

RE- CONSTRUCTING SARAJEVO

Negotiating Socio-Political Complexity





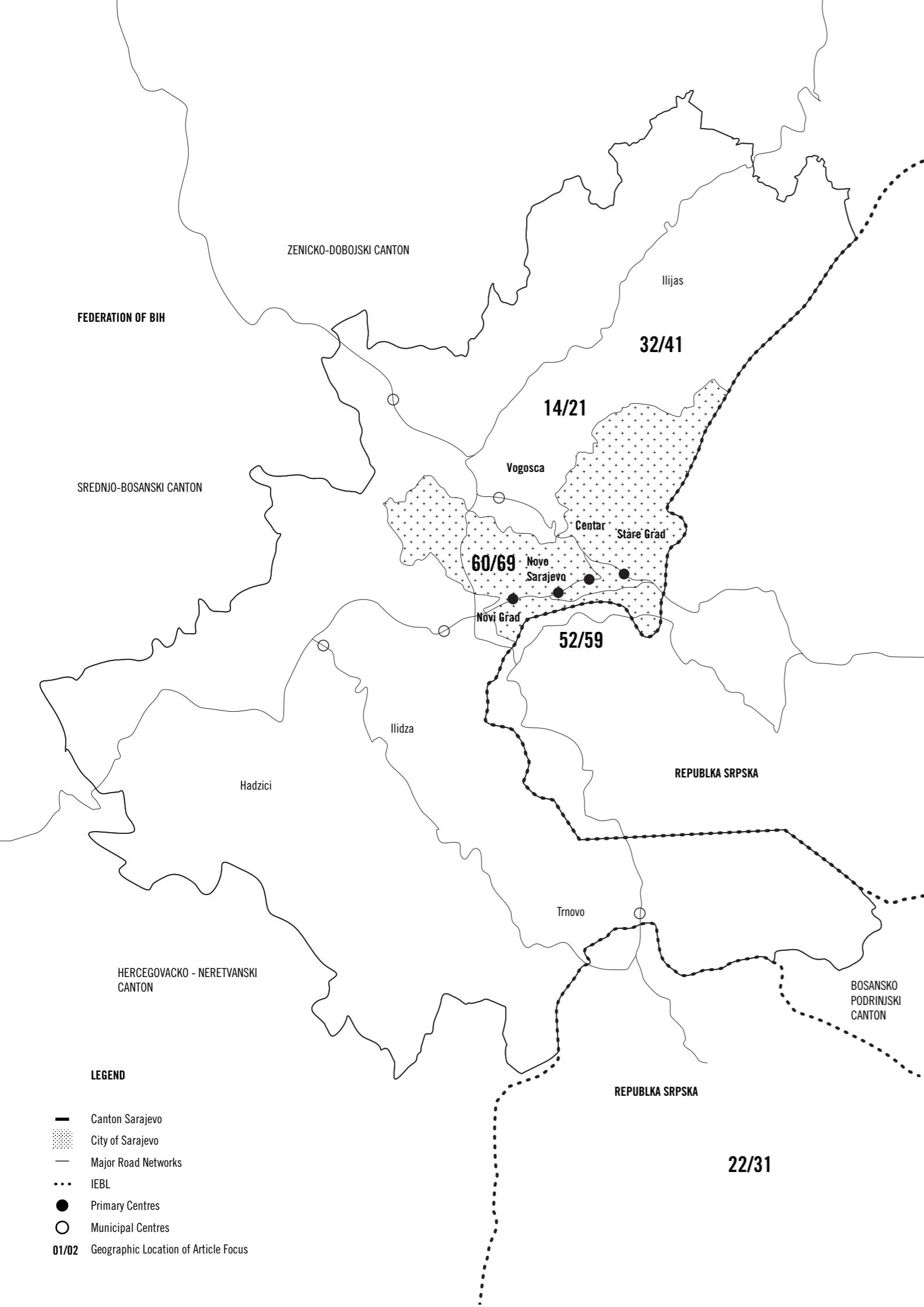


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RE- CONSTRUCTING SARAJEVO

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Sofia Garcia and Bronwyn Kotzen

EDITORS NOTE

The city of Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) is a mix of persistence and flux, a combination of elements that have been around for thousands of years, and others that have only recently been conceived.

The politics of power, cultural preferences, forgotten and remembered symbolism and modern day advances are all mutations which have shaped the city. The fact that urban elements have often changed independently of one other, according to different political cycles and economies, and for different reasons, have turned Sarajevo into a complex urban tapestry of old and new. This is a city which unashamedly bares testament to a history of shifting socio-political forces which have produced an urban landscape where some of its parts blur into one another, whilst others stand in sharp contrast.

Together with local academic and institutional partners, the London School of Economics Cities Programme co-ordinated a research orientated fieldtrip to Sarajevo. Learning from a multidisciplinary cohort of speakers, the discourse stretched across themes from history and politics, to architecture, urban planning and migration. This knowledge exchange, shared between a group of LSE master students and University of Sarajevo PhD candidates, offered a mirror to reflect on the city's challenges and opportunities in the aftermath of twentieth century socialism and war. Further confronted by intensifying changes in global economic trends, its political, social and spatial conditions constitute a future of uncertainty in the practice of city-making today.

In bringing to light a city that is both investing and reflecting on the long-term impacts of urban transformation, ***Reconstructing Sarajevo: Negotiating Socio-Political Complexity*** hopes to contribute to improving an understanding of the contested urban reality brought about by profound socio-political complexity. The publication reconstructs in academic essays, written dialogues and urban design proposals how the city has evolved over time, across different powers, cultures, influences and points of collision, while recognising how they are beginning to metamorphosize in the current age. Negotiating the future of this multi-ethnic and multi-layered city requires a nuanced reading of its past with a view to decipher how best to govern, design and live in a more cohesive city of plurality.



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PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Reconstructing Sarajevo is an initiative by Sofia Garcia and Bronwyn Kotzen that aims to bring together discourse from planners, academics, architects and students to converge and work towards an understanding of the link between politics, urban planning and architecture, and society in the sustainable urban development of the post-conflict and post-socialist city of Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina.

www.lse.ac.uk/LSECities/citiesProgramme



BOSNIA -
HERZEGOVINA
IN HISTORY

RECONSTRUCTING SARAJEVO



1945



1918

Fig.1918 Serbian Army enters Zagreb at the Formation of the New Kingdom
Horvat, J. 1989 Politička povijest Hrvatske, Zagreb

Fig.1945 Josip Broz Tito, president of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
Balkan Inside 2013 ‘Tito died but controversy remained: Who was Tito?’ Available from: <http://www.balkaninside.com/tito-died-but-controversy-remained-who-was-tito/>

Fig.1945 - 1980 Josip Broz Tito's Federal Project
<http://kaganof.com/kagablog/2013/08/29/cherry-walker-land-quest-towards-a-cosmopolitan-sense-of-place/>

Fig.1970 Savka Dabčević-Kučar –Croatian communist politician- speaking in Zagreb during the Croatian Spring
Croatia.eu n.d. ‘Yugoslavia and World War II (1918-1990)’ Available from: <http://www.hr-eu.net/article.php?lang=2&id=23>

Fig.1991 Croats gain an independent state
Croatia, The War and The Future 2014 ‘Croatia: Happy Statehood Day’ Available from: <http://inavukic.files.wordpress.com/2013/01/telegraph-17-jan-92.jpg>

Fig.1992 Sarajevo Devastated by War
Klawuttke, H. 1995 ‘Sarajevo after the siege lifted in 1995’ Available from: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bosnia_and_Herzegovina#mediaviewer/File:Saarajevo_Siege_Part_III.jpg

Fig.1995 Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic, Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman signing the Dayton Peace Accords
Gangne, M. 1995 Image in ‘What Ever Happened to Peace Treaties?’ Available from: http://www.slate.com/blogs/the_world_/2013/11/21/the_decline_and_fall_of_peace_treaties.html



1970



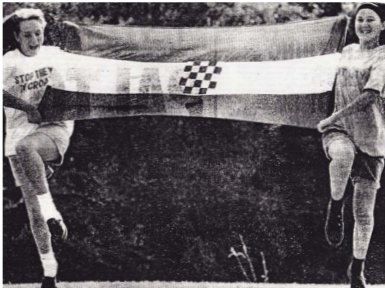
1945 - 1980

1945 -1980

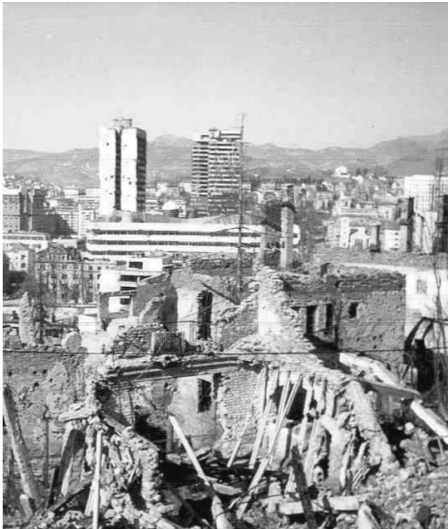
Josip Broz Tito's Federal Project
The second version of the Yugoslav state, operated under one overarching political culture and ideology of ‘Yugoslavism’ that would stitch together a country of multiple ethnic identities. A duo-nationality was attempted in which each person would concomitantly have a federal Yugoslav and an ethnic identity.

1970

First Cracks Of The Federal Project
Despite the political attempts at Yugoslav unity, protests against it started in 1968 and consolidated in 1970 during the so-called Croatian Spring when students in Zagreb protested for greater civil liberties and Croatian autonomy. As a result, in 1974 a new constitution was ratified which gave more autonomy to the republics in Yugoslavia and the two provinces in Serbia. Yet these efforts only partially resovled ethnic tensions which grew in Yugoslavia after Tito's death on 4 May 1980.



1991



1992

1991

Dissolution Of Yugoslavia
The SFRY's existence ended on 25 June 1991 when Slovenia and Croatia declared independence. By April 1992, Serbia and Montenegro were the only remaining entities in the Federation as Macedonia and BiH declared their independence.

1992

Beginning Of The War, Conflicting Bih And Serbia
In 1991, the referendum to form a Serbian republic within the borders of BiH was held by Bosnian Serbs and had overwhelmingly favourable results. The BiH government declared this unconstitutional and in March 1992, held a national referendum for Bosnian independence from Yugoslavia. Although boycotted by the Bosnian Serbs, the referendum resulted in BiH's declaration of independence in April of that same year which led to the Serbs immediately declaring the independence of Republika Srpska. Shortly after, the war in BiH began.



1995

1995

Dayton Peace Accords
Despite the various peace efforts from European allies, United States and the United Nations' NATO, the war endured for three years. Only in November of 1995 were the Dayton Peace Accords signed in Ohio, USA. The peace agreement divided BiH into two constituencies: the Federation of BiH and Republika Srpska which are divided by the Inter-Entity Boundary Line (IEBL). Sarajevo's territory sits on both constituencies and is still divided by the IEBL.

RECONSTRUCTING SARAJEVO

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA IN HISTORY

THE COUNTRY OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

DEMOGRAPHY



Total Population 2013

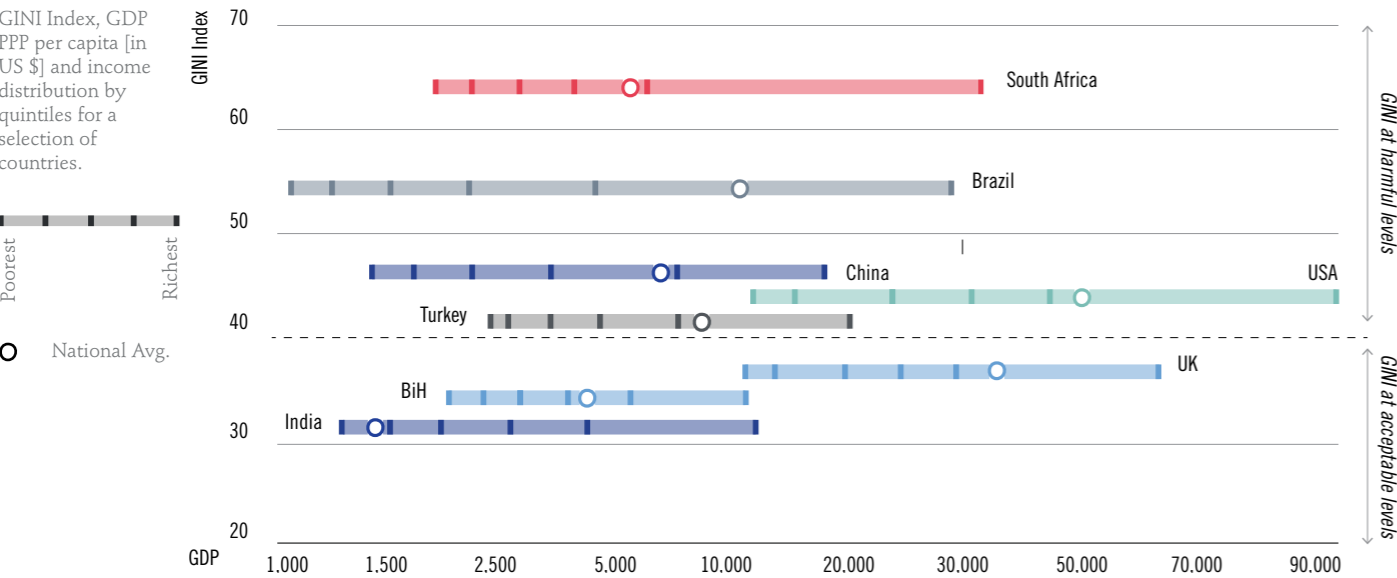
3.89 million

Before the conflict the population was 4.37 million

Urban Population 2013

49.3%

GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT & HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDEX



PERSONAL SECURITY

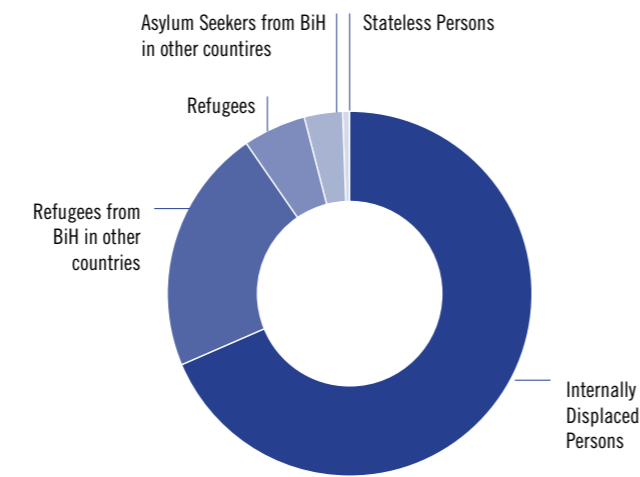
84.5 thousand

People remaining as Internally Displaced Persons (IDP's).

The right to return 'home' should not be thought of as the right to return to one's physical home. [...] the only place refugees can return to successfully is to the place where their tribe is –where they'll be looked after. That is home. They aren't welcome anywhere else.

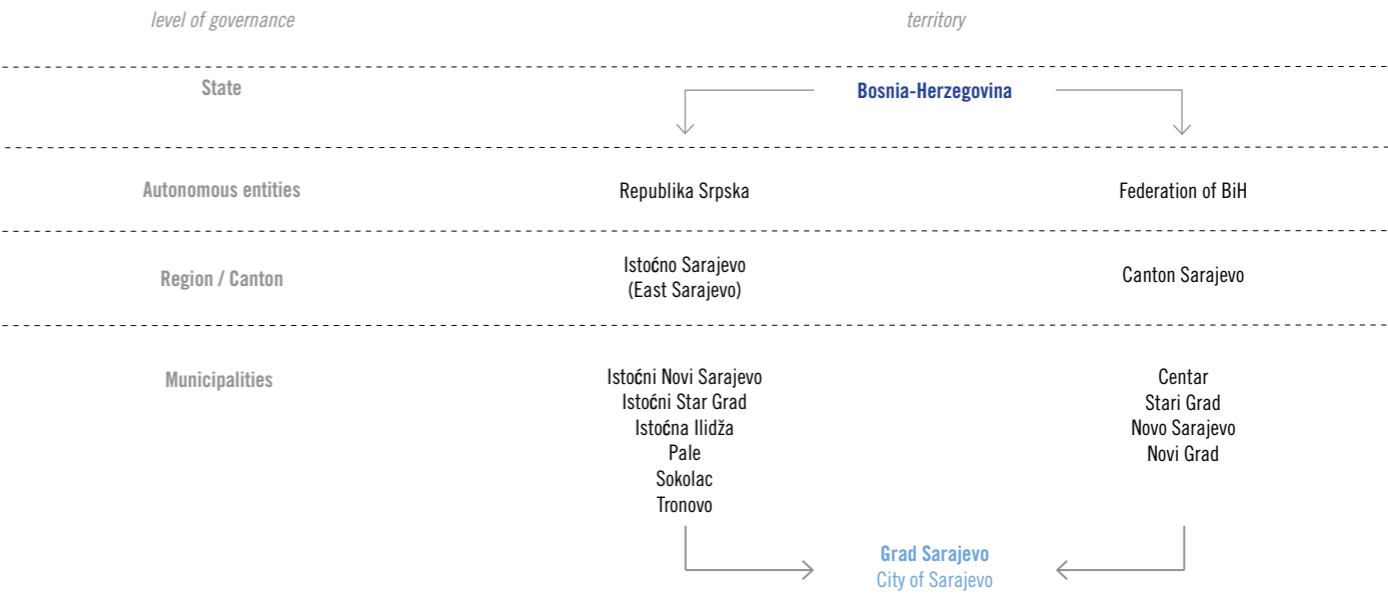
Anonymous in Brubaker, 2013:4

The Challenge of Displacement in BiH



SARAJEVO IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

GOVERNANCE STRUCTURE



THE CITY OF SARAJEVO

Given the unavailability of data, information relates to Canton Sarajevo only.

