatively uncertain context, designing the most effective research protocol is not unlike the challenge architects and other designers face in approaching a novel project, and therefore the need to generate innovative hunches and conjectures will be greater.[525]**

It became clear that the bridge between theory and practice is the most relevant approach. The analysis of the discourse on spatial agency and reflective practice helped to choose methods and techniques that can be used in the process. Several authors argued for the division of the role of the 'researcher' and the 'protagonist', such as in the theory framed by Jay Farbstein and Min Kantrowitz. In these theories the 'design researcher' can only get a status of an observer.[526] On the contrary, the 'action research' postulates of Kurt Lewin seemed more appropriate for my case study. According to Lewin's ideas of the 'field theory', theoretical and practical knowledge are supposed to mutually inform each other within a concrete spatial context.[527]

Bridging theory and practice:
Developing models of action research and spatial agency

In order to develop an approach to engage in the unstable urban laboratory of Sarajevo, the work of 'reflective practice' pioneer, Donald Schön's work was of

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Source:https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2014/09/activist-architects-designing-2014928103659390595.html (last accessed: October 14th 2016).

[525] Groat, Linda and Wang, David. Architectural research methods (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley&Sons). p. 37.

[526] Farbstein, Jay and Kantrowitz, Min "Design Research in the Swamp". In: Zube, Erwin and Moore, Gary (Eds.) Advances in Environment Behavior and Design. Vol. 3 (New York: Plenum Press). 1991. pp. 297-318.

[527] Cartwright, Darwin (Ed.). Field Theory in Social Science: Selected Theoretical Papers by Kurt Lewin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press). 1976.

particular importance.[528] Schön laid the foundations of his theories on the basis of John Dewey's 'Theory of inquiry', which is concerned with the investigation of how institutions and professionals should deal with the world that operates beyond the stable state.[529] Schön perceived Dewey's work as a rebellion against: "dualisms of thought and action, research and practice, science and common, the academy and everyday life".[530] This work was crucial to understand the provenance of the disparity between theory and practice in the design disciplines – that, in summary, seemed to have arisen from self-doubt regarding its own scientific rigor. In the quest to become 'properly academic', many researchers induced a dichotomy between theory and practice, by opting for one role.

Julian Malins and Carole Grey theorized the possibilities of whether research can be conducted by the designer as the protagonist, rather than by external observers such as critics, theoreticians and historians. Their work mostly focused on crafts and visual arts but nevertheless, it helped me to set a framework for understanding the advantages of a dualistic role. Beyond the arguments in favor of a 'practice-based research', Malins and Grey claimed to position the practitioner as the formulator of broader theoretical and philosophical frameworks:

> **This has led to the use of the terms 'practice-based' or 'practice-led' research. This reflects a change in emphasis in research from research about the visual arts and artists, designers, craftspersons (as subject), predominantly carried out by critics, theoreticians, historians, etc., to a more proactive research model involving practitioners researching through action and reflecting in and on action. The researcher / practitioner is central to the inquiry as is the context in which the research is taking place. (…) The informed, intimate perspective of the reflective practitioner leads to a greater degree of insight only possible from experiential, 'tacit' knowledge. (…) We argue that critical analysis and debate, and the formulation of theoretical and philosophical frameworks is the responsibility not only of the 'external' critic, historian or theoretician, but essentially the responsibility of the practitioner.[531]**

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[528] For more details on Schön's theories, please see:
Schön, Donald. The Reflective Practitioner (London: Temple Smith). 1983.; Schön, Donald. Educating the Reflective Practitioner (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass). 1987.

[529] Dewey, John. How we think: a restatement of the relation of reflective thinking to the educative process (Boston: Houghton Mifflin). 1933 (revised Edition 1998).

[530] Schön, Donald. "The theory of inquiry: Dewey's legacy to education". In: Curriculum Inquiry. Vol. 22. 1992. p. 121.

[531] Malins, Julian and Gray, Carole with Bunnell, Katie and Wheeler, Eleanor. Appropriate Research Methodologies for Artists, Designers & Craftspersons: Research as a Learning Process. In: Proceedings-'Making It': UK Crafts Council Conference (Wakefield, UK: Woolley Hall). 1995. p. 3.

Coming back to the argument of the unstable nature of Sarajevo's urban laboratory, it is worthwhile to also take the assertion of Schön who believed that only technical expertise is restrictive in addressing instability and uncertainty, whereas theories are often too broad and inapplicable. As an alternative, he claims, the reflective practitioner bridges the gap and is equipped with knowledge and skills derived from both dimensions.[532] Nonetheless, these notions go beyond the mere integration of theory in practical solutions. Ceasar McDowell argued for the extension of skills and activities, which go beyond the theoretical base:

> **Reflective Practice is about how (...) we use and create theories in practical situations. The most relevant problems for clients and for society are in messy and swampy situations where the research-based theories do not apply. (...) To tackle these problems professionals will need (...) to apply a set of skills that go far beyond their theoretical base.[533]**

Therefore, the experiment will utilize the insights based on my theoretical and historical analysis presented in the last chapters, but also reveal how a set of activities form an alternative modus operandi. This model of applied research aimed to deploy urban intelligence into the real world but also to extract knowledge and bring it back to the theory.

The roots and rationale of Reactivate Sarajevo

Which format would successfully challenge the original research plan, test the rationale of the research questions and create a continuous influx between theory, activism and practice? How can one ensure a reciprocal symbiosis between knowledge production at ETH Zurich and local engagement in Sarajevo? How to ensure the inclusion of a wide spectrum of real-world stakeholders: citizens, experts, media, governmental and non-governmental organizations in the spatial

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[532] Schön, Donald. The Reflective Practitioner (London: Temple Smith). 1983.

[533] McDowell, Ceasar. Reflective Practice: An Approach for Expanding Your Learning Frontiers. Graduate Course. Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT).
Source:https://ocw.mit.edu/courses/urban-studies-and-planning/11-965-reflective-practice-an-approach-for-expanding-your-learning-frontiers-january-iap-2007/syllabus/ (last accessed: March 12th 2018).

experiment within the 'urban laboratory'? How to convert social, human and ecological strata into the potential for inclusive and integrated urban strategies?

The theories of the polymath Patrick Geddes were of particular importance for attempting to answer these questions. Geddes argued for a multidimensional understanding of social-ecological systems and their activation based on civic action and open dialogue. The relevance of his approach for my ideas was also in terms of his argument for inclusive, interactive and multi-disciplinary approaches that link global issues to the solution of concrete local spatialities.[534]

Accordingly, I decided to utilize a 'multi-methodic' approach by applying a broad range of research techniques and methods. In addition to my status of a 'participant observer', the dissertation was continuously nurtured with fresh knowledge and inputs from empirical research that included critical discussions with citizens and local experts. Following that, I decided to establish a continuous presence in-situ in Sarajevo through multiple formats: interviews, photography, filming, local archives, field research, among others. Being present in Sarajevo supported and enriched the archival, desk and literature research conducted mostly in Zurich. The steady verification of preliminary results of insights, derived from a myriad of theoretical sources and self-produced empirical knowledge, was ensured through the triangulation of the collected and produced expertise. This approach allowed the research questions to be continuously and iteratively refined. Following this thinking, my bias as an objective researcher profited from the subjectivism of being a Sarajevan and the local knowledge living throughout the war: socialist, wartime and post-war periods.

These activities needed to be translated into products that would help the dissertation and the experiment's work-in-progress, but also start producing valuable results, such as educational activities, propositions of new policy recommendations and design solutions with the intent to improve the current socio-spatial situation. As a proactive measure, together with the Professors of the ETH

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[534] Geddes, Patrick. Cities in Evolution: An introduction to the town planning movement and to the study of civics. (London: Ernest Benn Limited). 1915 (1968, 3rd ed.).

Zurich/UTT Chair, Hubert Klumpner and Alfredo Brillembourg, with intellectual support of Justin McGuirk, I created a new project platform in autumn 2014: 'Reactivate Sarajevo', inspired by the ETH Zurich/U-TT Chair project in Athens ('Reactivate Athens'):

> **[An] interdisciplinary team (…) brought together the diverse worlds of academia, professional practice, government, and the nonprofit sector to critically analyze longer-term processes of urban decline and generate new ideas (…) that mobilize latent resources to address the debilitating impacts of the wider economic and social crisis. [535]**

The activities of 'Reactivate Sarajevo' included launching knowledge networks, establishing partnership alliances with real-world stakeholders, creating media impact with graphic and video materials, organizing scientific events, exhibitions, conducting critical mapping and creating conceptual designs to test the 'pulse' of the public opinion. These acts served as mosaic pieces that were necessary to engage in a contested city with a shortage of common formats of usual architectural research and practice: chambers, competitions and scientific foundations.

The chosen title of the experiment, 'Reactivate Sarajevo', was based on the assertion that the re-urbanization of Sarajevo is not yet finished. Instead of the (geo)political urbanism that imports generic architectures into the city, Sarajevo needs to recover and reactivate its non-alliance in terms of latent human, environmental and spatial potential.

Media as a project: Initiating a public discourse

Concluding with chapter III and the year 2014, it was evident that the city which was rebuilt on top of the war-destroyed socialist urban fabric was spatially exclusive and non-transparent in its development process. Moreover, architecture and urbanism largely contributed to create a segregated and fragmented city. I assumed that a

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[535] Brillembourg, Alfredo and Klumpner, Hubert with Kalagas, Alexis and Kourkoula, Katerina. Reactivate Athens: 101 Ideas. (Berlin: Ruby Press). 2017. p. 25.

new model could only be successful if I were to proactively engage with the social and cultural strata of the local community.

Firstly, I formed a Reactivate Sarajevo team comprised of local young professionals and volunteers in order to lay the groundwork for the dissertation in Sarajevo and open the missing dialogue about urbanism among different actors.[536] I gathered governmental organizations, NGOs, critical intellectuals, students and citizens, as well as media to a self-organized public event: 'Reactivate Sarajevo Forum' in late May 2015. (Fig. 104) The inclusivity was inspired by the ETH Zurich/UTT Chair approach on how to tactically operate in such a way as to enable the inclusion of marginalized communities:

> **As architects and designers, we are forced to rethink how we can operate within the city, learning from its emerging intelligence and shaping its outcomes to radical and tactical ends. (…) Besides a common concern with the groups of 'users' most often marginalized or excluded by formal processes of authority and control. (…) It is radical urbanism characterized by its sensitivity to scale and time, an appreciation of context, and a shift from author to enabler.[537]**

This provided a crucial prospect for the general public to meet representatives from academia, policy and practice, exchange their views on the city and express their visions for its future. The Forum was a chance to establish first contacts and networks with local institutions, but also to reach out to ignored informal actors and groups operating in the city, such as community activists and young artists.[538] Moreover, the launch of Reactivate Sarajevo's own website and social media channels increased the outreach.

The themes of the Forum were set around three multidisciplinary panels, conceptualized as common denominators to enclose a diverse spectrum of

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[536] It was encouraging to experience the high motivations in Sarajevo to participate in activities that are promising towards the creation of a positive change in the society. I was joined by a series of young professionals with Maša Aganović and Sabina Biser on the forefront.

[537] Brillembourg, Alfredo and Klumpner Hubert with Kalagas, Alexis. "The evolution of radical urbanism". In: Re-living the city – UABB 2015 catalogue (Barcelona: Actar). 2015. pp. 37, 42.

[538] The field work in identifying these groups is partly based on the collaboration with the 'Mirus' Magazine from Zurich, who approached me during my teaching activities at the ETH Zurich/UTT Chair Urban Toolbox as part of the Urban Stories Lecture Series. Mirus accepted my proposal to focus on Marijin Dvor and I was invited to be the Guest Editor of its special issue. Mirus received wide visibility and contained a series of interactive formats: video interviews, maps, discussions and activated important stakeholders in the city. Please see more: Piplas, Haris (Ed.). Marijin Dvor: The thriving Sarajevo neighbourhood (Zurich: Mirus). 2015. Source: http://mirusmag.com/issues/marijin-dvor-sarajevo/ (last accessed October 28th 2018).

participants and audiences: 'Creative economies for a knowledge-based society', 'Social and cultural infrastructure' and 'Green perspectives: Designing the sustainable'. The themes were the result of my research about existing local initiatives, policies, official planning mechanisms, and socio-economic programs. Through the curation of discussion topics and qualified panel speakers, a new basis was formed for envisioning Sarajevo's future. The Forum was recognized by the authorities and it was placed under the patronage of the City of Sarajevo government:

> **The city of Sarajevo as a meeting place for different cultures and civilizations, as a place where neighbors have always taken care of one another, as the greatest achievement of living together in this region, is ideal for holding a forum called 'Reactivate Sarajevo'. Therefore, the City of Sarajevo, together with the mayor prof. dr. Ivo Komšić, accepted the honorable patronage of this eminent gathering.[539]**

The Forum took place in the symbolic hall 'Dom Mladih' ('House of Youth') of the cultural-sport-commercial center Skenderija, a traditional space of the local cultural scene. The Forum hoped to profit from the genius loci as Dom Mladih was also the home of the temporary planning office for the Olympic Games, in addition to being the location of the citizens' plenums that emerged after the popular protests in 2014.

The President of the City of Sarajevo Council, Gradimir Gojer, gave the opening speech applauding the aims of Reactivate Sarajevo to accelerate change in the city. Nedreta Komarica, the Head of the Sector for Urban Planning and Housing, presented the challenges of Sarajevo's urban development, as well as the most important architectural projects of her institution. The complexities in the post-war planning of Sarajevo were visible from the presentations of local experts, such as Gordana Memišević from the Institute of Planning of Development of the Sarajevo Canton, who described the past and existing urban policies within the city but underlined the lack of a vision for integrated future planning. The discussion during the panel was joined by Prof. Vesna Hercegovac-Pašić, former head of the Institute

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[539] "Grad Sarajevo predstavio svoje aktuelne razvojne projekte na međunarodnom forumu Reactivate Sarajevo" ("City of Sarajevo presented its current development projects at the international forum Reactivate Sarajevo"). In: City of Sarajevo official website. Source: https://sarajevo.ba/grad-sarajevo-predstavio-svoje-aktuelne-razvojne-projekte-na-medunarodnom-forumu-reactivate-sarajevo/ (last accessed: February 22nd 2018). (translated by the author).

of Urban Planning and Design at the University of Sarajevo Faculty of Architecture, who criticized the negative impact of the privatization and legalization processes on the city. Both presentations showed the DPA-created disparities in terms of legal responsibilities in urban planning. In the follow-up conversations, both the city and the cantonal governments showed interest in collaborating in the future steps of Reactivate Sarajevo. This decision would form the basis for institutional collaboration, aiming to translate the dissertation results into real-world urban policies.

The thematic panel 'Social and cultural infrastructure' included, among others, Justin McGuirk of the London Design Museum, Prof. Amir Pašić from the University of Sarajevo, Faculty of Architecture, and the Director of the Historical Museum of BiH, Elma Hašimbegović. The prominent Bosnian writer, Nenad Veličković, was also present and was one of the most critical voices of the post-conflict direction of urban development in Sarajevo. McGuirk's speech was based on his 2011 article 'Welcome to Sarajevo's designs for survival' in 'The Guardian' based on the permanent exhibition in the Historical Museum about survival strategies of Sarajevans, which he published during his engagement as a columnist for its design section.[540] He thematized the ingenious wartime resistance during the siege, based on the original artifacts, donated by citizens, which were permanently exhibited in the Museum. Hašimbegović explained the public participation in the work of the Museum where citizens and partners became active curators. Amir Pašić presented the potential of Sarajevo to become a truly smart city by using the human capital that can be derived from its historical multiculturalism. Nenad Veličković was the most critical voice, reading samples from his 'Sarajevo prćijo moja' article in which he sharply criticized the connection between politics and investor-driven urban development.[541]

[540] McGuirk, Justin. "Welcome to Sarajevo's designs for survival". In: The Guardian. March 2nd 2011.
Source: https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2011/mar/02/sarajevo-designs-survival-bosnian-war
(last accessed: September 17th 2017).

[541] Veličković became in 2017-18 the victim of an aggressive media campaign regarding the contested topic of the language, which is a powerful manipulation tool of the ruling ethnonationalist politics.
Source: Veličković, Nenad. Excerpts from the article "Sarajevo, prćijo moja!", originally published In: Deutsche Welle. Submitted material presented at the Reactivate Sarajevo Forum, May 28th 2015. Moderated by Haris Piplaš and Mejrema Zatrić.

The panel 'Green perspectives: Designing the sustainable city' was organized in collaboration with the Workshop 'Green Infrastructure potentials of mount Trebević' led by Sanela Klarić of the International Burch University of Sarajevo and Ellen Fetzer, Vice-President of ECLAS.[542] This panel also included an exhibition of the international student workshop results, thematizing the integration of inner-city Sarajevo with Trebević through green infrastructures, rethinking and updating the idea of green corridors by Juraj Neidhardt. The panel included Prof. Markus Schwai (Dean, Department of Urban Design and Planning, NTNU Trondheim) who shared his perspectives on sustainable development based on the required change in lifestyles. Tim Clancy (Via Dinarica) spoke about a network of trails across the Balkans, bringing also the dimension of the revitalization of neglected rural and peri-urban areas to the Forum.

The 'Creative economies for a knowledge-based society' cluster included the Dutch artist, photographer and social researcher Charlie Koolhaas who spoke about the importance of including ethnographic and anthropological aspects in urban research projects. The lecture was based on her project 'True Cities' where she photographed migrant communities in China, Africa and the Middle East. Charlie applied this approach for the production of photographs of Sarajevo, which found broad use in this dissertation and its accompanying formats. The panel was joined

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[542] This cooperation came through my previous years-long engagement in IFLA (International Federation of Landscape Architects) Europe as Chief Editor of the Journal, as well as with ECLAS (European Council of Landscape Architecture Schools) and LE:NOTRE network, pan-European professional bodies in the field of landscape architecture. The Workshop was a continuation of an international conference 'LE:NOTRE Landscape Forum' in 2014, which I initiated together with Prof. Richard Stiles, from the Chair of Architecture and Urban Design at the Technical University of Vienna and President of LE:NOTRE. The initiative was born during a lunch at Karlsplatz during my stay in Vienna where I attended the advisory board meeting of European Forum Alpbach's built environment section (I participated in this advisory board in three mandates from 2012 until 2017). The LE:NOTRE Landscape Forum, where I moderated a panel and delivered a keynote speech, and its focus on Trebević, was an idea based on my previous collaboration with the Canton of Sarajevo Ministry of Spatial management and Environment. I was selected as a representative on behalf of the City and Cantonal governments at the 'Joint meeting of the Mediterranean regional workshop for national biodiversity strategies and action plans, and of the Mediterranean cities and local authorities network for biodiversity' hosted by the city of Montpellier in January 2012 under the auspices of the UN CBD (Convention on Biological Diversity). This event led to the establishment of the Mediterranean network of cities for biodiversity ('Medivercities'), where I was selected to be part of the steering committee. The follow-up event of Medivercities took place in Hyderabad, India at the 11th meeting of the Conference of the Parties (COP 11). I used the trip to India to visit the most important project of Yugoslav NAM-urbanism, New Calcutta planned by Dobrivoje Tošković. At a side event, as a part of CBD's 'Cities' Biodiversity Summit' I succeeded to bring the first meeting of Medivercities to Sarajevo that strengthened my collaboration with the Cantonal authorities who took the lead in this initiative from the City Government. I managed to expand the event from a mere discussion on biodiversity conservation to a wholistic concept of management of ecosystems and urban planning, named: "From ecologic urban planning to environmental management in the Mediterraneans'. The event took place in Sarajevo in May 2013 where I gave a keynote speech and delivered the closing remarks. The event was connected with the Cantonal initiative to declare Trebević a protected area and establish a Cantonal enterprise to manage it. The case study of Trebević at the LE:NOTRE conference in 2014 was a logical succession in opening up the critical discussion on Sarajevo's war-damaged, landmined and symbolically contaminated hinterlands that were about to vanish from the collective memory of the city. An additional outcome of these activities was the formation of BiH's National Association of Landscape Architects, where I was chosen to serve as an acting Vice-President.
Sources:https://www.cbd.int/doc/nbsap/nbsaprw-clamed-01/FollowupMontpellier.pdf,
https://www.cbd.int/cop11/,http://vlada.ks.gov.ba/node/24586,https://www.landscape-portal.org/
(all last accessed: January 21st 2019).

by designer and artist Bojan Hadžihalilović, who was one of the main protagonists of the cultural resistance during the war.[543] The panel was complemented by the comedian, musician and actor, Zenit Đozić, who gave a multimedia presentation of urban signage and failures in public space, as a comical diagnosis of the post-war urbanism in Sarajevo. Povezi sa teorijom

The Forum opened ways for new collaborations and deepened the knowledge of Sarajevo's contexts in terms of stakeholders, urgent urban topics and overall societal challenges. It revealed that Sarajevo has small but vibrant cultural, educational, creative industry and architectural scenes; therefore, building coalitions of partners seemed an organic way to work in the future. The chosen thematic clusters covered most of the urgent topics and successfully initiated a critical debate concerning the urban transformation of Sarajevo. It gathered institutions and individuals that otherwise do not meet or collaborate inside the fragile and unstable environment of the post-war city.

