

Forced
transitions.
New settlements
of displaced persons
after the war (1992-1995)
in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

PhD Thesis

Draft

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Transiciones forzadas. Nuevos asentamientos para desplazados en Bosnia-Herzegovina de posguerra (1992-1995)

Tesis Doctoral

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Resumen

La investigación está inspirada de la experiencia personal de la guerra en Bosnia y Herzegovina (1992-1995), del proceso de refugio y del comienzo de una nueva vida marcada por la reconstrucción del espacio vital (casa familiar, barrio, ciudad) en un nuevo lugar de residencia. El proceso también forma parte de la experiencia de casi la mitad de la población bosnio siendo refugiados o desplazados internos y formando el contexto cultural para los cambios en territorio en los últimos 20 años. La experiencia, que todavía está presente en el discurso cotidiano, ha provocado una serie de procesos diferentes. Por otro lado, estos procesos no son características exclusivas de Bosnia y Herzegovina. Los cambios en el sistema político, social, económico y cultural, así como el sistema de valores, el proceso migratorio y las nuevas transformaciones espaciales también forman parte de la narrativa general global, que en tiempo real cambia la imagen del mundo, del territorio y de la vida.

Así, los conflictos, las migraciones y los cambios que siguen, tienen enormes consecuencias en el proceso identitario, en el espacio cultural y urbano, que así se convierten en los sujetos de múltiples transformaciones. Al centrarse sólo en los cambios espaciales, el tema básico de la investigación representa el problema de la transformación de la cuestión identitario en el territorio. Los fenómenos de re-territorialización, homogeneización étnica y nueva construcción se observan en relación de tres elementos - identidad, contexto y espacio - que se consideran integralmente relacionados. El concepto abstracto de la identidad espacial se entiende en la integración con la identidad colectiva y cultural que surgen una de otra y se complementan entre mismos. Así, la característica esencial del contexto espacial es definida por el espacio cultural como el resultado de diversas condiciones históricas, políticas, económicas, sociales, geográficas y muchas otras.

La tesis se desarrolló sobre la hipótesis de que la guerra en Bosnia y Herzegovina ha cambiado fuertemente la vida de las personas, la estructura del territorio y forma del crecimiento urbano. Se centra en la dinámica migratoria de los desplazados internos, que han dado como resultado los patrones de formación de nuevos asentamientos para desplazados y nuevas coordenadas de la vida cotidiana. En los asentamientos recién construidos el proyecto observa el impacto de las identidades culturales divididas. A diferencia de las consecuencias de la guerra, la reestructuración general del espacio, de la sociedad y de la cultura, según la cual han surgido cambios espaciales (re-territorialización, homogeneización, re-organización y re-identificación), aún existe una mezcla de culturas conflictivas. Este tipo de identidad específica demuestra que, a pesar de las diferentes divisiones (religiosa, política, étnica, nacional, social, cultural), todavía existe un espacio cultural "común" (de historia, lengua, cultura, arte) así que en ese ámbito es posible encontrar un terreno para el futuro común.

El concepto del desplazamiento forzado de patrones físicos y culturales de un lugar al otro se refleja en una nueva construcción de la vida y la cultura, de acuerdo con las formas de vida anteriores. Las divisiones étnicas, el intercambio de poblaciones, la reestructuración del sistema sociopolítico, económico y cultural, así como la construcción de nuevos asentamientos para los desplazados se definen como el proceso de transiciones forçadas. Los elementos de la transición son: mapa de transición, matriz de nueva construcción y mapa de identidades. El proceso de transformación de las identidades en territorio se identifica en el atlas de espacios, que combina capas de análisis, confirma su relación causal y abre un amplio campo de temas diversos. Nuevos tipos de asentamientos incluyen (1) nuevas formas espaciales en el proceso de formación o transformaciones (nuevos territorios urbanos como ciudades, corredores urbanos, hinterlands drenados); (2) nuevas formas urbanas (nuevas interpolaciones urbanas, nuevos barrios, nuevas ciudades fundadas y nuevos pueblos como parques temáticos). En los asentamientos recién construidos de Bosnia y Herzegovina de posguerra, el proyecto observa el impacto de las identidades culturales divididas.

La investigación está analizando los patrones de desarrollo en el contexto específico estudiando el contexto cultural de diferentes ejemplos excepcionales, e intentando comprender la lógica de las transformaciones. El análisis indica la existencia de un complejo sistema de identidades que participan en la construcción física e imaginaria del territorio. La aceptación de la rica diversidad de identidades de estos espacios debería contribuir a

una mejor comprensión del territorio entero de Bosnia y Herzegovina, así como a la reconciliación y la integración mutua. La definición de nuevos asentamientos debería contribuir a mejorar las condiciones de la vida cotidiana y el futuro desarrollo del espacio. A través de la observación de tres estudios de caso diferentes, la relación contextual e histórica y la relación con otros patrones de desarrollo, la investigación permita el análisis, la comprensión y la definición de la transformación espacial observada en un contexto más amplio, tal como en otros contextos.

La metodología se define como una especie de "jump-cut" montaje multidisciplinario, que integra el movimiento y la transición entre las secciones, permitiendo la formación de la unidad a partir de variedad de fragmentos. La investigación está diseñada como estudio de caso - en tres escalas espaciales - barrio, pueblo y ciudad; pero también en tres niveles - cultural, social y espacial; y en tres enfoques - experiencia personal del participante directo en el proceso, teórico, y de una manera - práctico, observando el fenómeno a través de las lentes de formal-informal y personal-general.

El período observado de 20 años es el período desde el final de la guerra en Bosnia y Herzegovina (1992-1995) hasta presente (2015). El primer estudio de caso está marcado por la experiencia personal del autor de participar directamente en el proceso de construcción del barrio, como la forma más común del proceso, con la posición clave de la investigación y el análisis detallado. Los otros dos casos se caracterizan por su excepción, pero también por una forma muy clara de transformación de identidad en un nuevo programa espacial. Independientemente de las diferencias, las tres manifestaciones actúan como representantes de la tipología generalizada que responde al conjunto de concepto.

Aunque la investigación no es muy teórica, y se queda en la superficie de las temas diversas que abre por primera vez, el estudio también discute los temas del crecimiento, el desarrollo y la estructura social de la ciudad, así como la identidad cultural y espacial.

Teniendo en cuenta el concepto de nueva construcción de asentamientos, la investigación examina la revisión histórica del tema, considerando la definición, las formas de formación, así como la planificación y el desarrollo de nuevas ciudades. De acuerdo con esto, modelos alternativos de crecimiento urbano y desarrollo de ciudades (crecimiento de programas, extensiones fragmentadas y duplicaciones) demuestran que los fenómenos de lo nuevo no son nada nuevo, excepto que demuestran diferentes escalas y conceptos de modernización. Lo mismo demuestra la revisión histórica de nuevas ciudades en Bosnia y Herzegovina, lo que nos permite considerar los cambios territoriales y urbanos contemporáneos como un proceso continuo e interminable. La experiencia de "nueva ciudad" ha estado emergiendo después de cada cambio de patrón socio-político y cultural, que eran muchos. La ciudad bosnia emergía en diferentes fases y periodos que están definidas como la primera ciudad, ciudad Oriental-Balcánica, ciudad "europea" (ciudad de Austro-Hungarían y ciudad de "Banovina") y ciudad socialista. Esta continuidad de los cambios demuestra que la discontinuidad del tiempo en el espacio se está restableciendo constantemente. Estas permanencias de un nuevo, forma una conexión histórica con la construcción de nuevos asentamientos en el contexto recién formado.

Aparte de la génesis morfológica de la ciudad, la investigación se basa en la afirmación de que el espacio siempre marca el ambiente de la práctica social, que la ciudad es el producto de la presencia y las actividades de la gente (estructura social / morfológica social), así como del tiempo y de la cultura específicos. Debido a sus historias divididas, opiniones opuestas e identidades en conflicto, el espacio cultural "herido" tuvo que ser presentado sin referencias políticas, las verdades incompletas, y la propaganda de guerra. El contexto extremadamente complejo se analiza a través de diferentes lentes, para ser presentado de manera honesta, clara y objetiva. El análisis tiene un enfoque antropológico y artístico, que no se quedó sólo en las apariencias, sino profundizado en la cultura sin descuidar otros componentes tales como: histórico, político, económico y otros. Para ello se ha utilizado el enfoque indirecto, que es el arte contemporáneo de Bosnia y Herzegovina (literatura, cine, artes visuales, música) que trata temas identitarios y espaciales. De esta manera, el espacio se interpreta como el resultado de sistemas culturales, como el espacio específico "intermedio" que es trágico, absurdo y conflictivo, el espacio de la política, del dilema, de la duda y de una manera imaginaria imposible.

La reterritorialización y la homogeneización de Bosnia y Herzegovina ha surgido como resultado de este contexto cultural, la guerra, las migraciones y la transición de la identidad cultural y espacial. La nueva forma de espacios, que anteriormente no existían en esta escala, se define como nuevos asentamientos o un nuevo territorio (ciudad de transición). El estudio de caso se realiza en los tres tipos de nuevos asentamientos (tipos urbanos) - barrio (Česma-Mađir, Banja Luka - el tipo más dominante de una nueva ciudad y el énfasis principal de la investigación); pueblo (ethno-pueblo Stanišići, Bijeljina) y ciudad (Istočno Sarajevo, Sarajevo). El análisis siguió el concepto de transición de identidades espaciales incluyendo mapa de transición, matriz de nueva construcción y mapa de identidades centrándose en testimonios de agentes de construcción, estructura urbana y relación de identidades.

Česma-Mađir - el barrio informal se desarrolla en la periferia de la ciudad de Banja Luka, la segunda ciudad más grande en B-H. Aunque no ha estado directamente expuesto a la guerra, la ciudad ha sufrido enormes cambios en la estructura demográfica y urbana. En un proceso bidireccional de refugiados y de intercambio étnico de población, casi la mitad de la población ha sido cambiada. Por consiguiente, decenas de áreas residenciales de viviendas individuales están siendo desarrolladas principalmente por la fábrica urbana informal. Este caso examina el papel del grupo de refugiados, desplazados internos y sus familias, operando en una especie de proceso sincronizado, utilizando los mismos patrones en el mismo período, el mismo lugar y más o menos las mismas herramientas para resolver el problema urgente del "techo sobre la cabeza", por autoconstruir sus casas, barrios y nuevas coordenadas de la vida cotidiana. Los residentes han "tomado el asunto en sus propias manos", actuaron fuera del sistema, por lo que el barrio fue "planeado" y construido directamente en el sitio. La deconstrucción a los elementos básicos se apoya en un análisis demográfico, así como en un conjunto de entrevistas y cuestionarios realizados con los agentes de la fábrica urbana informal. A pesar de la informalidad, el análisis urbano muestra algunos valores positivos como: flexibilidad en la auto-organización de pequeñas unidades espaciales, uso del espacio interactivo "colectivo", desarrollo gradual, construcción de viviendas en proceso como modelo tradicional de vivienda y manera de vivir con ciertas cualidades heredadas. Como tal, el barrio ha sido reconocido como parte de una nueva tipología urbana que forma la idea de la nueva ciudad de Banja Luka, que es una de las conclusiones y una especie del concepto para ser considerado para el futuro.

La construcción de Sarajevo Este ha surgido como la idea de la guerra de la nueva ciudad en el otro lado de la frontera de la entidad, poblada por los refugiados serbios de Sarajevo. El estudio de caso está analizando lo que sucedió con Sarajevo y su identidad durante y después de la guerra, especialmente considerando la división de la ciudad y la construcción de la nueva. El énfasis está en el análisis de la fábrica urbana formal en la que se construyó la ciudad. El proceso siguió al sistema de planificación urbana, mientras que el principal potencial de la construcción eran los refugiados y los desplazados internos. Aunque utópica, la idea se realizó parcialmente, por lo que la nueva ciudad fue creada junto a la antigua, en las antiguas periferias hacia el Este de Sarajevo. A pesar de la idea megalómana de la nueva ciudad totalmente independiente, Sarajevo Este funciona como parte del sistema urbano de Sarajevo, mientras que el discurso de la planificación y político va evolucionando hacia la integración. El tema doloroso del espíritu de Sarajevo, como uno de los elementos básicos de su identidad, se analiza indirectamente, a través de la cultura popular, así como a través de dichos / testimonios de varios autores importantes que han descrito el destino de Sarajevo desde las fuercas de la ciudad, como desplazados por todo el mundo.