DEMOGRAPHY

Total Population 2013

368 thousand

79% live in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina
21% live in Republika Srpska

Estimated Ethnic Composition

Muslims	45 %
Serb Orthodox	36 %
Roman Catholics	15 %
Other	04 %

Net migration in 2013

1804 people

ECONOMY & EMPLOYMENT

Unemployment 2013

19.3%

in the working-aged population of Canton Sarajevo

Main Activities of Employed Work Force

Wholesale, retail, repair of vehicles	19 %
Public entities	12 %
Manufacturing	10 %
Education	08 %
Human Health and Social Work	07 %

Data Sources
United Nations Development Programme: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/data>
International Monetary Fund: <http://www.imf.org/external/data.htm>
Global Finance: <https://www.gfmag.com/global-data>
Statistical Yearbook 2013: <http://www.fzs.ba/Eng/gode.htm>
Worldbank: <http://www.wdi.worldbank.org/table/2.9>

SARAJEVO STORIES

Fran Tonkiss

FOREWORD

It is possible for a city to have too much history. In Sarajevo history is everywhere, not only because it has shaped the city in a way that is true for most cities, but especially acute in this particular somewhere; not only because Sarajevo is known to the world – insofar as it is known to the world – as a theatre of major historical events; but also and especially because Sarajevo *tells* its history so clearly in its spatial morphology as well as in its spatial details.

This narrative city develops along its river-valley as if unspooling the story of its own urban, cultural and geopolitical formation: from the Ottoman core and Habsburg centre to socialist and post-socialist extensions. The most recent chapters include the new suburbanism of the divided city, and the neo-colonialism of capital investment and cultural intervention from the Gulf and other places in Sarajevo’s non-contiguous ‘region’. Still, there is some very good urbanism to be had in these narratives. Both the Ottomans and the Austrians left behind characteristic and coherent urban *coeurs* – former ‘centres’ which lie side-by-side and together produce a different kind of urban centrality: one taking shape over centuries around a tight fabric of commerce and culture composed by souk, han, mosque and medresa; the other developed in the brief boom of a *fin de siècle* annexation that gave the city, among other things, its orientalist city hall, its public squares, and its excellent brewery. And for its size, Sarajevo has a high density of some of the better moments in socialist modernism. The city’s grander varieties of post-socialism, on the other hand, seem more bombastic and more overbearing than any of the imperial urbanisms that went before – even having had less time to assert themselves in the urban landscape than the Habsburgs once did.

Reading the city through its urban fabric makes a shift from reading it through fragmented histories. A small city best known as a site of ‘global’ geopolitical events – the proximate trigger for total war at the beginning of the twentieth century; the stage for a late-Cold War Olympics towards its other end; the most visible theatre of a war that was not only regional and ethnic but intra-urban as the century drew to its close – Sarajevo has been subject to the peculiar lack of recognition that intense visibility can bring. In a time when cities such as this struggle to establish a profile in the global game, it would be understandable if Sarajevo were to prefer a degree of

historical anonymity, not least so that it might speak its own stories, in its own idioms, in the years to come.

The ‘big’ history of Sarajevo’s short twentieth century can obscure the more located narratives of urban life and urban form that work according to different temporalities. It is true that trauma is legible on the surfaces of the city – from the almost apologetic marking of Gavrilo Princip’s so nearly-botched crimes, to the quietly enduring memorials to the city’s war-time Partisans, or neglected and unresolved monuments of the Yugoslav project. The traumatic marks of the 1990’s starkly underline some of what it means to make war in and on a city: the pavement roses that show how lives were stopped in their urban tracks; the tender sorrow of a park for the child victims of war; the shelled facades of a city that withstood siege, and in which recovery is never simply a matter of renovation. Some of the triumph figures in this story, too, but in a bathetic key: as in the washed-out murals and faded rings of an Olympic dream that ended, or an Olympiad museum housed in a fine early twentieth-century building, conflict-damaged and long closed. In a city so freighted with memory, this is just one of several museums that don’t open.

Holding these pieces in place, however, is less a fractured historical narrative than an asynchronic urbanism which knits together a physical fabric cut from different cloths. Sarajevo, after all – and for all its exceptionalism – remains an exemplary version of what a city is: a motley putting together (one hesitates to call it an ‘arrangement’, although many different actors have tried to order it to their design) of parts, things, people and processes connected and dis-connected over space and time. The fabric of Sarajevo is disjointed by its history and divided in its present. Yet the city *holds*. The pieces in ***Reconstructing Sarajevo: Negotiating Socio-Political Complexity*** trace the spatial and socio-political logics of this holding – the persistence of a city patterned by disjunctures and divisions – as well as the possibilities of opening new lines in the urban story.

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Professor Fran Tonkiss is the Director of LSE Cities Programme

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Gruia Bădescu

CITY MAKERS, URBAN RECONSTRUCTION AND COMING TO TERMS WITH THE PAST IN SARAJEVO

Gruia Bădescu

In the hustle and bustle of Sarajevo's old town, a Western tourist is taking photos of a rare ruined building, cautiously glancing around, perhaps not to be noticed as yet another ruin fetishist. In Sarajevo, ruins or pockmarked walls evoke, to the visitors at least, direct mental associations with the 1990's attacks on the city. However, in the post-socialist urban landscape of Sarajevo, a ruin can similarly be an insight to the political economies of uncertainty and fuzziness of property rights, which often prevents reconstruction. As many residents indicate, with time they stopped noticing bullet holes and ruins, which melted somehow into the background. Yet reactions to Lebbeus Woods' proposal of a reconstructed Sarajevo floating amidst ruins were met with significant local opposition. Woods called for the city to be rebuilt in a way that new buildings would be constructed alongside ruins, leaving the ruins to be invaded by greenery and perhaps even haunted by memories. His vision condemned residents to perpetual sightings of these ruins, to possibilities of either perpetual memorialisation or mere trivialisation of the ruin. The proposal, utopic and daring, did not fit the vision of the local communities, architects and planners who wanted to *move on*, and as many of them have shared, to reconstruct the city the way it once was; that pleasant, picturesque and diverse city surrounded by mountains. Yet at the end of destruction waged upon a city, how should city-makers actually approach ruins, war damage and the process of reconstruction? How should reconstruction problematise the act of destruction itself? In the complicated canvas of urgency, of immediate housing and infrastructure needs, of funding considerations, of politics, what is the place of the process of '*coming to terms with this past*' in urban reconstruction?

I started pondering about what it means to reconstruct a city as I visited Warsaw in the summer of 2003 and found the reconstruction of its 'Stare Miasto' (Old Town) an intriguing act of moving forward by reclaiming a destroyed past. I later researched the post Second World War reconstruction of three of West Germany's most damaged cities, exploring connections between architecture and politics in the land where the moral philosophy of 'coming to terms with the past' was born. Sarajevo, however, came to me in a different way. It was the sheer energy and atmosphere of the place that captivated me, as well as its uniqueness to any other city I had experienced until that point. Sarajevo is not a city palimpsest like Rome or Beirut, with multiple layers overwriting each other; it is rather a city of accretion, with its historical parts strikingly well lined up in a chronological array. In Sarajevo one can find the former Ottoman centre meeting a Hapsburg built quarter, neighbouring socialist Yugoslavia's big city grandeur –Royal Yugoslavia was less present in this array of periods, with some islands of interwar modernism or stately institutions appearing punctually in the city. Yet while these parts were distinct, the juxtaposition of sacred objects, mosques, synagogues, Orthodox and Catholic churches made its fame as a mythical Jerusalem of Europe. Furthermore, the city defies stereotypical characterisations of either a haven of multiculturalism or a Balkanising setting of perpetual antagonisms, of rural-urban clean cut cleavages. Traditionally its spatial structure was at the same time one of *togetherness* and *apartness*; while the central core represented the meeting place of all groups, the 'mahalas' on the hills exclusively hosted homogenous religious communities organised around their own places of worship –although in socialism these residential divisions were blurred and shifted, while local versus newcomer identities were emerging. This multiple layering of spaces and people makes Sarajevo a fascinating city to unearth the challenges posed by war and post-war reconstruction.

The attack on the city, less than 10 years after the very successful Olympic Games were held in Sarajevo, a period of reconstruction processes took place in the midst of many physical and societal scars. The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) was different from other types of wars, either 'classical wars' or 'civil wars'. As Mary Kaldor calls it, the war in Sarajevo was the prototype of the 'new wars', a peculiar blend of international conflict and civil war, domestic and foreign actors, competing claims of sovereignty, paramilitaries and national armies descending on the city (Kaldor, 1999). What different challenges does this particular type of war bring? What does it mean to *rebuild* in Sarajevo and how can such reconstruction engage with the past?

This is the focus of my PhD dissertation; to unearth the connections between post-war architectural reconstruction and the process of 'coming to terms with the past,' as well as to understand how a different perspective of this particular war matters in succeeding at the aforementioned task. The latter is accomplished by addressing three dimensions of post-war reconstruction. Firstly there is the challenge of overcoming the physical destruction of cities which, from a standpoint of 'coming to terms with the past', means complementing the necessary basic provision of housing and infrastructure, creating a sense of place for residents. Second, reconciling the present with the past also places responsibility on architectural reconstruction and its potential to engage and problematise the nature of conflict through its deliberate design and reconstruction of ruined buildings, public spaces or memorials. Third, 'coming to terms with the past' also means approaching the city in its new socio-demographic diversity and hence engaging with new residents who experienced displacement. In this paper, I will focus on the second dimension by exploring how city makers in Sarajevo have dealt with physical destruction with regard to the nature of conflict. I will do so by inquiring more generally about 'coming to terms with the past' dimension of the work of architects, planners and other professionals involved in urban reconstruction, and by exploring five specific points about such process that have emerged from my ongoing research.



THE PROCESS OF URBAN RECONSTRUCTION IS ONE BESET BY MANY QUESTIONS AND DECISIONS

One of the main experts in the study of urban reconstruction, Sultan Barakat defines post-war reconstruction as “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” (Bakarak, 2005:11). While reconstruction has been traditionally viewed by architects and planners as an opportunity to either fix problems of the old city or bring forward new visions of it –for instance CIAM¹ and modernism after Second World War (Diefendorf, 2011)- their approach has historically addressed mostly functional concerns. Architects and planners have answered primarily to the pragmatic needs of building housing and urban infrastructure (Bakarak, 2005); echoing Hanover’s post-war chief city planner, “the goal was not to decorate Hanover or to build an attractive city, but to solve efficiently the housing problem” (Diefendorf, 1993:63).

The *functional* reconstruction of housing and infrastructure is understandably a priority, as it directly involves those affected by destruction and displacement. However, in recent years, there has been an increasing call to engage more with social and political issues and to approach reconstruction at a broader scale, as an integrated process -bridging the spatial challenges with the social concerns (Bakarat et.al, 1998). Esther Charlesworth, an architect studying divided cities, has called for the professions of the built environment to intervene in post-conflict resolution; by calling for humanitarian-like ‘architects without borders’, Charlesworth has worked towards a code of practice, a Hippocratic Oath for architects in war situations (Charleswhorth, 2006).

Architects and planners –local or international- involved in reconstruction work face multiple questions and dilemmas, from the reconstruction of the built form to engagement with the social realm. A first question they encounter is whether to reconstruct at all, and if the answer is affirmative, what should the relationship between the reconstructed building and the previous one in terms of form then be. An important caveat is that urban reconstruction does not automatically imply the creation of a copy of the past; it comprises a series of approaches of how to deal with destroyed urban landscapes, varying from facsimile

reconstruction –or ‘replicas’- with totally new construction on the same site. The mere concept of facsimile reconstruction, however, has raised the question of ‘authenticity’ –a comparison has been made with having a copy of a painting in a museum after the original was burnt (Diefendorf, 1993). Despite this dilemma, this type of reconstruction has been regarded by conservationists and heritage specialists as possessing a fundamental role in the preservation of a *sense of place*, thus simultaneously carrying a social function (Higueras, 2013).

Another challenge involved in reconstruction is the temporality of it. As cities endure through destruction, it is often difficult to know when the violence will stop. With a great dose of incertitude, during the first year of the war, a group of young architects at University of Sarajevo, started discussing the effects of destruction and the possible ideas for reconstruction in the city, only to find out that the siege would continue for two more years². Despite this, in Sarajevo the *temporality* of destruction has involved a particular component of certainty in comparison with other contexts of conflict. After the Dayton Accords, the destruction in Sarajevo had reached a finite end-point; unlike other cases such as Lebanon or Israel and Palestine, which despite reaching peace agreements, are unable to speak of ‘post conflict reconstruction’ but rather forced to deal with ‘reconstruction *while* in a state of continuously re-emerging conflict’.

Beyond the questions of dealing with the sheer built form, lie questions about the extent of the impact of reconstruction and the possibilities it holds for bridging the spatial with the social challenges brought about by destruction. Barakat argues that “the most far reaching, potent and destructive problem” is the destruction of relationships between people, including the loss of human dignity, trust, confidence and faith in the others. He calls for reconstruction to address this most difficult of problems in meaningful ways (Barakat, 2005:9). In Sarajevo, Igor Grozdanić, co-founder of architectural studio NonStop, adds “physical destruction is actually minor. Mental destruction is a bigger problem and a more important one”³.

Psychiatrist Mindy T. Fullilove⁴ describes the traumatic stress reaction produced by the partial or entire destruction of a person’s meaningful places of *belonging* as ‘root shock’ (Fullilove, 2004). As social psychologists such as Fullilove or Kai Erikson (1994), or geographers like Yi-

fu Tuan (1977) or Karen Till (2012) have expressed, *place* has a central function in an individual’s ‘emotional ecosystem’ (Till, 2012). Place-making, consequently, is essential for healing trauma; for which, agents of post-war reconstruction would therefore have the challenge of bringing back meaning and sense to these worlds. But, are city-makers properly equipped to deal with the psychological dimension of ‘coming to terms with the past’? Is it actually their responsibility? John Yarwood, drawing from his work in a number of post-disaster areas and his psychological studies, stated that people who have experienced war –or other types of traumatic conflict- do not need “their personal traumas to be focused on, but rather they need practical problems to be resolved”. Thus urban reconstruction helps them focus on the future rather than on the traumas of the past (Yarwood, 1999). According to this perspective, it is through focusing on the immediate needs of people rather than symbolic objects, that a more effective reconstruction process can be produced, as an intellectual from Sarajevo illustrates, “not until some firms or some factories where those people could work are rebuilt, will we need the old city... if only the eyes are full and the pockets empty, then there is nothing”⁵ (Djulić, 2014).

Under this lens, Calame and Pašić critique the assumption that reconstructing symbolic heritage –understood as the satisfaction of emotional needs- should take precedence over addressing functional or practical needs. In doing so they have criticised spending more than US\$ 12 million in the reconstruction of the Old Bridge of Mostar, understood –incorrectly as a bridge between two antagonistic communities, while direct needs of the population remain unaddressed. On the other hand, Higueras underlines that the process of reconstruction of heritage is more a social phenomenon rather than a physical one. At times, heritage is the location of important functions –which range from institutions such as schools to sacral objects like a mosque- and their reconstruction contributes to restoring the functioning of a community, aside from reinstating the sense of place mentioned above (Higueras, 2013). From this body of research it could be said that despite the many dilemmas that beset reconstruction, its success depends on its ability to find and enhance the social uses of urban space.

'COMING TO TERMS WITH THE PAST' IS IMPORTANT: RECONSTRUCTION IS NOT BUSINESS AS USUAL

Another social dimension of urban reconstruction is the role that it plays in the process of 'coming to terms with the past'. It is the nature of the *past* that makes reconstruction distinctive from other forms of urban reconfiguration. The seminal concept of ‘coming to terms with the past’ comes from the moral philosophical writings of Theodor Adorno in his attempt to engage with a German society that was dealing with the traumas left by the Second World War. Adorno argued that societies that repress or reinvent their violent pasts will continue to carry the imprint of violence; while societies in which the past, although painful, is embedded in present debates and cultural practices, can better emerge as functional societal democracies (Adorno, 1959). Using Adorno’s conception as a starting point, I argue that reconstruction is not a trivial urban pursuit and that a “business as usual” approach is not conducive to the general process of societal recovery after conflict and violence.

In the case of Sarajevo, what kind of violent past does the city have to deal with? It is not the place here to explore the traumatic siege of Sarajevo or the complicated canvas of factors that triggered the war in BiH⁶, but is important to mention that Sarajevo underwent the longest siege of a capital city in the history of modern warfare. The perpetrated attacks killed almost 5,500 civilians and damaged 65% of the building stock of Sarajevo, including 70,000 apartments⁷; a significant part of the attacks were targeted against symbolic architectural objects which carried a cultural meaning (Association of Architects Sarajevo, 1994). As former Belgrade mayor Bogdan Bogdanović interprets the assault over Sarajevo, the attacks were an ‘urbicide’, a deliberate targeting of urban life and cosmopolitanism which Sarajevo symbolised. This *murder* of the city was executed both through physical destruction and *symbolic* annihilation, strangling it through siege and austerity, terrorising it through continuous sniper shootings (Bogdanović, 1993). The murderers of the city, Bogdanović argues, were motivated not only by blind nationalism, but also by an anti-urban outlook attributed to Sarajevo’s rural hinterlands (Bogdanović, 1993).

Post-war Sarajevo inherited not only a devastated urban environment, but also a distinct population profile; large numbers of

Bosniak (Bosnian Muslim) refugees arrived in the city during the war, and remained in it as the war concluded (Stefansson, 2007). After the Dayton Accords, from a multicultural, heterogenous city, Sarajevo became two almost entirely mono-ethnic cities. On one side lies Sarajevo city –the capital of the Federation of BiH- where more than 87% of its over 350, 000 inhabitants are Bosniak and the majority of the rest is a Croat minority. Istočno Sarajevo neighbours it on the other side –part of Republika Srpska- that comprises pre-war suburbs and houses only 30,000 inhabitants of which an overwhelming majority are Bosnian Serbs (Stefansson, 2007:59).

IT IS THE NATURE OF THE PAST THAT MAKES RECONSTRUCTION DISTINCTIVE FROM OTHER FORMS OF URBAN RECONFIGURATION.

With its physical environment damaged and its population profile dramatically changed, can reconstruction be just an act of repair? Interviews with architects involved in activism at the end of the war revealed that a common wish was to recover the pre-war city, a wish which echoed the desires of many Sarajevans as well. But the significantly different situation of the city after the war made it impossible to go back. Urban reconstruction brought about the challenge to make sense of the destruction and of the social and spatial changes which occurred in the city during the siege. But how was this challenge reflected in the reality of the process of reconstruction?

RECONSTRUCTION CAN BE SEEN AS AN URBAN PROGRAMME AND AS A PROCESS WHERE ACTORS AND AGENTS HAVE EVER-SHIFTING ROLES

The city, according to Hanna Arendt, is a place to form loyalties and responsibilities, a key component in the construction of a political community that in contexts of violence can help to overcome the traumas of the past. For Arendt, it is by creating new worlds of meaning through shaping a polity as a whole, that the past can be overcome. Therefore, we could see urban reconstruction as a significant vital process that plays an important role in 'coming

to terms with the past' if it engages with shaping new worlds of meaning, of loyalties and citizen responsibilities. I argue that shaping such loyalty is related to shaping a sense of place and belonging; achieving a regeneration of such genius loci⁸ should be a main goal for architects and city makers involved in urban reconstruction. The regeneration of a sense of place is an urban programme in itself.