Debates arose regarding the foundation for future activities in Sarajevo. It became clear that it should be based on the city's potential in culture, creativity and education in order to animate positive urban, cultural and socio-economic transformations. The Forum also opened the floor for discussions between local decision-makers and prominent international experts. The access to the Forum was free of charge and attracted more than 100 participants. It enabled a critical but vivid discussion on how to overcome institutional hurdles and generate more participation, innovation, transparency and public interest.

The Forum was crucial for the dissertation in terms of getting the perspective of multiple local actors. This contributed to the refinement of the research questions and clarification of future courses of action. The visibility in media such as news portals, state and regional TV-stations, and daily newspapers promoted the initiative to the wider public beyond Sarajevo.

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[543] He was part of the artists collective 'Trio' that created among other things, provocative posters of the war conditions in Sarajevo by using references and symbols from Western popular culture.

One day before the Forum in Dom Mladih, Reactivate Sarajevo was officially launched inside the Historical Museum of BiH, together with the local partner 'Dani Arhitekture' ('Architecture Days').[544] The launch included a series of discussions, screenings and tours through the Museum and the surrounding Marijin Dvor district, the exhibitions 'True Cities' by Charlie Koolhaas[545] and about the work of the ETH Zurich/UTT Chair. The events were co-curated by local architects and artists. The artists also visualized the cityscape of Sarajevo on oil canvases, imagining how the city might look like in 2035 as 'food for discussion' with visitors. In order to be able to host the intended workshops and screenings, the local Reactivate Sarajevo team, in collaboration with 'Lift-Spatial Initiatives' and the BiH Association of Landscape Architects, revitalized the Museum's courtyard and redesigned one deteriorated room (the former telephone call center), as small-scale, pilot physical interventions. (Fig. 105) The name of the project, 'Space Centrala 00' was a reminder of the history of the space, which was intended to function as the missing social community space for screenings, workshops and discussions.

The most visible intervention on the Museum during the opening was its activation through a façade show: a video mapping and sound installation, organized in conjunction with Dani Arhitekture and a local multimedia company 'Blow-Up'. This public art intervention was supposed to send a 'life signal' of the decaying Museum, making it literally and symbolically visible in the urban space and architectural discourse. This symbolic act of reanimation of an officially neglected cultural institution indicated the necessity for its revival and the introduction of public, cultural and social space in the city. (Fig. 106)

The results of the Forum were summarized in the format of a short film that was extensively shared in local, regional and international channels. The film collected

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[544] I was invited as a lecturer and panel discussion participant at the 'Dani Arhitekture' in 2014 that took place inside the inner courtyard of the Marienhof with the theme 'Akcije za zajednički prostor' ('Actions for the common space') in collaboration with the NGOs 'Lift-Prostorne Inicijative' ('Lift-Spatial Initiatives') and 'Crvena'. I presented the Urban Toolbox and the preliminary version of the dissertation. In 2015 I was invited to moderate a panel discussion where I invited Alfredo Brillembourg, Justin McGuirk and Charlie Koolhaas. The presentation and discussion provoked a heated debate that further revealed the interests and backgrounds of many local organizations. The biggest takeaway was the insufficient understanding of complex geopolitical influences in Sarajevo and how they impact the local space, which helped to understand the local discourse and refine the research questions. In 2018, Dani Arhitekture published a book '3650 days of Architecture in Sarajevo' celebrating its 10th anniversary. The book devoted four full pages to Reactivate Sarajevo offering the further expansion of visibility to the project in the local professional circles.
Source: Dani Arhitekture. 3650 days of contemporary architecture in Sarajevo (Sarajevo: Buybook). 2018.

[545] 'True Cities' was previously shown at AA London, Aedes Gallery Berlin, Guangzhou, and Dubai, among others.

more than 5000 views, only on social media. It contained footage from locations across Sarajevo, with the focus on Marijin Dvor, filming the spatial challenges but also their potentials.

The building of partnerships also continued in Zurich as Reactivate Sarajevo received attention from the BiH diaspora living in Switzerland, in particular, the organization Matica BiH.[546] Through several conversations with the steering board of Matica, the dissertation's goals and, in particular, its experiment, were perceived as valuable instruments to achieve social and spatial change in BiH.[547] Matica initiated a partner event with the ETH Zurich/UTT Chair in the ONA Focushalle named 'Reactivate Sarajevo: (Infra)cultural reprogrammation of the city' with the participation of the Historical Museum, the University of Sarajevo, Ars Aevi Museum and Zenit Đozić of 'Top Lista Nadrealista' in November 2015.[548] On this occasion, I presented my doctoral research and the initial activities of Reactivate Sarajevo. In the second part of the event, a panel discussion served to define the next steps of the collaboration and identify possible multidisciplinary urban solutions for the city. The event attracted the attention of Swiss audiences and sparked the interest of different organizations to join forces. The result was the decision to apply for a representation of my work at the upcoming Venice Biennale.

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[546] Please see more about the BiH diaspora in Switzerland:
Iseni, Bashkim; Ruedin, Didier; Bader, Dina and Efionayi-Mäder, Denise. The population of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Switzerland (Study by University of Neuchâtel, Swiss Forum for Migration and Population Studies). (Bern: Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation and the Federal Office for Migration). 2014.

[547] I presented my work in a series of events of the Bosnian diaspora such as the BiH Diaspora Forum (BHDiaFor) in 2014 in Sarajevo, the Matica BiH Mini Economic Forum in 2015 in Zurich but also at events of the global network of BiH diaspora SSD (Svjetski Savez Dijaspore-SSD BiH (BiH World Diaspora Organization) annual assemblies in Izmir in 2016, Linz in 2017 and Sarajevo in 2018.

[548] Nevertheless, this was not the first event in Zurich that I organized in order to promote the topic in Switzerland. The first event was 'Balkanness in transition: Clichées and varieties in transition' in April 2014 in collaboration with Damjan Kokalevski, Doctoral candidate at gTA, ETH Zurich in the ETH Zurich ONA Oerlikon Focushalle. Here we invited several speakers including Zenit Đozić and Jasmin Mujanović (Cultureshutdown initiative), among others. In addition, at the lecture and panel discussion with Srdjan Jovanovic Weiss in December 2014 'Architecture of Balkanization: New Yugoslav capitals' at ETH Zurich, arose a valuable level of attention for the dissertation. I was also invited to present my work at two Pecha Kucha talks: 'Ignite' in December 2016 in the 'Viadukt' and the SIA Pecha Kucha 'Warum?' ('Why?') in November 2017 in 'Exil', both in Zurich-West.

Global outreach through the reverse Balkan route

The participation at the Venice Biennale was instrumental to present preliminary research results and enhance the outreach to international media. Moreover, the international promotion and visibility were supposed to mobilize energy, contacts and new partnerships – and transfer them to Sarajevo. The Biennale themed 'Reporting from the Front' was curated by Alejandro Aravena and sought exhibitions that tackle societal problems and offer alternative solutions for environments in crisis. Naturally, my dissertation offered a topic that was highly compatible with this theme and the curatorial concept:

> **(…) the advancement of architecture is not a goal in itself but a way to improve people's quality of life. Given that life ranges from very basic physical needs to the most intangible dimensions of the human condition, consequently, improving the quality of the built environment is an endeavour that has to tackle many fronts (…) we would like to widen the range of issues to which architecture is expected to respond, adding explicitly to the cultural and artistic dimensions that already belong to our scope, those that are on the social, political, economical and environmental end of the spectrum. (…) REPORTING FROM THE FRONT will be about sharing with a broader audience, the work of people who are scrutinizing the horizon looking for new fields of action, facing issues like segregation, inequalities, peripheries, access to sanitation, natural disasters, housing shortage, migration, informality, crime, waste, pollution, and the participation of communities. (…) These are the frontlines from which we would like different practitioners to report, sharing success stories and exemplary cases where architecture did, is and will make a difference.[549]**

After intensive communication with the BiH national authorities testing the chances for applying a BiH national pavilion, it was clear that there was no political will, largely based on the deficiencies of the DPA.[550] As an alternative, Matica BiH proposed to serve as the commissioning agency for the exhibition in the 'collateral event' section, as part of the official program of the Biennale. The pavilion was located in the Arsenale Nord's 'Tesa 99', a large mono-voluminous space of almost 700m² that is located outside the rest of Arsenale but open to the

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[549] Aravena, Alejandro. Curatorial statement. Biennale Architettura 2016: 15th International Architecture Exhibition. Source: https://www.labiennale.org/en/architecture/2016/biennale-architettura-2016-reporting-front
(last accessed: November 12th 2018).

[550] After the dissolution of the SFRJ, Serbia inherited the pavilion in the Giardini. BiH has never been represented in the form of a national contribution at the Biennale of Architecture in Venice.

public after the official closing hours of the Biennale.[551] The successful application paved the way for our exhibition called 'Sarajevo Now: People's Museum'.[552] I was selected as the curator of the exhibition and utilized the work-in-progress from the doctoral work as the basis for the content and the pavilion's curatorial statement. The contribution was embedded in the 'Si/No' exhibition',[553] that contained the Urban Toolbox of ETHZurich/UTT Chair. The Si/No exhibition also included large banners that posed critical questions concerning the role of the architect in society: "How can architects respond to crisis?", "Are there limits to architecture in the face of politics?", "What is the role of the architect in the 21st century?", "Is a participatory design process possible?", "Can theory influence practice and practice influence theory?", "Can architects design better cities for all?", among others. (Fig. 107) These statements were a medium through which to critically contextualize the dissertation and its experiment in the international discourse, and the theme of the Biennale. (Fig. 108)

We made a 1x1m model of the section of Marijin Dvor, which included the museum district, the frontline and sniper alley, illustrating the context of the site.[554] Moreover, it included artifacts from the museum itself, part of the 'Sarajevo under siege' permanent exhibition, as well as photographs of Jim Marshall showing the urban transformation of New Sarajevo, and in particular, comparing the year 1996 to 2012. This documented evidence of urbicide and the post-war reconstruction was complemented by Charlie Koolhaas' series of photographs, 'Everyday Sarajevo', taken during the trip to the Reactivate Sarajevo Forum the previous year. The provocative discussion on urbanism in crisis was illustrated by a collage of sketches

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[551] Ars Aevi also exhibited at the Art Biennale in 2013, located also in Arsenale Nord. The locality of our pavilion, 'Tesa 99', was divided by the rest of the Biennale by a water basin and we hired boats to transfer the visitors. This made possible opening hours after 18:00 after the Biennale facilities close, which brought larger visitor crowds to the pavilion.

[552] The working title was: 'People's Museum for the 21st century: A Manifesto for Sarajevo'.

[553] Excerpt from the exhibition text of Si/No:
"UTT's first retrospective exhibition aims to provoke questions about how design can create better cities. The exhibition is comprised of a modular, off-the-shelf, pipe structure, layered fabric panels, videos, and models. It shows an overview of UTT's research methods, proposals, and built projects from the past two decades. The presented work is premised on an urgent curiosity. Faced with crises of inequality, resource scarcity, and ecological volatility, UTT argues that designers cannot remain passive. They must ask difficult questions. They must ask themselves and the world at large whether their work can make a meaningful difference. Yes or no?"
Source: http://u-tt.com/exhibition/sino-the-architecture-of-urban-think-tank/ (last accessed: October 17th 2018).
Note: This exhibition was curated by Andres Lepik of the Architecture Museum of the TU Munich and was previously shown in the main building of ETH Zurich and the 'Pinakothek der Moderne' in Munich.

[554] This model was built in collaboration with the University of Sarajevo Faculty of Architecture by a team of local students led by the lecturer Senka Ibrišimbegović.

of the 'Top Lista Nadrealista', filmed in late socialist and wartime Sarajevo, as part of the cultural resistance.[555] The film material contained authentic wartime footage from the crossroads in Marijin Dvor. The sketch from 1993 of the 'New Olympic sport in Sarajevo: Running over wartime crossroads' played on the Olympic heritage of the city and the transformation of its public spaces into lethal areas. The sketch from 1991 'The last Yugoslav' showed an 'average Yugoslav', as the last survivor of the wars, brought to Brussels where the Western allies start a conflict among themselves. Bizarrely, on the day of the Brexit vote, June 22nd, 2016, the film caught the highest interest of the pavilion visitors, as a predicament of the 'Balkanization' of Europe. The last sketch that dated from 1989, showed the imaginary 'Sarajevo Wall', which according to its authors, was a prediction that would almost become reality in 1992: "we assumed after seeing the Berlin Wall coming down that Sarajevo will be the place where the next wall will be erected".[556]

Together with the ETH Zurich Chair/UTT team, I recorded another movie that focused on the recent urban history of Marijin Dvor, the wartime frontline but also the new border between RS and the FBiH in New Sarajevo. The movie included interviews with the Museum staff and local students and architects, who talked about the wartime destruction but also the contemporary political frontline: the struggle to keep the management operations of the institution. Finally, I also included the film of Anri Sala '1395 Days without Red' that thematized:

> **(…) a journey to the past from the perspective of the present, through a series of daily routes in today's Sarajevo, which recreates what was once known as 'Sniper Alley'. A temporal journey referring to the universality of emotions beyond their geographical location and through a city's collective memory".[557]**

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[555] 'Top Lista Nadrealista ' ('Hitlist of the Surrealists') was a Television show by the subcultural movement in Sarajevo in the 1980s 'Novi primitivizam' ('New Primitivism') that also included musical formats through the band 'Zabranjeno Pušenje' ('No-smoking Orchestra'). By bringing to the surface the the ignored aspects of everyday local and cultural life in Sarajevo, they became the most prominent protagonists of Sarajevo's popular culture. The critique towards the growing primitivism in media, nationalism and chauvinism, but also the work of the SKJ, often put the group under the spotlight of the authorities that resulted in temporal censorship of their work. Part of the group remained in Sarajevo during the war in the 1990s continuing the comedy show to ridicule the everyday life during the war, making it an important part of the cultural resistance movement.
More information:
Levi, Pavle. Disintegration in Frames: Aesthetics and Ideology in the Yugoslav and Post-Yugoslav Cinema. (Stanford University Press). 2007.

[556] Interviews (multiple) with Zenit Đozić, co-founder of the 'Nadrealisti'. Sarajevo, Venice and Zurich. 2015-2018.

[557] Sala, Anri with Kamerić, Šejla and Meyers, Ari Benjamin. 1395 days without red. Exhibition in the Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona (MACBA).
Source: https://www.e-flux.com/announcements/34990/1395-days-without-red/
(last accessed: January 10th 2019).

This movie contributed to the understanding of the movement and behaviors of people in the streets and public spaces of wartime Sarajevo. The exhibition also contained the design proposition for the reactivation of the museum district in Sarajevo by reprogramming the derelict green areas and regenerating the decaying building structures. The design envisaged the integration of the currently fragmented district of Marijin Dvor, keeping in mind the status of the site as a former no man's land between frontlines. The design was shown in the format of drawings and a 1.5x1.5m model and was constructed by ETH Zurich/UTT Chair in collaboration with 'Baier Bischfoberger Architekten'. The proposal consisted of a series of architectural interventions. Firstly, the sealing of the Museum's structure with a transparent vinyl skin that leaves the patina of the original building intact, but temporarily and cost-effectively preserves and stabilizes the modernist building, until permanent management and funding solutions could be found. Secondly, the proposal aimed to create smallscale public space underneath the temporary light skeleton structure, suspended on scaffoldings, by inputting additional walkways and platforms, access points and openings. Thirdly, the indoor spaces of the Museum would be amplified in bottom-up civic action, transforming it into a catalytic urban cultural hub. Through the activation of existing local socio-cultural and ecological systems, the concept would add programs, such as meeting places of exchange, education and recreation, sports facilities, urban gardening, playgrounds, and event spaces. The proposal was imagined as an antidote to the current generic, fragmented, commercial and non-participatory urban processes of Marijin Dvor and New Sarajevo, aiming to catalyze the engagement and interaction and thus, creating the nucleus of the future creative district as an inclusive and integral part of the city. The (re)activation of the contested site was a symbol of bringing back the public functions to the forefront of Sarajevo's urbanism as the 'People's Museum' should belong to everyone.

The Biennale allowed me to discuss my work with leading professionals, such as: Rem Koolhaas, Luigi Snozzi, Rahul Mehrotra, Diane Davis, Andres Lepik, among others, but also universities, foundations, professionals and students. Most importantly, the dissertation got exposed to the international press and the project was covered by several articles in 'Archinect', 'Wallpaper', 'Archdaily', 'Designboom',

and others. 'Stylepark' branded the project as an "Alliance of Enthusiasts", referring to the large network of partners, supporters and volunteers in Sarajevo. The 'Bauhaus 100' magazine listed the exhibition as one of the 'Top 10' of the Biennale, under the overarching title "Volksbedarf statt Luxusbedarf" ("The needs of the people instead of the needs for luxury") referring to Hannes Meyer's legendary statement during his 1928-30 mandate as the director of the Bauhaus. The exhibition achieved high visibility in both professional and public media, in BiH and across ex-Yugoslavia.

The exhibition was brought to the Historical Museum in September 2016. The knowledge and feedback generated within the dissertation, including the experiment, intensified the discourse on Sarajevo and knowledge transfer to the local audience. The excerpts from the Urban Toolbox were glued to the façade of the Museum as a 'people's exhibition' exposing the research to citizens. Both exhibitions provoked many reactions that ended in fruitful conversations. These insights were later integrated into the dissertation.

Later in October 2017, the exhibition was invited to the Haus der Architektur (HDA) in Graz as part of the 50th anniversary of the 'Trigon 67' Festival 'Ambiente/Environment'. (Fig. 109) Trigon was a format to exchange knowledge between Austria, Italy and Yugoslavia. Representing ex-Yugoslavia, the project was chosen as an innovative approach that attempts to position architecture as an instrument to enhance the connection between people and their environment:

> **Fifty years ago, entitled "ambiente / environment", the three-nation trigon biennial set out to examine the question of the perception of space, adding the factor of architecture to the established relationship between object and environment. To mark the anniversary year, the House of Architecture picks up this thread and investigates the role of architecture as a catalyst in the relationship of the human being and the environment. The exhibition "we are here! 3 experiments" presents three collectives, each projecting different models of this relationship.[558]**

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[558] The exhibition was called: We Are Here! 3 experiments.
Source: https://hda-graz.at/programm/we-are-here/we-are-here-english (last accessed: July 7th 2018).
Note: The exhibition was part of the cultural festival 'Steirischer Herbst', which was initiated after 'Trigon 67'. The exhibition was curated by the director of the HDA, Markus Bogensberger, and Claudia Gerhäusser (Technical University of Graz). The panel discussion at the opening included, besides myself and Prof. Hubert Klumpner, Ekaterina Degot (Director of Steirischer Herbst in 2018), Barbara Steiner (Director of Kunsthaus Graz). The panel was mostly focusing on the possibilities of the innovative interchanges between architecture, art and culture with the public.