Ethno-pueblo Stanišići surgió en el proceso de desplazamiento literal de la estructura física de uno (Brgule village, Vareš, Bosnia y Herzegovina Central) a otro contexto (Novo Selo, Bijeljina, Nordeste de Bosnia y Herzegovina). Surgió por la iniciativa de una sola persona - que es exclusivo agente de la construcción, fundador y propietario del "pueblo", que quería tener un pedazo de su patria, en el nuevo lugar de residencia. El estudio se está acercando a la narrativa personal del agente de la construcción, analizando este modelo y las relaciones con la identidad construida. Muestra las posibilidades que un individuo ejerce (experimenta) en el contexto transicional específico. Se han revelado las circunstancias de este tipo de la manifestación espacial, cómo se desarrolló, qué consecuencias tiene para los participantes del proceso, así como para los espacios (in)

directamente involucrados y los cambios activados. Se ha visto como una forma muy clara de la transformación de un proceso "identitario" en el nuevo programa espacial.

El estudio fue creado para que el análisis en sí mismo represente resultados porque el espacio de Bosnia y Herzegovina de posguerra ha sido observado y mapeado de esta manera por primera vez. Se plantea una serie de cuestiones y se establezcan las bases para las investigaciones próximas. Además, cubre una amplia gama de enfoques y, por lo tanto, muestra la necesidad de un enfoque multidisciplinario de los temas, lo que permitiría la mejor comprensión de tales procesos complejos. Desafortunadamente, el tema del estudio tiene un valor universal hoy en día, considerando que los patrones definidos pueden ser útiles para los procesos contemporáneos y futuros de las transiciones a nivel global. Las conclusiones están dibujando matriz específica de transición de cada caso estudiado, así como la matriz general del proceso.

El estudio describe la experiencia de vida del proceso de refugiado y su relación con las transformaciones espaciales. En cierto modo, muestra una intención de reconciliación y deseo de reconstrucción del espacio cultural común que depende de la voluntad del pueblo y de los esfuerzos de todas las partes implicadas y también impide un tiempo largo dedicado al proceso.

Al hablar de las identidades, tanto espaciales como culturales, no hay una respuesta clara, sobre todo en este tipo de concepto integrando el espacio y la cultura. No cabe duda de que las identidades espaciales de Bosnia y Herzegovina han cambiado en los últimos 20 años, porque están fragmentadas, dispersas, conflictivas y opuestas, al mismo tiempo nuevas y diferentes, complejas y difíciles... Pero al mismo tiempo, todavía puede encontrarse una base común para su coexistencia, convivencia, una especie de integración y hibridación como una de las mayores riquezas y ventajas del territorio. Esto requiere confrontación con el pasado y la mentalidad en el proceso hacia el futuro, lo que podría ser mensaje general de la investigación. El análisis general demuestra que la identidad es más compleja que sólo étnica, que fue forzada por la guerra y la política de la posguerra.

Resume

The research is inspired by traumatic experience of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995), the process of being a refugee and beginning of a new life marked by re-construction of living space (family house / home, neighborhood and city) in a new place of residence. The process also forms a part of experience for almost half of the Bosnian population being refugees or internally displaced persons and forming the cultural context for changes in territory, in the last 20 years. The experience, which is still present in everyday discourse, has caused a number of different processes and procedures. On the other hand, these are not exclusive characteristics of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The changes in political, social, economic, and cultural system, as well as system of values, migration process and new spatial transformations are also part of general narrative globally, which in real-time changes the image of the world, territory and life.

Thus, the conflicts, migrations and follow up changes have huge consequences of identity process, cultural and urban space, which are subjects of multiple transformations. By focusing only on the spatial ones, the basic subject of this research represents the problem of transformation of identity issue in territory. The phenomena of re-territorialisation, ethnic homogenisation and new construction is observed in relation to three elements - identity, context and space - which are seen as integrally related. Abstract concept of spatial identity is understood in integration with collective and cultural identity which arise one from another and complement each other. Thus an essential feature of the context is defined by cultural space as the result of various historical, political, economic, social, geographical and other conditions.

The thesis was developed on the hypothesis that the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995) has strongly changed the life of people and structure of the territory. The focus is on the migration dynamics of internally displaced persons, which have resulted in the patterns of forming new settlements for displaced persons and new coordinates of everyday life. In the newly constructed settlements the project observes the impact of divided cultural identities. In contrary to the war consequences, the general restructure of space, society and culture, according to which spatial changes have emerged (re - territorialisation, homogenization, re - organization and re - identification), a mix of different conflicted cultures still exists. This kind of specific identity which deprives warfare of any sense shows that, despite of different divisions (religious, political, ethnic, national, social, entity, cultural), a "common" cultural space (history, language, culture, art) still exists in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in that scope it is possible to find common ground for the future.

The concept of "forced displacements" of certain physical and cultural patterns of habiting from one place to another is reflected (represents) a new construction of life and culture, which emerge in accordance with previous and inherited forms of life. Ethnic divisions, population exchange, restructuring of socio-political, economical and cultural system, as well as the construction of new urban typologies are defined as the process of transition of spatial identities. Elements of the transition are: map of transition, matrix of new construction and map of identities. The process of transformation of identity issues in territory is identified in the atlas of spaces, which combines layers of analysis, confirms their causal relationship and opens up a wide field of other topics. Construction of new types of settlements (spatial typologies) includes (1) new spatial forms in the process of formation or transformations (new urban territories as city regions, urban corridors, drained hinterlands); and (2) new urban forms (new urban interpolations, new neighborhoods, new cities founded and new ethno villages). In the newly constructed urban neighbourhoods of the post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina, the project observes the impact of the divided cultural identities.

Research reveals the specific patterns of development of new settlements of displaced persons in the specific context of post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina. By studying cultural context of different exceptional examples, this research attempts to understand the logic of spatial transformations. The analysis is indicating the existence of a complex system of identities that participate in the physical and imaginary construction of the area. Acceptance of the rich diversity identities of these spaces should contribute to a better understanding of the entire territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as mutual reconciliation and integration. Defining new settlements should

contribute to better conditions for everyday life and future development of the area. Through the observation of three different case studies, contextual and historical relation, and bringing in the relationship with other patterns of development, research should enable the analysis, understanding and definition of the observed spatial transformation in a broader context.

Methodology is defined as a kind of multi-disciplinary *jump-cut montage*, which integrates the movement and the transition from shot to shot, allowing the formation of the unity from a variety of fragments. This research is designed as a case study on three spatial scales - neighbourhood; village and city, three levels: cultural, social and spatial; on and on three approaches: personal experience of direct participant in the process, theoretical, and in a kind of practical, observing phenomenon through the lenses of formal-informal and personal-general. Observed period of 20 years is the period from the end of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995) towards the present (2015). The first case study is marked by the author's personal experience of direct participant in the process of new construction of neighbourhood, as the most common form of the process, with the key position of the research and detailed analysis. The other two cases are characterized by their exception, but also by a very clear form of 'identity' transformation in a new spatial program. Regardless of differences, all three spatial manifestations operate as representatives of the widespread typology responding to the concept set.

Although the research is not very much theoretical, and remain on appearances of many subjects, which opens for the first time, it especially discuss growth, development and the social structure of the city, as well as cultural and spatial identity.

Considering the concept of new construction of settlements, the research examines historical review of the subject, dealing with definition, ways of forming, as well as with planning and development of new cities. The review of a series of alternative models of urban growth and development of cities (program growths, fragmented extensions, and duplications) showing that the phenomena of new is nothing new as well as showing different scales and concepts of modernization. The same is showing historical review of a new city in Bosnia and Herzegovina, allowing us to consider contemporary territorial and urban changes as a continuous and never-ending process. "New city" experience has been emerging after every change of socio-political and cultural pattern, which were many. The Bosnian and Herzegovinian city was emerging as The first town, Oriental-Balkan town, "European" town (Austro-Hungarian and Bannate town) and Socialist town. In a way, discontinuity of the time in the space is constantly re-establishing. Thus, the permanence of a new, forms a historical connection with the construction of new settlements in the newly formed context.

Except of morphological genesis of the city, the research is based on the claim that the space always marks the milieu of social practice, that the city is the product of presence and activities of people, as well as the specific times and cultures. Due to its divided histories, opposing views and conflicting identities, the seriously "wounded" cultural space had to be presented without political references, incomplete truths, and the war propaganda. The extremely complex context is analyzed through different lenses, in order to be presented honestly, clearly and objectively. Analysis has had an anthropological and artistic approach, which delved deep into the culture without neglecting its other components such as: historical, political, economic and others. For this purpose, indirect approach has been used, which is the contemporary art of Bosnia and Herzegovina (literature, film, visual arts, music) dealing with identity and spatial issues. This way, the space is interpreted as the result of cultural systems, as the specific space "in-between" which is tragic, absurd and conflicted, the space of politics, of dilemma, of doubt, and in a way - imaginary impossible.

Re-territorialisation and homogenization of Bosnia and Herzegovina has emerged as a result of this cultural context, the war, migrations and the transition of cultural and spatial identity has emerged. New form of spaces, which previously did not exist in this scale, are defined as new settlements or a new transitional territory/city. The case study is performed on the three types of new settlements - Česma-Madžir neighborhood, Banja Luka - the most dominant type of a new city and the main emphasis of the research; ethno-village Stanišići, Bijeljina and the city of Istočno Sarajevo. The analysis followed the concept of transition of spatial identities including

map of transition, matrix of new construction and map of identities focusing on sayings and testimonies of agents of construction, urban structure and relation of identities.

Česma-Madžir - informal neighborhood is developed on the periphery of the city of Banja Luka, the second largest city in B-H. Although it has not been exposed to the war directly, the city has suffered huge changes in demographic and urban structure. In a two-way process of refugees and ethnic exchange of population, almost half of the city population has been changed. Dozens of residential areas of individual housing are being developed mostly by informal urban factory. The case examines the role of the group of refugees, IDPs and their families, operating in a kind of synchronized process, using the same patterns in the same period, the same place and more or less same tools in resolving urgent problem of "roof over the head," by self-constructing their houses, neighborhood and new coordinates of everyday life. Residents have "taken the matter into their own hands", they acted outside of the system, so the neighborhood was 'planned' and built directly on the site. Deconstruction on basic elements of analysis is supported with a demographic analysis, as well as with a set of interviews and questionnaires conducted with the agents of informal urban fabric. Despite of informality, urban analysis shows some positive values such as: flexibility in self-organization of small spatial units, the use of interactive 'collective' space, gradual development, *in-process* housing construction as a kind of adopted traditional housing model and the way of living with certain inherited qualities. As such, the neighborhood has been recognized as a part of a new urban typology defined as the idea of the new city of Banja Luka, which is one of the conclusions and a kind of concept to be considered for the future.

Construction of East Sarajevo has emerged as the war idea of the new city of Sarajevo on the other side of entity border, populated by Serbian refugees from Sarajevo. The case study is analyzing what happened with Sarajevo and its identity during and after the war, especially considering division of the city and construction of the new one. The emphasis is on the analysis of the formal urban fabric in which the city was built. The process followed the system of urban planning, while the main potential of construction were refugees and internally displaced persons. Although utopian, the idea is partly realized, so the new city was created next to the old one, on the former eastern outskirts of Sarajevo. Despite of megaloman idea of completely independent new city, East Sarajevo actually operates as part of the urban system of Sarajevo, while the planning and political discourse is going towards their integration. The painful subject of Sarajevo's spirit, as one of the basic elements of its identity is analyzed indirectly, through the popular culture, as well as through sayings of a number of important authors who have described Sarajevo's destiny mostly from the outside of the city - from all over the world.