Was the reconstruction of Sarajevo guided by a certain urban programme or vision? The reconstruction of Sarajevo after 1995 occurred in a divided city, in two newly created post-Dayton Accords entities that constituted the new fragmented city. There was no single masterplan for the reconstruction of Sarajevo and there was very little co-operation between the municipalities on the two sides of the new Inter-Entity Boundary Line (IEBL) that divided the city. Sarajevo found itself in a paradoxical situation of having a more important function after the war -now the capital of an independent country as opposed to one of a constitutive republic of a federation)- but with a reduced area, number of municipalities and population⁹. The city of Sarajevo, consisting of four municipalities in the Federation of BiH, benefited from international funding and expertise to conduct the reconstruction. Nevertheless, given the multiple levels of bureaucracy in decision making processes and the absence of an integrated reconstruction plan, the latter was approached in a piecemeal fashion and took a relatively long time. Different local and foreign architects have highlighted the absence of an urban programme for the post-war city. Jean-Francois Daoulas, a French architect living in Sarajevo who participated in several reconstruction projects, contrasted the lack of such mobilising urban project with the urban project of modernisation during both the Austrian rule –turning the city into a window of Austro-Hungarian modernity in the Balkans- and the socialist years –reflecting the industrial progressive nature of the socialist polity. After 1995, projects have been isolated, without territorial integration or strategic concern. As Daoulas exemplifies, the reconstruction of a neighbourhood around the airport was approved without considering the latter’s long term needs to expand¹⁰.

There is a contrast between the view of interviewed architects and planners on how reconstruction went. While urban planners working for various levels of government highlighted the existence of a relatively well-defined process of reconstruction –

that went from planning to funding actions-architects commented that such processes were rather haphazard. This ambiguity could imply a disconnect between the local authorities and the local architects with regards to the reconstruction of Sarajevo. It similarly reflects the particular situation in which architects saw themselves in at the end of the war and the beginning of the post-socialist transition. Authors such as Frampton, Glavan and Mimica (2000) have described post 1991 architects in ex-Yugoslavia as extras, freelance actors without a script. As opposed to the situation in pre-dissolution years, “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” (Frampton, 2000). The architectural profession was severely hit by the war but also by the post-socialist transition; it was the combination of the two which led architects and planners to a solitary and liminal position in the turbulent processes of urban reconstruction.

The shifting role of the state as a welfare provider, as well as the reshuffling of government structures in post-war post-socialist BiH, entirely altered the position and role of the architecture and planning professions. Traditional organisational structures of the Yugoslav society were transitioned first into competing regimes of self-declared new units beset by violence and insecurity, and at the end of the war into new, more stable systems defined by entities, cantons and municipalities. These structural adjustments were paralleled by a weakening state and the vacuum of the ‘public’ during the war. In this context, architects as well as planners emerged in a state of confusion about their new role. According to Sanja Galić and Igor Grozdanić –founders of Studio NonStop in Sarajevo- the specificity of transition and of the post-war situation in BiH explained the lack of ambition among the new generations of architects as well as the poor advancements in cultural production as a whole (Galić, 2012). The reconstruction of the country went hand in hand with the reconstruction of the profession itself. New agents in the architectural environment emerged and new guard studios were established. The case of Hans Ibelings, Dutch architect and critic, commanding the work of already established architects like Zlatko Ugljen and Ivan Straus, illustrates this argument (ibid).

Interviews with built environment professionals have underlined a desire for a certain *normality* to be re-established; one that could allow architects or planners to

work within a functioning system, to be able to create and deal with *normal* and somehow predictable conditions, in a legible framework, not in an ever changing environment. Nevertheless, with time, as money interests and politics interfered and became the dominant modes of ‘making the city’, the new ‘normal’ became a set of capitalist practices, the rules of global capital in a still transitioning and unstable political system¹¹.

Urban dwellers themselves have expressed a desire for *normality* in city making, however the vision of ‘normality’ has been a contested one. For some, the city’s modernisation –evident in the new contemporary skyline- represents a symbol of *normalisation*, evolution and catching up with the progresses of modern life. The attitudes towards these changes in Sarajevo’s landscape are however, by no means universally positive; while some are happy about the sense of moving forward, the new constructions are seen by others as aggressions to the city’s original form. The new buildings are seen as another sign of the state of disenfranchisement of Sarajevo’s residents with regards to decisions that affect them. The takeover of the city’s landscape by large-scale international investors and the construction of small private development projects that block other buildings’ views are profoundly disturbing for many. These changes have brought forward allegations of a pervasive corruption at all levels of government and private investment, the state’s retreat from projects of public interest and the nominal space given to public consultation. The local residents feel like non-actors in the process of reshaping the city. For some this discontent has led to protest, while for others it has led to general resignation. While it is not the place here to discuss the complex canvas of Sarajevans’ resistance, resilience and resignation, it is important to underline that a reconstruction process with disenfranchised stakeholders, contradicts *overcoming* of the past in Arendtian terms of building a polity together.

ARCHITECTURAL RECONSTRUCTION CAN BE POLITICAL, AND AT TIMES PERCEIVED AS AN ACT OF SYMBOLIC VIOLENCE

Architectural reconstruction is not business as usual. Robert Bevan (2006) argued that ‘unintentional monuments’ –places for everyday life, such as houses of worship, fountains and libraries- become ‘intentional monuments’ through their reconstruction, charged with political meaning. In fact,

reconstruction has an inherent potentiality for ‘symbolic’ and ‘cultural violence’ by expressing certain political narratives and reducing the space for others (Žižek, 2009; Galtung, 1990). Dacia Viejo-Rose showed in her study of the reconstruction of post-civil war Spain how the reconfiguration of the built environment and landscape pursued by Franco’s regime drove a certain vision of the country, erasing dissent and suppressing diversity (Viejo-Rose, 2011) She therefore argued that reconstruction itself can be violent. The nature of this violence is different from direct violence –like destruction or expulsions- that come with war and its aftermath, or structural violence associated with the state and political rights; this type of violence is styled as ‘cultural violence’ (Galtung, 1990) or ‘symbolic violence’ (Žižek, 2009), which prolongs the violence of war through the reshaping of the symbolic landscape.

At times, the act of reconstruction alters the ruined building to carry a certain symbolic message. In BiH minarets and bell towers rebuilt a number of times taller than the original are quite common examples thereof. In Sarajevo, the rehabilitation of certain mosques by whitewashing the colourful interior decorations specific to Balkan Muslim practices have been criticised by preservationists. An example is the 1996 restoration of the Gazi Husrev Mosque in Sarajevo; the reconstruction –funded by the Saudi government- stripped the interior decorations specific to Balkan Islamic design, which were deemed problematic by puritan ‘Wahhabis’¹². They remodelled the interior in an austere whitewashed manner, protested by local preservationists (Bevan, 2006). Furthermore, funders from Islamic countries have been supporting new mosque construction schemes that stand out due to their large dimension and stylistic differences from Bosnian mosques. One interviewed architect, for instance, commented that a “new line of badly behaved architects” keep introducing grand non-Bosnian elements in mosque architecture¹³. New mosques usually come equipped with educational infrastructure and teaching staff that are seen by some Sarajevans as bringing different types of Islam than the one traditionally practiced in Bosnia.

While various landmarks, ethnic-identity related structures and state buildings were privileged in the reconstruction of Sarajevo, the sites of common memory were less so. For example, the Vraca monument, a 78,000 m2 memorial park in remembrance of the victims of the Second World War and place used intensely by Sarajevans

THE SHIFTING ROLE OF THE STATE AS A WELFARE PROVIDER, AS WELL AS THE RESHUFFLING OF GOVERNMENT STRUCTURES IN POST-WAR POST-SOCIALIST BIH, ENTIRELY ALTERED THE POSITION AND ROLE OF THE ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING PROFESSIONS.

Gruia Bădescu

for leisure, was destroyed in the siege and never reconstructed after 1995. Initially, the Vraca was a monument to both the victims and the liberators –the ‘Yugoslav Partisans’¹⁴- of Sarajevo during the Second World War. The Partisans were a central building myth of socialist Yugoslavia and their *post-national* as well as *socialist* characterisation became an impediment for the politics of the 1990s.

These examples all highlight that reconstruction or the lack thereof, holds an important dimension of embodying a certain political narrative, and thus contributing to a certain politics of memory. It is only through engaging with the roots of this violence and the nature of war that reconstruction can engage with the past, echoing the Adornian approach. The reality on the ground reflects an engagement with the past, but a very particular type that leads to reifying nation-building narratives. This contradicts Adorno's call to find the roots of the problem and express -through cultural production- a form of resistance against them. If we consider nationalist politics as the roots of the problem in BiH, an engagement with the past would mean to produce cultural forms that challenge them, something that has not yet happened on the ground. Nevertheless, 'coming to terms with the past' is a long-term process, Adorno himself said that it takes generations for societies to internalise the challenges of reconciliation. It is therefore perhaps too early to ask for more radical forms of engaging with the past through the production of urban form in BiH.

RECONSTRUCTION IS ALSO ABOUT RESTORING A SENSE OF PLACE FOR BOTH PRE-WAR LOCALS AND DISPLACED PEOPLE IN THE CITY

After the war, both long term residents and displaced people could experience the loss of their familiar surroundings and their sense of place. In obliterated cities like Warsaw, Rotterdam or Cologne in the Second World War, the pile of rubble that replaced the familiar cityscapes was no more familiar for older generations than for the displaced. Yet for the latter, it is not only a loss of a ‘before’, it is also a loss of a ‘there’. Place-makers such as architects and planners therefore need to consider the particularities of the displaced populations in the way they shape urban reconstruction. In my ongoing research, I explore how issues of displacement, emplacement and home-making can inform design. Central to the endeavour to understand how architectural reconstruction contributes to this goal is the phenomenological approach

of Feld and Basso (1996) and the concept of ‘emplacement’ -“the way in which people encounter places, and invest them with significance”. This relates to the redemptive strategies of 'coming to terms with the past' of destruction and suffering through reconstruction and emplacement, bearing in mind that as Voldman wrote, “the rebuilt landscapes [are] also the overwhelming witnesses of the cataclysm and of lost horizons” (Voldman, 1997).•

NOTES

- 1 CIAM - International Congresses of Modern Architecture, stands for Congrès Internationaux D'Architecture Moderne. It was an organisation of architects and planners founded in 1928 with the objective of promoting across Europe the principles of 'modernism'.
- 2 This resulted into a publication titled Warchitecture (Das –Sabih, 1994)
- 3 Interview with Igor Grozdanić.
- 4 Mindy Thompson Fullilove is a psychiatrist and professor at Columbia interested in the links between the environment and mental health.
- 5 Interview with Sead Djulić, director of Mostar theater.
- 6 See for instance in Donia, R. 2006.
- 7 12000 apartments were lightly damaged, 35,000 heavily damaged, and 24,000 totally destroyed (Mehmed, 1999).
- 8 The protective spirit of a place in classical Roman mythology.
- 9 Interview with Gordana Memišević, Urban Planning Institute of Sarajevo.
- 10 Interview with Jean Francois Daoulas.
- 11 Interviews with Igor Grozdanić, Nina Ugljen-Ademović and Nihad Cengiç.
- 12 Orthodox religious movement of Sunni Islam.
- 13 Anonymous interview.
- 14 The 'Yugoslav Partisans' or the 'National Liberation Army' was Europe's most effective anti-Nazi resistance movement led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia during the Second World War.



View from one of the many urban cemeteries overlooking the city's rolling hills. Image © Sophie Thbaut 2014



A history of ethnic division that lead BiH to war and has torn the country apart.
Image © Sophie Thibault 2014

THE POLITICS OF MEMORY AND DIVISION IN POST-CONFLICT BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA & SARAJEVO

Sofia Garcia and Bronwyn Kotzen

In the context of post-conflict countries which struggle to overcome the devastation of war and build bridges toward futures of national cohesion, ‘memory’ can be a unifying force –a vehicle for reconciliation and a push toward transitional justice; but it can also cause deepening socio-political and geographic fractures, dangerously perpetuating and engraving conflicting imaginaries onto the urban landscape forever. For a country like Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) and more particularly the city of Sarajevo, both historically marked by conflict, understanding the role of ‘memory’ takes particular salience. This paper aims to extend the notion of memory and its role in post-conflict contexts in an effort to illustrate how *memorialisation* of the past is exercised in current governance practices. Within the framework of this conception, ‘memory’ is not merely an enactment confined to memorials, museums and reconciliation commissions, but is further extended and enforced through tools of governance and therefore consequently practiced by citizens in their everyday lives. The core thesis of this argument suggests that the way in which the territories of both the country of BiH and city of Sarajevo are currently governed –since the cessation of the war in 1995 -*memorialises* and perpetuates the very divisions that initially catalysed the nation to war in the first place.

In developing a framework for this argument, the paper intends to critically engage with the themes of ‘ethnic division’, ‘governance’ and ‘memory’. By introducing an account of BiH’s continuous project –throughout history- to create a single unified state, the inherent challenges posed by internal ethnic divisions for the accomplishment of such objectives are outlined. This historical, social and political background sets the scene to better understand the consequences of the Dayton Peace Accords in its attempts to achieve a single nation state; a goal which has proved profoundly challenging within a context of historically heterogeneous ethno-nationalities; one which is perhaps not as coherent or effective as it may be perceived¹ . By drawing out scholarly perspectives, the second part analyses how governance of BiH and Sarajevo have maintained and institutionalised the ethnic divisions and political differences in the country and city’s reality. It ultimately suggests that the model of governance institutionalised at the resolution of the war has both continued and silently extended a geography of socio-political division. Lastly, the key arguments made in the first two sections are stitched together by switching registers to an analysis of memory in post-conflict contexts and the manner in which the ethnic divisions that triggered the war are actively being memorialised through present forms of governance. In reading the nuances inherent within this process, the urban reality that constitutes the practice of city-making in Sarajevo is revealed.



Fig.1 Behind the hill lies the 'Inter-Entity Boundary Line' that separates the country in two and bisects the city's differences. Image © Sofia Garcia 2014



PART 1: THE PROJECT OF STATE UNIFICATION

“Just three weeks ago, the Muslims, Croats and Serbs came to Dayton, Ohio, in America’s heartland to negotiate a settlement. They, exhausted by war, made a commitment to peace. They agreed to put down their guns to preserve Bosnia as a single state [...] to try and build a peaceful democratic future”. These were the words of then President Bill Clinton in his speech to the American nation about the cessation of the Bosnian war –brought about by an international peace treaty in Dayton, Ohio in November of 1995; the agreement now referred to as the Dayton Peace Accords (DPA). However, as effective as the Accords were in bringing the three year war that claimed 250 thousand lives and displaced over 2 million people to an end, it would be misleading to read this ‘achievement’ as a tool which has wholly resolved the profound ethnic divisions at the very core of BiH’s troubled state-building history (fig. 1).

As Gearóid Ó Tuathail indicates, the DPA was the result of a “particular geopolitical conjuncture” that marked the compromise of the United States and its European

allies to achieve “the principle of modern civic democratic politics within a unified polity” (Ó Tuathail, 2006:146). Despite its intentions for a cohesive unified state of multiple nationalities, the western views which drove the DPA overlooked a history of conflicting ethno-nationalism in the Balkans that have demonstrated the region’s limited capacity to achieve this goal. The conflict had therefore been considered ‘resolved’ by the ‘forceful diplomacy’ of Richard Holbrooke –Chief U.S. peace negotiator- and US National Security Adviser Anthony Lake’s “arch realist search for a more coherent map” for BiH (Ó Tuathail, 2006:144).

Yet, as Gearóid Ó Tuathail (2006:146) suggests, the coherency of this map simply “ended the war but did not resolve any conflict”. The creation of a coherent state premised on western standards has been unable in solving the deep ethnic incoherencies that triggered the conflict in 1992. It is important to note, as Ó Tuathail identifies, that BiH is a place “historically stabilised by an outside geopolitical force: the Ottoman Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and Tito’s Yugoslavia”

(2006:143); a series of political forces which have been instrumental in unifying the multitude of ethnic differences. Similarly, the DPA can be seen as yet another ‘outside geopolitical force’ where the international community acts as a state-building power trying to create an overarching ‘Bosnian identity’ within a unified state, civility and homeland. However, in doing so, the consequence has been the creation, perpetuation and legalisation of pre-existing internal division.

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However, it can be said that the DPA “ended the war but did not resolve any conflict” (Ó Tuathail, 2006:146). The creation of a coherent state premised on western standards has not been able to solve the deep ethnic incoherencies that triggered the conflict in the first place. It must be noted, as Ó Tuathail identifies,

that BiH is a place “historically stabilised by an outside geopolitical force: the Ottoman Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and Tito’s Yugoslavia” (2006:143); forces which have been instrumental in unifying the multitude of ethnic differences. In that sense, the DPA can be seen as another ‘outside geopolitical force’ where the international community acts as a state-building force trying to create an overarching ‘Bosnian’ identity within a unified state, civility and homeland; however, in doing so, has created, perpetuated and legalized internal division.

The ethno-nationalist project and the failed State

Bosnia-Herzegovina has been forever constituted as a contested space, where BiH has consequently been forever constituted as a contested space, where geopolitical attempts at organising space have proved insufficient in a complex context. Historically, the ‘Jerusalem of the East’ has long been a meeting point of three major faiths –Islam, Catholicism and Christian Orthodoxy- (Ó Tuathail, 2006), and simultaneously a kaleidoscope of competing ethno-nationalist ideologies, each fighting to assert their ethnicity through territorial claims (Robinson et.al, 2001).