Moreover, the dimension of political geography was incorporated in the curatorial concept as well. Political populism and closure of borders were on the rise. Celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of 'Trigon 67',[559] the 2017 edition also called for a more experimental approach and international knowledge exchange in the design of human environments:

> **[In] 'Trigon 67,' the changing political geography of the trigon region is taken into consideration. Even though language barriers continue to be broken, and digital communication has improved artistic dialogues, recent developments, such as the reactivation of stationary border controls, are hindering cooperation. The political region that trigon once served has again been transformed.[560]**

The exhibition was also shown in the Maag Halle in Zürich at the Arc-Award event in 2016. In general, the wide outreach the exhibition received through local, regional and international visibility, contributed to the dissemination and tested the dissertation's preliminary results. Sarajevo started moving away from the periphery of knowledge production.

Go regional: Upscaling the dialogue through domain change, adaptation and export

Influenced by theories of the design methodology scholar Ken Friedman, I searched for ways to export the lessons from Sarajevo and adopt them to other urban contexts. Friedman attempted to utilize the scale of application to depict the comparability of research and practice by using the macro (international), mezzo (regional), and micro (local) scales of its implication. According to him, basic research, by definition, seeks to define general principles, which are then "abstracted and generalized to cover a variety of situations and cases".[561] In this

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[559] The symbol of 'Trigon 67' was the spiral-shaped dome of transparent plastic by Günther Domenig and Eilfried Huth. It took place simultaneously to the 'Expo 67' in Montreal, which was of importance for the architectural discourse for the emblematic designs. such as Richard Buckminster Fuller's 'Geodesic Dome' and the 'Habitat 67' housing project by Moshe Safdie.

[560] "Trigon 67/17: ambiente nuovo / post environment". Source: https://www.km-k.at/en/exhibition/trigon-6717/text/ (last accessed: July 11th 2018).

[561] Friedman, Ken. "Theory construction in Design research: Criteria, approaches and methods". In: Design Studies. Vol. 24. No. 6. November 2003. p. 510.

sense, how can the results derived from Sarajevo become relevant for cities in the Balkans region and beyond?[562]

Nevertheless, the situation in-situ was not inviting. The destruction of archives in the National Library or the Oriental Institute, as well as the library and the archive of the Architecture Faculty of the University of Sarajevo, made knowledge production almost impossible. Moreover, many professionals were killed during the war or left the country in a dramatic two-decade-long wave of brain drain. After the dissolution of Yugoslavia, the networks of collaboration halted and were often irreversibly damaged. The connections to the rest of the CEE-Region were scarce as well. My engagement to re-establish regional connections dates back to 2007 and the ECLAS Conference 'Landscape Assessment: From Theory to Practice – Applications in Planning and Design' hosted by the University of Belgrade. I stayed active in the region during my master studies at the TU Berlin, as well. I took two semester-long design studios in 2009 and 2010: 'Reading the City. Urban Space and Memory' in Skopje'[563] and 'Urbanity: Twenty years later'.[564] Moreover, the networks of the European Forum Alpbach, DAAD[565] and many other regional activities (such as co-authoring papers and competitions), related to the CEE-Region, provided me with basic knowledge and a network of contacts to start operating in the Balkans.

After joining the ETH Zurich, my first activity in the Balkans took place in Skopje, where I was invited to deliver a keynote lecture at the Skopje Architecture Week 'Supercity 2.0' in October 2012, alongside Kengo Kuma and several architects from the Balkans. The discussions proved to be very fruitful and revealed a common

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[562] In this section, I will not list and discuss the international workshops, conferences, juries and other activities, but focus on the executed activities in the CEE-Region.

[563] I encountered a very heated situation in Skopje due to the initiation of the construction of 'Skopje 2014', a large-scale urban renewal project highly criticized for its corruption scandals and a kitschy neo-classical style. Initiated by the VMRNO-DPMNE nationalist party, this 'identity construction' was supposed to replace the modernist paradigm based on the designs and plans of Kenzo Tange and other international experts for post-1963 earthquake Skopje executed in the 1960s and 1970s. One of the most active protesters against this paradigm were students of architecture activists around the 'First Archi-Brigade' with whom I became friends already during my TU Berlin Studio.

[564] In collaboration with the 'Center of Central European Architecture' in Prague and Universities in Warsaw, Prague and Vienna. My work focused on Berlin's Alexander Platz area and the transformation of the 'Haus der Statistik' (former archive of the East German secret police 'Stasi').

[565] I was a scholarship holder of the 'Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst-DAAD' (German Academic Exchange Service) during my master studies in Berlin.

ground in terms of the role of the architects in the public debate and in societal development. The message was clear: we must do more.

The intensification of regional collaboration reached another level after starting the cooperation with 'Scapes LAB' run by a team around Marko Macura who was heading the 'Center of Architecture' in Novi Sad. Scapes LAB started as a student initiative which criticized outdated curricula, unadapted to current societal challenges – the same notion I had been carrying with me since my diploma studies in Sarajevo. Scapes LAB gathered architecture students from different schools in the Balkans as an attempt to enhance the poor quality of education through study trips, lectures, discussions and design workshops. Additionally, they aimed to increase networking and team-building across post-conflict ex-Yugoslavia. Scapes LAB approached me regarding the interest of adding ETHZ Zurich UTT Chair to their European study tour, being aware of my initial works on Sarajevo and the Balkans. As a result, we co-organized the event "DIY-Education in Architecture" in the ONA Focushalle in July 2013, discussing new formats of education as an alternative to the currently outdated, commercially-driven and societally-irrelevant architecture study programs in the Balkans. I joined the team for the rest of their study trip and delivered a lecture on the Urban Toolbox and the dissertation in their Paris event the 'Pavillon de l'Arsenal' in collaboration with French architects.

I continued my close collaboration with Scapes LAB during three workshops where I tested my theoretical findings and methods of translating them into practice. The first, themed 'On Urban Relevance', was in November 2013 as part of the 'Skopje Architecture Week 'Terra Firma' organized on the 50th anniversary of the devastating earthquake which destroyed much of the city. The workshop attempted to reinvent interactive urban mapping to communicate the spatial potentials of Skopje to the general public. Mapping methods, which I tested in Skopje, I later used them to form a database to demystify city development and decode its mechanisms, actors and processes in New Sarajevo.

The following two Scapes LAB workshops in April 2014 and 2015 investigated Kaluđerica in suburban Belgrade, the largest 'wild settlement' in the Balkans with

the participation of students and tutors from across ex-Yugoslavia. The workshops 'Neglected Bigness' and 'Urban Tools for Reactivating Belgrade' researched the heterogeneous urban identities comprised by the origins of most settlers: war refugees or rural migrants. The students conducted spatial research in order to create a wholistic understanding of urban processes and translate the insights into inclusive strategies for the reactivation of Kaluđerica.

I returned to Skopje as an invited lecturer and workshop tutor at the 'Skopje Creative Hub-SCH' in 2014.[566] SCH was a 10 days-long creative festival that focused on developing micro-interventions that promote alternative uses of public space. SCH paired international thinkers, activists and theorists with local young creative professionals and students. In the workshop, 'Rethinking Skopje: Identifying Urban Tools', I proposed a comprehensive analysis of the urban challenges and potentials of Skopje, based on knowledge from Sarajevo and earlier encounters with Macedonia. This helped to create a digital knowledge database in the form of an interactive web-platform. The potentials were identified by combining qualitative and quantitative spatial research methods, which formed a basis for strategic tools and scenario-based proposals for spaces of inclusion, coexistence and interaction – as a critical alternative to the 'Skopje 2014' project.

In 2014, I was also invited to deliver a keynote at the 'Prishtina Architecture Week' organized by Bekim Ramku from the 'Kosovo Architecture Foundation' alongside Peter Cook and several other international speakers. In addition to the workshop, I taught a student workshop 'Prishtina Informal Toolbox' in which several different groups of students analyzed zones of the city exposed to issues of suburban sprawl, gentrification, gated communities and informal developments.

These exchanges with the regional scene created a momentum in the Balkans and CEE that served as a basis for a more solid future collaboration.[567] Following that, from 2015 on, the dissertation was embedded in the SNSF-funded Joint Research

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[566] Skopje Creative Hub was organized by Milan Dinevski and Damjan Kokalevski (Doctoral candidate at gTA, ETH Zurich) from the 'Creative City Network-CCN' NGO.

[567] In 2014 I visited the Czech Republic and Latvia to teach student workshops, and give lectures at the Technical University in Prague and the Department of Landscape Architecture and the University of Agriculture in Riga. These activities were valuable in terms of expanding the discourse of post-socialist cities beyond ex-Yugoslavia.

project 'Smart and Creative Cities for knowledge-based societies in Central-Eastern Europe', where I was engaged as the scientific coordinator.[568] This position enabled a broader overview of the discourse on post-socialist cities including the theoretical, policy-related and practical aspects. Moreover, it positioned the New Sarajevo case study as an example of multifarious urban challenges that are relevant and exemplary for the entire CEE-Region. The comparative aspect was ensured through the analysis of the examples in three other post-socialist cities: Bratislava, Tartu and Belgrade and their respective case study districts of Petržalka, Annelinn and New Belgrade. The research project followed four work packages: 'Inventarisation of Knowledge on Urban Development in Post-Socialist CEE-Cities', 'Analytical Research-Creating New Knowledge', 'Development of Urban Scenarios and Strategies' and 'Definition of Policy Recommendations'. New Belgrade was the most effective comparison to Sarajevo. This collaboration with the University of Belgrade turned out to be the most intensive and resulted in two workshops: 'Belgrade as a Smart and Creative City for Knowledge-based Society' in November 2015 and 'Designing Housing and City Transformations – Novi Beograd' in June 2017. The first workshop analyzed and tested potentials for an integrated urban development, including soft and hard infrastructures in order to develop flexible urban scenarios for Belgrade. The second workshop zoomed into New Belgrade and emphasized opportunities for its activation and re-adaptation – in particular the socialist-era modernist housing and open spaces with respect for the existing economic, environmental and social networks. (Fig. 110)

In order to foster a regional discussion, I invited the research partners and other local, regional and international experts to the 'Reactivate Sarajevo Symposium' in the Sarajevo City Hall in September 2016, under the auspices of the city government. By hosting it in the City Hall, the idea was to activate another emblematic location of Sarajevo. We showed the ETH Zurich/UTT Chair Urban Toolbox in the main aula – in the very place where Vedran Smajlović, the Cellist of Sarajevo performed during the war as an act of resistance. The Symposium was opened by myself in the counciellers' hall, together with Prof. Klumpner and Prof.

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[568] The project was launched on January 1st 2015 in collaboration with Slovak Technical University of Technology, Universities of Belgrade and Tartu with the involvement of the Chief City Architects in all three cities. It was financed through the SNSF's (Swiss National Science Foundation) SCOPES (Scientific cooperation between Eastern Europe and Switzerland) program.

Adnan Pašić of the University of Sarajevo.[569] The Symposium also brought together local community leaders, government representatives, and participants from the non-profit sector, with the intention to link the existing but fragmented initiatives.[570] During the Symposium, I presented my dissertation and received valuable feedback. It was also an excellent opportunity to establish new as well as solidify existing regional networks of stakeholders, with the perspective that the findings of the dissertation could be also applied in other ex-Yugoslav and CEE-cities.

The Symposium attracted speakers and panelists from academia, practice and policy across the CEE-region. The Albanian State Ministry of Urban Development presented the results of the 'The Metabolism of Albania: Activating the Potential of the Albanian Territory'[571] project that summarized the reform of spatial planning policies.[572] The Montenegrin commissioner of the Architecture Biennale Pavilion in Venice in 2016, Dijana Vučinić of the Ministry of Environment and Tourism, joined and presented the project for the conversion of the salt processing plant 'Solana Ulcinj'.[573] This revealed a similar complexity of stakeholder interests and decision-making processes to Sarajevo. I was invited earlier, in July 2016, to Kotor by Vučinić to present the research-in-progress of the dissertation and the experiment at the 'Re-Use' conference. Another speaker was Matevž Čelik, Director of the Museum of Architecture and Design in Ljubljana and coordinator of the EU-funded 'Future Architecture Platform' that gathers organizations from all parts of Europe.[574]

My activities in Sarajevo, Balkans and CEE received positive resonance and led to multiple engagements for consultancies, lectures and juries. I was invited as a nominator for the 'Aga Khan Architecture Award' Prize cycles of 2014-16 and 2017-19. I gave the keynote lecture at the 2014 edition of the 'Arhitektonski

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[569] This collaboration led later to the partnership and signed MoU between ETH Zurich D-ARCH and the University of Sarajevo.

[570] As an example, one of the speakers was Aida Kalender of the NGO 'Akcija' who led the project 'Ja sam Muzej' ('I am the Museum'), where I also participated. Kalender demonstrated the effectiveness of civic action that led to the re-opening of the National Museum in 2015.

[571] Brugmans, George; Francke, Marieke and Persyn, Freek (Eds.). The Metabolism of Albania: Activating the Potential of the Albanian Territory. (Rotterdam: IABR/UP). 2015.

[572] The initial discussion with the Ministry happened in June 2016 during the visit of the state Minister for Urban Development of Albania, Eglantina Gjermeni, to the ETHZ/UTT.

[573] 'Solana Ulcinj' is one of the largest desalination plants in Europe and a contested space with an unclear future use: continuation of the industrial function, development of luxury real estate or preserving the ecology and designing a landscape park.

[574] Reactivate Sarajevo was invited to join the platform as an associate member, as nor Switzerland or BiH are legally eligible for full membership.

Studentski Kongres-ASK' ('Architecture Students Congress'), a Balkan-wide architecture students association. These activities gave me an additional valuable perspective on contemporary architecture education and practice in the Balkans. (Fig. 111)

In June 2018 I received the invitation by the 'Laboratoire des Arts pour les Sciences-LAPIS' ('Arts of Sciences Laboratory') at the EPF Lausanne to deliver a lecture about my thesis and join a panel with the Macedonian National Minister of Culture Robert Alagjozovski, discussing urban strategies for the post-2014 Skopje. My presence in Macedonia was continued through the invitation to participate with the dissertation at the '99FILES: Brutalism Landscapes in Progress' exhibition in Skopje in July 2018 that initiated a Balkan-wide discussion on the critical re-interpretation of the modernist heritage in the mission to alleviate its degradation.

I was invited in the advisory board of the School for Urban Studies of CANactions in Kiev in 2014, after delivering several guest lectures and sitting in the design competition jury for the social transformation of the Maidan square. The collaboration solidified as I was invited as the curatorial adviser for the 2018 CANactions festival to deliver a keynote next to Jan Gehl, but also to figure as the curatorial adviser for the festival. I proposed a summit of all CEE initiatives from the wider field of architecture in order to look for solutions for the post-socialist city:

> **Ukrainian cities, analogous to the entire Central-Eastern European region, have repeatedly undergone re-structuration of economies, identities and political systems. The inherited patterns of how cities should be designed and managed are mostly outdated - and new visions not yet sufficiently defined. Following its mission for more than a decade, this year's CANactions Festival returns to its core founding mission: to develop new paradigms in order to revitalize communities and physical structures through innovative formats, international collaboration and multi-disciplinarity.[575]**

I reached out to the international policy institutions by presenting early preparatory versions or work-in-progress of the dissertation at the conferences: 'Metropolis Non:Formal', 'No-Cost Housing' and 'Shareland' in 2011, 2016 and 2019 (in

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[575] Piplas, Haris. "Curatorial statement: Connections". CANactions 2018 Architecture Festival. Source: http://festival.canactions.com/en/2018 (last accessed: February 22nd 2019).

collaboration with UN-Habitat), and in the headquarters of the World Bank for Europe and at the 2016 Urban Development Roundtable. I contributed to the UN ECE (Economic Commission for Europe) study 'Housing for Migrants: Challenges and Practices in the ECE Region'.[576] 'Reactivate Sarajevo' helped to create a holistic knowledge database, foster networks in the region and the establishment of stable constellations of partnerships with local and regional academia, industry and policy partners. The knowledge transfer processes revealed common denominators for potential collaboration aiming to implement the final outcomes of the dissertation beyond Sarajevo.[577] I included the feedback, questions, inputs and insights as lessons-learned into the dissertation, simultaneously positioning it in the broader local, regional and international discourse.

The chosen decision to both foster local efficacy and global visibility included a hands-on and in-situ approach promoting Sarajevo as an important urban laboratory in the Balkans and CEE-Region. The activities formed the basis to extrapolate the findings into international knowledge transfer streams. The discussion with the most prominent experts from the international scene received immense attention from the professional and general media. This proved the high relevance of the dissertation topic to the actual architectural discourse in looking for more inclusive and integrated solutions.

Creating a new realm: Networks of collaboration

Based on the critical assessment of the latent problems investigated through this dissertation and tested through the experiment, it became evident that the existing frameworks, which led to an urban fragmentation, would not lead to positive social and urban transformations. The challenge arose on how to transform a growing informal partner network into formal collaborative platforms within which new urban

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[576]Source:https://www.unece.org/fileadmin/DAM/hlm/sessions/docs2017/Information_doc_02_Housing_Migrants_Study.pdf (last accessed: October 12th 2018).

[577] Note: More on the SNSF (Swiss National Science Foundation) SCOPES project in: Brillembourg Alfredo; Klumpner, Hubert and Piplas, Haris. City Action Lab: Integrated Toolbox for Central-Eastern European Cities. ETH Zürich D-ARCH unpublished work. 2018.

strategies and prototypes could be proposed. However, how to facilitate an alternative urban transition model that is democratic, resilient and socially responsible, bearing in mind Sarajevo's fragile institutions and lack of procedural clarity and transparency?

Following the ETH Zurich/UTT Chair notions of poly-disciplinary and multiple-stakeholder approach, the relevance of participation, communication and empowerment was key in establishing stable relations:

> **Social diversity and equal distribution of infrastructure and power back to the people will be the future of the 21st century. This will only be achieved as university research, corporations, local communities and politicians continue to work together to formulate integrated think tank groups, who will be developing policy and working together to implement real applied solutions.[578]**

But how can one harvest civic engagement and amplify the physical and programmatic transformative potentials of New Sarajevo's spaces with it? How to initiate multi-stakeholder arrangements that not only build upon but go beyond official institutional academic, policy and professional frameworks? How to enhance the bridge-building between Switzerland and BiH in terms of mutual knowledge exchange? How can institutions achieve innovation and transformation and become 'learning systems', as theorized by Donald Schön:

> **The loss of the stable state means that our society and all of its institutions are in continuous processes of transformation. We cannot expect new stable states that will endure even for our own lifetimes. We must learn to understand, guide, influence, and manage these transformations. We must make the capacity for undertaking them integral to ourselves and to our institutions. We must, in other words, become adept at learning. We must become able not only to transform our institutions, in response to change situations and requirements; we must invent and develop institutions which are "learning systems", that is to say, systems capable of bringing about their own continuing transformation.[579]**

We decided to approach those dilemmas by creating official partnerships in order to strengthen and extend the exchange between Reactivate Sarajevo, Matica BiH

[578] Kloppenburg, Joanna. "Expanding Architecture". Interview with Alfredo Brillembourg. In: Architizer Journal. February 2nd 2016.
Source: https://architizer.com/blog/inspiration/stories/alfredo-brillembourg-expanding-architecture.
(last accessed: May 28th 2017).

[579] Schön, Donald. Educating the reflective practitioner (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass). 1987. p. 3.

and the city governments of Sarajevo and Zurich. (Fig. 112) Matica BiH hosted the 2017 edition of its 'Mini Economic Forum' with the consultancy and professional support of the ETH Zurich/UTT Chair, themed 'Urban Development as a Catalyst for Economic, Social and Environmental Transformations'. I presented the work-in-progress of my dissertation there, following the lecture of the two city governments on their current urban challenges. The result was the 'Zurich Declaration' signed by ETH Zurich, the two city governments and Matica BiH. In addition, the Mayor of the City of Sarajevo Abdulah Skaka[580] paid a visit to the Mayor of the city of Zurich, Corine Mauch, and the office of ETH Zurich Global.