Ethno-village Stanišići emerged in the process of literal displacement of the physical structure from one (Brgule village, Vareš, Central Bosnia and Herzegovina) to another context (Novo Selo, Bijeljina, Northeast Bosnia and Herzegovina). It emerged on the initiative of just one person - who is exclusively agent of construction, founder and owner of the 'village', who wanted to have a piece of his homeland, in the new place of residence. The study is getting close with the personal narrative of construction agent, analyzing this model and relations to the built identity. It shows possibilities that an individual exercises in the specific transitional context. Circumstances of this kind of spatial manifestation have been revealed, how it developed, what consequences it has for the participants of the process, as well as for spaces directly and indirectly involved and changes activated. It has been seen as a very clear form of the transformation of an 'identity' process into the new spatial program.

The study was set up so that the analysis itself represents results because the post-war space of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been observed and mapped in this way for the first time. It raises a number of unresolved issues and sets the basis for further research. Also, it covers a wide range of approaches and thus shows the necessity of multidisciplinary approach to the issues, which would allow better understanding of these complex processes. Unfortunately, the subject of the study is very actual and it has an universal value nowadays, considering that patterns defined can be useful to the contemporary and future processes of transition on the global level. Conclusions are drawing specific matrix of transition of each case studied as well as the general matrix of the process.

The study is describing the life experience of the process of refugee and its relationship to the spatial transformations. In a way, it shows an intention to the reconciliation and desire for reconstruction of the common cultural space which depends on the will of the people and efforts of all parties involved, but also takes time dedicated to the process.

By speaking about the identities, both spatial and cultural ones, there is no clear answer, especially in this kind of unique integral setting of the space and culture. There is no doubt that spatial identities of Bosnia and Herzegovina have changed in the last 20 years, because they are fragmented, dispersed, conflicted and opposite, at the same time new and different, complex and difficult. But in the same time there could still be found a common basis for their co-existence, co-living, a kind of integration, and hybridization as one of the greatest richness and advantages of the country. This requires confrontation with the past and mentality in the process towards the future, what could be general message of the research. Overall analysis shows that identity is more complex than just an ethnic one, that it was forced by the war and post-war politics.

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BLOCK A

INTRODUCTION

1. SETTINGS

1.1. Personal narrative

It was in a land of peasants in the mountainous Balkans.

"Bloody Tale" Desanka Maksimovic

I am Igor Kuvač, an architect. I was born in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Fig 1.1.), our biggest and most important city. Because of its multiculturalism, it was known as European Jerusalem and Western Damask, as well as the collection of cities or mosaic city. Over the centuries it has been continuously developed longitudinally along the narrow valley of the river Miljacka, which is surrounded by high snowy mountains, in a way in which various historical periods of urban development were a continuation of one another from East to West. On the date of my birth, in February 1984, it was the capital of socialist republic forming Federation of Yugoslavia, and it was 'white' Olympic city. Due to its specific location, rich history and cultural layers, it was known as the symbolic capital of Yugoslavia and the center of the development of socialist popular culture and subculture.

We lived in Visoko, a small city nearby, which is known as the capital of the Bosnian medieval kings, later as an industrial and commercial center, and more recently because of the so-called Bosnian pyramids. It is located in the middle of Sarajevo-Zenica valley, in the place where Fajnica river flows to Bosnia river. It is also important to stress its multicultural nature and urban structure with different historical layers, among which are structures of Mahalla and the bazaar from the Ottoman period, a few pieces from the Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the new socialist collective housing neighborhoods, large industrial complexes and suburban areas in proximity to the rural structures. From the socialist era it is characterized by the architecture of Zlatko Ugljen, one of the leading Bosnian architects awarded with the Aga Khan for his white mosque in Visoko. There are also his other important projects such as Hotel Visoko and the Main Post office.

Than the Yugoslavia collapsed in 1991. The War begun in Croatia and Bosnia (1992-1995). The territory of Bosnia was divided on the units formed by ethnics majorities. As members of the Serbian people in Visoko, my family was among ethnic minorities, so due to the war and especially the fear of the majority, we had to flee. I was 8. We were refugees, in a cottage house of our close relatives, in a small village called Kneževac (Knić municipality in Šumadija, Serbian central region), and than in a big collective refugee center - Belgrade children resort, Mitrovac on Tara (mountain and national park in Southwest Serbia).

After that, in the middle of the war, in the summer of 1993. we came to Brčko - the largest city in the Bosnian part of Posavina (the great plains along the Sava River in northern Bosnia and Herzegovina) located in the place where Brka river flows to Sava river, on the Croatian border. As the only connection between the western parts of Republic of Srpska[1] and its eastern part, as well as its mother country Serbia (corridor, the most narrow part of the territory), during the war it was strategic geopolitical point around which intense fightings were carried out. We lived there between the two first war frontlines, being internally displaced persons and occasionally refugees (during frequent shelling and intense fightings around Brčko) in Bijeljina (the center of the north-eastern Bosnian plain of Semberija in the hinterland of the river Sava and Drina, near the border with Serbia). Brcko and Bijeljina are typical lowland cities, centers of agricultural areas with prominent processing industry. The choice of the life in Brčko during the war was conditioned by a large number of close people who have sought refuge there spontaneously, near the vicinity of the Serbian border, father's mandatory wartime military service, the possibility of finding free house to live (temporary occupation of other people's house, of Muslim or Croatian families, which had to leave Brčko for the similar reason we left Visoko) and so on.

Finally, since mid 1995, we have lived in Banja Luka, the second largest city of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in its northwestern part, where the river Vrbas enters wide Banjalučko field, from the narrow canyon, and through Lijevče field continues and develops towards the mouth of the Sava River near Srbac (Croatian border). As the biggest city of north-western Bosnia and center of Krajina, Banja Luka had a peripheral position in relation to Sarajevo. Because of the proximity, geographical and other connections it was more related to the city of Zagreb (Croatia). Over the centuries it has been developed unevenly and discontinuously, so just before the war it was characterized as beautiful, quiet and green port. In Banja Luka, we first lived in the house that we interchanged with a Muslim (today Bosniak) family for our house in Visoko, and then in the house that we built ourselves in the informal urban fabric, after we sold our house in Visoko (after 2005).

Author's personal narrative. Igor Kuvač, Granada 2016.

All these data are representing parts of Author's personal atlas (Fig 1.2.), but also form a part of experience for two million (almost half of the total population) of Bosnian people being refugees or internally displaced persons

and forming the social and cultural context for postwar changes, territorial transformations and other different changes at all spatial scales from territorial to urban ones. These long life's journeys which everyone goes through on its own, can also be comparable with the life of cities. Depending on the location at which they arise and develop under many historical influences, cities also have different evolutionary processes of development. This research attempts to open the question of the war and postwar context of spatial transformations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the last 20 years.

The research is inspired by traumatic experience of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995), the process of being refugee and beginning of a new life marked by re-constructing of living space (family house / home, neighborhood and city) in new place of residence. It starts from (1) the author as direct protagonists of the process, through (2) art and culture that are constantly present in his understanding of dominant influence on space and created context up to (3) the real physical space which takes the main role of the research (they represent the research space). Dominant issue in all three layers is searching for personal (collective), cultural and spatial identity, which strongly permeates all levels of research.

The theme is conditioned by subjective views of author, led by his own intuition and experience. In a discussion between himself and his "conquered" territories, author opens a discourse on various possibilities on cultural identity of his (the) specific space, which is stretched between two poles, the inner-personal and outer-expected. The author and his (perceived) spaces are opposed to each other, although at the same time they build up themselves, and could not be separated. Their mutual context is made by movings, permanent discontinuity, and richness of different cultural, social and spatial layers, which are accumulated in a very small space and in the constant shifts during a very short time.

According to this, the research background contains an entire universe of different systems, known and unknown, real and abstract, which author meets in his life research. The mechanism of the author's process in relation to his own task creates the wealth of many morphology layers of thinking, reflected in the work. Although intuitively driven, the research can also be seen as a blank paper, opened to different influences. By establishing an appropriate relationships between the author and the theme he deals with, there is defined structure, the methodology, research directions, specific spaces and possibilities for analyzed issues.

1.2. General narrative

... The author never know what he is going to paint ... But when he starts to work, he comes up with stories, ideas ... And that's it. After that, the story just grows, as in the theater, as in life ... A picture converts into another, into a real novel.

Picasso, 1975.

The experience of the war that still characterizes life in Bosnia and Herzegovina, has caused a number of different processes. But changes in political, social, economic, and cultural life, as well as system of values, migration process and new spatial transformations are not exclusive characteristics of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In addition to their presence in immediate close region, they are readable in different contexts in many other parts of the world. This is especially valid for global migration process (movement of people and goods) which in real-time changes the image of the world, territory and life.

Migrations are result of various factors - economical, political, natural (floods, earthquakes), armed conflicts (civil, ethnic, identity wars), fundamentalism as well as social and religious essentialism. History records that migrations are old as the mankind is and that occur on a daily basis as a continuum of time, agency, and capital, rather than a temporary state (La Barbera 2015, Vermeulen et al. 2015, Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al. 2014, Snead et al. 2009 Messer et al. 2012). People have always been moving and they will continue to do so as long as there are varieties of reasons, by force or their free will to migrate. Crnjanski (Црњански 1929/1966) considered that the urge to move, to eternal wandering and searching is in a natural instinct for migrations, longing for unknown distances, faith in more beautiful places, easier and quieter life. Thus migrations are emotional and reflective state, colored by longing and hope, they are not a simple development.

Mass migration around the world shattered the notion of identity, nation and citizen. States do not belong to its first inhabitants anymore, but to all of the people who have made significant contributions to them, who arrived

later or have already been there before. Global nation of those who are strangers in the countries where they live today has reached about fifty million people (Brickman 2016) worldwide, and this number is increasing (Fabiatti 2015). This nation is made (formed) from refugees, immigrants, asylum seekers, workers, students and others who are temporarily residing outside of their homelands. All of them are trying to re-establish their lives in new communities by exercising their right for a better life, but also for the culture, religion, identity. Although migration processes have significantly changed over time, the syndrome of common immigration confusion remained the same.

1.3. Subject and problem

Migrations have huge consequences of identity, cultural and physical / urban space, which are subjects of multiple transformations. This great migration of wealth of different identities in Bosnian context is particularly characterized by reterritorialization, ethnic homogenization and new construction. These are observed in relation to three elements that are inextricably linked and seen holistically - identity, context and space. The transformation of identity issue in urban space is basic subject and the problem of this research.

1.3.1. Identity

The war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995) and the refugee process have caused a conflict of identity and a war of memory (Bergson 1977, Bevan 2006, Nora 1980, Anderson 1983/1999). Although Hall (2000) argues that there is no only one national cultural identity, the war led to the highlighting of a single, dominant and formally adopted national identity in different conflicting, ethnic, religious and national homogenized parties. On the other side, this has caused problem of identification, it reflects difficulties in accepting any others belongings which are suppressed, wherein the self-affirmation follow denial of others (Maluf 2016).

The problem is expressed at different levels of identity, personal (Bourdieu 2001, Foucault 0000), collective (Halbwach 1992), cultural (Soja 1998, Bhabha 1994, Hall 1989, Neil 2004) and spatial (Anderson 2001, Bourdieu 2005, Dovey 2010, Watson i Bentley 2007, Norberg-Schulz 1979, Altman & Low 1992, Hidalgo & Hernandez 2001). Except it potentially represents cultural, sociological and psychological problems, the problem of the conflict of identities is also present in the process of development and everyday life of the "new" spatial typologies (Lefebvre 2013, Dovey 2010, Castells 2009, Watson and Bentley 2007, Solà-Morales 2003, Relph 1976, Norberg-Schulz, 1979). A certain degree of ignorance, rejection and misunderstanding that exists between old and new identities, or parts of cities, affect the functioning within these parts, and the overall image of space.