From the very first attempts at trying to create a Yugoslav identity –during the struggle for independence from the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 19th century- the process was fraught with difficulties. As Robinson indicates, “whilst there were Serbs, Croats and Slovenes who were part of this ‘Yugoslavism’, there were also competing ethno-nationalist ideologies supporting separate statehood for Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia” (Banac, 1984 in Robinson et.al, 2001:960). Contrary to the Croats and the Serbs who could be subsumed within the greater states of Croatia and Serbia respectively, the Bosnian (and Kosovan-Albanian) Muslims were regarded as part of the previous colonial Ottoman period and therefore not considered as a separate constituent identity within the broader Yugoslav project. Identification as a Muslim Bosnian “was an identity more closely tied to the routine of daily life than to links with a common origin” or a greater nation and territory (Robinson et.al, 2001:962). Importantly here, the domination of particular identities over the invisibility of others was strengthened during the formation of the first Yugoslav state in 1918. After the First World War, the creation of Yugoslavia was largely

dominated by the Serb influence while Croat politicians called for a more federally based state structure to even their power. In the struggle for political capacity and recognition, the exclusion of the Muslim population was yet again reasserted and made pointedly evident by the first name given to the new Yugoslavia: the ‘Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes’ (Robinson et.al, 2001). The result was a further weakening of the potential for Muslim Bosnians to become a constituent part of the nationalist project.

With the objective of integrating a country of multiple heterogenous ethnicities, “the principle of class rather than identity was accorded priority” during the second version of the Yugoslav state. Under Tito’s rule, the constitution of 1946 “operated on the assumption that a just social order [...] would resolve any nationalist issues relating to the different ethnic groups” (Robinson et.al, 2001:961). Following the goal to achieve the aforementioned objective, a common political culture and ideology was designed to dominate over a Yugoslavia of many nations and, in order to achieve this, a new federal state system was implemented establishing institutions that were meant to prevent the domination of any specific national group. In parallel, a dual nationality was developed so as to allow a new federal and older national/ethnic identity; ultimately proposing that people could “define themselves as belonging both to their own nation and to the Yugoslav state” (op. cit.).

However, the institutionalisation of this system of federal categorisation under the greater Yugoslav umbrella was insufficient to wipe out the strong forces of ethno-nationalism and “dominant collectivism, such as those based on long-term ethnic and ethno-religious identities” (Robinson et.al, 2001:961). Ironically, as Robinson (2001) indicates, although federalism suppressed any ethnically based political activism, it provided the tools for cementing the ethno-national differentiation. The segregated federations would therefore serve as the ideal arena for nationalist politics which would form the basis for what Roeder (1991) has referred to as “bureaucratized nationalism” (in Robinson et.al. 2001:961). As Robinson suggests, the project of a single ‘super state’ embracing several federations proved to be both weak and illegitimate, one which simultaneously created a vacuum which would later be filled by a nationalist ideology. Paradoxically, the territorial division designed for administrative purposes –but also based on a distinct ethnicity- soon

“acquired substantial political content” (Robinson et.al, 2001:962). In BiH –where only 7.6% of the population declared itself as ‘Yugoslav’ in the 1991 national census, the federal project of identification proved untenable? (Ó Tuathail, 2006:143).

PART 2: THE GEOGRAPHY OF DIVISION

As previously outlined, the process of nation-building in BiH has been one entangled within a history of deeply rooted conflict; –where the desires for a unified state have continually been overshadowed by more *legitimate* forms of identification that forced ethnicity and culture to converge within its physical territory. The promulgation of the 1995 DPA has been celebrated for the success of its *apparent* cohesion of the country’s multiplicity of ethnicities *within* a unified nation state. However, as Robinson indicates, there is still an unresolved ‘crisis of identity’ that has lead to “identity increasingly being associated with nationalist and territorial agendas” (2001:960). The ethno-nationalist question that provoked the conflict in 1992, the very trigger that formed the basis of the challenges faced by the Yugoslav state, continues today “to form the crux of problems affecting BiH” (op. cit.).

The end of the conflict and with it, the peace and reconstruction agenda fostered primarily by the international community, appears to be concealing rather than reconciling the ethnic division. Today, despite the fact that a single-state country exists, a resultant set of governance tools have been produced which continue to articulate the country’s internal division. The following writing analyses two of these tools that paradoxically hold BiH together by reinforcing the very differences that threatened to divide the country 20 years ago.

The ‘endgame strategy’ planned by Anthony Lake was to propose and convince the negotiating parties that a ‘more coherent map’ was needed for BiH (Ó Tuathail, 2006:144). Despite the “highly politicised conditions” in which the census was carried out in 1991 –just a year before the conflict– it was used to determine the “nature of partition” and the divisions that would produce a *clearer* and more *legible* territory (Robinson et.al, 2001:975). As a result the Inter-Entity Boundary Line (IEBL) would draw and divide the state into a set of separate binary identities: the Federation of BiH (mainly composed of Bosnian-Croats and Bosnian-Muslims –also called Bosniaks)



Fig.2 The Dayton Peace Accords further divided the country through its imposed ethnic divisions creating a second tier of administrative government comprising of two entities: an ethnically cleansed Republika Srpska and the ethnically ordered Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Image © Sophie Thibault

and the Republika Srpska (composed of Bosnian-Serbs) (fig. 2). The former was also constituted of 10 different cantons set out according to ethnic majorities (Bosniak, Croat or Bosniak-Croat) (fig. 3). Carried out under extremely politically complex circumstances, partitioning produced by the DPA map overlooked the ethnically mixed realities on the ground (fig. 4).

As argued by Campbell (1999) the DPA “legitimised exclusivist projects” through the “apartheid-like logic of international diplomacy’s political anthropology” (in Robinson et.al, 2001:975). The DPA, in not understanding the socio-political nuances of the region, managed to amalgamate ‘ethnicity’ with ‘nationality’ to construct a state of separate and legalised national entities (Chandler, 2000). Since then, the population of BiH has been organized according to these new ethnic administrative-political divisions that aim to create *stabilised* homogeneous entities (fig.5).

Additionally, the 2013 national census –the first one carried out after the cessation of the conflict- reveals an ongoing attempt to make society legible by reading it through a lens of ethnic division. Although official authorities assure that an ‘open determination’ model has prevailed in the census (EPRS, 2013), the ethnicity, faith and language of BiH citizens have been restricted according to Bosniak, Croat, or Serb delineations. Borrowing James Scott’s concept of legibility, this political process of simplification –made explicit by the census- implies a narrowing of the scope of vision which, like a tunnel, “brings into sharp focus certain limited aspects of an otherwise far more complex and unwieldy reality” (1998:11). In bringing the subject to the centre of the field of vision, the state attempts to generate *more legible* and hence *more measurable* citizens (op. cit.). Anthony Lake’s ‘more coherent map’ has proved to persist beyond the necessity of a once-off emergency solution for war-time circumstances, acting instead as an

overarching method of achieving *clarity* that has been prevailed over time; a method that reinforces a mind-set based on ethnic difference almost two decades after the war; a method where “individuals have been forced to consider how they demarcate themselves” from ‘others’ and ‘strangers’ (Robinson et.al, 2001:965).

As Robinson indicates, since Dayton, a closer relationship between the ethnic map and the newly created territorial boundaries have been formed in order to “maintain or [even] create ethno-cultural homogeneity within the political units”. Each within their own historic contexts, both the systems of territorial allocation and census data have proved evident thereof (Burg & Shoup, 1999 in Robinson et.al, 2001:965). Therefore, since “the prime imperative of ethno-nationalism is the desire for cultural homogeneity within any given political unit” (Parekh, 1995 in Robinson 2001:960), it would not be misleading to argue that the DPA has ingrained, accentuated and memorialised the causes of the conflict which it so urgently aimed to solve.

PART 3: THE MEMORIALISATION OF DIVISION

For countries in the process of nation-building in the wake of violent conflict and oppression such as BiH, efforts towards transitional justice such as memorials, museums, reconciliation commissions and institutional reforms, allow the highly contested fields of memory and history to be addressed as a way to recover from its traumatic past. Yet these processes and forms of collective remembrance – what Basalou & Baxter (2011) define as ‘memorialisation’- obscures a larger ‘politics of memory’ (in Hamber & Naidu, 2010:398). For Sorabji (2006) those dynamics surrounding the construction of *memorialisation* are driven more by political interests than memory itself; the danger of which lies in the interpretation of memory from representations of the past rather than those etched on the bodies of the many

whose daily lives carry its traces (Bremner, 2010). This is acutely evident in the capital city of Sarajevo where the geographies of division are actively engrained into the already complex map of memory in the city.

The relationship between memories and conflict, for Cairns & Roe (2003), is most important to understand for its potential role in the resolution of conflict. Yet, in order to legitimise the role of memory, recognising a multiplicity of identities is of critical concern in the process of reconciliation between historically conflicting groups. Anthropologist Stef Jansen’s (2013) ethnographic work on the IEBL in the neighbourhood of Dobrinja, Sarajevo, illustrates the effects of memories held by different ethnic identities at the geographic fractures produced by the DPA. As Jansen asserts, there are “no fences, barriers, ‘welcome’ signs or uniformed officers, yet [there is] a deeply contested polity border, invested with considerable sovereignty claims, governmental logistics and affect” (2013:25).

Borders of division

The city of Sarajevo most prominently sketches the fragmented geography of the country’s reality. Divided by the IEBL –set out by the DPA- which marked the end of military violence, it is here in Dobrinja where the two homogenous entities of Republika Srpska (RS), and the Federation of BiH meet (Jansen, 2013). From 1992, when its non-Serbian residents were evicted by the RS army, both sides of Dobrinja’s RS-controlled main street almost solely housed Serbs, some themselves displaced from other areas during the crisis of war. This attempt to ethnically homogenise neighbourhood spaces, generated “the hardened war-time border” which has resulted in a series of ‘non-crossings’ by residents. Exacerbated by administrative offices and public provisions which are located separately within RS and the Federation of BiH respectively- people’s movement has been encouraged away from the border thereby deepening this immaterial although persistent segregation (Jansen, 2013).

Jansen notes that bodily movement across the IEBL evokes less a sense of fear than one of discomfort through confrontations with the ‘other’ ethno-nationality on the opposite side. Many people from East Sarajevo feel unwelcome in the Federation of BiH due to what they consider to be unfair representations of their role in the war. As Jansen’s work portrays, the division between ethnicities has not effectively been

Fig.5 The occurrences of the 1990’s profoundly shifted the demography of the country. Source: Burg and Shoup 1999

	Muslim Croat Federation		Serb-held areas	
	1991	1996	1991	1996
Muslims and Croats	1,300,000	1,900,000	840,000	73,000
Serbs	225,000	360,000	930,000	1,200,000
Total	1,525,000	1,936,000	1,770,000	1,273,000

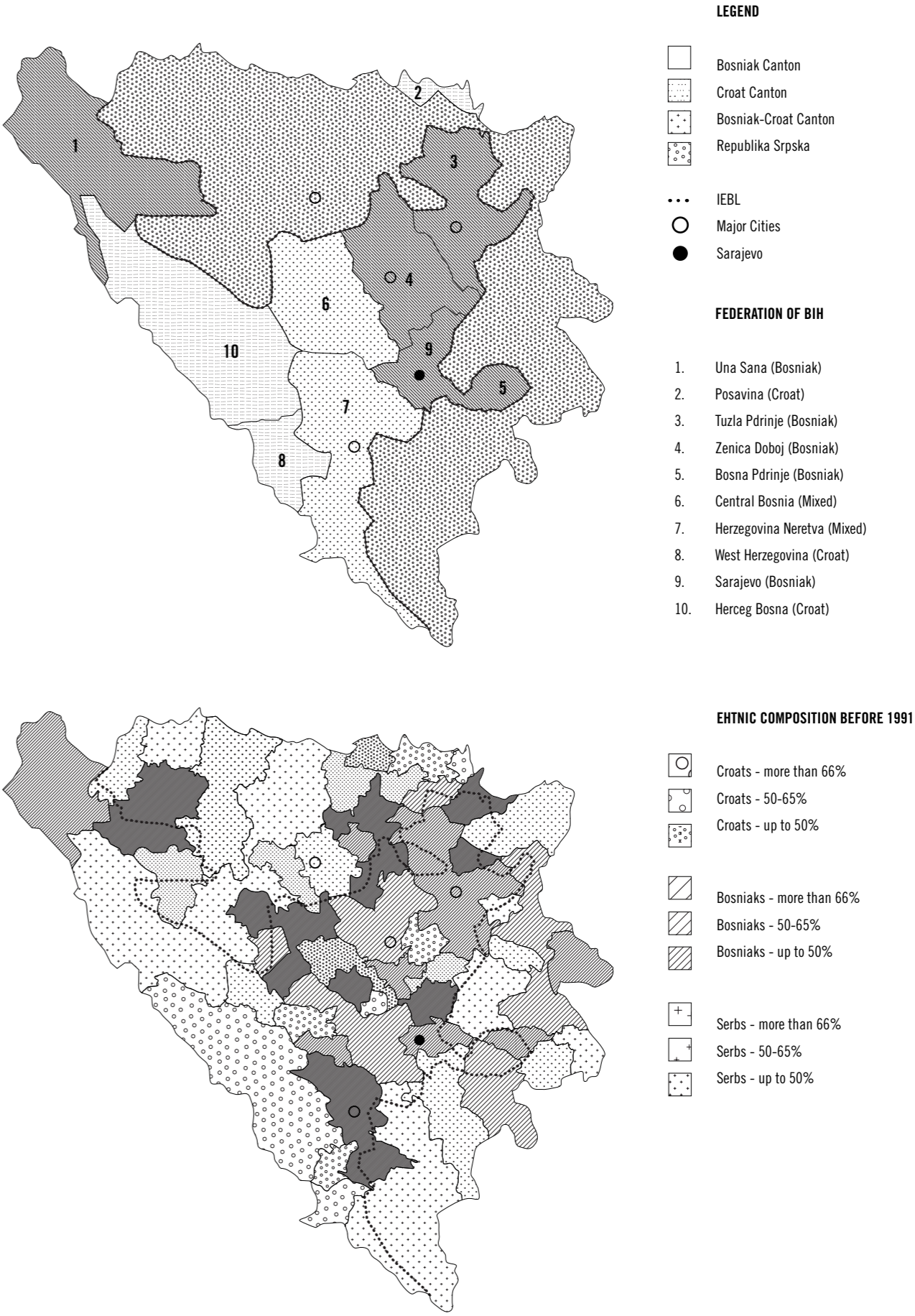


Fig.3 The Dayton Peace Accords further divided the country through its imposed ethnic divisions creating a second tier of administrative government comprising of two entities: an ethnically cleansed Republika Srpska and the ethnically ordered Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Illustration © Bronwyn Kotzen

Fig.4 The ethnic composition of BiH in 1991 proves beyond the clarity and homogeneity assumed by the Dayton Peace Accords when delineating the IEBL. Illustration © Bronwyn Kotzen

resolved as interviewees statements made evident: “Look at all those mosques! They made Sarajevo into a Muslim city and they act as if they were the only victims, as if we did not suffer at their hands”; “when I am there I feel as if it’s written on my forehead that I am a Serb” (Jansen, 2013:31). For French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, the environments in which groups dwell is critical for communicating and symbolising memories which in turn maintain group cohesion (in Devine-Wright, 2003:11). The above referenced ethnographic work at the border in Dobrinja –a purposefully produced Serb canton- follows Halbwachs’ theory. While shared memories accentuate group cohesion, they simultaneously maintain a strangeness amongst ethno-nationalities, and in so doing memorialise the origins of BiH’s conflict.

WHILE SHARED MEMORIES ACCENTUATE GROUP COHESION, THEY SIMULTANEOUSLY MAINTAIN A STRANGENESS AMONGST ETHNO-NATIONALITIES, AND IN SO DOING MEMORIALISE THE ORIGINS OF BIH’S CONFLICT.

Transmitted Memories
These ethno-national group identities are further maintained by what Sorabji (2006) refers to as ‘transmitted memories’. Sorabji’s central argument on the process of memory management in post-conflict Sarajevo highlights that despite the various ways of dealing with memory –those ‘not narrated’, those ‘not passed on’ or even those ‘unwelcome ones’- are nevertheless handed down ‘undiluted’ between generations. She argues, in reference to Maurice Bloch’s (1996) work, that ‘episodic memory’ (memory of ones own life) translates to a ‘learned memory’ (memory of learned facts), which allows younger generations to manifest their own memories of a past they did not necessary live through (in Sorabji 2006:11). In the case of BiH and Sarajevo in particular, this

‘episodic memory’ of conflict is inherited by a new and younger generation who find membership within a particular ethno-nationality. Benedict Anderson’s (1983) conception of a nationality as an ‘imagined community’ –a psychological process of imagining- serves to explain the territorial maintenance of a nation state through past, present and future generations (in Devine-Wright, 2003:14). In drawing reference to Anderson’s account, despite the country’s supposed stability, Sorabji’s work illustrates how particular ethnicities are reluctant to see their war-time enemies return to the city -producing a series of cross-generational memories embedding and connecting Sarajevo’s turbulent past into its future. If Cairns’ & Roe’s (2003) argument for the importance of memory in the process of reconciliation is to be achieved, then it needs to be recognised that the project of the DPA serves as a memorialisation of the country’s conflicted past rather than reconciling its deeply divided sociality of heterogenous ethnic identities.

TOWARD RETHINKING URBAN GOVERNANCE

19 years have passed since the cessation of Bosnia-Herzegovina’s war yet the country, and the city of Sarajevo, remain territories of contestation. As the political rhetoric of creating a shared nationhood is underway, this paper has attempted to illustrate how the city persists as a divided body along geographic and administrative ‘lines of memory’. Paradoxically, while these divisions seek to resolve perceived threats to resurgent conflict through the production of ethnically homogenous entities, they instead memorialise the divisions that ultimately led to the devastating war. As Brit Baillie’s³ work on memorialisation indicates, “as long as the painful asymmetry of memory persists” –manifested in Sarajevo as mono-ethnic territories- “the war continues to be ‘present’ and the city ‘remains’ in-conflict” (nd:8). The socio-spatial configuration of the city –determined by its governance structures and policies- becomes “a commemorative landscape composed of borders that provide spatial and temporal co-ordinates for remembering” (ibid, nd:12). The formalised borders that so distinctively bisect the country of BiH, that delineate the cantons of the Federation and carve the city of Sarajevo into two separate but reliant geographies, have drawn profoundly schismic facts on the ground. The territorial borders created by the Dayton Peace Accords and implemented by multiple tiers

of government today, have become the living, tangible and spatial memorialisation of the city’s conflicted past. In the case of Sarajevo specifically, the post-war socio-political entities are no longer situated at the outer limit of the urban territory, but are rather invisibly etched into the city’s divided body. The geography of division is therefore not a passive act, but rather an active force that not only influences but shapes the segregated urban lives of each of its citizens. The result is a decidedly uneasy relationship between Bosnian Serbs, Bosnian Croats and Bosniaks, making the idea of a post-conflict country, region and city a misnomer.