Further discussions among the various partners suggested the necessity to further formalize a partnership through a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the cities of Sarajevo and Zurich, Reactivate Sarajevo and Matica BiH. The MoU was signed and unanimously accepted by the City of Sarajevo Council and officially published in the 'Canton of Sarajevo Government Gazette' Nr. 40/17 on October 12th, 2017. The Memorandum provided a fundamental institutional framework that would allow for the continuous support of these organizations to the project. The MoU that was signed in an official ceremony in Zurich raising significant media attention by local portals and newspapers. Moreover, this MoU opened the doors for future project relationships with the University of Sarajevo and the Canton Sarajevo Institute for Development Planning, which were signed in 2018. These networks are not a deus ex machina but an important part of solution-finding on new modi operandi in the unstable context of Sarajevo.

Critical mapping and testing inclusive digital participatory planning

The idea for critical mapping started with the aim to have a tool to synthesize and digitize the dissertation's field research preliminary results. During different

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[580] After the patronage of the City Government for both the Forum and Symposium of Reactivate Sarajevo, the ETHZ/UTT and Matica BiH organized official visits to both organizations of Mr. Skaka (in his position as deputy Mayor) to Zurich in October 2016. This visit solidified the relationship between the organizations.

activities, but mainly during the main 'Reactivate Sarajevo Urban Development' workshop in October 2017, we decided to test out the idea for a City Action Lab, inspired by the successful implementation of the ETH Zurich/UTT Chair Reactivate Athens project. I launched a workshop with students and young professionals from BiH and the Balkans in the Ars Aevi Museum in the Skenderija center.[581] By building upon the creative energy of the Ars Aevi project, the workshop anticipated to extend the energy and discuss the regeneration potentials of Sarajevo. In addition, following the concept of the City Action Lab, the workshop objectives were to interactively test the work-in-progress by inviting experts and citizens and collecting inputs that can be injected into the activation and re-adaptation processes of Sarajevo's existing urbanism.

Under my tutorship, the workshop participants utilized the theoretical insights from the dissertation that included materials such as historic photographs and plans, articles, essays, diagrams and mappings. The participants conducted field research in the defined zone of Marijin Dvor and produced a detailed 3D model that included building types and heights, functions and programs of open spaces, mobility (including bike routes, pedestrian paths) and environmental factors. They communicated the spatial research in a series of analogue and digital maps, axonometric visuals, plans and schemes. (Fig. 113)

The user of the Digital Tool can additionally simulate and visualize the impact of different urbanistic scenarios (e.g. the addition or renovation of public spaces, the development of new shared infrastructure.), forming a basis for integration strategies respecting economic, environmental, cultural and social aspects of urbanism. The test was conducted using the 'Open Street Maps' platform, making the results publicly accessible through an open source-based website.

The goal of this exercise was to utilize results of the research for this dissertation and translate them into an interactive platform for decision-makers to better understand the community preferences – in order to prevent the currently hostile

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[581] The Workshop was executed in collaboration with ETH Zurich's ISTP (Institute of Science Technology and Policy). I worked myself from 2014 until 2016 on the establishment of ISTP and its URI (Urbanization Research Incubator). The collaboration was mostly through Doctoral candidate Michael Walczak who works under the tutorship of Prof. Reza Abhari.

and conflictual interactions of the stakeholders. The workshop was tested as a public participation and civic engagement platform that allows the public to understand and react to specific intervention ideas on different scales, both citizen-generated, and proposed by experts and policymakers. The future expansion of this platform would enable the evaluation of public space qualities, calculate pedestrian circulation patterns, optimal distribution of public services, built density and other parameters.

VIII CONCLUSIONS AND OUTLOOK: THE FUTURE OF THE NON-ALIGNED CITY

Conclusions: Exportable lessons-learned inside the 'Non-aligned City' laboratory

The main title of the dissertation, 'Non-Aligned City', refers to the city's contested geopolitical landscape. The cyclical temporalities of conflict and prosperity became a permanent modus operandi. Sarajevo's intense volatility in terms of alternating periods of societal progress and intense destruction became an evident trajectory in explaining its discontinuous development. The variety of value systems, together with their visions, modes and concepts influenced the city, which absorbed elements from each era and synthesized them into a melting pot of conflicting and contradictory architectural styles, programs, building techniques and urbanistic paradigms. Sarajevo can, therefore, serve as a litmus paper for understanding the local spatial implications of geopolitical shifts. The particular local spatial evidence, as a result of the described drivers, mechanisms, phenomena and forces, makes Sarajevo a laboratory from which it is possible to derive, extract and explain fundamental societal and, therefore, urban transformation processes.

The socialist, post-colonial context after World War II, the concept of self-management and Brotherhood and Unity introduced solidarity, peaceful coexistence and equality. It was an export product through the postulates of the NAM: independence, sovereignty, and cooperative partnerships. A new era of collaboration and self-determination was announced in order to replace the old model of underdevelopment, as a result of exploitation and disrespect. Sarajevo became the symbol of this Yugoslav built utopia, host of the Olympic Games as a non-aligned 'terra neutra'. Its urbicidal destruction as a symbol of cosmopolitanism provoked a global solidarity campaign by leading international intellectuals. Although the NAM itself still exists, it has lost its political, economic and scientific influence since the end of the Bloc-divided world in 1989. Nonetheless, its principles, inherent to the history of Sarajevo, can form a basis to address contemporary and future urban challenges. Metaphorically speaking, Sarajevo should look into its rear-view mirror while steering towards a more inclusive, sustainable and integrative future.

Sarajevo's multi-vocality reveals these hidden layers and offers a lens on how to investigate, understand and act in politically challenging, multicultural, post-socialist, post-conflict or otherwise contested urban contexts:

- Historical Museum's reprogramming under the influence of geopolitics exposed community empowerment in terms of the relationship between space and community: a radical example of a non-monetary urbanism and civic and cultural resistance revealed that local human, environmental and cultural resources could serve as important sources of urban life, resistance and survival – different to the current high-end urbanities (incl. their cultural amenities such as commercial museums) around the world. It, therefore, represents an alternative paradigm of how self-determination and a non-monetary economic model could work.

- The post-war division of Sarajevo, creating distorted relationships of the inner city with its hinterlands, is based on ethnic and religious borders that cause reminiscence on colonial and 'Apartheid-urbanisms' of pre-1994 (South)African and Latin American cities or the institutionalized territorial division and ambiguous power dispersion in Nicosia. The geopolitical dimension, where an alignment could not be found is in Belfast (that is going to be actualized in the second half of 2019 due to Brexit), Berlin Wall or otherwise contested and conflict cities, such as Beirut and Jerusalem (beyond the romantic metaphor of multiculturalism). In all cases, strong ideological and identity-related representation of the particular ethnic, religious and political dogmas play out in public space.

- Angela Merkel's statement on the end of multiculturalism and migration (as well as the protection of external EU-borders) re-entered the spotlight of EU and Swiss foreign politics. Sarajevo's migration resulted in architectural informalities that were perceived as a visible, omnipresent signal of the weaknesses of the public institutions. If this

issue is upscaled, the learning from the Bosnian migration in the Western World as well as the initiatives in the homeland, could serve as examples of the integration and reconstruction efforts by the Arab Spring migrants (after a time window of 15-20 years). Multicultural societies, as visible from the case of Sarajevo, tend to be more sensitive to diversity and creativity in which differences enrich and inspire cultural and spatial production.

— Sarajevo's de-industrialization occurred partly as a process of post-Berlin wall global economic restructuring and partly abruptly due to the war destruction. The resulting effects on society can be compared to the Rust Belt with Detroit as a primary case study but also the former Soviet Union, North England, East Germany and other regions.

— The post-war transition of Sarajevo can be compared to e.g. post-Gaddafi Tripoli, where transitory political institutions expose unclear or unstable divisions of power, unregulated legal structures and unaccountable institutional frameworks. Societal organizations remain fragile; new authorities lack legitimacy and credibility and are steered by partisan interests. The overall crisis at the level of civil society and governmental institutions results lack of trust, incivility, delinquency and violence. An overall macro reconstruction strategy, to be utilized as a reconciliation instrument, lacks in both cities.

— The symbolics of destruction by terrorism and war inspired Lebbeus Woods to compare the burning of the UNIS twin towers in Sarajevo to September 11. However, Sarajevo's wartime phenomena can be utilized to derive ways in which to appropriate space and adapt it to new conditions, as the discourse on urban resilience asks for a fundamental rethinking of its spatial dimension. The lack of water or electricity and the collapse of communication networks are reminiscent on environmental (post)disaster/natural hazard situations such as in the case of Hurricane Katrina. Sarajevo's wartime human-scale micro-

adaptations of singular apartments units, basements and collective public space, reactivation of ruins through cultural acts and urban agriculture, represented not only symbols of urban resistance and social cohesions community-driven engagement but also of new systems of spatial designation and a zero-budget urbanism based on human capital and existing ecosystem services.

The post-socialist liberalization, a geopolitical shift that induced macroeconomic power structures, deregulation and a shift in tenureship and ownership rights induced a new jurisdictional reality. The predatory practices based on a simultaneous increase of private debts, as described by Sassen, manifested in an aggressive development and densification of the predominantly modernist urban fabric of Marijin Dvor. The new programs added ad-hoc, invasive generic commercial and shopping functions. This haphazard building boom rebranded spatial resources from a public good towards the promotion of economic growth and generic architectures supposed to recreate booming economies of the 'global cities'

Outlook: Towards a future Non-Aligned City

Today, Sarajevo is overwhelmed by a lack of coordination and permanent discord of international influence spheres and needs of local stakeholders in how to achieve solutions that reflect democratically defined interest and a common perspective for future development. Sarajevo's unique urban laboratory should move from the current status as a victim of geopolitical shifts but use its 'Non-alignment' to foster neutrality and non-partisan thinking for the interest of its local communities in order to recover, amplify and reactivate its spatial resources. The city's radical example of a non-monetary zero-budget urban urbanism and civic and cultural resistance revealed that local environmental and cultural resources can serve as important sources of urban life, resistance and survival.

Nonetheless, social perspectives have played a secondary role in the development of contemporary post-war Sarajevo, overshadowed by a re-colonization through political and economic interests. Surprisingly, the majority of discussions in academia and practice have been based on nostalgic views of a better-socialist past or wartime solidarity, rather than providing tools for the regeneration of war-destroyed and fragmented Sarajevo. The continuous and future transitions of Sarajevo from a crisis city to a laboratory of an alternative urban paradigm requires a more unified vision involving all stakeholders and actors. My thesis is that the broader concept of the 'Non-Aligned City' is able to provide a basis for evaluating the historic and contemporary mechanisms of Sarajevo's urban development: the perpetual cycles of urbanization and destruction and reconstruction. By acknowledging and embracing the geopolitical forces, Sarajevo should not become subordinate to them but use its historical role as 'emitter' and 'recipient' of geopolitical forces and foster neutrality and non-partisan thinking for the common interest of its local communities. By combining top-down elements, such as institutional frameworks, with bottom up activities, such as re-evaluating the participation and self-management potential of the MZs, I challenged its current fragmented and segregatory urban paradigm, and created a common ground for a new conversation on the future of the city. Through the regional and international activities, I demonstrated how the 'Non-Aligned City' can serve as an example for understanding and addressing many of the challenges of contemporary cities: political populism, aggressive globalization and neoliberalization, conflict and social exclusion.

Following the trans-scalar methodological approach of the Urban Toolbox, I was able to understand the underlying urban mechanisms and processes of the transformation of buildings, their programs and the stakeholders during socialist planning, urbicidal destruction and post-conflict fragmentation.

Through both its theoretical and practical parts, the dissertation advanced to a widely visible effort in creating and exposing urban knowledge in the post-conflict and post-socialist context of Sarajevo. This path has continuously prepared a sound environment that would enable an inclusive, integrated and multidisciplinary

implementation of the dissertation in a newly-established and operational network of real-world partners. (Fig. 114)

Implementation check: Scoping Study

The experiment succeeded to reach out and involve city governments, media, community groups, NGOs, academic partners, in the wider Balkans and CEE-Region. Currently, as of March 2019, the experiment was extended through a 'Scoping Study' that should serve as an assessment of the implementation potential during a future four-year project. The six-months 'Scoping Study' was set to align the expectations and define reachable project goals with the relevant stakeholders identified in the experiment phase of the dissertation. It is financed by the SECO WEIN[582] and I participate in the position of the in-house expert, which helped me to further specify regarding the applicability of my dissertation. This Study included several workshops, events and meetings.

The 'BiCity Workshop' organized by ETH Zurich/UTT Chair in November 2018 gathered the city governments of Sarajevo and Zurich, Matica BiH, Canton Sarajevo Institute of Development Planning, University of Sarajevo (Faculties of Architecture and Mechanical Engineering), among others. The aim was to evaluate preparations on the basis of technical collaboration to advance the formal institutionalization. Following that, MoUs were signed between ETH Zurich/UTT Chair and the Institute for Spatial Planning, Urbanism and Architecture of the Faculty of Architecture (University of Sarajevo) and the Institute for Development Planning Institute of Canton Sarajevo.

With the aim of collecting and extending the information to the public and enabling further knowledge transfer, a Symposium 'SarajevOFuture – City, Architecture, Culture' took place in the premises of the National Museum, which gathered the Ministry of Civil Affairs of BiH, the resident UNESCO Office in BiH, BiH National

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[582] SECO (Swiss Secretariat for Economic Affairs) WEIN (Infrastructure Financing Department). The project would be aligned with the 'Swiss Cooperation Strategy Bosnia and Herzegovina: 2017 – 2020'.

Committee for Monument Protection, University of Sarajevo, Ars Aevi, among other speakers and panelists. The main topic of the discussion was how to ensure an inclusive and participatory broader landscape of decision-makers so Marijin Dvor can become the cultural, artistic and educational hub of Sarajevo.[583] As a follow-up, we visited the MZs of Marijin Dvor and Kovačići to present our work and ideas and discuss them with the communities and their elected representatives.

The Scoping Study included the semester design studio of ETHZ/UTT themed 'Open Sarajevo: urban Prototype' and a week-long seminar study trip to Split and Sarajevo. The studio was based on my dissertation's research and included a new, transversal, reading for the city that is very relevant for future implementation:

> **Instead of reinterpreting the traditional longitudinal development axis of the Sarajevo valley (along Ottoman, Austrian Hungarian and Socialist urban models), students will research and establish new readings of development to the cross-section of the valley. For this design task, the studio investigates layers of interdependencies, juxtapositions of difference and division in a cross-section of the city. Students will focus on identifying an underlying logic that connects the valley's fragmented neighborhoods, its topographical symmetries and asymmetries, and its natural and human-made divisions that simultaneously splinter and unify Sarajevo. How can the existing infrastructure and the lack thereof, deficits and limited mobility, climate crisis and scarcity be used as a design material to create an integrative urban vision that could regenerate, revitalize and reconcile the city?[584]**

Digital Urban Planning Tool

The Scoping Study included analysis into whether the Digital Tool, tested in 2017 and 2018 during the Reactivate Sarajevo Performative Experiment, can be expanded and serve as a holistic spatial analysis and urban scenario visualization instrument.[585] The data available in the GIS platform in the Cantonal Institute for Development Planning will be supplemented with the database created by the

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[583] I received the invitation to present the work of Sarajevo at the platforms of the European Capital of Culture (ECC) projects in Rijeka 2020 and Novi Sad 2021.

[584] ETHZ/UTT Design Studio - Open City Sarajevo: Urban prototype. Design Studio Reader. Internal publication. 2019. p. 8. (Teaching assistants: Melanie Fessel and Scott Lloyd).

[585] The Digital Tool would be conducted ETHZ-UTT team in collaboration with the Laboratory for Energy Conversion (LEC), Department of Mechanical and Process Engineering, ETH Zurich. The collaboration with the ETH Zurich Chair of Cognitive Science (D-GESS) is currently in discussion, as of March 2019 through the Future City Lab (FCL) format.

project team. In addition, it was clear that a citizens-friendly interface would enhance usability and establish an evidence-based decision-making platform. The Digital Tool would allow for the generation of scenarios with custom parameters regarding building regulations, future technologies and human behavior. Moreover, the Digital Tool would calculate the impact of the scenarios on the existing built environment. It would also possess real-time simulations such as agent-based human behavior analysis and environmental analysis such as wind (measured by the ETHZ WindRover mobile lab), sun radiation, pollution and mobility behavior. The visualization could be expanded to virtual reality and, therefore, enable navigation through the 3D environment. The wider public participation would be possible through the creation and sharing of user-generated feedback. At the same time, the website on which the Digital Tool would be available in open access would also include the theoretical and experimental segments of the dissertation, in addition to information about current and future Reactivate Sarajevo activities, promoting the dissertation to a wider audience.

City Action Lab

The common ground between the actions of multiple authorities and independent actors could be bridged with a permanent discussion, workshop and production area: the 'City Action Lab'. It would lean on the 'Non-Aligned' principles of solidarity (international, regional and local), collaboration and mutual partnership, as the dissertation has continuously developed a framework to implement change and prepared a sound environment that would enable an inclusive, integrated and multidisciplinary implementation in a newly-established and operational network of engaged real-world partners. The permanent City Action Lab space was offered by the rector of the University of Sarajevo within 'Building 3' on the underused University Campus in Marijin Dvor. The building was heavily damaged during the war due to its proximity to New Sarajevo's wartime frontline. The centrality of its location, its genius loci and the symbolic effect of its reactivation would ensure a powerful symbolic act of reconstruction. The transformation into a multi-functional hub that can offer space for a multidisciplinary audience: architecture, urbanism, design,

cultural management, creative industries, arts and smart information technologies. As the migration of youth from BiH represents one of the most urgent problems in the country, our project integrating education and new industries can be a model for the future knowledge-based society. This approach could serve as a solution to this negative trend and a catalyst for social inclusion and economic opportunities, especially for the youth, students and young professionals – preventing any further brain drain.

General Urban Plan 'Sarajevo 2040'

Concretely, the application of multi-disciplinary, inter-sectorial methods and methodologies would be applied to create the new GUP Sarajevo 2040 as a direct urban policy implementation that would integrate multi-disciplinary, inter-sectorial methods and methodologies grounded with both bottom-up and top-down approaches.

Digital technologies would allow for a generation of scenarios and include evidence-based urbanism, visualizing and evaluating spatial and societal after-effects. In this way, it would eliminate the main reason for current conflict and hostilities within Sarajevo's urban development: lack of transparency, civic frustrations and justified decisions, making symbolic and transparent moves towards a knowledge-based society.

The creation of the GUP (scale 1:5'000) would open the door for a new era for Sarajevo's development as all RPs (scale mostly 1:1'000) would need to respond to the GUP. The GUP's evidence-based approach would be ensured through the application of the Digital Tool and the City Action Lab in collaboration with a series of local partners. The citizens gathered around the MZs would become respected and engaged participants in the goal to systematically involve all relevant perspectives.

This approach is an antidote to the current absence of coordinated planning policy that fails to guide the actions of multiple authorities and independent actors. Continuous contact with all stakeholders in Sarajevo would catalyze capacity building measures and direct the influx of the project outputs to be injected into urban policies.

Urban Design for Marijin Dvor

The focus into Marijin Dvor would include the locations: Vaso Miskin Crni industry complex, Marienhof, University of Sarajevo Campus, Marijin Dvor Kvadrant B (with connection to the adjacent slopes oto the north and the south). It would serve as a 'defragmentation strategy' and staging ground for innovations in urban design through the format of the RP. The integrated urban proposal for the wider Marijin Dvor would foster its connection to the rest of New Sarajevo, Old Town, in addition to its hinterlands via green corridors, beyond the Dayton Entity Line.