Abstract concept of spatial identity is understood as a collection of all kinds of identities such as a personal and collective, in integration with cultural. They arise out of each other, they complement each other, and could be seen as one. Spatial identity is determined by a number of different influences, of which the most important ones are physical (geography, climate, air, ...) and cultural (history, tradition, art, language, ...). It is understood that identity is not articulated once and forever, but that the constant new (re) construction of identity is actually a "living thing" and a constant process of transformation. Spatial identity is constantly in the process of re-construction, especially in the phases of urban development, which followed the post-war development of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The construction of identities, as an integral part of place, should be considered in parallel with the construction of the physical and natural structure, as well as with the cultural identity of place. Åshild Lappegard Hauge (2009) states that spatial identity can be seen as one of many manifestations, which is made out of many elements, but only three elements of identity constructions could be highlighted to approach the issue. According to David Seamon's (2012) approach to the people-place relationship clarified as a triad of three dimensions of place: (1) geographic ensemble; (2) people-in-place; and (3) spirit of place (Figure 1a), the three elements of construction of identities could be seen as (A) spatial context; (B) participation in processes of planning and construction; and (C) action in place (Figure 1b).

As Seamon (2012) states, identity is an integral dimension of a triadic understanding of place experience and place making. Many authors have defined identity in a similar way, but always as an essential element of the construction of the place. Kevin Lynch (1974) defines it in the sense of equality with something else, but with the meaning of individuality or oneness, and Stuart Hall (2000) argues that it forms towards someone else. According to this, one of the key characteristics of a personal identity and the place identity is in communication in relation to the other. By saying that "we are becoming increasingly aware that we are, and always have been, intrinsically spatial beings, active participants in the social construction of our embracing spatialities," Edward W. Soja (1998: 8) argues that identity must be theorized as a socio-spatial phenomenon. William V.J. Neil (2004: 11) states that "construction of identities is always connected with the constitution of space", Manuel de Sola Morales (2003) also considers urban life as a social construct, so Henry Lefebvre (2013) finally concludes that urban space is interconnected with social relations and vice versa.

As well as the city or a man, identity is always in a process of development, it is never finalized (Neil, 2004) nor complete (Hall, 2000), especially if we take into account the freedom to express individual identities that equally participate in the construction of single unity of the place (Seamon, 2012). Based on great freedoms of personal identities, the unity of identity of a nation or a cultural space is increasingly being considered somewhat outdated in a modern world, therefore the concept of hybridity is being introduced to the discourse (Hall, 2000). Hans Ibelings (2010) states that nothing and no-one entirely coincides with a single identity and Isidora Karan (2014) adds that hybrid identity along with different cultural influences can also be noticed as collection of hybrid personal identities that are present in every space. However, mere presence of a number of personal identities, i.e. existence of the hybridity alone is not enough to construct spatial identities because the kind of socio-spatial relationship they have with the place is questionable. For example, through the process of new constructions of neighborhoods, people of varying societal sectors and identities become neighbors, but suddenly they do not know how to act and communicate in the public space they have in common (Murphy, 2011).

In the socio-spatial context, place identity can be perceived as the set of meanings that people use to associate with particular place and its personal identities, but also as the social construction of collective and cultural identities. Authors who theorized these relations (Karan 2014, Dovey 2010, Watson and Bentley 2007, Norberg-Schulz 1979) state that construction of spatial identity deals with complex relationship between the natural, morphological, socio-economic, cultural and other factors. The elements such as physical setting, urban activities and meanings enable orientation in place, as well as the identification with the same (Altman & Low 1992, Hidalgo & Hernandez 2001). More precisely, on the scale of neighborhood, Tjora et al. (2012) states that housing facilities, public spaces, and community achieved almost always affect social life of the people, and their sense of belonging to a neighborhood. Living in a certain type of neighborhood could be regarded as an expression of identity statement but in many cases people can not identify with the place where they reside.

That is why communication is very important in this process of construction of neighborhood and its identity, although it is very often hard to achieve. According to Hoxha et al. (2014) social construction of space is perceived as the complex transformation through social exchanges, and daily use of the material setting into spaces and actions with particular meaning. Similarly, Seamon (2012) points to the actions, processes, and situations through which place might be improved and transformed through a thoughtful understanding of how places work and what contributes to their virtuous and vicious spirals.

Finally, although the question of identity is very complex to define because it is never straightforward, unambiguous or comprehensive (Ibelings, 2010; Castells, 2009; Hall, 2000), there is no doubt of relations between the cultural context, social activities and spatial identity. Construction of identity is a continuous process that neither starts nor finishes with physical construction. Therefore it would be important to achieve the communication between all participants in the construction of neighborhood life and identity as soon as possible, at the beginning of the construction process, and to keep it through all stages of development, planning and construction.

1.3.2. Context

The space can be seen in various ways - through theoretical, historical, political, economic, cultural, or geographical discourse as well as through many others. This indicates that the space is a complex category, which is not easy to define as a whole. Especially if it is a space in transition, in the process of "movement / displacement" and transformation. Therefore, a specific space (Diener 2015) is seen as the product of a specific context and as a whole of all social, ethnological, anthropological, sociological and other factors that affect it. Numerous authors agree with the assertion that identity and space built each other and that they can not be separated. Durkheim (2007) says that space and time are social representations, and Bourdieu (2007) that the context is a collective social product. According to De Certeau (2002), space is the product of activities, while different societies in different epochs product "qualitatively different concepts of space and time" (Harvey1990). But apart from being a product of social practice, the space is a product of culture also (Soy 1989, Bhabha 1994). Art is transformed into life and life into art without distinction between two realities. Therefore, it is the physical confirmation, the proof of action and the "image" of reality (Djilas 2014). Cultural context of space is defined as a link between an imaginary cultural map of space (Lindon 2012, Halbwach 1992) and segments of the real space (De Certeau, 2002) which may be a connection between the opposition of divided and conflicted cultural identities.

Specific context of post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina is a "divided" space of the country, which has been trapped in a situation of its own absurdity, for the last 25 years. However, regardless of absurdity of divisions, the space is a product of common cultural context that can not be divided since it's a part of collective beliefs (Bourdieu 2007). Therefore, observation of different spatial layers helps to understand that the physical spaces of post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina have developed by following similar patterns in the same cultural context. Its space is seen as limited geographical entity, but its cultural space extends further beyond the inner and outer boundaries. It can be found in imaginary common areas (Calvino 1974, Canclini 1997, Lindon 2012, Soja 1996, Lefebvre 2013, Bhabha 1994), in history, culture and art, which have finally confirmed the outlines of real space. Given that culture creates habits (Bourdieu 2007), forming a part of everyday life (De Certeau, 1984), different spatial levels demonstrate the ability to establish the continuity of normal common life.

1.3.3. Space

The phenomenon of migration is also an insight into the virtual flows of economy as well as territorial, political and religious tensions, which compose a map characterized by imbalances and areas of conflict (Fabietti 2015). In many cases the long journeys of people fleeing from war zones end up in new settlements, which are series of exceptional territories disconnected from both the place of origins and the one of reception (Fabietti 2015). This way migrations represent reasons for new constructions, forming new settlements and cities, followed by (re) construction of a new life and identity. In addition to the general, social, political, economic, cultural and identity problem, they are also becoming a problem of urban planning, and architecture, as well as practice.

Space and ideology are in a tense relation, while ideology tries to create space, but itself becomes affected by process of changes (Bourdieu, 2001). The results of these struggles have a direct impact on a 'new reality' that becomes an important social factor. Spaces are not only the product of social power, but also a series of funds involved in the process of its creation. Specific new space emerges simultaneously with the process of total change of cultural and every other context. Thus a new urban space of Bosnia and Herzegovina should not be viewed as detached from the war and post-war context, a general redistribution of population and territory, and process of socially-political, economic and cultural transition. They emerge and develop in that context following patterns, in a weakened urban planning apparatus, in both formal and informal urban factories.

In absence of basic means these new spaces meet only primary function, with the character of essential incompleteness because it emerges in traumatic upheavals. Although construction of the house at first represents only urgent solving the "roof over head" problem, it is much more than that. It is a mark of their

surprising capacity to settle in and inhabit new landscapes. (Boetti 2015). It indicates a willingness to stay at the new destination, the proof of stability and continuity, but also a political message. New built structure shows diversity of identities of new (immigrant) population, development in accordance with the time, certain fashion and different cultures, as well as their influence in space. Urban fabric becomes the medium with political aspirations, and according to Harvey (2008) in some way shows the essence of urbanity (Herz, 2013). New spatial polygons also become motors of urbanization and development, because the specific nature of internal displacement in Bosnia and Herzegovina does not mean returning to previously settled areas, after the conflict, but the opposite - resettle in the new, major urban areas. However, in an environment that could not be more homogeneous than it is - without ethnic, cultural or religious differences, almost without any geographical and climatic differences, and with negligible economic differences - differences are still emerging (Herz 2013).

The process of transformation of identity issues in space is identified in the atlas of space, which corresponds to the research questions, combines all layers analyzed, confirms their causal relationship, and opens up a wide field for number of other issues. As the result of transition a part of a new spatial typology is defined. It implies new urban, rural and territorial forms created after the war (1992-1995) in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which previously did not exist in this form / scope or scale. These are various forms of spatial transformations, which have emerged in changed cultural context.

According to type of spatial transformations, they are defined as (1) emerging spatial forms (in forming) (new urban territory - city - region and the urban corridor) and (2) the urban forms (new urban interpolations, new neighborhood, new city and new (ethno) village). Since these transformations have very wide field of analysis, research does not fall within the complex meanings of each. It focuses only on urban forms, observing three isolated and completely different cases - new neighborhood, new city and a new ethno-village. The research is primarily focused on the context, the process of transformation, formation and development of these urban forms.

As the most dominant form of process, there are neighborhoods, which are mainly formed in informal urban fabrics, on the outskirts of major cities for the needs of refugees and internally displaced persons. They are defined as rur-urban neighborhoods, spaces in-between the village and the city, and spaces with the rural character in cities (Rykwert 2004, Sieverts 2003, Calthorpe 2008.). By moving away from the well-known definition of suburbia (Fishman 1987, Ingersoll 2006, ...) and periphery (Sassen 1994, Rupnik 2011), "rur-urbia" (Busquets 1999) is defined as a "new" transitional city of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

New cities (Abrams 1967, Bardet 1977, Geddes 1915, Galantay 1977, Hall 2006, King 2007, Mumford 1937, Sica 1981, Hastaoglou-Martinidis 1995.) are mainly emerging as the consequences of territorial divisions (Gaffikin & Morrissey 2011, Graham 2006), but they are mostly just new administrative units (centers of municipalities), the satellite settlements and extensions of existing cities, and origin cores of urban centers, without being different from a real city. Among them the case of East Sarajevo is particularly remarkable, which is as an expression of political ideas, the willingness of the people, the system of spatial and urban planning, and the unfinished process of transition. It is characterized by border position towards another entity and the city of Sarajevo, by the theme of border and division, the change of fine multicultural milieu towards two ethnically clean units, by the issue of centrality, power relations between different poles, and so on.

Finally, ethno villages (Magnaghi 2005, Hoggart 2005) represent a clear form of the transformation of 'identity' process in a new spatial program. At the same time they have urban, not rural character, where moved identity symbols with traditional folk elements have been used to create new forms of tourism, the concept of leisure (theme park / leisure / touristic resort). In addition to identity issues, the formation of this type is characterized by the conditions of construction in the transition period, manifestation of individual power and systematic powerlessness, as well as other deviant processes.

1.3.4. Concept

Given that the issue of spatial identity is torn between what it is, what is expected to be and what it should be, the problem is defined by the term - Transition of spatial identities - New spatial typology in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina. Due to the war, identities were abandoned, lost or abducted, and then they moved (migrated) from one place to another, and in some ways they have to be found again, transformed, (re) established and again (re) constructed (Boetti 2015). The phenomenon of movement of spatial identity (homeland) is analyzed at three levels: temporal (through history), spatial (through the "occupied" territories) and personal (through the experience of new space). The transition is seen through the movement of people and their identities, through "lived" spaces between the previous towards the current, as well as through the mutual influence on each others, in mutual reflective relation - space - consciousness - movement - space.