The challenge at hand remains how best to stitch a post-conflict society together, to weave its fragmented collection of urban territories into a singular unified state and city while recognising the rich social heterogeneity of BiH. In recognising *memory* as that which is actively engraved in the city’s form by the particularity of its socio-political arrangement might then begin to address how this enables a deepening and more authentic reflection of the country’s potential for a more sustainable and long-lasting future of peace. Although uncomfortable, revealing this truth in the politics of memory and division is a necessary step toward genuine reconciliation for a more cohesive post-conflict Sarajevo.●

NOTES

- 1 The Dayton Peace Accords (DPA) was the agreement that gave end to the war in 1995. More of it will be detailed in the next sections of the essay.
- 2 43.7%of the population would identify as Muslims, 31.3% as Serbs and 17.4% as Croats.
- 3 Brit Baillie’s work on memorialisation has been done in Vukovar, Croatia.

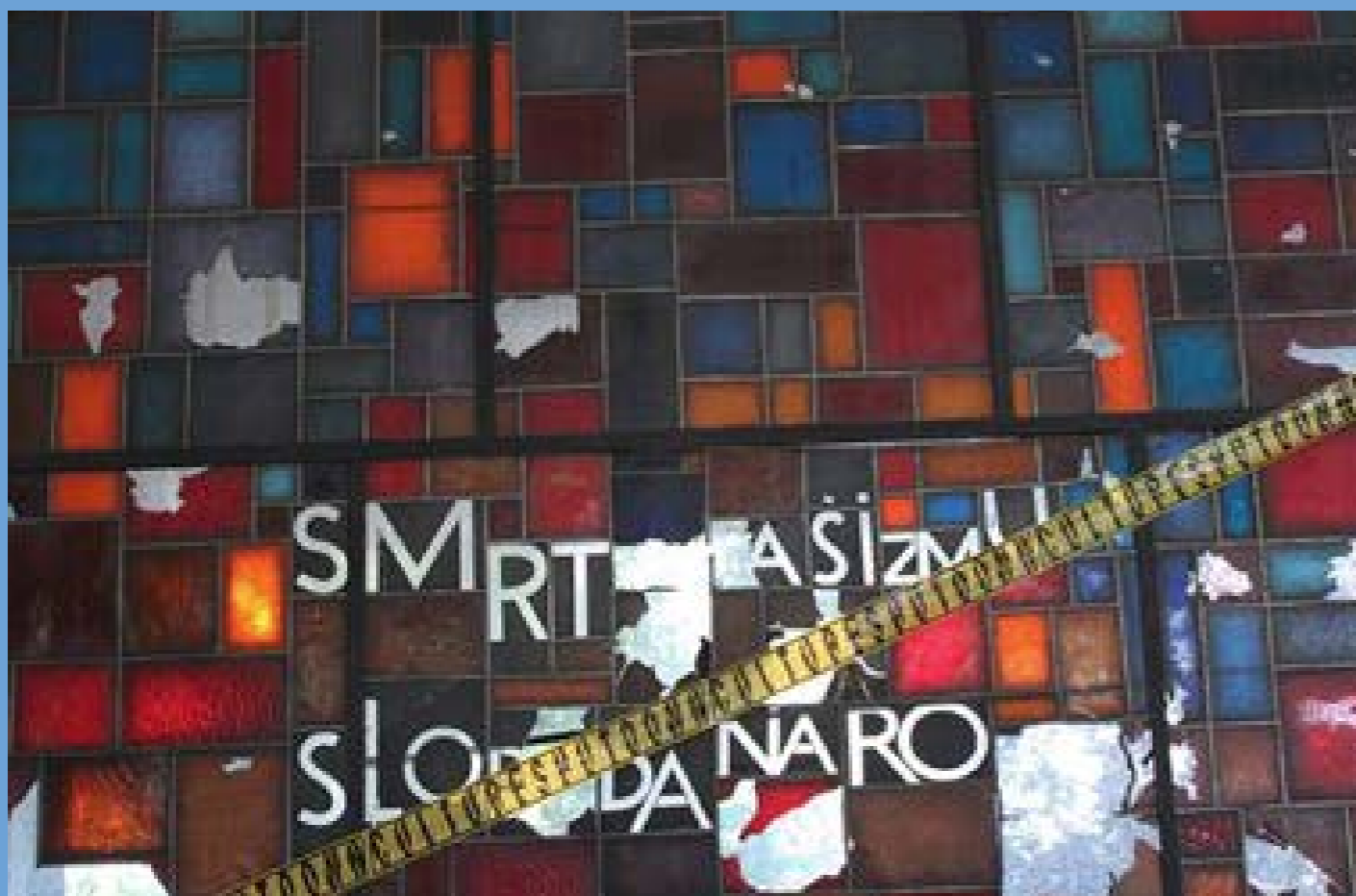




DYNAMIC REFLECTIONS ON SARAJEVO: AN OPEN DIALOGUE ON MEMORY, IDENTITY AND THE CITY

Elizabeth DeWolf, Serena Girani, Claudia Sinatra and Paula Szejnfeld Sirkis

The following piece presents a dialogue between a group of architects and social scientists after their first visit to Sarajevo, BiH. As urbanists with experience in analysing and working in a wide range of city contexts, (and with little prior knowledge of Sarajevo), the participants highlight the themes that they perceived to be most salient as they explored the city. Rather than drawing conclusions about these topics and their relation to Sarajevo in a lucid manner, the dialogue uses the city as a point of departure from which to discuss the politics of memory and the role of identity involved in conflict resolution –issues that arise in a contested city.



'Death to Fascism, Freedom to the People.' The Museum of Bosnia-Herzegovina was damaged during the siege of Sarajevo but kept this symbolic graphic of the old Museum, with the symbolic signs of destruction. Image © Paula Szejnfeld Sirkis 2014

Photograph of a war-time image held in the permanent exhibition at The Museum of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Sarajevo. Image © Paula Szejnfeld Sirkis 2014

SERENA Memory adds controversy to the historical reconstruction of facts and spatial, social and political meanings within a city; these meanings are hardly univocal in plural territories such as Sarajevo. Memories vary according to the infinite number of facets that define an individual, from ethnicity and religion, to political parties, from personal experience to personality. It can be an effective tool for reconstructing a physical identity in the built environment as well, for example - when repairing a city after it is damaged through traumatic events, such as war. But the intricate, mixed and multiple natures of identity reconstruction facilitates misleading interpretations, reductive definitions and inappropriate uses. The method of investigation we have chosen in this context, a dialogue, helps us to unveil some aspects of the concept of memory without attempting to ascribe a univocal or finite definition. We will try to overcome the inadequacy of traditionally limited explanations of memory; and from our own incomplete perspective of Sarajevo, in a sort of Bergsonian definition of memory –as a continuum, a string of images-, we will add our impression.

ELIZABETH Serena's allusion to Bergson's conception of memory as a string of images can be aptly used to describe the experience of wandering through Sarajevo for the first time. With such varied, suddenly shifting periods in the history of its development, the city itself is like a patchwork of different architectural styles, some districts gradually transitioning into those adjacent ones whilst others stand in stark, jarring contrast. With limited knowledge of Sarajevo's urban fabric, I wondered how multiple layers of memory, as Serena mentioned, have impacted reconstruction efforts after the war. I was struck with a similar thought following a lecture given by the director of the Centre for Refugee and Internally Displaced Persons Studies at the University of Sarajevo's Political Science faculty –this time my mind went to the refugees and how the process of return affects the memory Sarajevans have of the city's layout.

During the siege of Sarajevo from 1992-1995, nearly 2.7 million Sarajevans were displaced from their homes –either by force from occupying groups or voluntarily for survival (UNHCR, 2012). In this same period, 70 percent of the city's housing stock was damaged or destroyed, and roughly 15 percent of it remains in some sort of disrepair (BiH Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees, 2005). While many people fled the city or country altogether

in search of security, some whose homes were damaged, or who were pushed out of their neighbourhoods, relocated to homes abandoned by those who left. Inversely, other displaced persons came to Sarajevo to flee atrocities in their own cities. The internally displaced make up a quarter of the city's overall population –89,000 Bosniacs, 2,000 Croats and 1,000 Serbs- (UNHCR, 1997 in International Crisis Group, 1998); this massive shuffle in demography and the built environment altered the urban fabric in ways that are difficult, if not impossible, to reverse. In the same way, the 'collective memory' of Sarajevo also experienced severe damages during the war, and hence, 'reconstruction memory' of place can be an exceptionally powerful tool in restoring life as it were. Reparation efforts in Sarajevo therefore parallel attempts to reconstruct the collective, social memory of the city through the restoration and installation of monuments, public spaces, and iconic features of the urban landscape.

THE POSSIBILITY OF CONSTRUCTION OR RE-CONSTRUCTION OF A 'COLLECTIVE MEMORY' IS AN IMPORTANT CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE CONCERNING CONTEMPORARY SARAJEVO.

SERENA As in other contested cities that have experienced war, destruction and displacement, the possibility of construction or re-construction of a 'collective memory' is an important controversial issue concerning contemporary Sarajevo. The connection Elizabeth draws between social memory and space reminds me of a definition of memory I read in Halbwachs' account of 'collective memory' (1950). Halbwachs finds that memories of any type are intrinsically spatial, in every remembrance we have, as he indicates, "never do we go outside space" (Halbwachs, 1950:15). Similarly, he claims that groups of people "engrave their form in some way upon the soil and retrieve their collective remembrances within the spatial framework thus defined" (ibid). According to Halbwachs (1950), the process of attachment of a group to a certain place

can be defined as 'emplacement', exactly the opposite of displacement. We are thus talking of a twofold idea, the 'social memory' or the 'collective memory' of a group of people who happen to exist within a spatial dimension, and the memory of place, which is the memory of that spatial dimension itself.

CLAUDIA This link between 'collective memory' and its spatial dimension has been a central issue in academic debate (Boyer, 1994; Fernández-Galiano, 2000; Larkin, 2010; Lowenthal, 1998; O'Keefe, 2007). Among the multifaceted explorations of this relationship, it is the urban space that constitutes a built testimony of both collective knowledge and experience, and individual history and value, in which city heritage becomes a product of memory. As Elizabeth mentioned, the politics of memory in Sarajevo is about trying to restore that collective, social memory using –among other means- the process of urban reconstruction. Yet it is important to remember that 'collective memory' is more about community than about the built environment. In this instance, the term 'community' refers to the 'community of sentiment' through which different memories and experiences of the urban space merge into one mutual memory (Sorensen, 2006). The personal sense of belonging and the value attached to places by each individual, if shared, can become a collective sentiment. This is not to deny a multi-scalar dimension of memory, but on the contrary is to acknowledge its multiple perspectives. For this reason, in the discussion around heritage and its politics, heritage sites can be used by powerful groups for ethno-nationalistic purposes to deliver particular and exclusive visions of memory. However, they also have the potential to reveal alternative pluralistic memories of the past - and to envision possible shared futures (Conflict in Cities, 2012).

The politics of heritage –the realm in which decisions regarding what should be preserved, rebuilt, destroyed or remembered are made- does not always result from communal or public narratives or involvement. On the contrary, the preservation, protection or restoration of urban heritage often follows selection premised on government-led logics (Hayllar, 2000). Within it, heritage discourses are often used for the construction of an official memory and national identity, masking broader political agendas. In a contested city such as Sarajevo, the process of remembering through selected urban heritage sites represents the state's attempt

to reshape history and influence memory, which ultimately leads to the legitimisation of biased views. Using this lens to read the physical dimension of Sarajevo, I wonder whether the supposed authenticity of the Ottoman centre of the city –the Basčarsija- serves in Zukin's words, as a "cultural form of power over space" (Zukin, 2010: XVII) to disregard diverse claims over heritage value under a singular unified state vision.

SERENA This leads me to question if it is really possible to reconstruct a 'collective memory'. Is 'authenticity' the principle to seek? I think in order to answer the question we need to extend the analysis. I would therefore like to re-focus on the 'memory of place' for a moment, which I consider to be divided at three scales: landscape, public space –including open spaces, monuments and public buildings- and private intimate spaces. The following discussion focuses on the first and last scale mentioned, the most vast and most intimate scales respectively.

Landscape is an interesting dimension, because even if it is recurrently transformed by man, it has a non-artificial, natural origin that could be considered a changing but consistent element. The horizon of Sarajevo is defined by the profile of the surrounding mountains, only interrupted by a few rifts and open towards the valley on the west. The city also spreads along the river and the longitudinal main roads that connect the different parts of the city. By reading historical accounts, other narratives, or simply by walking the city, it is absolutely evident that the 'urban artifact' is dense with meaning –it is a collection of images, memories, stories that converge in the same spaces and are re-enforced by presence or absence (fig. 1).

Less visible, but similarly complex, is the intimate space of houses, informal settlements and historic neighbourhoods from which so many people have been removed (fig. 2). In 'The Book of My Life', an autobiography written by Aleksandar

Hemon (2013) who emigrated to Chicago just before the war, the author narrates a compelling account of his brief return to Sarajevo. Referring to the irreducible connection between interiority and exteriority –his recognition that "physically and metaphysically, I was *placed*" (Hemon, 2013:110)– he describes the condition of displacement caused by the war. According to Hemon, it is a devastation of both the interior and the exterior dimensions of human beings that are levelled "into the flatness of a crushed soul" (Hemon, 2013:111).

While the political and cultural values of the landscape are less legible, 'urban artifacts' are visibly invested with a multiplicity of meanings and memories, often controversial and traumatic. In 1966 in 'The Architecture of the City', Aldo Rossi defines the 'urban artifact' as the archaeological evidence of a 'collective memory' of the city, a collective will. In describing the scenery of European cities

Fig.1 Sarajevo's landscape tells the story of the city's accretive urban system set in a valley. Image © Claudia Sinatra 2014





Fig.2 In a building wounded by the bullets of the war, two women observe the other side of the border line from their home. Image © Paula Szejnfeld Sirkis 2014

partially demolished after WWII, he distinguishes monuments from the rest of the city. He describes the latter and its processes of urban transformation, namely “partial and complete demolitions, expropriations, abrupt changes in the land uses, speculation and obsolescence”; he sees these as the images of the “uninterrupted destiny of the individual, of his participation, often hurtful and difficult, to the destiny of collectivity” (Rossi, 1966:12). In contrast, monuments are for Rossi different in their expression of a ‘collective identity’, they are ‘primary elements’ that manifest the idea of permanence and continuity in the urban dynamics, and around which the city grows. In the context of Sarajevo this can be read in the historic centre, for example in the relationship that the Sebilj Fountain shares with the Basčarsija area and the morphology of its streets and buildings.

However, the collective sentiment appears to be a multi-semantic, eclectic and often contentious reality. For instance, the plaques applied to buildings and monuments to remember those who perished frequently report the ethnicity of murderers, highlighting a difficult memory to face. In Sarajevo, monuments or the ‘primary elements’, appear to be, with rare exceptions, a collection of what Rossi calls ‘pathological artifacts’. These, instead of being chapters and elements of a similar discourse, offer conflicting accounts of the past. Two cases are emblematic of this. Firstly, the closure of the National Museum, that Rossi would consider a ‘pathology’. A second example is the reconstruction of the administrative centre of the city, Marijin Dvor, a piece of global city that barely relates to the surroundings. In the image of a global city, its new buildings impose a hard and long curtain wall on the street front, hiding the profile of the mountains from passers-by. Can we argue then that a ‘collective memory’ exists in this case?

ELIZABETH In considering these three scales of ‘place memory’ you mention, perhaps the greatest potential for trauma exists in the *positional relationships* between the scales –a memory of private space, such as a home, as it is situated within a ‘collective memory’ of landscape or in relation to the memories of a city’s public spaces.

With the city shape so dramatically altered through the effects of displacement, the restoration of ‘collective memory’ becomes an almost impossible task. This is due to the attachment of ‘place memory’ not only to urban objects themselves (i.e. a private dwelling, a public square, a

monument, the shape of a landscape), but also to the *positional relationship* between these objects. We attach memory to the ways in which we *read* the city, the spatial connectivity, routes and movement between the components we recognise. My point here relates to Kevin Lynch’s (1960) theory of urban legibility, which sees the ability of inhabitants to visually recognise the coherent pattern of the city image as vital for inhabitants to construct ‘collective memory’, emotional security, and a ‘harmonious relationship’ between themselves and the urban landscape.

Whilst the theory of urban legibility deals with the visual pattern of images in constructing this memory of place, Bill Hillier’s (1996) ‘space-syntax’ theory places importance on the experienced spatial configuration of urban components, the interconnectedness of the parts of a city as a social logic that transmits cultural meaning, and therefore collective understanding of a place. This transmission of cultural meaning, considered by Hillier (1996) to be our habitual use of space and our mutual understanding of its function, is essential to ‘collective memory’ of a place. For Hillier, we attach memory to how we move through the configuration of familiar objects in the city –our homes, public spaces, landscape elements. In the case of Sarajevo, where these spatial configurations and positional relationships have been forever altered by the consequences of displacement (among many other traumatic events), significant parts of ‘collective memory’ have been forever lost as well. Even if the public

spaces, religious buildings, and monuments visited and used by people in their original neighbourhoods are restored, the spatial relationships between them and their users have been reconfigured; as homes and people have been distributed differently throughout the city, the memory attached to movement between them has also been altered forever.

SERENA We can say that the apparent isolation of ‘urban artifacts’ (fig. 3) show that *relationality* is a fundamental interpretative key in Sarajevo, even though it has often been repressed and suffocated. Among the efforts of modelling and representing ‘collective memory’, the experiments that enhance physical and metaphysical relationships are the ones that generate an instinctive empathy, an immediate connection with the audience, and a shared collective image. I refer for example to the ‘red roses’ scars of shelling on the pavement that have been filled with red wax (fig. 4). Their mere presence and anonymous authorship, interrupts the daily routines of walking in the city and suggest a change of path to avoid treading on them, a new symbolic ritual to respect their presence. Another example is the Sarajevo Red Line, a ‘dynamic memorial’ (Giovanucci, 2013), which displayed 11,541 red chairs in Mar’al Tito Street. It used the tools of temporary and ephemeral materials such as plastic chairs and music to draw a new landscape in the everyday city, partially altering the memory of those spaces.