The outcomes would also include the development of prototypical urban and architectural solutions for amplifying and activating local potentials, such as the re-adapting and re-programming of the University Campus and its surroundings. This would showcase a proposal as a bottom-up amplification of the existing smart and creative resources in the form of human, relational and spatial capital.

Located in the core of Sarajevo's modernist city center extension, the reactivation of the Campus would serve as a prototypical best-practice example for innovative, inclusive and sustainable transformation propositions for decaying, destroyed and fragmented modernist districts. The future of the still ongoing project will be to scale up this model to the level of the district, the city, and with it, to create further replication potentials for the Western Balkans and CEE-Region. Moreover, building upon Sarajevo's brand as 'Non-Aligned City', the city could become the emblematic case study, as demonstrated in the 1984 Winter Olympics and the wartime cultural resistance.

Ultimately, organizing an 'Internationale Bauausstellung-IBA' ('International Building Exhibition') in Sarajevo with the invitation of the experts from the geopolitical influence zones, utilizing the city's both 'emitter' and 'receiver' roles for both developing the 'New Sarajevo' and producing exportable architectural and urban solutions. The role of the BiH diaspora and the neutral brand of collaboration with Switzerland would bring a new dimension in this concept. Sarajevo's principles of solidarity, collaboration and mutual partnership, together with the resilience, multiculturalism and sustainability that it has demonstrated throughout the centuries, not only remind highly of the SDG Goal 11, but also epitomize relevant lessons for other cities in the Balkans, Europe and the world today.

To conclude, I do not argue here that this is a manifesto or a methodology suitable for all urban contexts, but I hope that the knowledge and experience catalogued in this dissertation help to change Sarajevo and inspires applied research endeavors elsewhere in the future.

Fig. 103: The 'Bosnian Spring' at Skenderija

Fig. 103: The 'Bosnian Spring' at Skenderija

Fig. 104: Reactivate Sarajevo Forum

Fig. 104: Reactivate Sarajevo Forum

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Fig. 104: Reactivate Sarajevo Forum

MARIJIN DVOR

THIS THRIVING SARAJEVO NEIGHBOURHOOD IS NOT ONLY HOME TO NEW STRUCTURE, BUT INDIVIDUALS NOURISHING ITS IDENTITY WITH THEIR AFFECTION AND COURAGE.

feature story JIM MARSHALL
guest editor HARIS PIPLAS

Fig. 104: Reactivate Sarajevo Forum-MIRUS Magazine

Fig. 105: 'Centrala 00'

Fig. 106: Reanimation of the Historical Museum
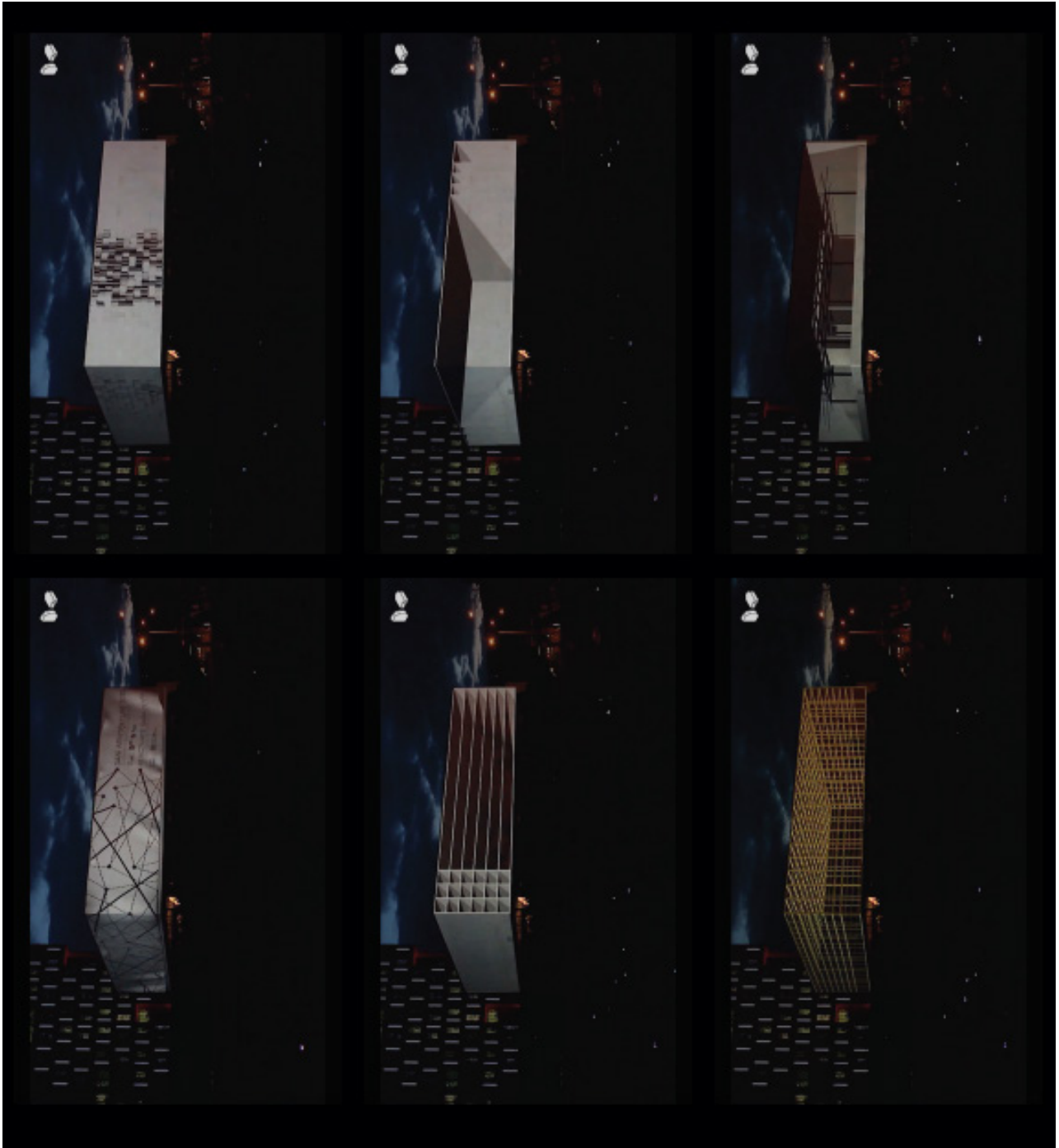
Fig. 106: Reanimation of the Historical Museum

Fig. 106: Reanimation of the Museum: 'True Cities' exhibition opening 414

Fig. 107: Archival research in the Historical Museum

Fig. 107: Archival research in the Cantonal Planning Institute
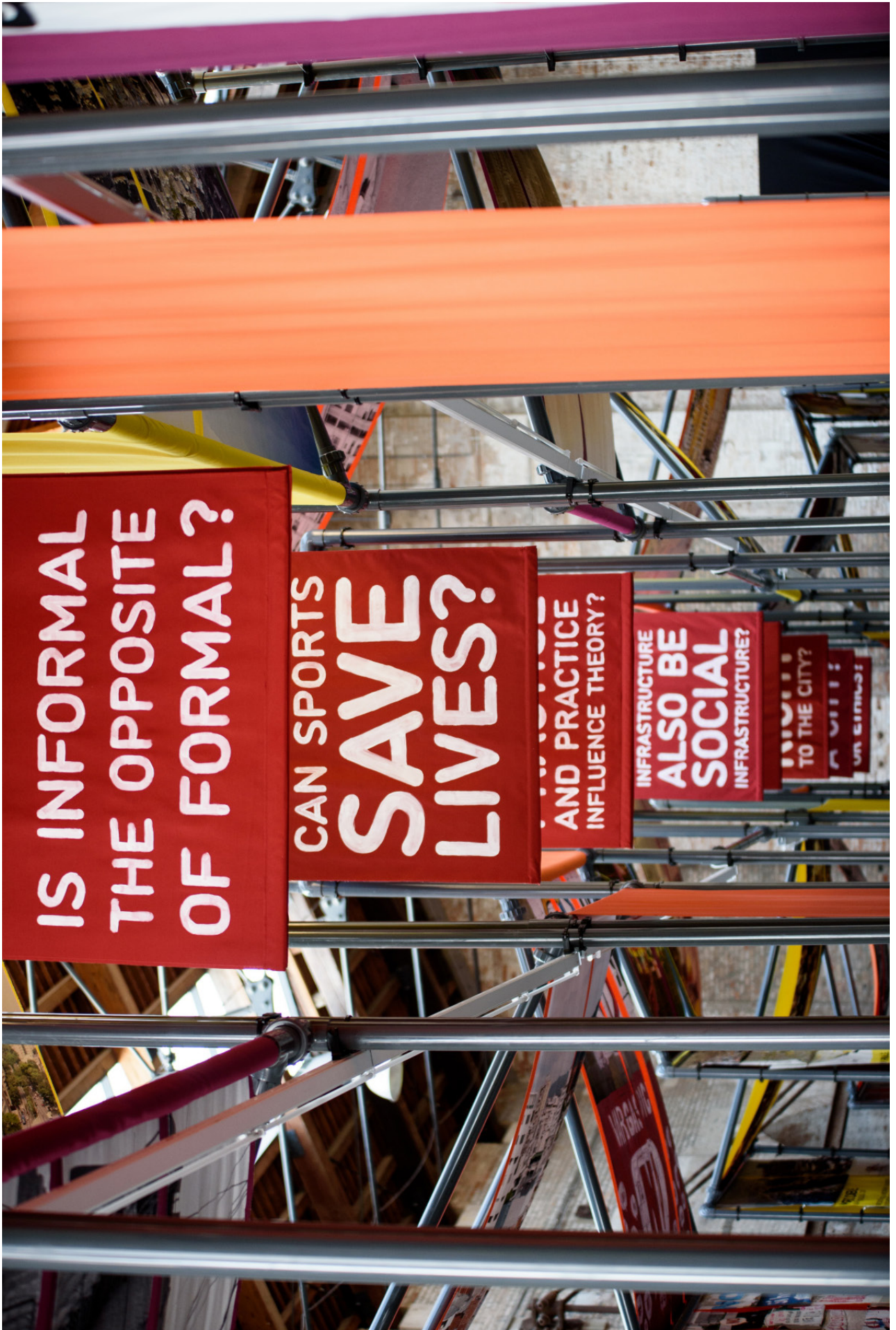
Fig. 108: SI/No?

Fig. 108: 'Sarajevo Now' Pavillion at the Venice Architecture Biennale

Fig. 108: 'Sarajevo Now' Pavillion at the Venice Architecture Biennale
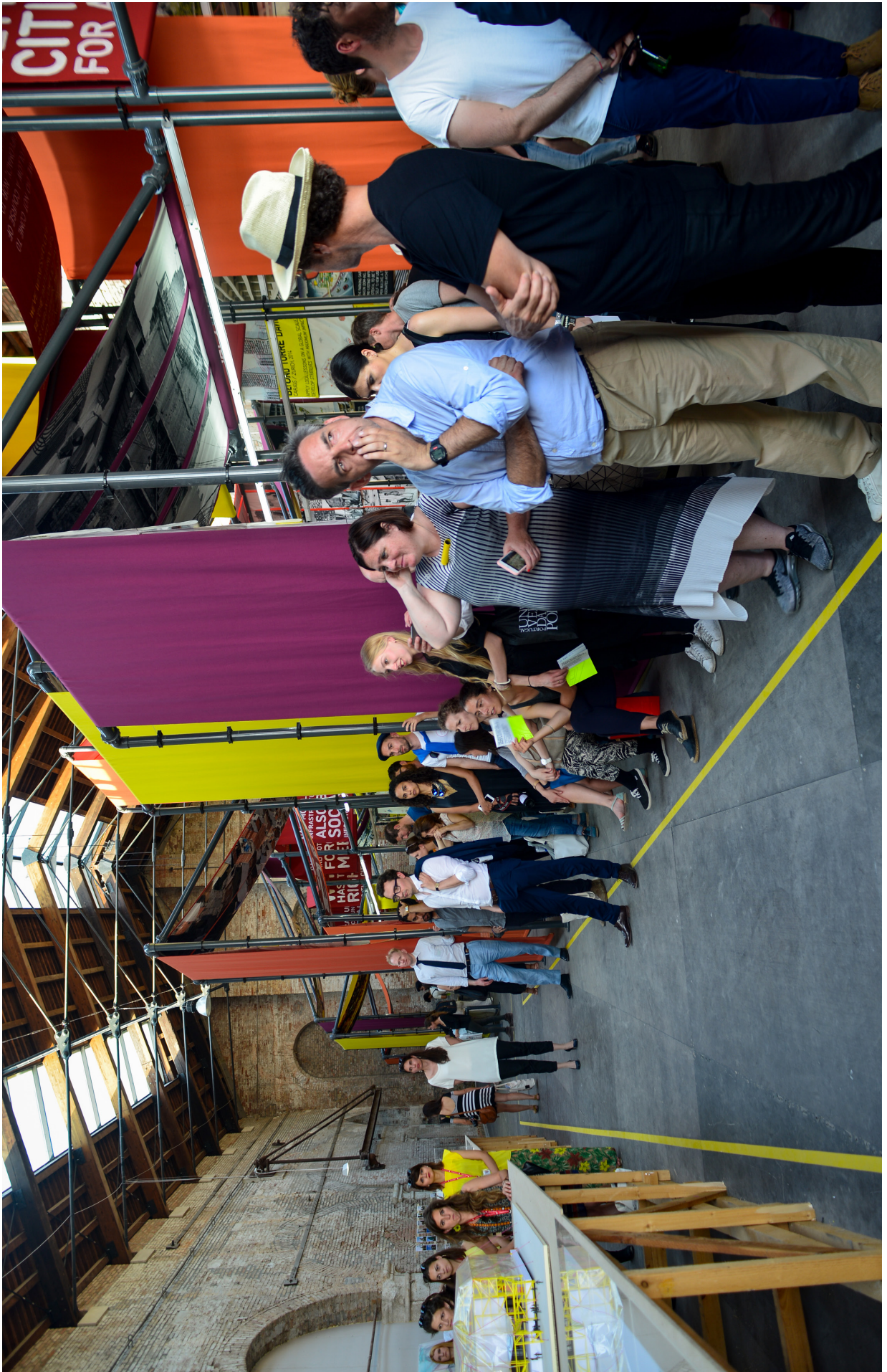
Fig. 108: 'Sarajevo Now' Pavillion at the Venice Architecture Biennale 420
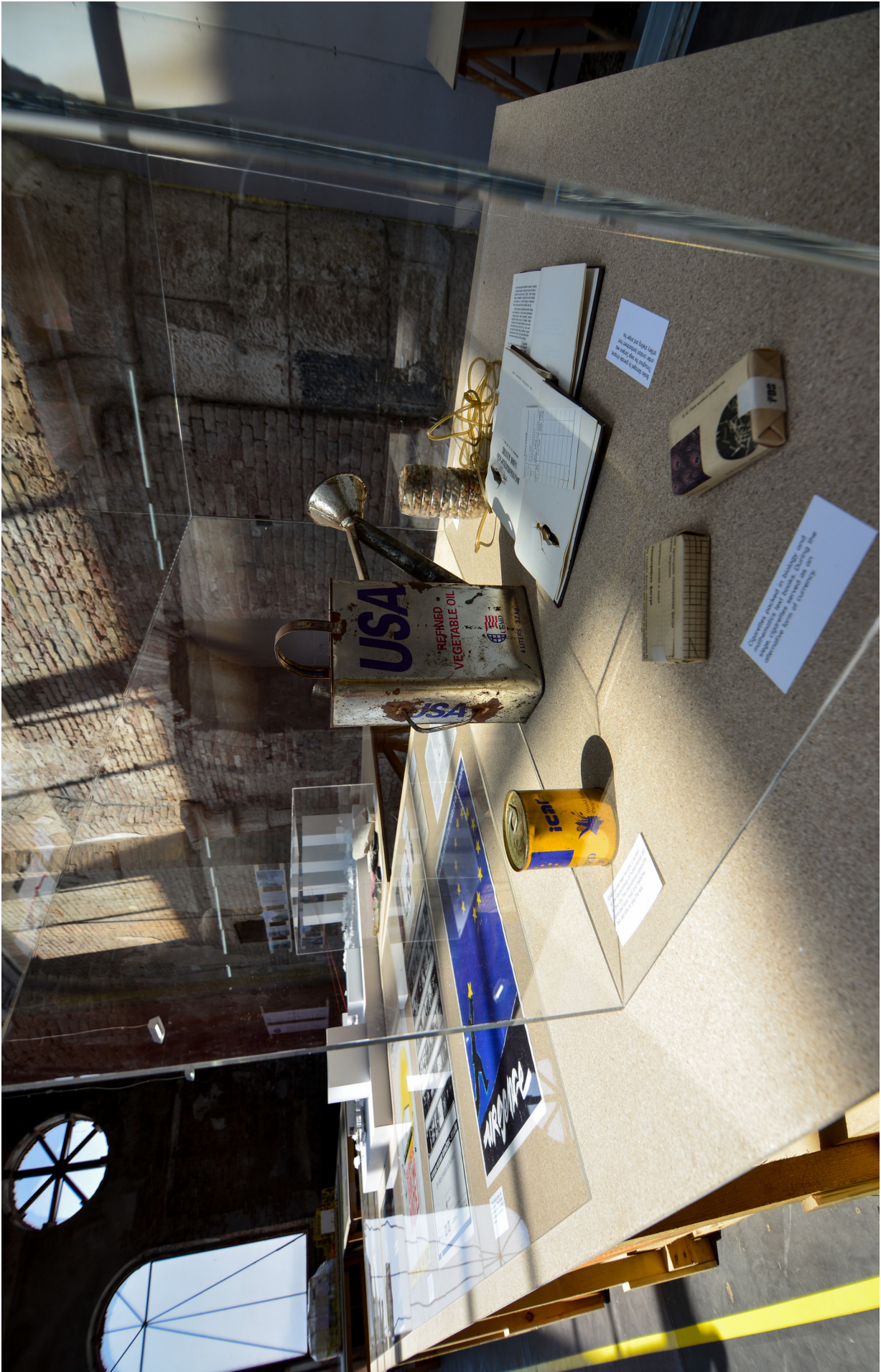
Fig. 108: Artifacts from the Historical Museum in the 'Sarajevo Now' Pavilion
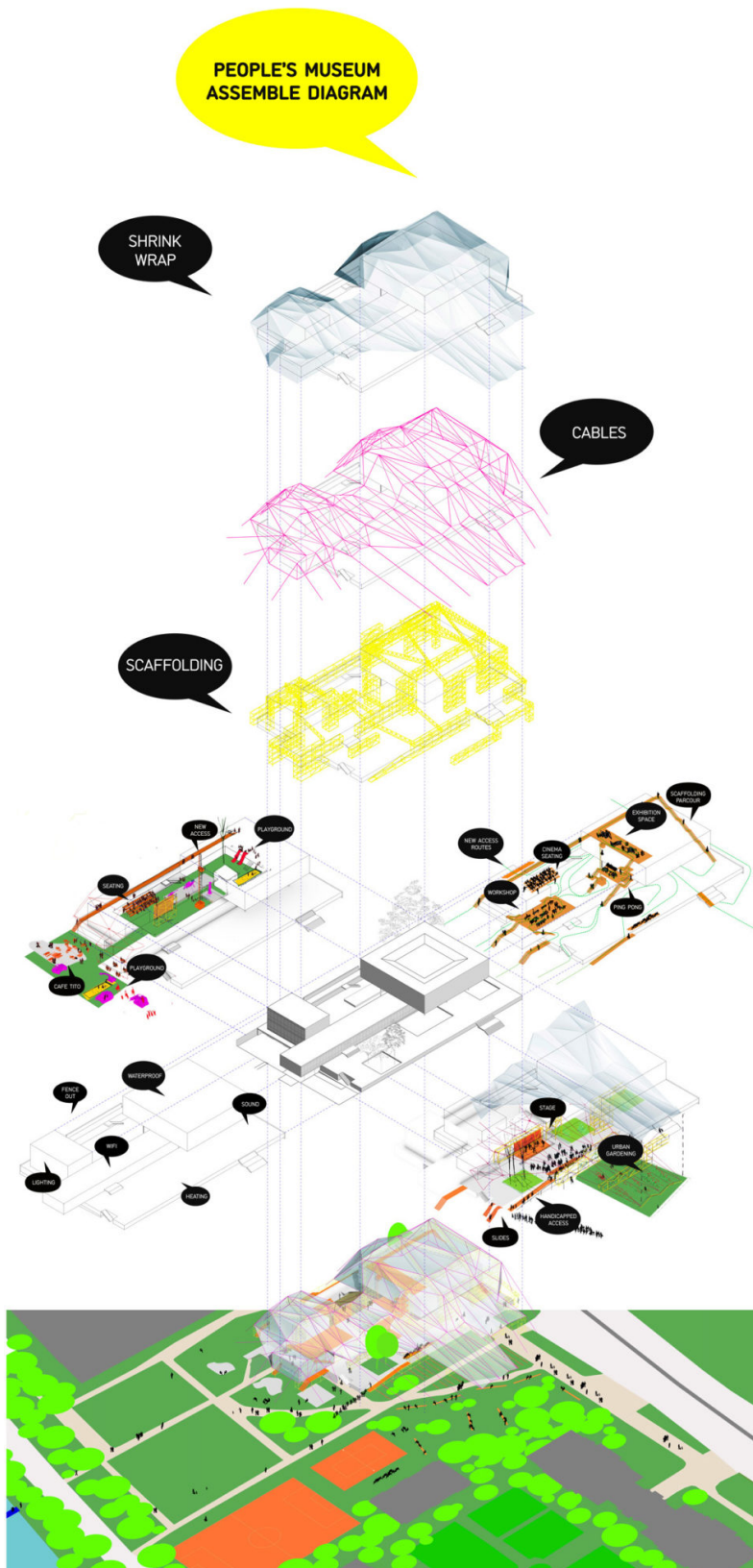
Fig. 108: Design Proposal fo Marijin Dvor's Museum and Creative District, firstly shown in the 'Sarajevo Now' Pavilion