The transition of spatial identities represents the "movement" of certain physical and cultural pattern of life from one to another specific space. But it does not happen in every moving. It is characterized by sudden, urgent and violent change, which is not the result of free will, desire or decision. Definition of the spatial identity transition is determined by the achieved intensity of transition, which depends on different quantitative and qualitative elements of implementation process. The criteria that determine the scale factors of transition may be: the scope, size, power; the quality of the taken sample of identity- space and culture; the application possibilities, adapting to the context, continuity, practice; recognition; relationship between the old and new context, the influence of the context, assimilation or occupation, imposition or adaptation, identity feelings, patterns of everyday lifestyles, etc.

The transition represents the process of new (re) construction of space (place) (re) creation of culture, and (re) establishment of new coordinates of everyday life, in a new, displaced context, in accordance with inherited, known patterns of lived space. Basic elements that determine the process of spatial transition are: (1) the previous place of residence, (2) new place of residence, (3) the process of relocation, (4) relations between two identities (places), (5) new construction, and (6) the setting of new life patterns in a new context. The elements which define the process of transition of spatial identity are:

map of transition

- 1.1 origins /previous place of residence/
- 1.2 process of transition / the way of leaving and arriving /
- 1.3 new place of residence

matrix of new construction

- 2.1 agents of construction
- 2.2 /in/formal urban fabric /scale of transition- village, neighborhood, city/
- 2.3 urban/physical/architectural structure

map of identities

- 3.1 cultural influences /urban, rural, homogeneous, heterogeneous /
- 3.2 activities of identities
- /degree of transition - elements of the past way of life in the new context/
- 3.3 relations between (toward) new, old and previous

In semantic way, the identity transition is also defined as transition from one state to another in spatial, temporal and essential meaning. At the same time, it is action, movement and condition, as a process, which is timeless, constant and unchanging. It is transition between two social systems, between two countries, two languages, two places, two lives. Finally, the specific spaces themselves ("New" spatial typology of Bosnia and Herzegovina) are emerging somewhere in between. Between the village and city, urban and rural, formal and informal, temporary and permanent, new and old, one and another, desire and reality, possible and impossible.

1.4. Hypothesis

The basic hypothesis says that the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995) has strongly marked the history, changed the life of millions of people and the structure of the territory. However, the study refers to only certain elements affected by the war and migrations, focusing on changes related to urban space. Ethnic divisions, population exchange, restructure of socio-political, economical and cultural system, as well as the construction of new spatial typologies are defined as the process of transition of spatial identities. The migration dynamics of internally displaced persons have resulted in the patterns of forming new spatial typologies and new coordinates of everyday life. New spatial typologies could be observed at different scales as at the territory, the neighborhood, the city and the village, through the lenses of formal–informal, and personal–general.

In addition to basic hypothesis, the research takes place within a few more assumptions.

In the newly constructed urban neighborhoods of the post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina, the project observes the impact of the divided cultural identities. In contrary to the war consequences, the general restructuring of space, society and culture, according to which spatial changes emerge (reterritorialisation, homogenization, reorganization and reidentification), there still exists a mix of different cultures which are conflicted. This kind of specific identity which deprives warfare of any sense shows that, despite of different divisions (religious, political, ethnic, national, social, entity, cultural), a "common" cultural space (history, language, culture, art) still exists in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in that scope it is possible to find common ground for the future.

The research is also based on the hypothesis that spatial identity stands in direct relation to specific cultural identity ("common" cultural space of Bosnia and Herzegovina). Accordingly, the specific spatial results in the specific present context could not be different in any way, but such as they are. The context is related to the socio-political and cultural systems, natural and physical environment - climate and the type of human psychology - the mentality, as well as the elements that make it and which are subject to different kinds of changes that were numerous, large and significant at many levels in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Given the specificity of personal approach to research and special conditions, the hypotheses are constantly reviewed. The research process is mutually connected to personal experience (identity) of the author, and the relationship that he has with the observed problem, space, and the process as a direct participant in the process. As someone who, unlike other researchers, is a direct holder of the experience, the carrier of part of researched identities, holder and denominator of that same space which he truly carries with him. However, the author is aware of power (impact) of his own position on the research that stimulates and enhances, however that is not seen as a problem but as an advantage. Therefore, directions of the research process and directions of spatial development can be determined according to the author's relationship with the object and space of research, and its ability for perception, understanding and development in a certain direction.

1.5. Objectives and tasks

1.5.1. Objectives

Research should reveal the way of development of new settlements of displaced persons "in the specific context of post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina. In parallel it reveals cultural context of the emergence of this spaces. In imaginary sense it defines the map of "common" cultural spaces (the base of "common" identity space), which are transposed into physically constructed space. Presentation of this very broad and complex cultural context allows understanding of spatial transformations and their justification. Cognition of the essential connection between these two inseparable elements enables understanding and acceptance of the space as it actually could have emerged in specific conditions and as it really is.

The analysis, identification and definition of this settlements, which exists in direct proportion together with the old ones, is indicating the existence of a complex system of different identities that participate in the

construction of the area, and then of its mentality and "common" (collective) consciousness. But some degree of ignoring, rejection and misunderstanding that exists between the old and new identities, affects the interplay between different parts of the city, as well as complete picture of the city. Acceptance of the rich diversity of old and new identity of these spaces should contribute to a better understanding of diversity on the entire territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as mutual reconciliation and integration.

Defining the new settlements, possible directions and development models should contribute to better conditions for everyday life and future development directions of the area. Through the observation of three different case studies, realization of contextual historical relation, and bringing in relationship with other (alternative European models) ways of development, research should enable the analysis, understanding and definition of the observed spatial transformation in a broader context.

The objective is given in several points:

Define the term of transition of spatial identity, its basic elements and characteristics. Explain the relationship between the basic concepts of processes and phenomena with the aim of understanding the complexity of the research subject

Define and describe the broader socio-political and cultural context of the transition of spatial identity processes. Explain the connection between cultural context and identity of specific area of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In context of the cultural identity of the space, explain the relationship between the different categories of space and identity - personal - cultural - spatial.

Identify results and spatial manifestation process. Describe the way of formation and development, define and systematize new typology of urban space in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a direct result of the transition of spatial identity which will form the basis for further work with these areas.

Define the relationship between cultural identity of existing and newly formed spatial units and define their capabilities and improvement of these relations.

Provide a basis for acceptance of individual differences of wealth and the creation of new values in the new network of "common" spaces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Provide guidance and directions to improve the daily life of the analyzed spaces and their future development and to make suggestions for future research in order to slow disintegration process and to turn it to in another direction.

1.5.2. Tasks

In addition to the objectives, here is a series of tasks, which have the role in the research process.

Analysis of selected discourses and approaches in the field of architecture and urban planning, related to the subject of the formation of new neighborhoods and cities. Setting a theme in context of development review of a series of alternative, European models of new urban typologies, in relation to the relevant historical context and its observation as part of a continuous urban development of specific Yugoslav space.

After examining the system of various research sources (formal and informal) to describe the context of the transition of spatial identity. It is reflected in the presentation of cultural context, which is analyzed through the cross section of contemporary art of Bosnia and Herzegovina, film, literature and visual arts, in the last 20 years.

Analysis of completely different case studies which are forming new typology aims to discover the complexity and comprehensiveness of the process. Parallel observation of three case studies, at the scale of neighborhood the city scale and the scale of village.

Observation of three spatial levels (neighborhood, village, city) to draw conclusions in the form of a matrix of this complex process. Based on a valuable, recent experience to offer alternative models of these matrices that would be useful in the current and some similar future processes.

Figures



Fig 1.1. The position of the Balkans, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Banja Luka on the redrawn map of Europe.



Fig 1.2. Author's personal map of transition (map of refugeism). Map redrawn by the Author.



Fig. 1.3. Flying houses by Laurent Chehere.
Source: [online] Available at: <<http://www.dezeen.com/2012/11/18/flying-houses-by-laurent-chehere/>>



Fig 1.4. Anastasia Savinova's architecture collages that illustrate the vernacular dwellings of different cities.
Collage, printed on paper, various sizes.
Source: [online] Available at: <<http://www.designboom.com/art/anastasia-savinova-genius-loci-architecture-collages-02-02-2016/>>

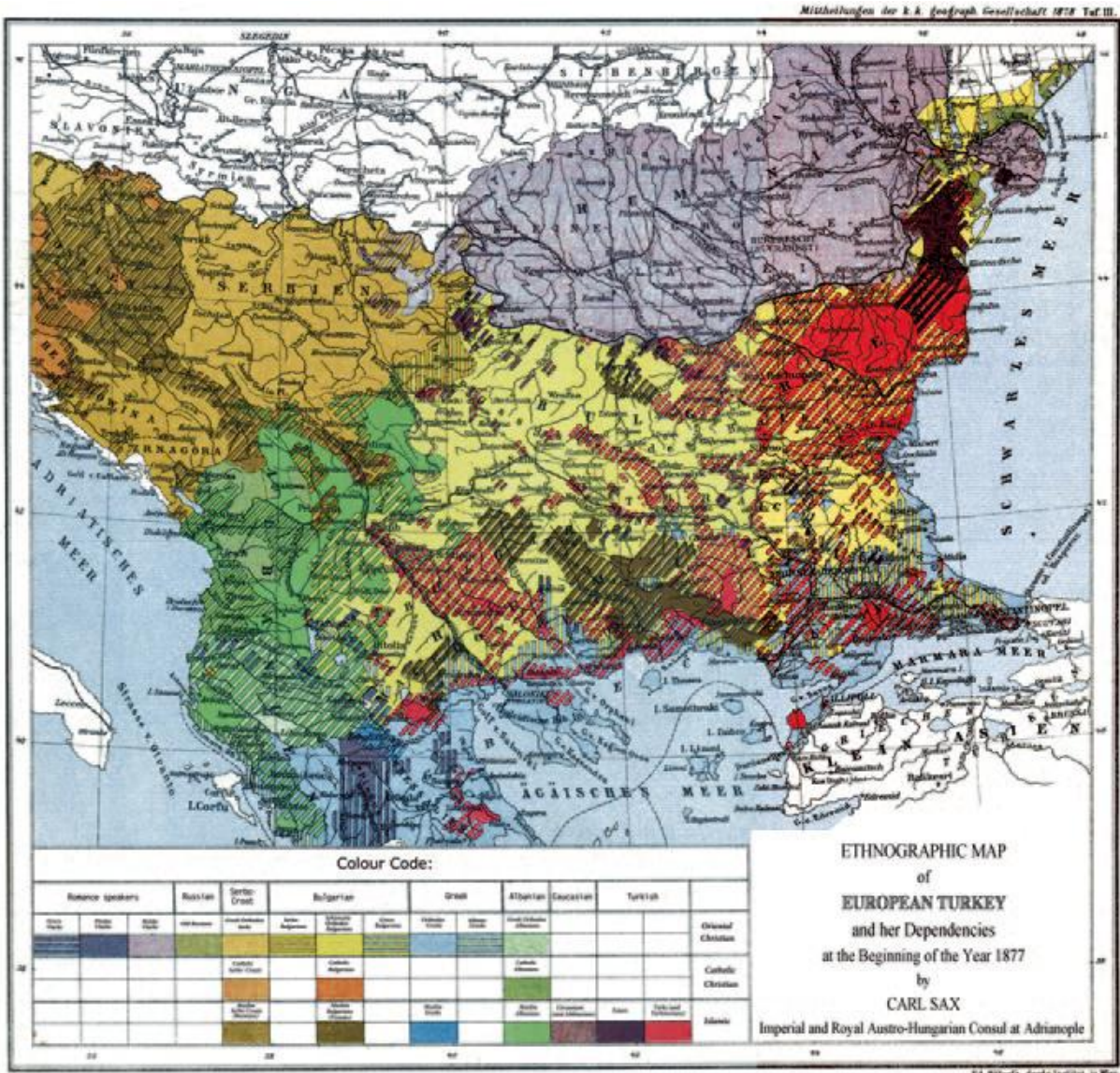


Fig 1.5. Karl Sax. *Ethnographic Map of European Turkey and her Dependencies* was published in 1878 by the Imperial and Royal Geographical Society of Vienna.