Fig.3 The food-can sculpture offers gratitude to the international community’s war-time aid. Image © Claudia Sinatra 2014



Fig.4 A city paved with scars of the war, the ‘red roses’ quietly and powerfully memorialise the years of conflict lived in Sarajevo. Image © Paula Szejnfeld Sirkis 2014



CLAUDIA The *relationality* and the *dynamism* that Serena just analysed in spatial terms demonstrates that the process of recovering from trauma involves treating ‘collective memory’ through relational changes that I wouldn’t necessarily define as loss. The alteration of dynamic relationships existing between the plurality of memories and urban landscape, history and habits, does not necessarily lead to the loss of parts of ‘collective memory’. In fact the city indelibly bears the traces of its traumas and memories –traces that, according to Freud’s theory, are indestructible. Pierre Nora (1996) has argued that ruptures and trauma caused by wars, while bringing substantial changes in the communal mnemonic structure, also contribute to enlarge the realm of ‘collective memory’. In post-conflict cities such as Sarajevo, where the alteration of memory is an irreversible process, the threat of loss of ‘collective memory’ can generate new shared experiences and reassert national identity.

This process of reinventing memory draws on the phantasmagoric dimension of the city and implies a peculiar mix of space and time: the ghost-like or dream-procession of things in contested cities not only comes from all over the space –even from places that do not or will never exist– but it also evokes different times –the past, present, future, be they remembered or imagined (Pile, 2000). What is real about cities is as much emotional and physical as it is invisible and visible. Based on this foundation, the tension between the mental space of memories and the physical space of the city produces a mnemonic process described by Andreas Huyssen (2008) as the construction of an everyday urban imaginary. Urban imaginaries are the embodied material features of the ways in which people live, work, communicate and behave. Rethinking what real city life is, loosening and expanding its understanding towards intangible qualities of cities –such as the ones denoted by memory– opening

new possibilities for the creation or re-creation of a shared national identity.

PAULA The discourse concerning national identity is central to the debate around what we have previously referred to as cultural and social memory. I am reminded of an exchange I had with one of our local hosts on one of the many warm Sarajevo nights, while eating ‘cevapci’, drinking yoghurt and discussing our passion for football –BiH was going to be represented at the Soccer World Cup for the first time. A comment made by a local in this conversation struck me: “It doesn’t matter where you come from, in your country everyone feels Argentinian; we don’t feel we are from BiH, we don’t have a national identity”. This triggered my thoughts around the idea of identity in relation to the pre-war period and ethnic violence during the war, a thought related to Claudia’s earlier comment about cultural memory. It seemed that many Sarajevans identify

culturally with memories of their pre-war identity, rather than to those ascribed to their particular ethnic groups. The greatest challenge for those who aim to be defined as citizens of the nation (and not by religion) is to have to define themselves as ‘other’ on the national census survey. Conducted for the first time after the war in 2013, it is key to understand the current situation. ‘Ethnicity’ was categorised into Croats, Serbian, Bosniacs (Bosnian Muslims) and others –a category which included minority religions and those who chose not to identify themselves based on religion (Agency for Statistics of BiH, 2013). This method of categorisation is extremely important since it determines the political representation that each of these ethnic categories is granted at the level of national governance; where the ‘others’ are not represented. Those citizens who belong to one of the dominant religions but prefer to identify themselves within a unified nationality instead, are faced with challenges of representation. Unless the largest majority of citizens claim to be ‘others’, their demands for unified representation will go unnoticed; effectively discouraging the creation of a single national identity.

CLAUDIA As Craig Larkin (2010) asserts, tensions arise when the creation of an everyday imaginary based on present urban reconstruction becomes an attempt to obliterate the past, the same way that rebuilding on top of ruins can be an attempt to negate memories of tragedy. From this perspective, just as the impetus during the war was towards targeted destruction –what has been called the ‘urbicide’ of Sarajevo- the logic of reconstruction imposed by local and international forces, seems to be led by a similar imperative and arbitrary selection of only some aspects of the urban landscape. This manipulation of the view of the past and of the construction of the future constitute a form of control over cultural memory and identity and facilitate the creation of urban agendas based on the nostalgic desire to connect with the past (Boyer, 1994). Through the struggle for a shared identity, the danger of building on a nostalgic memory of the past, or ‘Yugonostalgia’, is to deny the existing plurality of cultural identity and memories and to privilege a categorical singular identity contrasting with the cosmopolitanism of Sarajevo.

PAULA In fact, the same threat can be hidden in the craving feeling for national identity that I described earlier. Is this wish for a national identity part of the ‘Yugonostalgia’ sentiment –one that can be

defined as the “nostalgia for the fantasies associated with [the] country [that] existed from 1945 to 1991” (Lindstrom, 2006:233)? Or is it really a new idea of citizenship formed by those citizens who were perhaps too young to remember the war? The idea of a restorative ‘Yugonostalgia’ –of the past that can never be again- is perhaps a dangerous path towards reintegration in BiH. Equally dangerous is the creation and perpetuation of visible and invisible boundaries in BiH. Shortly after signing the Dayton Accords that marked the division between the Federation and the Republic Srpska, the partition was questioned as an effective solution to ethnic conflicts. Radha Kumar (1997), a specialist in ethnic conflicts, recognised that this method was at the very least a way of putting an end to violence and death.

SERENA Memory and its spatial dimension are a fluid, interconnected and a continuous reality, especially in a city such as Sarajevo. As Paula underlined, identity, culture and memory are strictly interrelated and deeply controversial issues. In experiencing and studying the city of Sarajevo, we realised that despite the intent to explore principles or categories of memories, we were immersed in an infinite range of shades and nuances. Sarajevo is a city that raises doubts about the existence of a 'collective memory', and it certainly reveals the challenges caused by intentional and unidirectional attempts to construct its spatial dimension.

In ‘The Book Of My Lives’, Aleksandar Hemon (2013) describes the time he spent in a cabanon on the mountains, escaping from the war-ravaged city. He wanted to look at the urban landscape from a distance, from that little piece of architecture, the cabanon - an expression of a close relationship with nature. His narrative reminded me of a sentence written by the architect Adolph Loos concerning architecture and memory: “when we find a mound in the woods, six feet by three feet, raised to a pyramidal form by means of a spade, we become serious and something in us says: someone was buried here... That’s architecture” (Loos, 1910). Again the *collective sentiment* is not generated by an object itself, but by its relationships that, as Loos underlines, can be human, universal or collective. In observing *cultural identity* and *memory* as dynamic realities in Sarajevo –especially through an observation of their relational nature- it is possible to find shareable spaces, *contact zones* in which a new collective discourse can be created. The possible futures of Sarajevo will depend on the mediation

between the present need to recover and the memory of a contested past. By adding impressions to the Bergsonian ‘string of images’ that already exists, we hoped to reveal other fragments and perspectives of memory that can be useful in the difficult process of construction and reconstruction in contemporary urban space. •

TENSIONS ARISE WHEN THE CREATION OF AN
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TO NEGATE MEMORIES OF TRAGEDY.

Claudia Sinatra

**WHILE STRUCTURAL DISADVANTAGES ARE IMPORTANT
[IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA'S PAST], THEY ARE NOT
PRIMORDIAL ESSENCES OR TRANSHISTORICAL
TRUTHS THAT OVER DETERMINE ITS FUTURE. STATES
AND NATIONS ARE WHAT THE EXERCISE OF POLITICAL
POWER, DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL, MAKES OF
THEM. THEY ARE BUILT (OR DESTROYED) AND NOT
NATURAL OR PREORDAINED.**

Gearóid Ó Tuathail, 2006:143



Fig.1 A restored wooden and stone fountain stands in Baščaršija –the city's old bazar- since the foundation of the city in the 15th Century. 'They' say whoever drinks water from the fountain, will some day return to Sarajevo. Image © Sofia Garcia 2014



Fig.2 On a public square in the historical city centre, behind an Orthodox Church, old men leisurely play chess, some stand and observe while others offer opinion on the next strategic move. Image © Sofia Garcia 2014



Fig.3 Due to the legal vacuum in which the cultural institutions were left after the Dayton Peace Accords, the National Museum closed after 124 years due to the lack of government support and funding. Although re-opened in 2014 its financial struggles remain a challenge. Image © Sophie Thibault 2014



Fig.4 The Holiday Inn that once hosted athletes in 1984 for the Winter Olympics, was the base for war correspondents a decade later. Today, recovered and reconstructed, the building stands as backdrop to a section of the first ever tram-line built in Europe in 1885. Image © Sofia Garcia 2014



Fig.5 Through the city's hills, Sarajevo extends its limbs. Through its minarets, the city reaches and pierces through the sky. Image © Sofia Garcia 2014

Fig.6 In Dobrinja, the open public space –the sidewalks, the boulevard and the benches- exist, however they remain almost unused, perhaps awaiting –like the woman sitting on the bench- the revival of the once active area. Image © Sophie Thibault 2014





THE URBAN BUILT ENVIRONMENT IS NOT A TEXT THAT STANDS ALONE...WHAT GETS BUILT OR REPAIRED, WHAT WITHERS AND DECLINES INTERACT DIALECTICALLY TO ESTABLISH A RECORD OF NATION-BUILDING AND UN-BUILDING, TO ASSERT THE RECTITUDE OR WRONGNESS OF PAST PROJECTS, AND TO INSPIRE OR DEFEAT IMAGINARIES OF THE FUTURE. TOGETHER, THEIR MOTIFS, THEIR CONTRASTING SIZES, AND THEIR USES AND NON-USE ARE SALIENT REMINDERS OF CONQUEST AND INDEPENDENCE, HETEROGENEITY AND HYBRIDITY, AND THE POSSIBILITIES OR IMPOSSIBILITY OF REFORGING WHAT SARAJEVANS CALL THEIR DYNAMIC MULTI-ETHNIC 'COMMON LIFE' FROM THE TRINATIONAL AFTERMATH OF A WAR WAGED FOR AND AGAINST THE PRINCIPLE OF ETHNIC CLEANSING.

Fran Markowitz, 2012:807

SKY AND GROUND

Sarajevo is a fragmented city consisting of edges, overlaps and blurrings between historical boundaries. Despite the visibility of its disjointedness, as you walk through the city you experience a smooth transition between these parts. Like a patchwork quilt, the multitude of different cultural, social and physical elements somehow combine to form a cohesive whole.

Regina Kertapati



THE (FUTILE) ARCHITECTURAL CULTURES OF DISSENT: OR (POST-)SOCIALIST URBAN-TRANSFORMATION-AS-USUAL

Mejrema Zatrić and Zulejha Zatrić

This was the first time I sensed how wide the sea was and how I am being thrown by some waves coming from an unknown origin. Everything disappeared - they pulled out the rug underneath my feet. (...) I learned nothing from that defeat. I learned only one thing: it wasn't me who was defeated. Defeated was architecture and defeated was Sarajevo.

Levi, 2001

“To resist the reality as such” (Baird, 2004), this is how one of the most composed participants in an already decade old discussion on criticality in architecture, described the stakes of the theoretical project of Manfredo Tafuri. Tafuri, –an architectural historian- hypothesised a firm linkage between the modernist avant-gardes and the paternalistic mechanisms of the capitalist Fordist welfare state. The debates on ‘architectural autonomy’, the kernel of which can be easily traced back to the European scholarly tradition spearheaded by Tafuri, took an unexpected turn in the United States, where the label of ‘autonomy’ came to be irrevocably distorted by the interpretations of Peter Eisenman. Tafuri demanded that the disciplinary resistance of architecture to the ruling structures be realised through the influence of the new architectural form over the urban entity as a whole –to the extent that it turns this entity into something new. Meanwhile, Eisenman’s idea of resistance played out entirely within the realm of the architect’s creative act –the building being understood as an index that recorded the determined procedure of its author’s imagination. In Eisenman’s view, this turning of a building into a privileged sign –that bounds the materiality to meaning without replicating the existing cultural schemata-, was also a resistance against socio-political hegemonic structures. While the architect could remain within the design process, this was a process which manifested as a political positioning; “to be an architect” claimed Eisenman, “is a social act [which] does not mean [...] making people feel better or happy, or building houses for the poor” (Eisenman, 1972:135).

Out there, however, in the open field of concrete interests, of social programmes and their spatial consequences –or more correctly, spatial tools- the architect’s actions turn into activism, an activism that establishes itself relative to the city as a whole. In Sarajevo, the general awareness of the city as an entity of value that was to be nurtured –balancing between development and preservation-, seems to have been strongly reinforced by the socialist rule in the aftermath of the Second World War. As was elsewhere in modernising and industrialising post-war Europe, the unprecedented demographic shifts inspired crafting of ever more sophisticated urban policies. These irrevocably stimulated the bureaucratic and methodological complexity of the institution of urban planning and design. Furthermore, the foundational zeal, brought about by the onset of the revolutionary socialist society, swept through the emerging Federation of Yugoslavia; it pushed its biggest cities to the forefront of development as the main subjects of the general social progress. Some years later, the inter-war Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians was marked by a deliberate although undisclosed domination by powers in Belgrade. This second incarnation of the Yugoslav state opened a nominally equal competitiveness between the capitals of the federal republics; one which also intensely unfolded in terms of architecture and urban design.

All of these changes worked towards the consolidation of the city as an integrated whole in the people’s imaginary. This simultaneously fuelled shared expectations of this integration, to be confirmed in concrete terms in the physical realm of the city. For the artists and the architects, this expectation easily translated into a call for action towards the construction of the common goal.



Fig.1 The position of the “October square” site within the urban structure of Sarajevo. Illustration © Mejrema Zatrić



PRELUDE: 'FOR OUR CITY'

Rarely has Sarajevo been referred to as a personified living entity as explicitly as in the text 'For our City'. Printed in a pamphlet prepared for an exhibition bearing the same title in 1964, it said: "For our city. For the city of the now. For that in the future. For us today, tomorrow, for those who are coming. This is our city, belonging to everyone equally and it equally owns us. [...] Each new possibility for the future of the city, for its appearance, for its own – grows into desire, into love" (Dimitrijević, 1964). Despite its poetic undertone, the underlying cause of this emotional eulogy to Sarajevo was thoroughly practical. It aimed to discourage the local authorities' intention to occupy a huge site in the historic urban core with the construction of the city's first big department store (fig. 1 & 2a).

Although the idea of the project was initially made public in 1961 –when the federal competition for the department store was launched–, it must be credited to Juraj Neidhardt, one of the greatest Yugoslavian modernist architects. Neidhardt had introduced the idea in the 1950s as part of his general concept of 'Sarajevo's squares' (Grabljan & Neidhardt, 1957). In an unsurprising early-revolutionary revisionist fashion, Neidhardt envisioned the four main cities' squares as a support for its socialist public life. In that sense, he imagined the terminal square facing the train station as the city's 'vestibule'; the representational square fronting the parliament building, as the city's 'foyer'; the social square in front of the national theatre, as the city's 'main hall'; and the commercial square fronting the department store, as the city's 'lobby' (1957: 400-403). The relative reductionism by which this vision might

be criticised was somewhat redeemed by the impressive urban design proposals for each one of the squares that accompanied the scheme. For example, Neidhardt's idea of the commercial square included a large open space with a relatively low-rise department store neatly 'packed' into one of the corners of the available space; this design permitted ample out-door activities and unobstructed views towards the green hills surrounding the city (fig. 2b).

While the local authorities were obviously inspired by Neidhardt's ideas when they launched the Pan-Yugoslavian design competition in 1961, the chosen project, authored by Zagreb-based architect Ante Glunčić, showed very little congruence with Neidhardt's design premise. In Glunčić's proposal, the building took over the dominant role, being positioned as "a cake in the middle" (Levi, 2001) of the available space, the leftovers of which could hardly be called a square (fig. 2c). Three years later, a group of artists objected this spatial configuration demanding a significant part of the square to be left open and unbuilt; they portrayed their claim as "a contribution of the present generation to the city", a "testimony of [their] efforts and desires for a city to carry the mark of an epoch and a time" (Dimitrijević et.al, 1964). As an alternative solution to Glunčić's plan, the artists proposed a model of a building pushed away from the centre towards the side of the available space; the building had to "... bear a public function, [such as] a library, a youth club, a reading room, a centre of international youth gathering, [or] a leisure centre" (ibid), A "fountain of youth" and a "monument of gratitude" were to jointly bring about this "monumental memorial to the young generation" (ibid) (fig. 2d). The heavy idealistic burden of the proposal was rather interpreted in functionalist terms by

the press. The latter praised the initiative for being the first time in the history of the city where visual artists and public workers opposed the status quo. Driven by their goal to preserve the scarce and valuable open public space in the urban centre that would assure for this site and its narrow surroundings, the "basic 'juices', simple and at the same time sublime logic [and way] of life" (Oslobodjenje, 1964).