Fig. 108: 'Sarajevo Now' Pavillion - Discussions

Fig. 108: 'Sarajevo Now' - Model of the wartime and post-war conditions of the Historical Museum

Fig. 108: 'Sarajevo Now' Pavillion - Model of the Creative and Museum District design proposal

ALLIANCE OF ENTHUSIASTS

BY FRANZISKA EIDNER I 07 JUNE 2016

Hey Mr. Ferryman! You could only reach "Sarajevo Now" from the Arsenale using one of the two shuttle boats that took visitors across the harbor basin. Photo © Jim Marshall

SARAJEVO NOW

THE PEOPLE'S MUSEUM
&
URBAN-THINK TANK
&
BAIER
BISCHOFBERGER

26.05.–30.06.2016
10:00–18:00

Fig. 108: 'Sarajevo Now' Pavillion - Press Coverage

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may 31, 2016
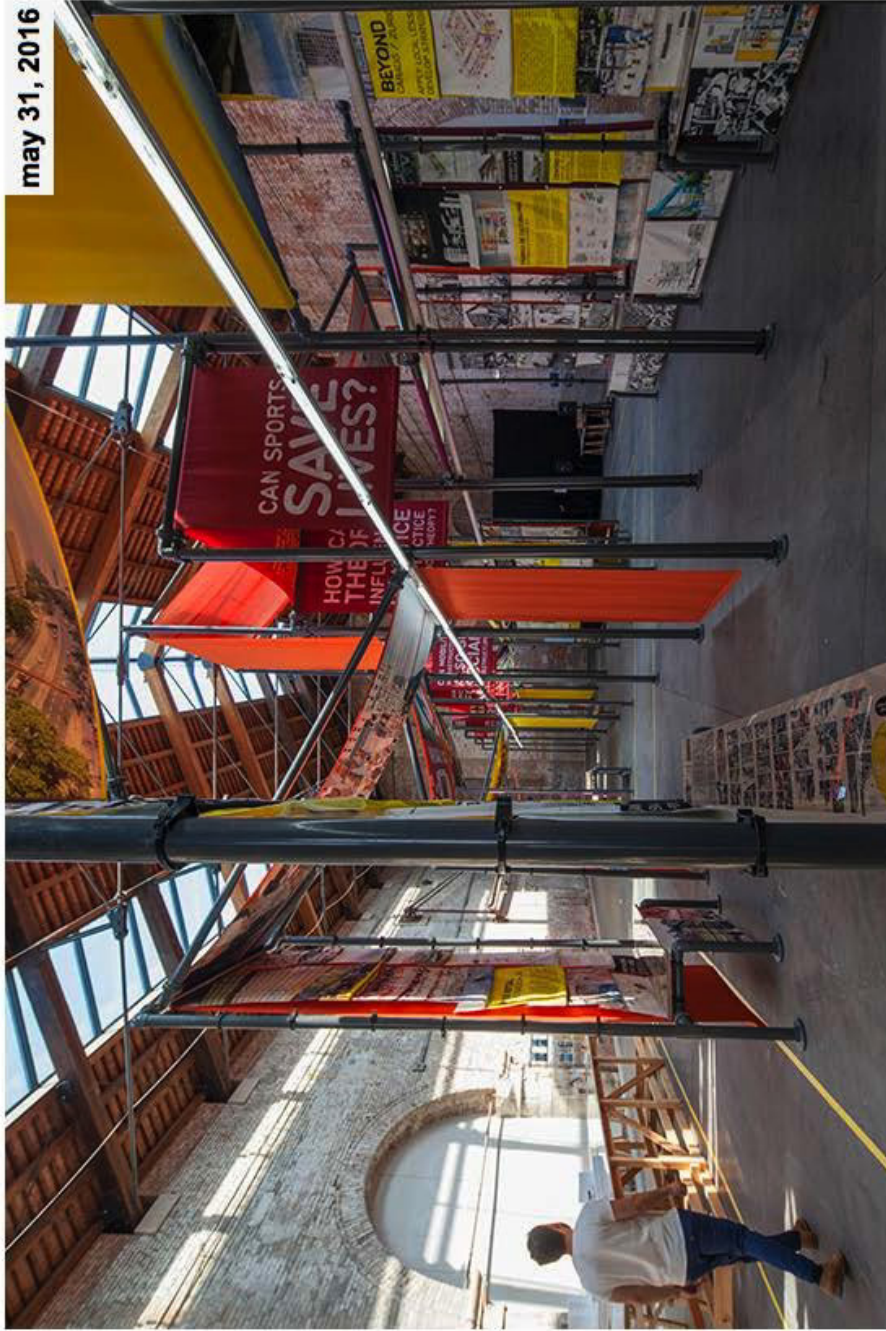
urban–think tank presents 'sarajevo now: the people's museum' at venice biennale

Wallpaper*
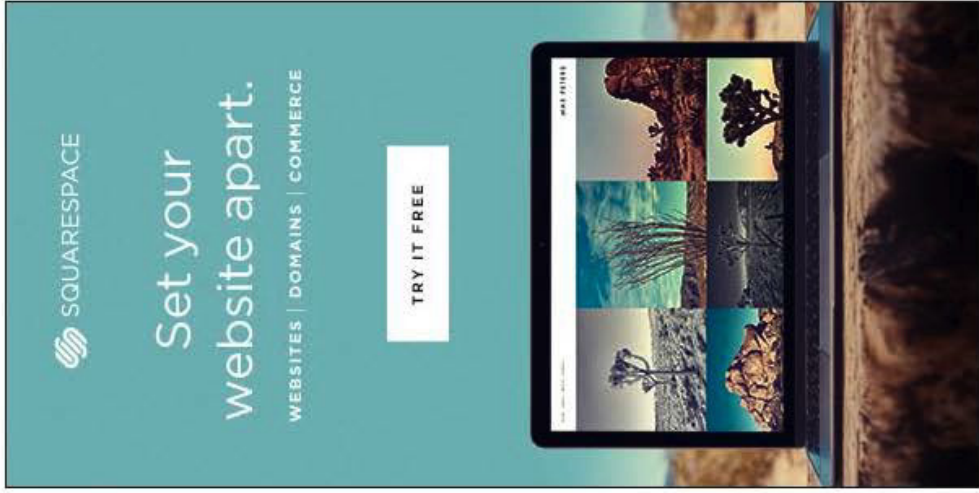
Welcome to Sarajevo: transforming the Historical Museum in Venice

ARCHITECTURE / 14 JUN 2016 / BY ELLIE STATHAKI

In the Baier Bischofberger proposal, the museum is wrapped in a transparent vinyl skin, which protects the old structure, leaving it unharmed. *Image courtesy of BBA/U-TT*

Fig. 108: 'Sarajevo Now' Pavillion - Press Coverage
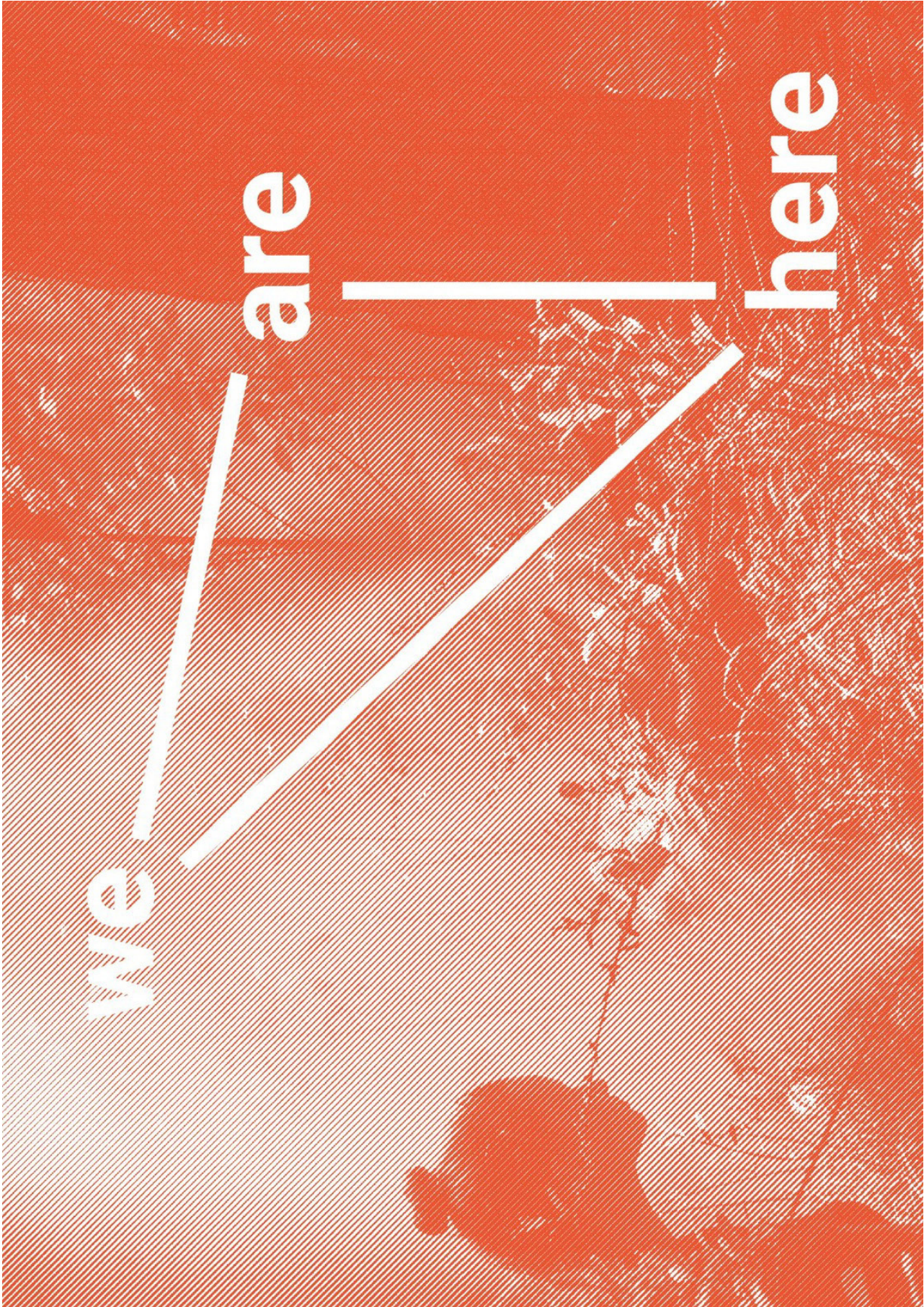
Fig. 109: Exhibition at HDA Graz

Fig. 109: Panel discussion at the exhibition opening at HDA Graz
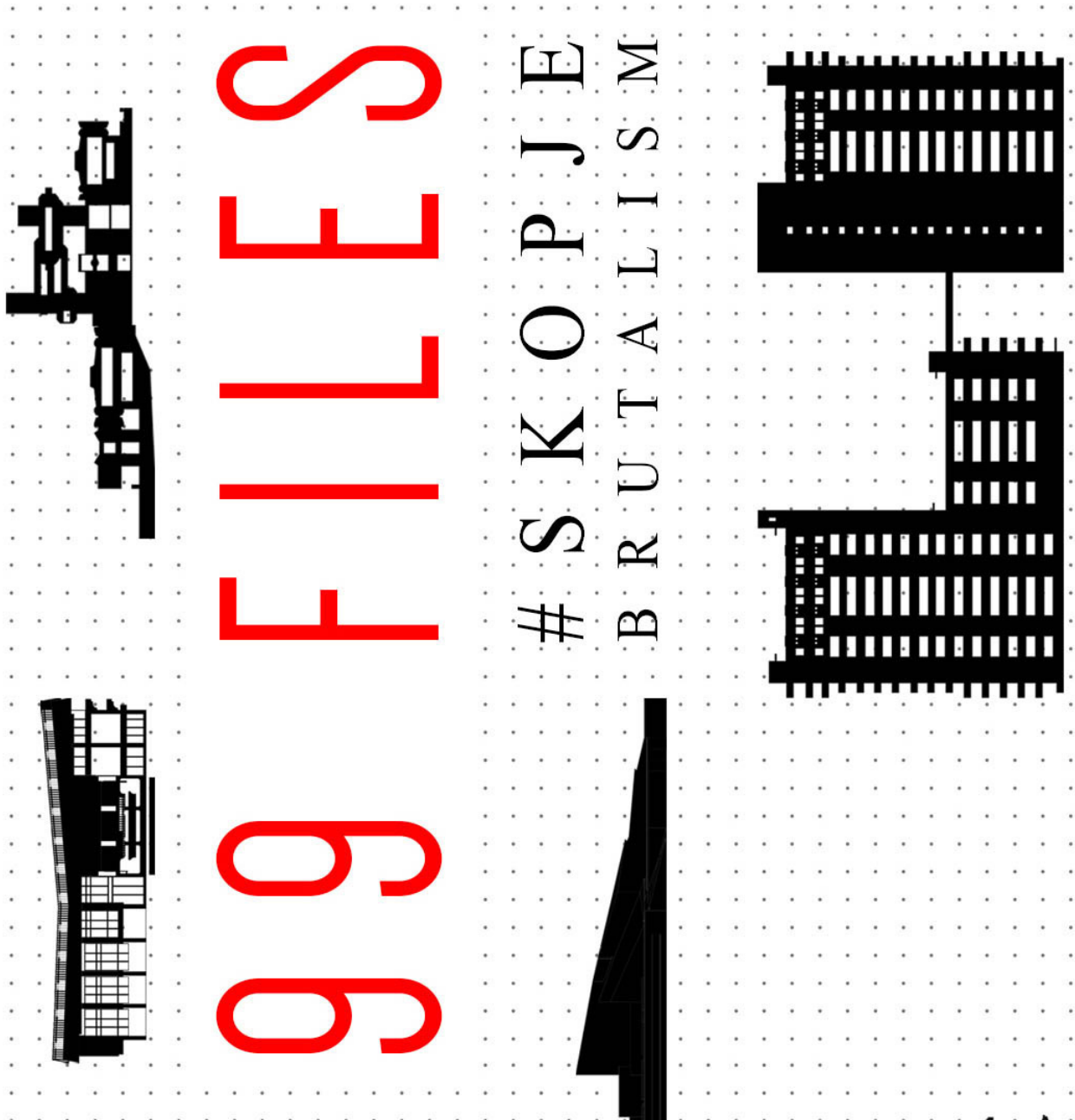
Fig. 110: Go regional: Upscaling the dialogue through domain change, adaptation and export - '99 Files' exhibiiton Skopje

Fig. 110: Go regional: Upscaling the dialogue through domain change, adaptation and export - Curatorship at CANactions Kiev