2. METHODOLOGY

Methodology is formed spontaneously and gradually, in parallel with the development of research, the opening of new questions, observing from different angles, setting new filters and discovering new layers, but always following the way towards objectives set. Special dynamic view on various levels is created around each question which allowed multidimensional views of lived experience to be opened, thus forming a rich mosaic of different elements. Thus, methodology could be defined as a multi-disciplinary, a kind of a *jump-cut montage* (Ingersoll 2006). It is considered to be a method that integrates the movement and the transition from shot to shot, allowing the formation of the unity from a variety of fragments. Therefore, in the creation of Jump Cut urbanism it is not possible to set a series of strict rules of research, because they are breaking consciously due to a non-standard approach (Sennett, 2012). This qualitative approach has proven to be the only legitimate and possible way of analysis, of understanding and presenting the complex processes and the specific context as a whole of this research approach.

Mason (2006) and Kvale & Brinkmann (2009) recognized that the qualitative research method is used to explore the issue which can not be easily quantified. Since it goes beyond visible, being interested in the context and the way process has been developed, it deals with qualitative aspects from qualitative perspective. Thus the sensitive subject of research has required special sensibility when setting questions while qualitative method enabled guidance and answer explanation. Therefore, the sensitive subject of research required special sensitivity in setting questions, and qualitative methods enabled tracing and explanations (Lappegard, 2009: 13). The question "how" has guided research to the creative and multidimensional thinking, but it has also created a number of methodological problems. It required constant review of questions, focus and the approach, questioning every step, repeating them, and using two-way research process. Therefore, the reflexivity between questions, certain groups of data and concept settings is the core of this multidisciplinary approach, which calls for different methods in order to understand the motives and the perception process (Mason, 2006).

Mason (ibid.) suggests that by using complex hybrid methodologies and with multi-dimensional approach, we can define questions with the aim to focus on interrelationships / intersections between different dimensions / perspectives and scales of social existence / lived experience. Arguing these methodological values, he adds that the social experience and lived realities are multi-dimensional and that our understanding may be inadequate impoverished if observed only along a single dimension. That's why a 'qualitatively driven' approach to mixing methods offers enormous potential for generating new ways of understanding the complexities and contexts of social experience, and for enhancing our capacities for social explanation and generalization. 'Qualitative thinking' is understood more as a starting point than a definitive framework, and as a way of transcending boundaries rather than reinforcing them (ibid:10). For 'multinodal' and 'dialogic' explanations are important multiple relevance of questions that held together in creative tension and dynamic relation within the explanation itself.

This involves factoring different ways of asking questions, as well as giving 'answers' into the explanatory process (ibid: 13): (1) Adopting traditional (positivists) approach; (2) Recognizing the validity of more than one approach; (3) A flexible, creative approach; (4) tending to expect and to celebrate, richness and nuance in data and understanding; (5) A constructivist approach involves a great deal of reflection on questions. Mixing methods helps to see things differently, to think creatively 'outside the box', and to approach research problems with an innovative and creative palette. Using creatively mixed methods allows systematization, assembling data and argument that can be woven into meaningful and empirically well-founded social theory (ibid: 15).

Ingersoll (2006) says that the essence of modern cognition means obtaining the truth. But as Skotte (2004) says it is not a matter of what is 'correct' or 'objectively true', it is a matter of understanding what initiates action, and what gives action meaning. Hence it follows the need of a broader approach while observing a whole through various levels, layers, scales, etc. The jump cut, the violent fragmentation of montage, becomes a

normal part of human cognition, a code of perception that surpasses the norms of the perspective code that preceded it. Integrated framework, where we use each method and form of data which tells us about a specific part of 'the picture', or provides us with views of 'the picture' from specified angles.

That is why the montage should be approached as a matter of conflict, the monstrous disproportion among the parts of a normal fact (Ingersoll 2006). There is an interlacing of different scales, speeds and points of view into a narrative whole that permits one to be aware of the montage of space and time and which corresponds to the new code of urban perception." By mixing these monstrous incongruities eye, we recompose a disintegrated fact into a unity according to our own vision: according to how we interpret this fact (ibid: 89)." This approach raises challenges in reconciling different epistemologies and ontologies, and integrating different forms of data and knowledge. Mason (2006) also adds that we should think more in terms of 'meshing' or 'linking' than 'integrating' data and method. He states that development of 'multi-nodal' dialogic explanations, which allow the distinctiveness of different methods and approaches, are to be held in creative tensions.

As such, it takes hold of the imagination (Ingersoll 2006) and has a capacity to recompose time and space and to change the way how people understand the city. An important element of jump-cut are close examinations of the perceptions, opinions, and experiences of the people directly and indirectly assisted, which are necessary in order to grasp what long-term effects, or potential effects these processes, or will have on a broader societal recovery. Qualitative research is a tradition of science that "fundamentally depends on watching people in their own territory and interact with them in their own language, on their own terms" (Kirk & Miller, 1986: 9). As Castells (2009) says, the process is always taking place in a context marked by power relationships, uses varied elements from history, geography, religion, sexuality and so forth. We record what we experience, using our senses that are calibrated according to our own 'cultural categories', or to our own 'habitus'.

Collecting qualitative data becomes *constructing* data. The reflexivity required in this process of construction acts like road signs or a rear-view mirror which guide and control the collecting of data as the researcher passes through the social landscape (Skotte, 2004). The approach is part of the political agenda and ethical practice of recognizing the relevance of the popular, widespread, collective views on everyday life practices. Thus qualitative research is a strategy that in heart of discourse places a non-dominant and neglected knowledge. Hath understanding of jump cut approach means finding a language in which this story will be told, and composed as a mosaic. The specificity is an inclusive approach in which the researcher necessarily affects the research by its mere intervention. Although the narrative is arranged around a series or succession of contrasts the author should try to tie them together in common plan (Ingersoll 2006), which by careful reading could be understood as a single narrative, spatial and temporal line. Although according to Mason (2006) Qualitative research has the explanatory edge precisely because it is concerned with explanation, data construction is based on detailed descriptions and basic characteristics of the presentation of the narrative.

2.1. Jump cut montage

According to Yin (1994), there are basically six sources of evidence available in case study research: documents, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant- observation, and physical artifacts. Jump Cut falls outside this frame and makes more complexed research which does not rely only on a case study, but extends beyond. The study deals with the process and phenomenon in real time, starting from everyday context, using a number of different sources, which indirectly describe events, processes, and life itself. These parts of incomplete mosaic consist of a complex matrix of multiple approaches, scales and layers, which try to establish a relationship with a broader cultural context. The phenomenon is investigated through the three layers: cultural identity, social context and spatial (urban); on three spatial scales - neighborhood (Mađir, Banja Luka); village (ethno-village Stanišići, Bijeljina) and city (Istočno Sarajevo, Sarajevo), and on three main approaches: personal experience of direct participant in the process, theoretical, and in a kind of practical, at the same time, through the lenses of formal–informal and personal–general.

By using various approaches, the subject is seen through different aspects with special highlighted qualitative author's approach, his observations and interpretations. The set of transformations between author's approach, through theoretical and abstract to the more general takes place with the aim of discovering the complexed context of physical, cultural and social transformation, and understanding the ways in which they take place. Jump Cut methodology is finally reduced to three group of elements being analyzed, described as a set of research techniques.

These are: (1.1) narrative analysis, which includes the author's personal experience of direct participant in the process and qualitative analysis of questionnaires and interviews conducted with other participants; (2.1) spatial analysis on three levels (author's, cultural and physical), whereby each of them are observed from different points of view; and (3.1) a combination of other tools as history, planning, mapping [...] that pervade the research process. This triangle is participating in the definition of three components of transition of spatial identity, consisting of (1.2) the map of transition, (2.2) the matrix of (re) construction of life, and (3.2) the matrix of transition, dealing with relations between identities. As transition of spatial identities is primarily defined as new (re)construction, the matrix of construction reveals another set of three elements of construction, combining Seamon's the people-place triad (2012) (See Chapter 1.3.1.); Lefebvre's construction of space (1974), but also Soja's Trialectics of space (1996): (1.3) spatial context (perceived space), (2.3) participation in processes of planning and construction (conceived space) and (3.3) action in place (lived space).

2.1.1. Descriptive narrative

"To see" the written means "to hear the spoken."

Lledo, 1992: 103

"Narrative is both a mode of reasoning and a mode of representation. People can approach the world narratively and people can tell about the world narratively (Kvale & Birkmann 2009)". This research has just such character, trying to testify and to document, without pretensions to develop theories. It seems like a biographical novel, which tells a life from different angles, focusing on the meaning and referring to the temporal and social structures, as well as on script itself. In a way achieves a dialogue between different approaches and group of sources, serving as bouquets of beliefs and way of knowledge (Sennett, 2012). From the very beginning, it is set as a universal life story in conflict between war and peace, good and bad, destruction and construction, with the space constantly in the background. According to Lledo (1992) there is no life without dialogue that rises above reality and invites others for existence of the common words. He says that only after we establish a dialogue and after we understand something, we can do something more with it, and Sennett (2012) adds that language itself is the best way for the research presentation.

Therefore, the value of the story is the key to the future in the context in which we live Radulj (2011), because narrative establishes an invisible bond that helps in understanding of the spatial and temporal existence.

"Establishing the narrative about the space means to write both in and about the time", but also to determine the coordinates of the author himself. Thus the mere recording of space by text, image and / or the event becomes the program or story (Radulj, 2011). By identifying the life and the story, according to Sejranić (2010) it is not always clear what is actually real and who is writing the story - the life or the story. He does not make a difference between life and fiction because the stories are actually written fragments of life. As Lledo (1992) argues, the perception of the story carries us - on the other side of reality - in an ideal space whose essence is actually an abstraction of the reality. In that space, the story is nothing more than a tool, a bridge between real-time and time of own memory, where rests real knowledge that actually enables narrative.

Anyway, a narrative can be told and analyzed in many different ways... This is a chronologically told story with the focus on how its elements are sequenced and it is rich of metaphors which makes it more complete than a simple description of the data (Kvale & Birkmann 2009). The specificity of the narrative is that it does not answer the questions, because the research itself, the specific approach, the process of analysis, and preliminary results already show the complexity of the subject and the weight of spatial and temporal context observed. The

essence is on the actualization problem and is pointing the need of multidisciplinary approach for extensive further research. As it Lledo (1992) says, the text can not tell everything. It is an open, continuous process and any text can not define "the only" or "the last" to which the readers trace. It is therefore important to perceive text as a problem, because any other language is sterile and does not create a room for reflection, for setting or maturing issues.

In addition to the author's personal testimony about the personal experience of direct participation in the process, through the analysis of questionnaires and interviews, the text also achieves a dialogue with a number of others participants, trying to achieve bigger universality and objectivity. The narrative shows a broader picture of the process, its size and scale, and through constructive discussion between participants trying to discover the sense of only one truth that has consequences in reality. Regardless of many other truths which are somehow negotiated, there is no concept of absolute truth. Although the "negotiated" truth is just temporal or one of many competing truths, they are not exclusive with respect to each other because they are present in everyday life. Therefore, this analysis has an essential importance because it would not be possible to understand the long-term effects, or potentials in the context of wider social recovery, without understanding the perceptions, opinions and experiences of people - direct and indirect participants in the process. This is especially important in the ubiquitous calls for reconciliation, as part of the mandatory post-war recovery (Skotte, 2004).