EPISODE 1

It was only ten years later that the dissent towards the same project was to be protagonised by the architectural discipline, relying firmly and self-consciously on its professional authority and the expert-knowledge of the spatial craft. In 1974, when the dream of 'socialism with a human face' was ending as the Yugoslavian Non-Aligned Movement was collapsing, a group of architects, based at the University of Sarajevo, ventured to challenge the city's rigid institutional machinery and local bureaucracies by publicly calling for an act of governmental generosity that the yet unbuilt site of the department store be given as "a present to the citizens of Sarajevo" in the form of a public square (Levi, 2001). Even before the agency of the self-proclaimed 'Aktiv Arhitekata' –or 'Active Architects' a collective set up to go against the state regime–, the issue had gained much political tension by virtue of the nature of the planned investment. In the context of the already dissolving socialist establishment –devoid of much of its foundational revolutionary edge–, the orchestrated mutation of the socialist worker into an ardent consumer was well under way (Yeomans, 2010), and the department stores, as Sarajevo writer Miljenko Jergović observed, were spatially treated as medieval cathedrals and "became

Fig.2 The history of ideas and realizations on the “October Square” site. Illustration © Mejrema Zatrić



Fig.2A 1945

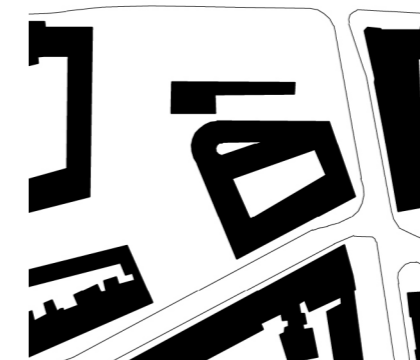


Fig.2B 1957

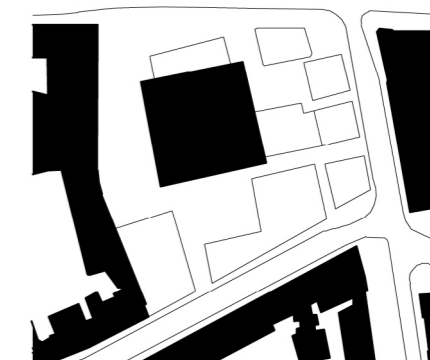


Fig.2C 1961



Fig.2D 1964

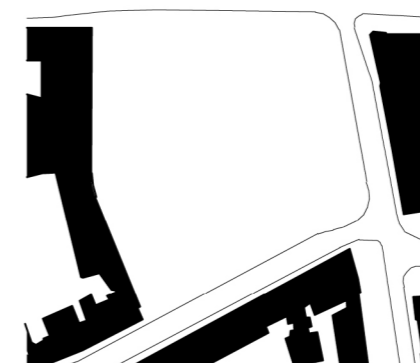


Fig.2E 1974

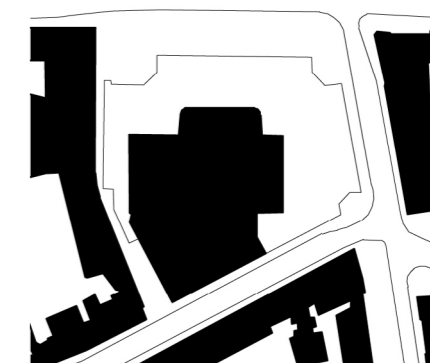


Fig.2F 1975



Fig.2G 2003

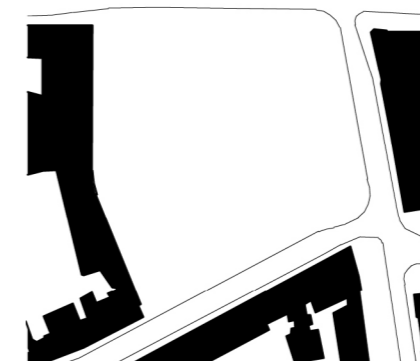


Fig.2H 2006

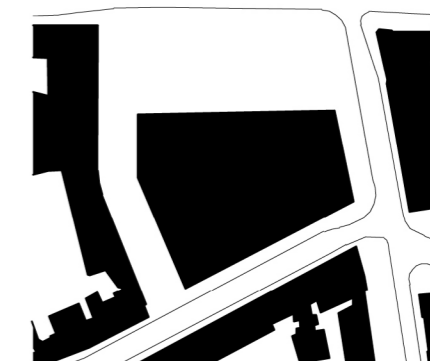


Fig.2I 2009

centres of our self-managed spirituality” (Jergović, 1998). Dangerously evocative of the lifestyles and the ways of the western world, the department store came to be understood as a guarantee of progress and development, a reassuring symptom of the city “turning into an authentic metropolis” (ibid) and, as such, a potent tool of populist manoeuvring in the hands of ambitious socialist politicians.

In 1964, the citizens of Sarajevo had to let go of places like the well-known Istra pub, cinema Dubrovnik, the bowling house and many other examples of “warm and human content” (Spasojević, 2003) housed by a block of shabby buildings that would be destroyed to make way for the new construction site. Ten years later, the destiny of so-called ‘October Square’ (as the cleared space came to be known in architectural discussions) was announced in the press. The building of the new department store was about to start and it was deemed as the only possible way to put Sarajevo on a par with other Yugoslavian republican centres (Levi, 2001).

It was these popular “theories” of urban development, promoted and encouraged by newspaper headlines that served as a trigger for the formation of the ‘Aktiv Arhitekata’, a group ready to undertake professional collective action. Seeing the *salvation* of the ‘October Square’ as its first task, the group was determined to challenge the institutional elite of the profession that ruled the city by virtue of their privileged political positions. The group of activists stated that “the ‘October Square’ [was] a monument to October and not to Consumer Society”; this was the opening line in a brief letter which outlined the group’s position regarding the department store plans (Aktiv Arhitekata, 1974). In stark contrast to the 1964 document and its almost naive, poetic zeal, this text relied on professional argumentation and underlined with a determined and resolute undertone: “as citizens of Sarajevo and as architects we feel responsibility for the future of our city and its design. [...] We are stepping up with a request to question once again the indispensability of situating a department store on this site. [...] In the extremely monotonous longitudinal urban development, the ‘October Square’ can be a much needed interruption which introduces a new rhythm into a crowded centre” (fig. 2e).

To give their arguments additional legislative weight, the mobilised architects punctuated the text with quotations extracted from the ‘Basics of Policies of

Urbanism and Spatial Regulation’, endorsed by the Assembly of Socialist Republic of BiH in 1970. While their own statements brought the beneficial influences that the square would have for the everyday life of the city to the fore. These quotations introduced some of the socialist pathos into the text: “Technical and economic progress cannot be, in its nature, inhuman. It becomes such when it’s uncontrolled, when single and short-term interests overwhelm general and permanent ones. The task of the protagonists of urban action is to fix these contradictions in terms of technical, social, economic, ecological and aesthetic conditions –gradually and persistently, adjusting them to the humanistic goals of socialist society, by building them and designing them for a human” (ibid).

THE TASK OF THE PROTAGONISTS OF URBAN ACTION IS TO FIX CONTRADICTIONS IN TERMS OF TECHNICAL, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, ECOLOGICAL AND AESTHETIC CONDITIONS.

Although concluding the text with a faithful claim that cities were not products of urban planning institutes but visible results of social life, the group directed this open letter to the Institute of Urban Planning, along with 13 other institutions that they understood as constitutive of disciplinary and intellectual activity in general. From the written recollection of the events that followed the dissemination of the letter, saved from oblivion by Aleksandar Levi –one of the Aktiv’s members-, we learn about the impressive internal logistics of the group. Divided into five sub-groups, the members were organised to serve a specific task: design of agitprop posters; demonstrations on the site; theory-building; interviewing of citizens; and media relations to get public support. Only a couple of days of dedicated propaganda were enough for the most exposed members to get an invitation for a meeting in the Municipal Committee of the Communist Party, where a delegation of the establishment constituted of architects and politicians awaited them. As one of the members of 'Aktiv Arhitekata' testified, they soon

realized that their hosts “did not care for the professional discussion but that the issue was insidiously soaked in the muddy political waters where, of course, they directed the course of the game” (Ovadija, 2001). Soon the group was accused of having a non-disclosed and sinister political agenda against the authority of the Communist Party, attempting to dismantle the regime while hiding behind the professional argumentation they offered. The incident was framed as a situation in which “young, politically inexperienced architects teamed-up and got ideologically disoriented” (Levi, 2001). It was mostly to the credit of the politically well-related senior colleagues, that the group members avoided castigation.

How the favouring of a public square over a commercial department store was ideologically problematic in the context of late Yugoslavian socialist consumerism, was to become obvious very soon. The department store was successfully built and “everyone shopped in it with joy” (ibid) (fig. 2f). In the childhood memories of Sarajevo artist Shoba, ‘Sarajka’ (as the citizens nick-named the department store building) was a “magical centre of the city, spaceship parked near the Great Park, exotic object full of toys and things” (Shoba, 2006). Providing the first proper modern shopping experience for many citizens, ‘Sarajka’ will be remembered by its disliked socialist-formalist shape accentuated by the dark blue colour of its facade; but also for the exciting rides on the city’s first escalator, the typical odour of its interior and the self-confidence it inspired in the citizens who now felt their city to be as modern and progressive as other bigger Yugoslavian urban centres.

EPISODE 2

In his all-encompassing survey of the transformative processes that constituted the post-socialist urban reality, Kiril Stanilov pinpointed the commercialisation and privatisation of public space as one of its crucial features. In his account –undoubtedly eager to evoke the drama of the great change-, the corporate world of liberal capitalism was depicted as altering the austere socialist urban landscape by “bombarding the senses of a mesmerised Eastern European audience with the same vigour as that of the communist ‘apparatchiks’¹ in the pre-1989 years” (Stanilov, 2007).

In Sarajevo, where the commercial culture and the communist-era ‘apparatchiks’ had

long since reconciled the doomed ‘October Square’, the new post-socialist city was to come about in ways that contrasted some, but re-enacted other power-space schemata of the socialist ideological reality. Already in the early 2000s, the department store lived the fate of many other publicly owned spatial remnants once financed and maintained in the context of a self-managed economy. Stagnating, neglected businesses generated spatial pockets readily available to be included in the imaginative entrepreneurial schemes of foreign investors. Trading these *public riches*, and representing the citizens of Sarajevo in these affairs, was a complex and newly formed institutional machinery of the democratic capitalist state. One of its key instances, the Agency for Privatisation of the Sarajevo Canton sold the ‘Sarajka’ building to the BBI company in 2002. The BBI, a massive business corporation with roots in the Middle East, was represented in Sarajevo by its publicly prominent executive Andre Van Hove. Soon after arriving to the city, the BBI started moving through the challenging, mysterious and often informal web of cantonal and municipal institutional relations; it established an intense dialogue particularly with two entities –both related to the territory in which the department store was situated- the Cantonal Institute for Planning and the Central Municipality.

Although absolutely neglecting the proposals defined for the ‘Sarajka’ site by the Design Programme of the Central Urban Core (prepared by the Planning Institute and endorsed by the Cantonal Assembly in 2000), the BBI was to publicly present its vision of the planned transformation: a new mixed-use structure, that surpassed the surface area of the existing building by 300% (fig. 2g). At the presentation of the project that Van Hove organised for Sarajevo’s architects in 2003, he explained his motives with the following words: “I wanted to give something beautiful to Sarajevo” (Dani, 2003). While the poor aesthetics of the socialist department store were commonly criticised in professional circles, it was the increased scale and the imported generic program of the BBI proposal that caused intense reactions in the press and alarmed the interested architects of Sarajevo. In the best tradition of the professional argumentation offered by their colleagues 30 year earlier, this group of architects asked for the future use of the site to be determined through an international public tender, which would assure its closest possible fulfilment of the city’s needs (Hrisafović, 2003).

The most vigilant observers noted that the emerging situation had one stark similarity to the department store project of the socialist era. In the words of Muhamed Hamidović –president of the Association of Architects of BiH at the time- what was utterly wrong was that the proposal was “copying the models from some other cities that do not adjust to Sarajevo. [...] The basic elements of the plan where tailored for those people who do not live here and that do not know or are not aware of the location of this space”; on the contrary, he added, “the new building should establish a dialogue with its environment” (Oslobodjenje, 2006).

These objections gained momentum throughout the first months after the

presentation of the project were soon placated in a typical knavish fashion of semi-formal institutional acrobatics and legislative fine-tuning that worked in favour of the investor’s needs. The mock-up competition was organized, the building rules were changed, the ‘Sarajka’ was demolished, the imported programme was confirmed and the BBI centre was built (fig. 2i).

EPILOGUE: BREAKING THE WAVES

Today the square in front of the BBI Centre is one of the crucial nodes of Sarajevo’s public life; new year celebrations, concerts, dance contests, screenings of the most important football games, all take place at the foot

Fig.3 The slow disappearance of the socialist department store in 2006 (top) and imported “global splendor” of Sarajevo’s public life in front of the BBI Centre in 2009 (bottom). Image © Ajna Zatrić



and under the shadow of the new building. With a building that is wider, longer and taller than any socialist department store ever imagined in this place, the BBI proves to be a good host; with greater financial backup than the municipality or the city, and a public relations office that animates Sarajevan public life gaining in return an army of obedient shoppers. In the six years since the BBI opened the doors of its new *centre*, –combining commerce, leisure, offices and other central functions-, the mixed-use mega-structures have become a second ‘home’ to the citizens of Sarajevo. The international real estate companies have managed to give Sarajevo ‘beautiful things’ that in a standardised manner –as if products from a catalogue- suit their low-risk investment schemes. In doing so they have joined the efforts of globalising and *normalising* the vanishing socialist city. Just like the socialist department store was introduced in the 1970s to compete with other *normalised* and *modernised* Yugoslavian metropolises, the BBI centre was introduced in the 2000s to represent the more tangible urban realities that established the standards of the *normal* global life-style.

When in 2006 “the pneumatic machines for demolition of everything that ever existed” (Shoba, 2006) shattered the last standing heavy concrete frame of the socialist department store into pieces, an opportunity opened up. The tight temporal gap between the two episodes which occurred within two ideological eras seemed to be implying dozens of different possible worlds. Inspired by Juraj Neidhardt’s urban design concept of the 1950s that prioritised the views towards the city’s green hills, some architects initiated an internet-based petition demanding that the yet unbuilt site –granted to the BBI- be given as a present to the citizens of Sarajevo (fig. 2h). Despite their efforts, The BBI centre was built again, just as it was in the case of the socialist department store *-everyone shopped with joy*. Older Sarajevans nostalgically recall collective celebrations of state holidays and gypsy-balls that used to be held at the rooftop restaurant of the ‘Sarajka’. Today, a foreign coffee-shop chain situated on the new rooftop of the BBI centre preserves little of it’s past atmosphere –perhaps solely the experience of the wide urban panorama, the panorama of a constantly transforming post-socialist urban reality. Floating above the city, it is easy to imagine the faint silhouette of Paul Klee’s ‘Angelus Novus’ and recall the words with which Walter Benjamin’s ‘angel of history’ warns us about the teleology of *progress*, one that he sees rather as an eternal catastrophe:

“where we perceive a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet” (Benjamin, 1969: 257-258) (fig. 3).

Within the tight gaps of possibility, the attempted *agency* of Sarajevan architects, in two different but strangely similar ideological eras, outlines some vectors of direction. If not from a single starting point to a determined end, then towards a practice of criticality which is neither bound in the autonomous production of meaning nor in the advocacy of a new social order, but in an unabashedly political position towards reconstructing the city as a whole. In order to break the waves of influence originating from an unknown source that have been continuously moulding the city, a thorough and vigilant architectural research of Sarajevo’s needs is probably not the only, but surely still a necessary precondition. •

NOTES

1 Russian colloquial term for a full-time, professional functionary of the Communist Party.

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Mejrema Zatrić and Zulejha Zatrić

THE OLYMPIC BULEVAR: INBETWEENNESS AND PERIPHERIES IN SARAJEVO

Ida Lien, Sobia Rafiq and Thomas Walker

The following work outlines a spatial strategy for a proposed urban intervention in Dobrinja, Sarajevo. The project aims to address the influential role of design in transforming a politically and territorially divided context, while simultaneously engaging with the intertwined spatial economies in the area.



Life on the Federation of BiH side of the 'Inter Entity Boundary Line' in the neighbourhood of Dobrinja, Sarajevo. Image © Sobia Rafiq 2014

THE DESIGN BRIEF

The design brief for ‘The Olympic Bulevar’ is produced by the Institute for Development Planning of Canton Sarajevo (IDP). The IDP is in charge of strategic planning of Canton Sarajevo, and has developed an Action Plan that complies with the European Union (EU) joint development policies as a framework to advance the pre-accession process (Fetahagić et. al, 2013)¹. The strategic planning process in Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) has traditionally been focused on the state and entity levels of government. In contrast, the current plan recognises the necessity to decentralise the strategic planning process by including lower levels of government. Further, broader goals based on BiH Development Strategy (DS) and BiH Social Inclusion Strategy (SIS) are operationalised at the local level using the Action Plan, taking the specific needs, resources and priorities of the location into consideration.

‘The Olympic Bulevar’ is developed in accordance with the strategic commitments defined in the Action Plan. The project is a candidate for the pre-accession EU development fund, which requires that the BIH fund² guarantee co-financing should the EU accept the project (Fetahagić et.al, 2013). In terms of development goals that the project will address, sustainable development in the form of transport and communication, and social inclusion in the form of improved conditions for families with children is highlighted. Furthermore, the Action Plan also suggests potential stakeholders and institutional partners for developing and operating project elements. This brief will identify appropriate partners for the project where relevant.

Our site is located within the neighbourhood of Dobrinja, which lies at the outskirts of Sarajevo. It is positioned between Sarajevo International Airport, the hills of Mojnilo, the neighbourhood of Nedžarići and the former Yugoslav People’s Army barracks in Lukavica (Pilav, 2013). Constructed in 1983, Dobrinja served as the athletes’ village for the 1984 Winter Olympics, and became a dormitory neighbourhood for middle-income workers after the completion of the Games.

Before the war, Dobrinja’s population was about 30,000 with no residential allocation (Jansen, 2013). At the outset of the war this changed as Serbs were encouraged to move to areas controlled by the Republika Srpska (RS) army, and all non-Serbs were expelled or fled from the same areas. Because Dobrinja was located at the siege line it remained isolated from the rest of the Sarajevo throughout the period 1992 to 1995. This was a time of great suffering and destruction, and the urban, political and social landscape of Dobrinja bear witness to the violence that took place there.

With the inception of the Dayton Accords in 1995, the Inter-Entity Boundary Line (IEBL) was established between RS and the Federation using the military positions of the time (Jansen, 2013). The Dobrinja border was and continues to be a point of contention. Due to the capabilities of mapping equipment at the resolution of the war in 1995, the IEBL at Dobrinja was not precisely fixed, and the former siege line therefore became the de facto border (Jansen, 2013). Not until 2001 were the official co-ordinates for the IEBL adjusted to the east of the former siege line in Dobrinja (fig. 1).

Currently, approximately 34,000 people are living in Dobrinja: 25,500 reside on the Federation side in the municipal of New Town Sarajevo, and 8,500 live on the RS side in the municipality of East Sarajevo (fig. 2) (City Population, 2014; Novi Grad Municipality Sarajevo, n.d.). East Sarajevo was originally designated to become the capital of RS, and it continues to assert itself as a separate city from Sarajevo. Its ambition to become a city in its own right was recognized by BiH Constitutional Court in 2004 when the municipality was renamed ‘City of East Sarajevo’ (ibid). A checkers board –traditionally a symbol used to identify the centre of the city- located next to the Sv. Vasilije Ostroškog church is a spatial reminder of East Sarajevo’s aspiration (fig. 3). Currently however, the area bears little resemblance to a city; despite ongoing construction of new housing and an increasing population, there is a lack of most amenities and services one would expect to find in a city.

There is an absolute residential segregation of Serbs on the RS side and non-Serbs on the Federation side of Dobrinja³. Despite considerably higher real estate prices on the Federation side of the border, very few non-Serbs live in East Sarajevo This can also be partly explained by a fear of being recognised as living on the ‘wrong’ side of the border. We observe this reality through the movement patterns of residents; therefore movement through space and across the border is at the heart of the ‘The Olympic Bulevar’ project.

THE STRATEGIES

The design proposal aspires to advance a process of reintegration that transverses the border. As such, it rests on two premises: firstly, as Stef Jansen would say, movement can mediate material affect (2013). Many people living in Dobrinja are acutely aware that they are crossing the invisible border, but distress is often triggered by the potential confrontation with places and objects that reinforce individual’s feeling of ‘otherness’ when leaving their own entity, rather than the actual crossing of the IEBL. Research conducted in Sarajevo reveals, unsurprisingly, that bodily movement through space –and thus physical engagement with it- can lessen trauma associated with war crime areas (ibid).