Fig. 110: Go regional: Upscaling the dialogue through domain change, adaptation and export - 'SCAPES Lab' Belgrade
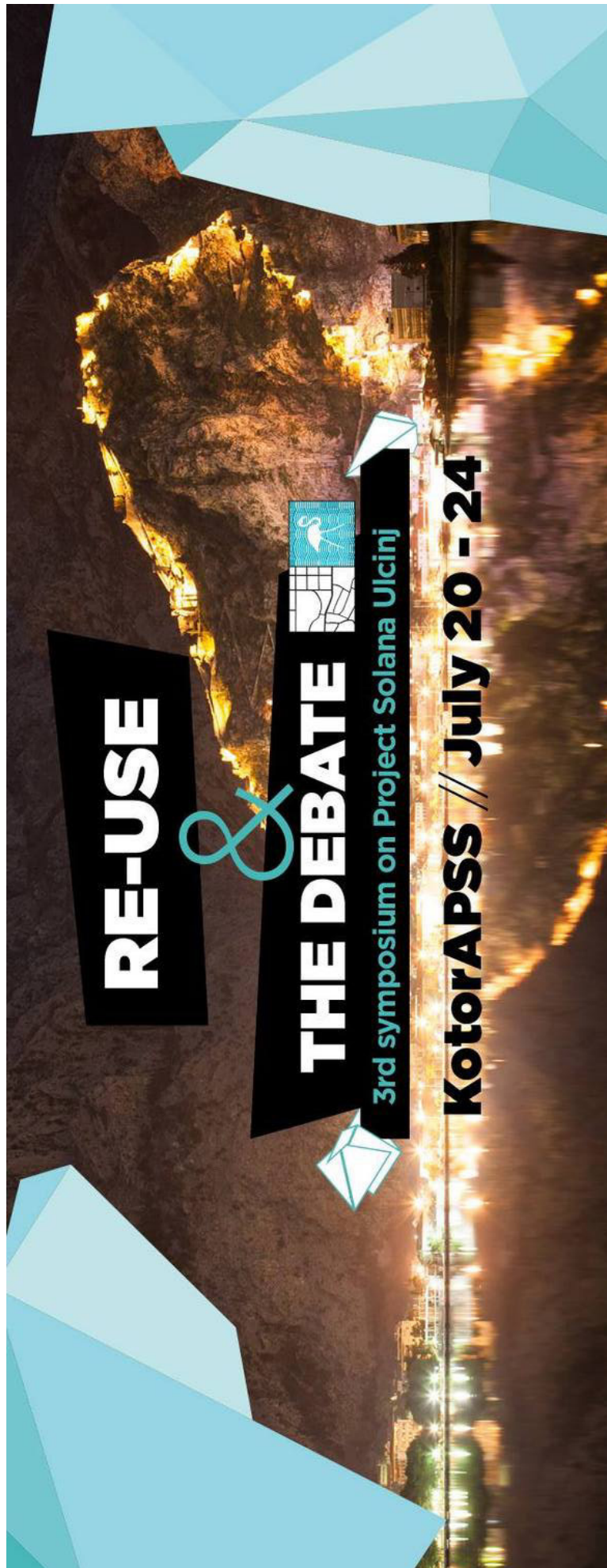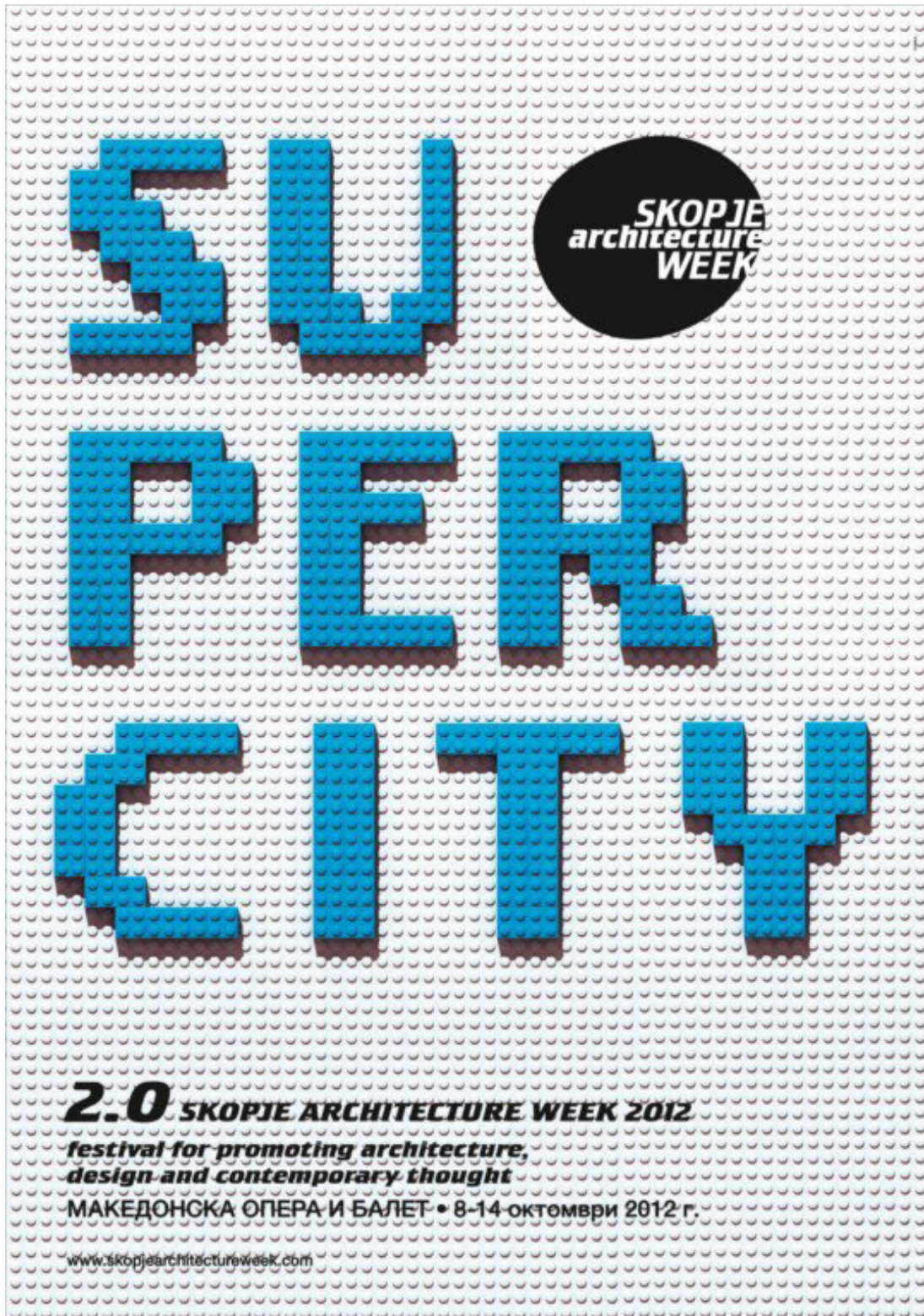
433

Fig. 110: Go regional: Upscaling the dialogue through domain change, adaptation and export - 'SCAPES Lab' Belgrade

Fig. 110: Go regional: Upscaling the dialogue through domain change, adaptation and export - 'Balkanise, LAPIS ' EPF Lausanne

STUDENTS FROM THE BALKANS VISTING THE ETHZ D-ARCH

EXPORT FROM EX-YUGOSLAVIA: DISCUSSION ON DIY EDUCATION

TENDENCIES IN ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISM

ONA FOCUSHALLE, NEUNBRUNNENSTRASSE 50, 19.07.2013, 14-17H

Fig. 110: Go regional: Upscaling the dialogue through
domain change, adaptation and export - 'DIY Education in Architecture' Seminar

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Fig. 110: Go regional: Upscaling the dialogue through domain change, adaptation and export - 'DIY Education in Architecture' Seminar

Fig. 110: Go regional: Upscaling the dialogue through domain change, adaptation and export - Workshop at University of Belgrade

Fig. 110: Go regional: Upscaling the dialogue through domain change, adaptation and export - Lecture at University of Belgrade

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Fig. 110: Go regional: Upscaling the dialogue through domain change, adaptation and export - 'RE-USE' Symposium in Kotor

Fig. 110: Go regional: Upscaling the dialogue through domain change, adaptation and export - 'Skopje Architecture Week'

Fig. 110: Go regional: Upscaling the dialogue through domain change, adaptation and export - 'Skopje Architecture Week'

Fig. 111: Back the Balkan route: Symposium in Sarajevo

Fig. 111: Back the Balkan route: Exhibition in Sarajevo

Fig. 111: Back the Balkan route: Exhibition in Sarajevo's City Hall

Fig. 112: Creating a new realm: Networks of collaboration, Head of Urban Development Department, City of Zurich

Fig. 112: Creating a new realm: Networks of collaboration - Bi-City Workshop

Fig. 112: Creating a new realm: Networks of collaboration - Signing of the 'Zurich Declaration' 448

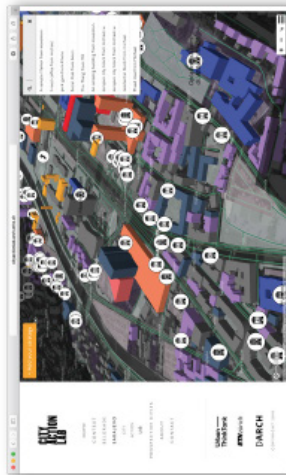**Fig. 113: Critical mapping and wind flow measurements**
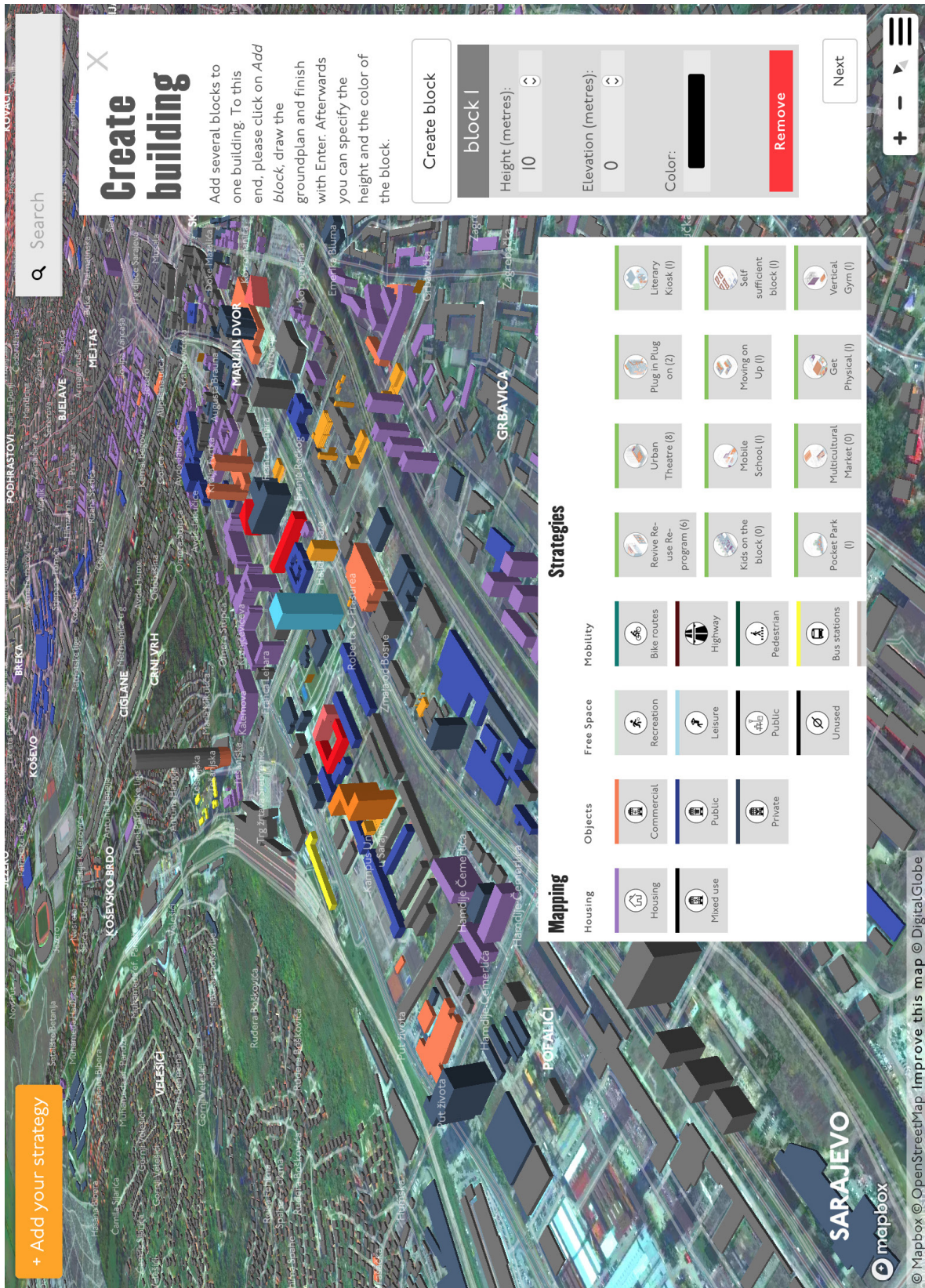
Fig. 113: Critical mapping and testing the inclusive digital participatory planning platform

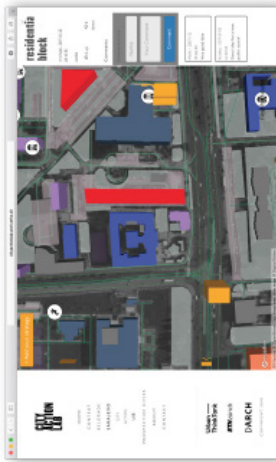02. Layerselection for elements to be displayed. Existing elements and proposed strategies by users.

04. Generate new content by user. Propose new ideas for a chosen location. Chose a predefined feature from a selection of the proposed toolbox.

06. Specify the username.

01. General overview of the 3D map interface.

03. Search function for finding proposed elements by username, title, description, intervention and/or tool.

05. Describe the idea.

Fig. 113: Critical mapping and testing the inclusive digital participatory planning platform

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08. Read about different proposals for Actions in the Toolbox

10. Read articles of researches in the given context.

07. Click on existing user generated ideas and proposals for more information and comments. Comment them, Like or Dislike them.

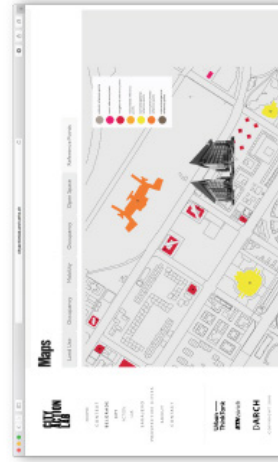09. Study the timeline and history of the different locations.

11. Check interactive maps for more information about the location, such as landuse, mobility, occupancy or reference points.

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Interview (anonymous) with highly ranked employee of the ZPR. In Sarajevo. December 1st 2018.

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Image credits

Fig. 1: Timeline of important political and spatial moments: 1945-2014
Credits: U-TT Chair Reactivate Sarajevo project (Prof. Alfredo Brillembourg, Prof. Hubert Klumpner with Haris Piplas)

Fig. 2: ETH Zurich/U-TT Urban Toolbox
Credits: ETHZ/U-TT Chair (Prof. Alfredo Brillembourg, Prof. Hubert Klumpner with Haris Piplas).

Fig. 3: The continuous status as geographic periphery and geopolitical hotspot
Credits: Haris Piplas

Fig. 4: Map of the Balkans after the Treaties of San Stefano and Berlin

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Fig. 5: The Bosnian crisis

Credits: Le Petit Journal

Fig. 6: The fatal visit

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Fig. 7: Ethnographical map of the Balkans in 1918

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Fig. 8: Global outreach: 'Emitting' influence on the world

Credits: The Evening Herald, The Sun

Fig. 9: The geopolitical symbolism of signage and media

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Fig. 10: The urbanistic bricolage

Credits: Maps, research and concept by Haris Piplas, Collage by ETHZ/UTT Design Studio "Open City Sarajevo: Urban Prototype"

Fig. 11: The Medieval, Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian urban morphologies

Credits: Haris Piplas

Fig. 12: The Vakuf document of Gazi Husref-Bey

Credits: Courtesy of Adi Ćorović, BiH National Committee for Monument Protection

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Credits: Museum of the City of Sarajevo; Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Bildarchiv und Grafiksammlung)

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Credits:
Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Bildarchiv und Grafiksammlung)

Fig. 15: Alifakovac mahala
Credits:
Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Bildarchiv und Grafiksammlung)

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Credits: K.u K. Kriegsarchiv

Fig. 17: Late Ottoman street scene
Credits: Historical Archive Sarajevo

Fig. 18: Panorama of Sarajevo after the era of Topal Osman Šerif-Pasha (ca. 1878)
Credits:
Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Bildarchiv und Grafiksammlung)

Fig. 19: The battle of Sarajevo and the power overtake after 423 years of Ottoman rule
Credits: K.u K. Kriegsarchiv; Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Bildarchiv und Grafiksammlung)

Fig. 20: The regulation plan for the post-disaster regulation modernization of the Čaršija
Credits: Historical Archive Sarajevo

Fig. 21: The multilingual warning signs in the trams of Sarajevo
Credits: Historical Archive Sarajevo

Fig. 22: The promise of a better future through infrastructure and technology, post card collage (in focus: Ilidža, a suburb of Sarajevo)
Credits: Historical Archive Sarajevo

Fig. 23: Mahalas and the pseudo-Oriental City Hall
Credits: Historical Archive Sarajevo; Renner, Heinrich. Durch Bosnien und die Hercegovina: Kreuz und quer (Across Bosnia and the Herzegovina). (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag). 1897.

Fig. 24: The Bosnian Pavilion in Paris (1900)
Credits: Historical Archive Sarajevo; Bygone Collection; Mucha Foundation

Fig. 25: Sarajevo Plan of 1882 (future Marijin Dvor and New Sarajevo section) and the second version of the trigonometrization of the city in 1904 "Reduction der Catastral-Aufnahme aus dem Jahre 1882. Ausgeführt unter spezieller Leitung des Vermessungs-Direktors durch eine Arbeitspartie der VI. Abteilung. Massstab 1 : 3125 der N. Photographie und Schulspressendruck des k. k . Militärgeographischen Instituts zu Wien. Size: 100 X 130 cm"
Credits: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek; Historical archive of Sarajevo, facsimile by Haris Piplas

Fig. 26: The new building regulations
Credits: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

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Credits: Historical archive of Sarajevo, facsimile by Haris Piplas

Fig. 28: The architecture and urban design of the Marienhof

Credits: Spasojević, Borislav. Arhitektura stambenih palata austrougarskog perioda u Sarajevu (Architecture of the residential palaces of the Austro-Hungarian period in Sarajevo). (Sarajevo: Svjetlost). 1988.

Fig. 29: The 'Landesmuseum' and the 'Baron von Phillipovich-Kaserne' in the background
Credits: Historical archive of Sarajevo

Fig. 30: The Street atmosphere and the plan of the core of Marijin Dvor
Credits:
Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Bildarchiv und Grafiksammlung); Historical archive of Sarajevo, facsimile by Haris Piplas

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Fig. 35: The 'AVNOJ' declaration
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Fig. 36: KPJ posters reflecting the relation between ideology, modernization and urbanization
Credits: Đelilović, Asim. Museum in Exile: Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Modern Era (Sarajevo: Dobra Knjiga). 2015.

Fig. 37: Tito's and Yugoslavia's repositioning in the West after 1948
Credits: Life Magazine

Fig. 38: The borders of Yugoslavia after 1945 and 1948
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Credits: Belgrade Declaration of the Non-Aligned Countries. Presidential Papers of John F. Kennedy. President's Office Files.
Source: http://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/JFKPOF-104-004.aspx; Private archive of Dobrivoje Tošković

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Credits: Institute of Development Planning, Canton Sarajevo, Courtesy of Gordana Memišević

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Credits: Historical Arhive of Sarajevo; Klix

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Fig. 44: Urbanization boom of Sarajevo (1945-1978)
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Fig. 45: The centrality of Marijin Dvor

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Credits: Institute of Development Planning Canton Sarajevo, Courtesy of Gordana Memišević

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Fig. 52: The original drawing of the cuboid
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Fig. 54: The Museum after its completion

Credit: Private archive of Boris Magaš, couurtesy of Alen Žunić (University of Zagreb, Faculty of Architecture)

Fig. 55: The new metropolitan borders
Credits: Sarajevo: Sistem Gradskih Centara (Sarajevo: Systems of Urban Centers), Institute of Development Planning Canton Sarajevo, Courtesy of Gordana Memišević

Fig. 56: Analysis of functions and programs of Marijin Dvor
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Fig. 57: Three Scenarios for future development of Marijin Dvor
Credits: Sarajevo: Program: Gradsko Područje Marijin Dvor Sarajevo (Program: Urban Area Marijin Dvor Sarajevo), Institute of Development Planning Canton Sarajevo, Courtesy of Gordana Memišević

Fig. 58: Geopolitical proxy wars in terra neutra
Credits: Sarajevo: Associated Press

Fig. 59: The Parliament Complex
Credits: Grabrijan, Dušan, Neidhardt, Juraj. Arhitektura Bosne i Hercegovine i Put u Suvremeno (Architecture of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its path towards modernity). (Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije).

Fig. 60: The designs and model photo of Holiday Inn
Credits: Private archive of Ivan Štraus, courtesy of Mejrema Zatrić; Holiday Inn hotel, photo by Haris Piplas

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Credits: Institute of Development Planning Canton Sarajevo, Courtesy of Gordana Memišević

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Credits: Milomir Kovačević-Strašni

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Credits: Zeit.de/Anja Niedringhaus/AFP/Getty Images; Haris Piplas

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Credits: A.Abbas (Magnum Photos)

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Credits: Zoran Kanlić

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Credits: Paul Lowe, A.Abbas

Fig. 74: Destruction of the Historical Museum
Credits: Daniel Schwartz, ETHZ/UTT Chair

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Credits: Jim Marshall; Research and concept by Haris Piplas, Map by ETHZ/UTT Design Studio "Open City Sarajevo: Urban Prototype"

Fig. 76: The burning UNIS Twin Towers
Credits: Georges Gobet

Fig. 77: Radical reconstruction ideas for New Sarajevo by Lebbeus Woods for the Parliament building, Austro-Hungarian Tobacco factory (high houses), the State Electric Company and the UNIS Towers
Credits: Woods. Lebbeus. War and architecture: Three Principles; Woods. Lebbeus. War and architecture: The Sarajevo window (Both blog entries); Lebbeus Woods. War and Architecture. (Princeton Architectural Press). 1994.