Given the previous, the author is aware of the difficulties of understanding the text. Indeed, to the functional and understandable word, a certain form of interaction with others must be given, which is only possible as part of a coherent community, which enables the integration of communication elements. That common element is obviously language (Lledo, 1992: 136), therefore the narrative has an important role of relation between the techniques of multidisciplinary Jump Cut methods. It is the only way which has the possibility to illustrate the framework giving the meaning to this process and to answer the question posed. Equally as with the 'quantitative standards', there are 'qualitative standards' of semi-structured interviewing, observation and textual analysis applied as the most important techniques (Mason, 2006: 13).

2.1.1.1. Questionnaire and Interview

As the main actors in the process and agents of new (re) construction of life, people are the greatest value of this research. Direct contact with refugees and internally displaced persons is an essential component of any kind of analysis. Their testimonies in a dialogue with the author create a reflexive connection between the multiple aspects of research - of different sizes, scale, layers and levels. Since our views shape what we can see and what we believe we can ask (Mason, 2006: 13) personal experience of the author plays a key role in achieving dialogue. Skotte (2004) points out the advantages of this approach, saying that the refugees and displaced persons in a war are embodied as the only group of really disenfranchised. As so, they cannot wait to share their painful memories with someone and make it at least a bit easier in a way. But this is not always the case, so it is very difficult to reach the people's feelings. Dialogue has been exclusively achieved on the basis of trust to the author, with whose experience inhabitants could relate to. It is noteworthy to add that these techniques were not used with the aim of sociological analysis of the collective state, but just for data collection and obtaining knowledge.

The questionnaire was used in the first of three case studies relating to the neighborhood scale, as the most common performance process. Respondents were selected randomly, during intensive research in the field. It was conducted in period of August 2014 and December 2014, January 2015, and July and August 2015. It was oriented toward all inhabitants, trying to get an objective and comprehensive data to be analyzed in the context of hypothesis. Forty five respondents (inhabitants of Česma-Mađir neighborhood in Banja Luka) have participated, that is cca. 1% of total neighborhood population. They were inhabitants varying in sex (men 62,22%, women 37,78%), age (18-25 6,67%; 25-40 51,11%; 40-60 26,67%; more than 60 15,56%), education (elementary 2,22%, secondary 57,78%; Bachelor and Master 40,00%; postdegree 0%) and employment (employed 46,67%; unemployed 20,00%; temporary employed 8,89%; students 6,67% and retired 17,78%).

The aim of the questionnaire was to collect data that have not only statistical, but also descriptive character, and which directly speak of the context and character of research questions. Extensively set questionnaire is formed of 50 questions organized into several groups: basic questions (5); questions about origin (3); way of resolving housing problem (5); duration of construction (3); size of housing (6); technical documentation for construction (6); the methods of construction (4); patterns of living (5); feelings and relations between identities (5); the character and the quality of life in neighborhood (8). Through a direct conversation with the majority of respondents, author recorded his own observations and impressions of the experience, especially reactions of respondents. Besides 5 questions oriented towards determining the profile of the respondents, all the other (45) questions belong to the type of multiple response and semantic differential, with the possibility for additional comments. Results of the questionnaire are presented through basic descriptive statistics, and inferential statistics.

Similarly structured questionnaire was indirectly used in the case study on the scale of the city (East Sarajevo, near Sarajevo), with the focus on questions about the feelings of belonging and relationships between identities, which sublimated all previous ones.

In addition to questionnaire, a series of interviews are carried out at the same spatial polygon with the aim of deepening previously obtained knowledge. In-depth interviews with direct participants of the process have significantly contributed to better qualitative understanding and interpretations. The illustrated descriptions of the refugee processes, the new (re) construction of life, and feelings of identity have significantly enriched the research. Long descriptive answers have provided a different narrative tone to the text, enriched with extensive descriptions of personal histories, but also with critical views on everyday life. Valuable personal confessions are set in parallel to the dialogue with the author's personal narrative, so it is contextualized at a broader level. Given the value of the process and the dialogue achieved, the interview is the most important technique forming an integral part of this research.

The series of direct interviews were conducted in the framework of two case studies with direct participants of the process and agents of new (re) construction of space (urban typologies). In the first case study - Česma-Mađir in Banja Luka, interviewed participants were identified as representatives of groups of agents who have significantly marked the process of new (re) construction of neighborhood. They are also influential representatives / agents of social and political life of the neighborhood. A semi-structured interview was done with a small sample of participants, the interviewees were five men and two women varying in age, occupation and social status. These are representatives of the natives residents of neighborhood (Ms. Aleksandra Đurđević), a representative of the refugees and internally displaced persons (Members of authors family), a representative of the NGO sector (Mr. Goran Arbutina, president of a local FC Recreativo), a representative of local authorities (the President of the Local Council community), and a representative of the religious community (parish priest of the local Parish - Church official). The interviewee in the context of other case study - ethno-village Stanišići near Bijeljina is the only agent of construction, the owner of the village and Director of Resorts (Mr. Boris Stanišić). Because of the specific approach, the third case study - the city of East Sarajevo, was not a subject of direct interviewing, but the indirect testimonies of processed participants were introduced according to the unique matrix.

Interviews were conducted intensively during July and August 2015. Five in-depth interviews have been conducted with inhabitants of Česma-Mađir neighborhood in Banja Luka, in the period from 12th to 25th August 2015. The interview with the agent of Etno-selo Stanišići, near Bijeljina was conducted in the proper village, on August 10th 2015. Except of formally conducted interviews, a significant part of intensive and exhausting, but cathartic conversations, with members of the author's family, were conducted throughout the three years of research, especially during the visits to the family house in Česma-Mađir neighborhood in Banja Luka, in the period between December 2013 and August 2016. In addition to numerous off-record talks with the people constituting the investigated cases that were conducted throughout the research process.

Purposive sampling technique was used because of the force to access the subjects' and to describe the specificities of the process and everyday life as well. It is recognized as explorative potential of personal dependent and subjective perspectives of the interview that opens qualitative descriptions, provides respectful understanding and leads to a well-controlled knowledge. Thereby qualitative narrative interview does not test hypotheses, but reflects to a common sense and interpretation while different readers find different meaning, depending on subjective impressions, which are not generalized. The technique of an interview is highlighted because of the ability to illustrate the processed framework from a human perspective. It also illustrated people's feelings attached, the transformation of identity issues, and finally gave a meaning to the living and urban patterns. Interviews followed the research protocol that leads to follow-up questions and critical commonsense understanding (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

The interview follows the same matrix of questionnaires, the general setup and matrix of the transition of spatial identities. Beside, each of interviews is specially adapted to the participant / interviewee focusing on the individual personal experience and his position in relation to the process. Interview is formed of several sets of questions (about which the conversation took place) with the minimum length of 45 min. In any case some discussions were a few hours long, some of them were held in phases, taking a few days with interruptions. Each set of questions corresponds to specific set of statements that make up the elements of the transition of spatial identity.

The first set of questions that were about the origin of respondents have revealed details from personal lives of interviewees, with an emphasis on family's history and their "first life" in previous place of residence. The second set relates to the transition process itself revealing personal role of the individual, his experience, memories, impressions, duration, time of leaving and arrival, the reasons for settling in the new place of residence, and elements that have followed this process. The third set of questions relates to the new (re) construction of life, house and neighborhood, with a focus on the reasons for selecting a certain method, different conditions of construction, the process of construction, a personal position in relation to the system of resolving this issue at different levels of the system - state, entity and city. The fourth set tries to explain the relationship between the old (previous) and new (re-established / re-constructed) lifestyle by focusing on differences in living patterns. The penultimate set is focused on the broad question of identity addressing the topic of personal feelings of belonging to a place (place attachment) and a personal sense of identity. It opens the issues of mutual co-influence and relations between different identities, their conflict and prevailing collective identity. Finally, last group tries to respond to the question of personal feelings and the prevailing collective feelings in relation with the quality of neighborhood's everyday life. The discourse is moving towards the results of 20-years-experience of the process, taking necessary critical attitude and looking to the future.

Analysis uses the concept-driven coding that has been developed in advance by the researcher, according to the research setting. Posted analytical questions and interviewed text leads to the common understanding, so richly nuanced descriptions of everyday language are adequately encrypted. Testimonies are categorized to give the close access to the fullness of the experiences, and actions analyzed (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). The research instrument introduces the main participants of the process directly in discourse, which have the power to relate all elements of this observed multi-nodal process. Given the importance of these statements and interpretations, there was a great responsibility on author's knowledge of the case analysis. Kvale & Brinkmann (2009) say that neither creating nor writing culture is an innocent practice, because we know the world only through our presentations of it. Accordingly interview report is itself a social construction and it is loaded with the author's intentions in this specific case. Therefore, the analysis is partly transformed from descriptive to more theoretical levels, which is defined by the elements of the process - matrix of transition, matrix of new construction and relationship between identities. Bricolage interpretation adopts mixed techniques, ad hoc methods and conceptual approaches, whereby the eclectic form of generating meaning applied. The report itself becomes a social structure in which the author's writing style and literary devices provide a specific view of the lived experience of participants in the process, specifically marked with authors own experience.

2.1.2. Spatial framework

The research is taking place on three levels of space in parallel: (1) author's personal space; (2) cultural space of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the image of the space in literature, film, conceptual visual arts and music, and finally (3) in the real physical space, in previous levels recognized as symbolically valuable, significant and potent to establish some new relationships and systems of values.

2.1.2.1. Author's involvement

Analysis of author's space stems from the personal approach to research as the long and painful process of confronting to the past and traumatic events that have significantly affected his life. The base of the text is going back to the times formation / emerging these "dirty and disgusting" memories (Šehić 2013), their re-reading and confronting them.

I feel disgusting when I have to talk about my ex country and the beginning of the war. (...) My biography are meat and blood, it's not entertainment. I am somewhere in-between. I am just one, and there are thousands of us. Unbreakable and broken (...) chroniclers of disappeared, sank, burned time.

Šehić, 2013.

The study is interrupted timeline between pre-war and post-war life as discontinuity which is supposed to be overcome, and to get back together in memory at least. Although the memories have been deeply suppressed for a long time, the author had to go back to them and to become a time traveler, to fly over the war and overcome his own nausea. Experiences and all changes in this time machine travel are registered carefully without letting even the most painful images to be left out (Šehić, 2013). Therefore, the author's space is far a way from the intention for relation with his past by trembling and gentle touch. Štiks (2006: 11) also describes this hard process: "My hand hardly moved across the paper, I hesitated, I did not know how to tell all of this, without missing any detail, moment, even the smallest event in order to provide all available evidence about the smallest and seemingly insignificant things that coined weights on the libra of the destiny."

The importance of memories of an anonymous man is enormous in the specific context, and according to Šehić (2013), even "more valuable than the cold of encyclopedias". If the context of research would be somewhere in the West, he says, the study should not have any lyrical qualities, it could simply present irrefutable facts. "If some of the Western worlds would be deleted, it would be easy to renew them because there are technical drawings which would make it possible. There is everything recorded and preserved in the archives, but we are only /just at the beginning of a great adventure of writing, renewal and normal life here (ibid: 217)." Therefore he dreams a "great book in which all of the people from this sad space would be written, with all of their fears and hopes, one big tome of alive people to be used for medicinal purposes." He believes that only by the witnessing, purification and opening, "our strongest weapons will become dreams and art."

Although death and oblivion as its consequence are at the end of all, Lledo (1992) points out that the struggle for life in memory commits to fostering the past. This confrontation with the memory meant complete destruction of understanding one, the opening and construction to some other understandings. Kvale & Birkmann (2009) as well as Derrida (1978/2005) define it in context of research in which the concept of destruction is introduced as a combination of "destruction" and "construction. As so, this author's understanding comes from within, as a kind of justification, and capacity building for some other truths and other sides, as well as achieving constructive dialogue between all opposing positions.