The second premise is that spatial storytelling is a powerful tool to reconcile post-war neighbourhoods. The brief recognises that urban landscapes can be read as a text of historical layers, and that urban planning can play a pivotal role in shaping the ‘collective memory’ (Malas, 2013). The spatial story told is important in order for a neighbourhood to imagine themselves as communities and not as segregated ethnic groups. Through urban development, new mental maps of social space can be created.

‘The Olympic Bulevar’ will initiate a process of transforming Dobrinja into a new urban centre: by diffusing the border between the two entities, the ambition behind the project is to move away from the current dichotomy characterising Dobrinja and towards a unified and resilient centre. By weaving disparate spaces together, a slow process of reintegration can begin where new social relationships are free to evolve. The project counters East Sarajevo’s insistence to be a separate city by emphasising its role as a part of Dobrinja. It is believed that better integration of the RS side of Dobrinja with the Federation side –considering that it now exists as a periphery rather than a centre-, will be beneficial for both East Sarajevo and Dobrinja. ‘The Olympic Bulevar’ will in turn alter the relationship between downtown Sarajevo and Dobrinja by recognising the latter’s potential to become an urban centre rather than merely continue to function as a dormitory neighbourhood at the edge of the city.

The brief makes use of three strategies; each strategy is discussed in more detail in the following section.



Fig.1 Location of Dobrinja: Map identifying key nodes and landmarks of Dobrinja.



Fig.2 Life on the Republika Srpska side of the IEBL, Dobrinja. Image © Sobia Rafiq 2014



Fig.3 Checkers board extension –in Republika Srpska- of an orthodox church that sits in the Federation of BiH. Image © Sobia Rafiq 2014



‘THE OLYMPIC BULEVAR’ WILL INITIATE A PROCESS OF TRANSFORMING DOBRINJA INTO A NEW URBAN CENTRE: BY DIFFUSING THE BORDER BETWEEN THE TWO ENTITIES, THE AMBITION BEHIND THE PROJECT IS TO MOVE AWAY FROM THE CURRENT DICHOTOMY CHARACTERISING DOBRINJA AND TOWARDS A UNIFIED AND RESILIENT CENTRE.

Ida Lien, Sobia Rafiq and Thomas Walker

1

Identifying shared positive memory: The Olympic legacy

As mentioned in the introduction, ‘The Olympic Bulevar’ project aspires to create shared memories through storytelling. Based on the Olympic legacy in Dobrinja and Sarajevo’s positive recollection of the Games (fig. 4) ^{4 & 5}, the Olympics figures as a central theme in the project. This successful period of Sarajevo’s past, offers potential room to open up new shared spaces where residents can co-exist in an environment that shifts the focus away from representation of nationality, religion or ethnicity.

2

Activities as an engine for movement through space

‘The Olympic Bulevar’ aims at giving people in Dobrinja a reason to physically engage with the entity on the other side of the border. This is especially critical for the East Sarajevo side, as residents from the Federation currently lack incentive to cross the border. Today, Dobrinja counts with several existing –and also proposed– nodes of activity. On the Federation side of the border, a proposed sports complex will make up the western starting point of ‘The Olympic Bulevar’. It will include an outdoor swimming pool in the summer, an ice skating rink in the winter, and sports surfaces that can be used for basketball, volleyball or soccer (Sarajevo, 2014). Further east is the prosperous Bulevar Branilaca Dobrinje. Although it is a busy street with small coffee shops and stores visited by residents from the RS side, there is great potential to encourage more interaction through an expanded selection of activities on the Federation side (fig. 5 & 6). Moreover, Lukavica bus station, one of the major bus stations in Sarajevo that serves as a hub for busses arriving from other parts of the country, lies on the RS side of the border. Despite its importance, it currently lacks supporting amenities like cafes, restaurants or small shops that can enhance the activation of space around the bus station. Furthermore, the eastern side of the bus station is a large unused open space, which borders on its northern side with an existing public park called City Park. Anchoring the eastern end of our proposed ‘Olympic Bulevar’ is a Cultural Centre. Despite the amount of activities happening in the area, they are not necessarily connected, which diminishes the site’s potential for integrating both sides of the border (fig. 7 & 8).

Fig.4 Metal statue of a man looking up at the Olympics’ symbol on a former Olympic building. Image © Sobia Rafiq 2014



3

Increasing urban connectivity

Standing on the border looking east, there are coaches at the East Sarajevo coach station; looking west, there are buses and trolleybuses on the terminus of Sarajevo City Transport Company. All vehicles in the west and almost all vehicles in the east leave their terminals in the direction away from the border (fig. 9). ‘The Olympic Bulevar’ project is concerned with increasing the physical mobility between the two entities for walking, biking and driving, as well as public transport. GRAS is the main provider of public transport operations and services in Canton Sarajevo. It has developed an expansion program with a horizon to 2025, where new track

construction for Nedzarici-Dobrinja is included (fig. 10). The land needed for the construction has to a large extent been cleared, but the project is currently finding constraints (World Bank, 2010). The jurisdictional allocation of transport responsibility in Sarajevo is complex, and there is considerable concern associated with transport at the metropolitan level. In accordance with the recommendation given in the World Bank report (2010) on how the problem can be addressed, the IDP suggests that the transport responsibility in Dobrinja is delegated to the metropolitan transport authority. These currently include bicycle lanes and footpaths that create connections throughout the site. This would allow for a more coherent approach toward planning and implementation of new transport networks.

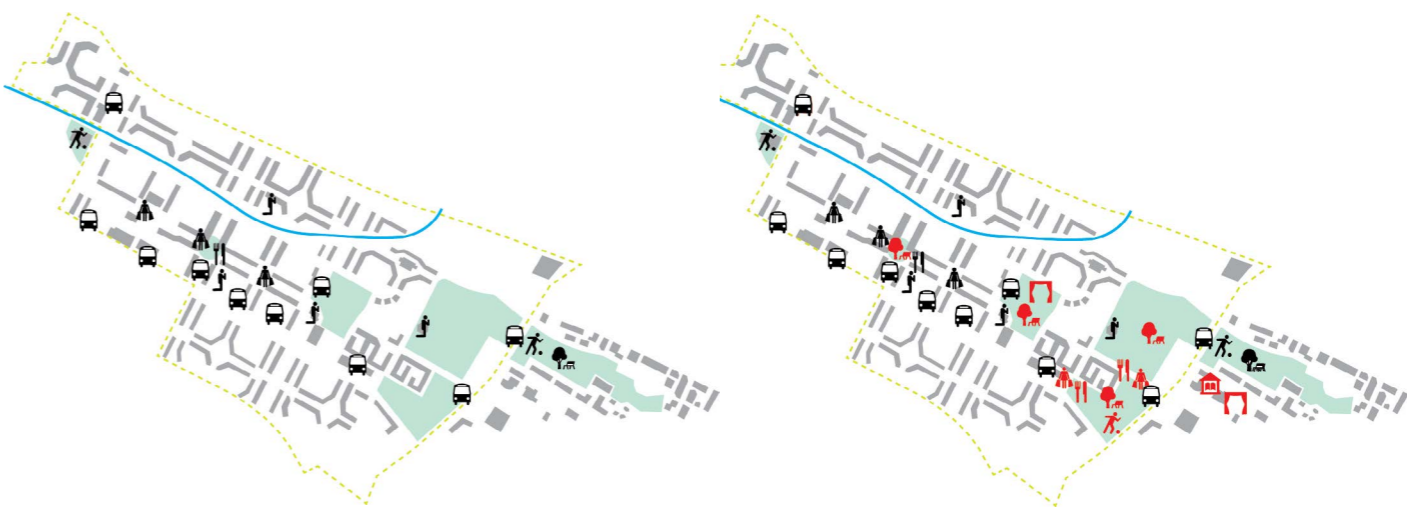


Fig.5 Existing activities in Dobrinja.
Fig.6 Proposed activities to activate the street border.

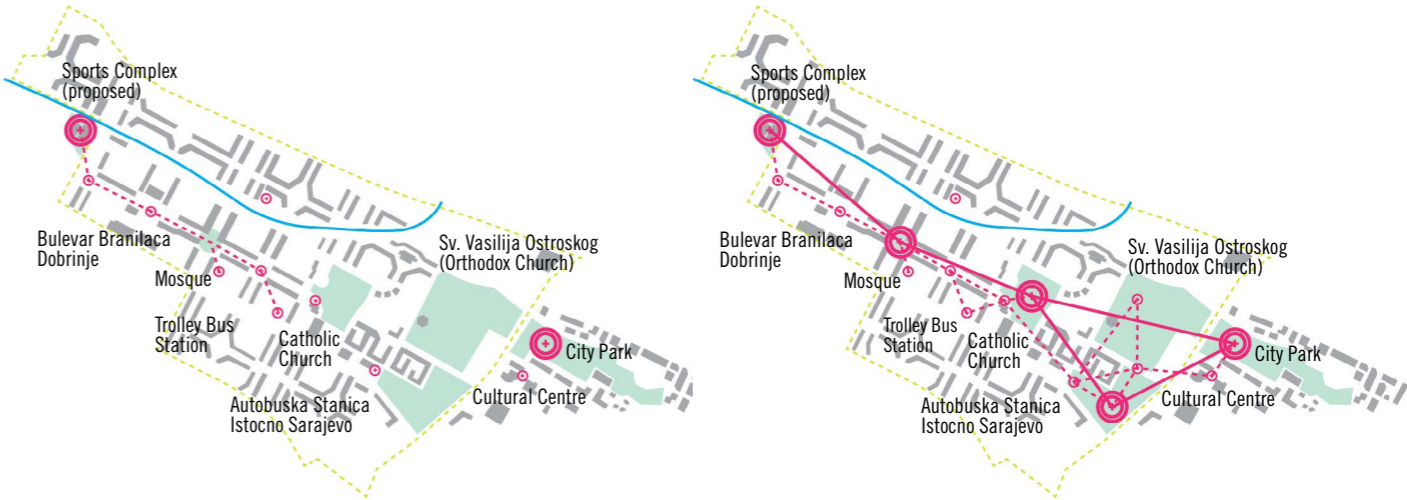


Fig.7 Existing nodes that are not well integrated or connected.
Fig.8 Potential points for the development of activities.



Fig.9 Existing trolley bus in BiH and bus station in Republika Srpska.
Fig.10 Proposed transportation to increase connectivity.

LEGEND			
	Trolley Bus (Existing)		Eating
	Trolley Bus (Proposed)		Civic
	Tramline (Proposed)		Sports & Recreation
	Stations/Stops (Existing)		Leisure & Park
	Religious		Entertainment
	Shopping		Transport

THE DESIGN PROPOSAL

With the outlined framework in mind, our proposal aims to create spatial and conceptual links between the various sites of activities. This will be done through a redesigned boulevard that uses the positive Olympic memory to create conceptual continuity. Therefore, new sites and pathways will generate spatial links and add complementary uses that balance with existing ones, ultimately activating the site as a whole. As noted above, there is a new proposed sports centre on the west end of the ‘Bulevar’. This is envisioned as an anchor for the boulevard both in terms of its spatial location and its use, reinforcing the Olympic theme. Running consistent with this idea and complementing the eastern end of the ‘Bulevar’, a new football field is proposed; this will be located in the empty open space just east of the bus station, and will be described in more detail below.

‘The Olympic Bulevar’ will connect the west to the east by cutting through an existing barrier composed of an open field and parking garage (fig. 11). Not only will this new boulevard break through this

space, the site will also become a key node, drawing people east across the border, further blurring the division between the Federation and RS. Residents within the RS side of Dobrinja will also have easier access to the activities and nodal points west of the border along the boulevard, which culminates in the new sports centre. The boulevard itself will be redesigned to incorporate the proposed tramline discussed above, while wider sidewalks will create a pedestrian and public transport focus along the street. Because of this new reallocation of space, the automobile traffic will be reduced to two lanes instead of three. Additionally, redesigned landscape areas on each side of the street could buffer the pedestrian walkway from automobile and tram traffic.

Furthermore, there is a serious parking shortage in Sarajevo (World Bank, 2010), and parking will therefore be moved to the street running parallel to, but south of, the new boulevard. It is expected however that there will be a reduced need for cars when public transport service improves and more walking and biking pathways are provided; with the new proposal, both

sides of the street will now have a wide sidewalk, in contrast to the current single-sided walkway. This new wider design will help to accommodate market stalls that we see as a key aspect of activating the street (fig. 12). With wider sidewalks, stalls will be further supported with additional space that cuts into the landscape at varying points along the walk. This will create an undulating pattern that adds visual interest while allowing for the different spatial needs of participating marketers. Art sculptures along the length of the boulevard will further provide references to the Olympics.

As we move east, the next key design feature and node in this new master plan is a transformed and reinvented intersection at Emila Zole (fig. 12), the centre-point of the ‘Bulevar’. Although, the intersection will maintain its function to allow for cars and the new tramline to pass through it, its four corners will be enlarged in order to emphasise its role as a destination point. In addition, the redesign provides pocket plaza spaces for passing pedestrians while further improving east-west connectivity.



Fig.12 Existing kiosks and informal stalls located along the Bulevar Branilaca Dobrinje. Image © Sofia Rafiq 2014

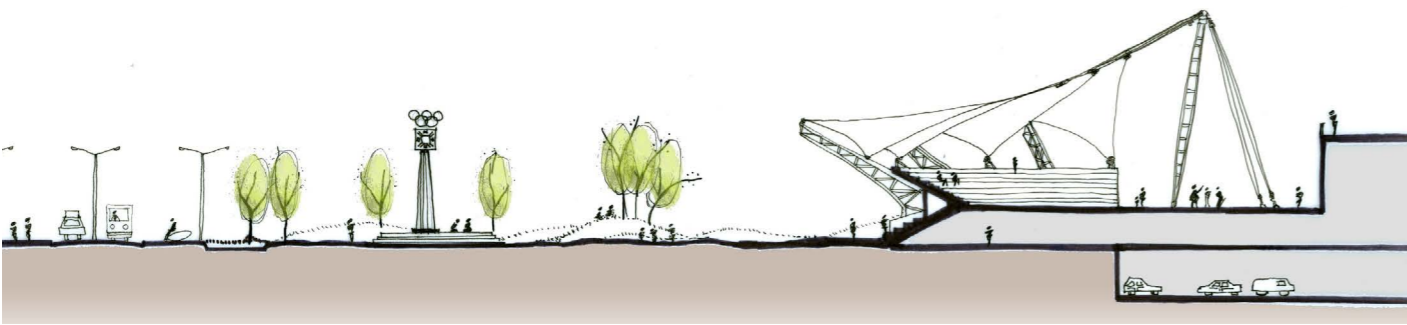
Fig.13 Proposed site for the Olympic Plaza and Theatre located on the IEBL, at the end of Bulevar Branilaca Dobrinje. View of the garage used for parking from the Republika Srpska side.



Fig.14 Proposed site for the Olympic Plaza and Theatre. View of the site from the Federation of BiH side. The area is also the identified site for the tramline station.



Fig. 15 Longitudinal Section C – Olympic monument and the open air theatre.



A central part of our concept and design is found in a reimagined space where the proposed boulevard cuts through the existing parking garage and field; this area coincides with the location of the border between the Federation and RS. This newly designed space, to be called ‘Olympic Plaza & Theatre’, is significant to stitching together the Federation and Republika Srpska while activating a space that currently serves very little function and is largely unused (fig. 13 & 14). In it, a theatre will be built on top of the existing parking garage, in the section where the garage’s roof is at ground level⁶. This will allow for a southward front that opens into a public, hardscaped plaza space (fig. 15). We propose this theatre to not only fill a void in activity that has been identified by residents, but also to act as the primary destination point in the area, giving people on the Federation side another reason to cross into RS. Complementing the theatre will be a plaza that includes seating, open space for outdoor performances and an interactive fountain –further bringing life and activity to the node. This is also the

proposed location of a commemorative art piece that celebrates the positive Olympic memory and maintains the theme of the boulevard.

East of this location, the boulevard will move into an area that we propose as another market zone for those residents living closer to the eastern end of ‘The Olympic Bulevar’. Since this is a new road, wider pedestrian walkways that allow for flexible market spaces can easily be constructed. Along this stretch there will also be connecting pathways leading to the Orthodox Church and urban centre to the north of the boulevard. This network of pedestrian and cycle pathways will cut through a rolling topography of natural areas leading to the existing City Park and the cultural centre. New pathways will also connect the area north of the boulevard with a new park proposed to be built to the east of the existing bus station. As discussed above, this node will serve as an anchor for the eastern end of the boulevard. It will further emphasize the sports and Olympic theme by providing a

football field, an amenity that is lacking in any of the other existing parks and open public spaces. This area will become the connection that links the bus station to the boulevard, which in turn links to the pedestrian and cycle trails, cultural centre and City Park – all of which aim to blur the existing territorial divisions in Sarajevo.●

NOTES

- 1 The design brief is based on the assumption that the recommendations laid out in the “Strategic Planning at the Cantonal Level – Step Closer to the EU: Canton Sarajevo Example” are implemented.
- 2 This fund is suggested in Fetahagić et.al., 2013.
- 3 Unless otherwise stated, information on the current situation has been gathered through interviews with local residents.
- 4 Sarajevo’s Games is generally regarded as so successful that the city considered to apply for the 2022 Olympic Games.
- 5 The 1984 Olympic logo and mascot is depicted at two locations in Dobrinja.
- 6 One side of the garage is above ground, however, where the proposed road moves through, the garage roof is at ground level.

THE ATTEMPTS TO ESTABLISH THE NEW STATE OF BOSNIA–HERZEGOVINA IN THE AFTERMATH OF BRUTAL CONFLICT HAVE HIGHLIGHTED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE USE OF SIGNS, SYMBOLS AND AN APPEAL TO HISTORY AS CRUCIAL ELEMENTS IN THE PROCESS OF STATE (AND NATION) FORMATION. IN THE RECALLING OF PAST EVENTS AND PEOPLE FROM BOSNIA’S HISTORY, THERE IS THE SUGGESTION THAT A PARTICULAR FORM OF NATIONALISM IS BEING APPEALED TO AS A ‘CEMENT’ TO BIND THE STATE’S CITIZENS TO THE NEW ENTITY OF THE STATE.

Robinson et.al, 2001:969

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