Fig. 78: Appropriation of open spaces and local ecologies
Credits: Christian Maréchal

Fig. 79: Protection barriers and resistance graffitis
Credits: Dejan Vekić, Zoran Kanlić

Fig. 80: Transforming the former recreational landscapes into productive landscapes
Credits: Historical Museum of BiH

Fig. 81: The Destructive Metamorphosis (comparison of a typical New Sarajevo apartment 1984 vs. 1994))
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Fig. 82: Susan Sontag in the City Hall/National Library
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Credits: Private archive of Stjepan Roš; Archive of the Obala Art Centre/Zoran Kanlić

Fig. 84: Analyzing the destruction of Marijin Dvor
Credits: Reactivate Sarajevo Workshop, Concept, management and teaching by Haris Piplas

Fig. 85: The Dayton Peace Agreement
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Fig. 86: Former frontline turned into division line going through buildings and infrastructures
Credits: Odd Andersen/AFP/Getty Images; Private archive of Said Jamaković; Jim Marshall

Fig. 87: Monuments of provocation
Credits: SRNA; Slobodna Evropa

Fig. 88: New sacred programs superimposed on the fabric of the socialist modernist city
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Fig. 89: The densified cityscape of Marijin Dvor
Credits: Design Studio Die Angewandte "Sarajevo: 100 years of re-construction", Advisory expert, Haris PIplas

Fig. 90: Reconstructing the city back to normality?
Credits: Jim Marshall, City of Sarajevo

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Fig. 92: The pre-war and post-war 1986-2015 Urbanistički Plan
Credits: Institute of Development Planning, Canton Sarajevo, Courtesy of Gordana Memišević
Fig. 93: 'Investment Guide-Sarajevo: A Profitable Business Location'
Credits: Institute of Development Planning, Canton Sarajevo, Courtesy of Gordana Memišević

Fig. 94: Analysis of the post-war transformation of Marijin Dvor
Credits: Reactivate Sarajevo Workshop, Concept, management
and teaching by Haris Piplas et al.

Fig. 95: Hastahana today
Credits: Haris Piplas

Fig. 96: Campus transformation (3rd Prize By the Roš duo)
Credits: Institute of Development Planning Canton; University of Sarajevo

Fig 97: The Campus competition
Credit: University of Sarajevo

Fig. 98: Regulacioni Plan Marijin Dvor
Credits: Institute of Development Planning Canton Sarajevo, Courtesy of Gordana Memišević

Fig. 99: Diagnosis of the Historical Museum damage
Credit: University of Sarajevo, Faculty of Architecture

Fig. 100: The Historical Museum today
Credit: Charlie Koolhaas

Fig. 101: Ja sam Muzej
Credit: Midhat Poturović (RFLE/RL)

Fig 102: The development of Sarajevo and Marijin Dvor 1996-2014

Credits: Haris PIplas; Research and concept by Haris Piplas, Map by ETHZ/UTT Design Studio "Open City Sarajevo: Urban Prototype"

Fig. 103: The 'Bosnian Spring'

Credits: Edin Hadžihasić, Klix

Fig. 104: Reactivate Sarajevo Forum

Credits: Reactivate Sarajevo

Fig. 105: 'Centrala 00'

Credits: Reactivate Sarajevo; Lift-Prostorne Inicijative

Fig. 106: 'Reanimation of the Museum

Credits: Reactivate Sarajevo; Lift-Prostorne Inicijative

Fig. 107: Reactivate Sarajevo

Credits: ETHZ/UTT Chair, Guest Curator Andres Lepik (TU Munich)

Fig. 108: SI/No? and Sarajevo Now: People's Musuem

Credits: Reactivate Sarajevo; ETHZ/UTT Chair

Fig. 109: HDA Graz

Credits: HDA Graz

Fig. 110: Go regional: Upscaling the dialogue through domain change, adaptation and export

Credits: 99 Files, CANactions, Scapes Lab, Kotor APSS, Skopje Architecture Week,University of Belgrade, EPFL LAPIS, ETHZ/UTT Chair

Fig. 111: Back the Balkan route: Symposium and Exhibition in Sarajevo

Credits: ETHZ/UTT, Matica of BiH, Historical Museum of BiH

Fig. 112: Creating a new realm: Networks of collaboration

Credits: ETHZ/UTT, Matica of BiH, City of Zurich, City of Sarajevo, University of Sarajevo, Canton of Sarajevo

Fig. 113: Critical mapping and testing inclusive digital participatory planning

Credits: ETHZ/UTT Chair, ETHZ ISTP, ETHZ LEC

Fig. 114: The. Future of the Non-aligned City:

Credits: ETHZ/UTT Chair, Reactivate Sarajevo

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Dr. Sc. ETH Architecture And Urban Design
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Doctoral Thesis: "Non-Aligned City: Urban Laboratory of the New Sarajevo".
Chief Advisor: Prof. Hubert Klumpner; Co-advisors:
Prof. Vedran Mimica, Associate Dean of Research, College of Architecture, IIT Chicago, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Tigran Haas, Director of Center for the Future of Places, KTH Stockholm

Research Fellowship: Architecture, Urbanism, Landscape And Preservation
Milan Polytechnic University

M.Sc. Urban Design
Berlin University of Technology
Multidisciplinary Studies in Architecture, Urban&Regionalonal Planning, Landscape Architecture and Urban Sociology, Dual Program with Tongji University Shanghai, China.
Master Thesis: "Flexible landscapes for a sustainable urban development-Primary medium for design of future cities"

Dipl.-Ing. Landscape Architecture
University of Sarajevo
Diploma in Urbanism

Work Experience

Principal Investigator   01/2015 - 07/2018
ETH Zurich | Cityactionlab.arch.ethz.ch
- SNF SCOPES Research project "Smart and Creative cities in Central-Eastern Europe" (four partner Universities Belgrade, Bratislava, Tartu and Sarajevo and several partners from policy and industry)

Head Researcher   02/2016 - 06/2018
ETH Zurich | Comparative Urban Study Zurich-Berlin
Berlin Case Studies:
- Megascale planning: The Legacy of a Delayed Metropolis
- Critical Re-construction: Urban Ideologies of Post-Wall Berlin
- Urban Pioneers: Temporary Urbanism
Zurich Case Studies:
- Planning The Metropolitan Area: Beyond the Administrative Borders
- Re-Densification: Transforming Zurich West and North
- Creating Informality: Upgrading the Existing

Project Manager   07/2014 - 04/2016
ETH Zurich
- Institutional Development of the first multi-disciplinary Institute in the history of the ETH Zurich (ISTP-Institute of Science Technology and Policy), conceptualization of the "Urbanization Research Incubator" with the

participation of researchers from Architecture and Urbanism, Mechanical
Engineering, Development Economics, and Political Science

Course Coordinator And Teaching Fellow   03/2012 – 08/2017

ETH Zurich | Utt-toolbox.com

- Global Urban Toolbox: Urban knowledge is translated into operational tools,
  extracted from almost 40 city case studies where they have been tested
  (Beijing, London, Berlin, Athens, Zurich, São Paulo, Capetown, Detroit,
  Caracas, Paris, Mexico City etc.) and became exemplary samples. The Toolbox
  serves as an active database to critically read and reflect upon the city
  through design, planning, management of policy solutions
- The Urban Toolbox included Research, Practice, Lecturing, Coordination,
  Conceptualization and Evaluation of Exams and Research Papers at ETH Zurich

Journal Chief Editor   10/2010 – 06/2012

International Federation Of Landscape Architects | Brussels

- Journal Chief Editor of two issues: "Political Implications of the Urban
  Landscape" and "Adaptive Capacity of Cities"

Exhibition Area Planner   07/2010 – 09/2010

German Association Of Automotive Industry | Berlin

- Planning of EXPO Hannover Area in CAD with incorporation of indicators: fire
  safety, construction laws, urbanistic parameters incl. supervision of
  execution

Urban Designer And Landscape Architect   04/2010 – 06/2010

PB Landskab | Naestved, Denmark

- Planning and design of open public spaces, school buildings, social housing
  and infrastructural corridors

Project Co-Director - Urban Simulation Game

ETH Zurich

- Action on the Real City : Urban Simulation Game - is an interactive board game
  that facilitates decision-making and design processes for complex, real-life
  urban transformations, helping to define common visions and justify urban
  planning decisions through the lens of various disciplines such as
  architecture, engineering, and environmental sciences

Reactivate Sarajevo   06/2014 - Current

Self-initiated In Collaboration With ETH Zurich | Initiator, Coordinator And
Project Director

- Applied research solutions for Sustainable and Integrated Urban Development
  for a post-war and post-socialist City - in collaboration with ETHZ, SECO
  (Swiss State Secretariat of Economy), City of Zurich (Department of Urban
  Development), Canton, University and City of Sarajevo

Urbanist And Landscape Architect   10/2008 – 07/2009

TU Berlin | Solutions For A Peri-urban Buffer Zone

- Urban Agriculture and Green Infrastructure Visions for Sustainable Development
  of Casablanca, Morocco

Researcher And Curator   09/2009 – 05/2010

TU Berlin | Ostverkauf

- Critical Research, Design and Performative Interventions
  ostverkauf.blogspot.com

Awards and Honors	• Best student Award and Encomium of the University of Sarajevo • Fulbright Fellowship (declined) • Harvard University Admission (declined) • German Academic Exchange Service Scholarship • Swiss Government Science Scholarship • Italian Government Research Fellowship • Prince of Wales Charity for Sustainable Community Fellowship (declined) • Curator at 15th Venice Biennale of Architecture Pavilion
Professional Committees and Policy Consultancies	• Expert at Urban Roundtables of SECO (Swiss State Secretariat for Economic Affairs) Infrastructure Financing Department in collaboration with Multilateral Development Banks: World Bank HQ Vienna (2016) and Asian Development Bank Europe HQ in Frankfurt (2017) • Guest Expert and Jury Member: University of Braunschweig, Germany - Reactivating Museums Districts (2018) • Guest Expert and Jury Member: Technical University of Vienna "block | busters - From Analogue Understanding to Digital Planning Practice" (2018) • Jury Member: "Rogue Urbanism" Zurich. Design Studio Semester Project at ETHZ (2018) • Regional Assessment Scoping Expert: IPBES (Intergovernmental Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services), Sessions in Antalya and UNESCO Palace Paris (2015-17) • Academic Jury - St. Gallen Symposium (2017) • Workshop and Policy Exchange with Albanian National Ministry of Urban Development about Sustainable Planning at ETHZ (2016) • Expert Interview for UNECE (United Nations Economic Commission for Europe) "Housing for Migrants: Challenges and Practices in the ECE Region" Study • Nominator - Aga Khan Award for Architecture (2015-) • Advisory Board - CANactions School of Urban Studies (2014-) • Advisory Board for Built Environment - European Forum Alpbach (2012-17) • Scientific Advisory Board: Medivercities (Network on Mediterranean Cities), Sessions in Montpellier and Sarajevo (2012-2014)
Professional Memberships and Affiliations	• Chair Young Leaders - Urban Land Institute Switzerland (2015-18) • ISOCARP-International Society of City and Regional Planners (2015-) • Ambassador - WALK 21 Vienna Conference on Pedestrianism and Innovative Urban Mobilities (2013) • ZBV-Zurich Study Society for Construction and Traffic Issues (2013-) • External Relations Council - AIESEC Zurich (2013-14) • Young Academic - AESOP-Association of European Schools of Planning (2012-18) • Architecture Forum Zürich (2012-) • Youth Forum - ARL (German Academy for Spatial Development and Land Planning) (2012-) • Young Academic - ECLAS (European Council of Landscape Architecture Schools) (2011-17) • Young Member - BSLA (Association of Swiss Landscape Architects) (2011-18)
Professional	• Jury Member: "Open City Sarajevo: Urban Prototype". Design Studio Semester

Juries and Scientific Reviews

Project at ETHZ (2019)

- Scientific Paper Reviewer and Organizational Committee Member: No/Low Cost Housing Conference. In collaboration between ETH Zurich and UN-Habitat Informal Urbanism Hub (2016)
- Scientific Paper Reviewer and Organizational Committee Member: Reactivate Sarajevo Symposium (2016)
- Scientific Paper Reviewer and Organizational Committee Member: LE:NOTRE Annual Landscape Forum (2014)
- Jury - "User-Generated Kyiv Ideas Competition for Maidan Square in Kiev" - International Architecture Competition (2014)
- Jury collaboration - "Rethinking Athens" - European Architectural Competition (2013)
- Jury Member: "Emerging & Sustainable Cities" Design Studio Semester Project at ETHZ, Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago (2013)
- Jury Member: "Transformative Urbanism: Designing Urban Prototypes for Water Ecology" Design Studio Semester Project at ETHZ, Bangkok, Thailand (2012)

Teaching and Expert Engagements

- Guest Expert: Die Angewandte-University of Applied Arts Vienna - CrossOver Master Studio (2018)
- Lectureship of Main Project II: University of Applied Sciences Nürtingen-Geislingen, Germany, "The Power of Open Space" (2017-18)
- University of Applied Sciences Bern, Switzerland: Expert/Co-adviser for Master Theses: "Ghost Cities of Madrid", "Market Upgrade through Social infrastructure in La Paz, Bolivia"(2015-16)
- HES-SO Fribourg, High School of Engineering and Architecture: Expert/Co-adviser for Master Thesis: "Community-based Slum Upgrade in Bangalore, India" (2015)
- Keynote Speaker: ISOCARP Annual Conference and Workshop Amsterdam - "Cities save the World, Let's reinvent planning" (2015)
- Keynote Speaker and Workshop Tutor: "Urban stories: Tools for reading contemporary cities". Czech Technical University in Prague (2014)
- Workshop Lecturer and Tutor: Belgrade Scapes:LAB / BiG Projects (2014-15)
- Elective Course: ETH Zurich "Action on the Real City" in Zurich-North (2014)
- Keynote Speaker and Workshop Tutor: Prishtina Informal Toolbox (2014)
- Workshop Lecturer and Tutor: Latvian University of Agriculture, Faculty of Rural Engineering (2014)
- Workshop Lecturer and Tutor: "On Urban relevance" and "Rethinking Skopje: City Creative Network" (2013-14)
- Scientific Researcher: "Binz - Constructing from the City", Diploma Thesis Topic 'A' at ETHZ (2013)
- Several Master Thesis, and Elective Thesis Mentorships at ETH Zurich (2012-2018)

Additional Education and Training

- NSL (Network City and Landscape) Colloquium: Methods in Urban and Landscape Studies (2019)
- English Language Media Training for Research Scientists: MAZ-Swiss Journalism School (2015)
- IDEA League - "Cities in Balance-Making Urban Systems Adaptive and Resilient" - Doctoral School on Urban Systems and Sustainability / ETHZ, FCL (Future Cities Lab) Singapore, RWTH Aachen, TU Delft, South China University of

Technology Guangzhou (2014-15)
- Learning to Teach Seminar (2014)
- Project Management for Research - Methods and Tools (2014)
- Habits of Highly Productive Academic Writers (2013)
- Entrepreneurship Course - Venture Challenge (2013)
- International Summer School: Multiculturalism in Spatial Development (ARL-German Academy for Spatial Research and Planning)(2012)
- Urban Land Institute Career Coaching: Coach Prof. Christiane Thalgott: Former City Planning Councillor of Munich and President of the German Academy for Urban and Regional Planning (2012-13)
- Summer School: Energy Landscapes 3.0 Bauhaus Dessau (2011)
- Workshop with GIZ (German Society for International Cooperation) with focus on Sustainable Water Infrastructures in Mexico City (2010)
- Summer School: GeoDesign and Landscape Visualization (2010)

| Exhibitions | - "Landscape in Progress", Contemporary Art Museum Skopje, Macedonia in collaboration with Mediterranean University of Reggio Calabria (2018)
- House of Architecture - Graz, Austria (2017-18)
- Architektur0.17 - Arc-Award Maag Halle Zurich, Switzerland (2017)
- "Reporting from the Front", 15th Venice Biennale of Architecture (2016)
- "Global Urban Toolbox" - City Hall Sarajevo (2016)
- "Sarajevo Now"- National Historical Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2015-16)
- House of the Cultures of the World - Berlin, Germany (2011) |

| Lectures (selection) | - "WeMakeTheCity" Festival. Amsterdam (2019)
- "Balkanise" at Ecole Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne (EPFL) (2018)
- "Innovative solutions for the global urban age". Ignite Zurich (2017)
- "Reactivating Sarajevo's (Dis)continuous urbanism" at University of Belgrade (2017)
- SIA Zurich Group: Pecha Kucha "Why" (2017)
- "People's Museum". RE-USE Symposium. Kotor, Montenegro (2016)
- Panel discussion: "Concurrent II: WWW (who, where, why) of our future?", Urban Land Institute Annual Conference. Paris (2015)
- "Critical insights – Reflections on practice and education in architecture" NTNU Trondheim, Norway (2015)
- "Travelling Communiqué". Yugoslav History Museum Belgrade (2014)
- "Sur Global: Knowledge Transfer in an Urban Era". Annual Conference of the Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies. University of Zurich (2015)
- "Discussion on DIY Education Tendencies in Architecture". ETHZ (2013)
- "Educate, Motivate, Create Conference" - Pavilion De L'Arsenal. Paris (2013)
- Moderator: Creative Zürich, Impact HUB: Landscape+Architecture=Landscape Architecture (2013)
- AESOP Annual Conference. METU Ankara, Turkey (2012)
- COP 10-Conference of the Parties. Hyderabad, India (2012)
- ECLAS Annual Conferences Belgrade (2007), Sheffield (2011), Hamburg (2013), Rapperswil (2016)
- IFLA Annual Conferences Brussels (2008, 2009, 2010), Tallinn (2011)
- LE:NOTRE Annual Conferences Antalya (2012), Sarajevo (2014)
- "Majority Report", Metropolis Non:Formal Conference in collaboration between |

UN-Habitat and Technical University of Munich (2011)
- IFLA Landscape Symposium - American University, Beirut Lebanon (2010)
- DLA: Digital Landscape Architecture Conferences and Summer Schools in Bernburg and Bauhaus Dessau (2010, 2011)

Publications (selection)

- Piplas, Haris; Brillembourg, Alfredo and Klumpner, Hubert (Eds.). City Action Lab - Reactivating the City in Post-Socialist Central-Eastern Europe. (Zurich: ETHZ, D-ARCH). 2018
- Piplas, Haris; Brillembourg, Alfredo and Klumpner, Hubert. "Reactivate Sarajevo Now-The Regeneration Design for the Historical Museum of Bosnia-Herzegovina". In: Landscape Architecture Frontiers. 6(1). 2018. pp. 98-111
- Piplas, Haris. "Reactivating Sarajevo's (Dis)Continuous Urbanism: Search for a green urban infrastructure". In: Topos Magazine. Wounds. 99. (Calwey Verlag: Munich). 2017. pp. 112-115
- Piplas, Haris. "Global Urban Toolbox and City Action Lab: Applied Research Approaches for Researching and Designing Contemporary Cities". In: 4th CICOP Annual Conference: Importance of Place (Athens/Sarajevo: CICOP/University of Sarajevo). 2017
- Piplas, Haris; Brillembourg, Alfredo and Klumpner, Hubert (Eds.). Global Urban Toolbox (Zurich: ETHZ, D-ARCH). 2016
- Fischer, Denise and Piplas, Haris. "The potentials of tridimensional entrepreneurship in transition states as catalyst for sustainable urban development". In: IDEA League Doctoral School on Urban Systems and Sustainability Proceedings (Internal Publication). 2015
- Marshall, Jim and Piplas, Haris. Marijin Dvor: The thriving neighbourhood. In: MIRUS Online Magazine http://mirusmag.com/issues/marijin-dvor-sarajevo. 2015
- Piplas, Haris (Ed.). Adaptive Capacity Of Cities (Brussels: IFLA Europe). 2013
- Piplas, Haris (Ed.). Political Implications of the Urban Landscape (Brussels: IFLA Europe). 2012
- Zatric, Mejrema; Piplas, Haris. "Representationless Urban Images: Contrasting Formal Planning Narratives and Informal Realities". In: Planning to achieve/Planning to avoid - AESOP 26th Annual Conference Proceedings (Ankara: METU). 2012
- Piplas, Haris et al. "The Disappearance of Gjuro Gjakovic" in Herold, Stephanie; Langer, Benjamin and Lechler, Julia. In: Reading the City: Urban Space and Memory in Skopje (Berlin: Universitätsverlag der TUB). 2011