Considering this, neither the subject nor approach are chosen consciously, they have simply besided the author. He writes what he should, what he is interested in, and what he thinks he has to say. What comes from within, from the intimate nature and what hurts, taking great risk that many will not like it. Sejranić (2016) says that he always writes as it is his first and last time trying to write about everything that constitutes a life, although a man always writes about same events, same feelings, same evil and same good. "That story can take many

different forms, can be told in many different ways. The stories are different, but they are also similar. Like humans, after all. And everyone can tell a story in his own way. As I'm trying to do in my own."

Vojnović (Internet, M) considers that you cannot write, for years, about something you are not truly concerned about. Similarly, Sennett (2012) states that we cannot be indifferent when we are really part of something. One cannot escape from himself and toward Lledo (1992) it means that the man is the result of what was accumulated within him over time; the result of a series of events from the boundaries of reality, which determined our actions. Similarly, Arsenijević (Internet A) confirms a man is doing what he knows best by using everything he has in his heart. Therefore the text arises directly from the stomach, followed with the parallel process of research and new discovery. As Sejranović (Internet S) finally claims the author has to get naked to show his own internal and external world, showing the real meaning of author's space and this specific approach.

However here is the question of objective role of the main actors of the research. The author is a specific person, with all the layers that make him, and especially with cultural context of Bosnia and Herzegovina. That's the space which has formed him and where he tries to return now, to fall into it completely and to give something back to it while searching for himself. The author is part of the context, so the research is realized within that specific relationship. Intuitive approach represents a kind of personal questioning and finding individual mechanism for coping with lived space in the last 20 years. This honest testimony where the past, present and future intersect gives a very strong seal to a close understanding of the cultural context of the research.

On the other hand, Lledo (1992) writes that human creativity and language always allow the overflow of individual experience in the collective space, in which speaking has opened doors for a new structures of dialogue. Regardless of individuality, he points out that it is possible to build a form of memory collectivization or at least common fragments as a temporary form. According to him, spoken word can move us to a close and ancient past but also to immediate temporality that justifies all forms of expression. Although the time has influence on thoughts thought, there is always possibility to slow it down for the reconstruction and defragmentation of memories. Author's space shows that these fragments are not completely exhausted, so they can provide a return to the past and enrich the present. Finally, memories awakened in this way are opening doors to the future and preparing appropriate ground for discourse development that is able to produce fruits (ibid.).

2.1.2.2. Cultural space

Lledo (1992) says that "Life is not just a physical presence, a space occupied by form, or reality that we can see in front of us, but much more. These are the breath and the sound of semantic meanings, which are present every time, opening and forming awareness to the world." The space is thus marked by mentality and culture, so it must be seen from other angles, except from the physical. According to Lefebvre (1991: 39) it is the art that intervenes in "more or less coherent system of non-verbal symbols and signs", which operate collective experience and create dominant images and narratives. Although Brecht (1984) argues that art is not a mirror of reality rather than a means being able to mold, Proust (Thiher, 2013) says that we can go outside of ourselves and find out what others see, only through the art.

The research of cultural level of space is based on statement that space is integral part of the culture and that it is possible to fully understand it only through the culture. The space characterizes the "milieu" of social practice, it is always the product of people, the specific time and culture. However, the complex space of Bosnia and Herzegovina is not easy to present by understanding its "cultural systems". It is often characterized as a specific "in-between" space, the tragic, absurd and conflicted, the space of politics, doubt, suspicion and in some way - imaginary impossible. It is loaded by divided histories, incomplete truths, opposing views and conflicted identities, as well as with the still present war propaganda and nationalist discourse. Therefore the methodological approach of this research analyzes whether the cultural space of Bosnia and Herzegovina could

be presented through the contemporary art. It is believed that art has the possibility to present it through the lived personal experiences of authors symbolically, expressively and sincerely.

Assuming that the recognition of cultural layer of space is the base for understanding processes and phenomena that determine complex space of Bosnia and Herzegovina, analysis has anthropological and artistic approach. It does not stay superficial but is going deep into the cultural layers without neglecting other components such as: historical, political, economic and others. For this purpose there purpose a different, indirect approach is used, recognized in reading, interpretation and understanding of contemporary art, which is strongly marked with identity and physical problems. Process reveals a mental map of a common cultural space using the work of several important authors of contemporary art of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The analysis includes several types of arts including literature, music, conceptual visual arts and film. It also draws popular culture and subculture, including impacts of the mass media - the Internet, newspapers, radio, television, etc.

Many authors believe that art raises some questions much better than politics. As a fictional structure the literature often says more than real life, because it talks about what is seen and what is not seen, trying to reach the truth. On the other hand, music is stumbling block for identitarian conflicts in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but there is also "sevdah" as a genre that divides and unites its cultural space. Conceptual visual art tries to explain the space that is different of all the others managing to illustrate and to connect it within its universal essence, discarding any contaminated excess which leads to absurd. Finally, the film narratives have avoided the media trap of propaganda offering diverse explanations of conflict, portraying chaotic views as well as experiences of (in)voluntarily involved war participants (Daković, Internet 1). Films have reviewed the history discovering its other meaning next to official one. It has emerged from the reconstruction of events in the new discourses with the repetitiveness and eternity of the subject, that is always present.

2.1.2.3. Physical space

This research is designed as a case study research. Yin (1994) claims that challenges of this type of research, are "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident", which has essential meaning. The physical space is the polygon to verification of all hypothesis and connections between the layers of research. Author's, cultural and theoretical space is associated with the real physical space, which could be fully understood only through pre-defined layers. These are sensitive and dynamic ways of understanding the context, representing creative thinking about what the relevant context can actually be. Special strength lies in the close personal relationship with a specific context, in understanding the place of social experiences, processes and changes (Gillies and Edwards, 2005).

Not only does this approach have a theoretical concept, contextual understandings are in the center of qualitative explanations for Mason (2006). Martinez - Hidalgo (2016: 57) says that the territory is always ours. It is not an abstract space with no past and the present, with sterile ideas about the future, but it's our land which has a value, some disadvantages and many opportunities, history and geography, and even state of mood. Accordingly Mason (2006) points out that the context in a way represents system of these distinctive but also close dimensions of space, whereby the concept of their 'connection' is crucial. We need to understand how context relates to the social life, which is very important for improving skills in setting up useful questions and giving appropriate answers to complex social surroundings.

Skotte (2004) says that the choice of individual cases has to respond to the research questions and adds that it also has to reflect the central constituents of context ... Although Niell (2004) states that the case studies are going uniting to an 'imaginary city', the criteria for the case studies selection were different so the selection process was simple, clear and unambiguous. The choice of three case studies is based on places that are close to the author's experience and which have the opportunity to illustrate the process of transition of spatial identities on three different levels. At the same time they illuminate spatial results of the war on the whole territory of

Bosnia and Herzegovina, on all sides equally, which was not the case in previous research. Until now, the emphasis mainly grew at only few cities, such as Sarajevo and Mostar as synonyms for occupied or divided city.

However, place is very important in new wars, since they affect different areas so differently, creating different platforms for recovery (Skotte, 2004). The spaces analyzed are located at the main lines of the process, in regions which were the most exposed. Three completely different case studies, at three spatial scales and three spacious levels also show diversity at other levels of analysis, so they are not comparable. The changes do not always occur in standardized or predictable ways, so according to Mason (2006) we need fluid and flexible ways of understanding it. Three different case studies have been observed as separate testimonies so they operate independent of each other, illustrating the setting of territorial disintegration and transition of its identity, as a result of the war, and many other elements of 20-years-long process of transition. Although it was sought holistic understanding of different dynamics, mechanisms and specifics of each case, the comparison is performed only at the level of conclusions.

The study is set in the matrix that shows three different spatial, social and cultural phenomena of the process. The three elements of the analysis are map of transition, matrix of new construction and matrix of transition. The polygons of spatial analysis on three levels are- (1) neighborhood (Mađir, Banja Luka); (2) village (ethno-village Stanišići, Bijeljina) and (3) city (Istočno Sarajevo, Sarajevo). The spatial multi-scalarity set is an important feature because it complements the multidisciplinary analysis and multiple layers of the whole, insisting on comprehensiveness of the whole process. Mason (ibid: 15) confirms this scale correlation, saying that macro is known through the lens of the micro – social change is charted in how it is lived and experienced in everyday life. If the 'macro' cannot be fully explained without speaking *through* the 'micro', then micro and macro cannot stand in direct opposition to each other.

The first case study is marked by the author's personal experience of direct participants in the process of the new construction of neighborhood, which is the most obvious and most common form of the process, with the key position of the research and detailed analysis. The other two cases are characterized by their exception in every sense, but also a very clear form of transformation of 'identity' questions in a new space program. Regardless of the specifics and mutual differences, all three analyzed spatial manifestations of the process work as representatives of the widespread typology responding to the concept set.

2.1.3. Mixed methods

In addition to before mentioned techniques, which included an analysis on several levels, scales and spaces, as well as personal and collective narratives, the study includes a number of other, mostly obligatory, implied, techniques combined with the previous through the Jump Cut montage. Although they are not particularly emphasized, they are present in all segments and on all levels of research. The combination of techniques involves an ever-present theoretical discussion, historical review, analysis of spatial planning and cartographic documentation as well as analysis of legal regulations.

The theoretical discussion takes place throughout the entire course of the narrative covering the wide range of authors and issues from different areas of theory and practice. However it is important to note that text does not attempt to establish any theory, therefore does not separate the theoretical and practical research. Both constantly flow in parallel to each other, often intertwine, meet and clash. Given the approach that simultaneously integrates numerous layers of observation, sources such as informal, general, art, and finally author's personal observations, the text may seem eclectic and perhaps ambiguous. Yet, careful reader will understand this style of writing within the overall context, methodological approach, complex subject and finally the space, which are essentially complementing, connecting.

Historical background on each individual issue includes the analysis and selection of historical and archival sources, identifying chronology of events, their causes and consequences. Historical review of a number of themes, processes and phenomena enables establishing temporal, historical and contextual connection between. Given many problems of such approach, particularly in the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the

method includes knowledge from various informal sources, which have not been recorded, but also theoretical review and verification of sources. The method is particularly expressed in the review of the emergence of a new city, and permanence of the new city in Bosnia and Herzegovina to which this research directly continues. Considering the recent period, non-objective distance, and lack of institutional confirmation, this text forms a part of documentary testimony, and process of history writings.

Analysis of the spatial planning and cartographic documentation is an important part of research in the field of urban and spatial planning and one of the main techniques. Thereby every planning and cartographic or graphic document engages author's attention. Except passive and active analysis of available documentation, this technique has involved the creative process of own production of graphic and cartographic materials with multiple meanings and functions. In addition to identification and observing different levels of space, the rich narrative describing it, the process is also mapped on many levels and phases. The map has an important role on the research process but depending on the position becomes active protagonist or disappears in invisible dimensions. According to Corner (1999) mapping is a fantastic cultural project which generates and measures the world, just as describes it. He adds that the role of mapping, is the transformation of the worlds in which people live, instead of reflecting reality. Maps mediate between the real and the virtual, they show and create, define 'points', but not completely.

The whole range of different graphics have different roles, positions and meanings, but they can be systematized into several types which have to map the previous place of residence, the complex process of transition different layers, and finally to describe and to define locations of new (re) construction of life (new place of residence). Depending on available documentation and requirements of the individually analyzed spaces, the analysis does not have tightly defined, rigid framework of analysis. It has rather adapted to the significant differences among the each specific case.

Analysis of the legislation is partially covered by spatial planning documents, while the second part includes a whole range of different regulatory documents which have made integral part of the process. Important components of this analysis are Dayton Peace Agreement for Bosnia and Herzegovina in particular Annex 7 relating to the rights of refugees and displaced persons, as well as a whole set of regulations at all levels of government in Bosnia and Herzegovina engaged with these issues. Conventions and Declaration of the United Nations and other relevant international organizations were also considered. The important elements of the analysis are also different types of statistics from different periods. The most important among them are lists of population and households in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1991 and 2013 (Cenzus), and many other lists in between. Finally, in spatial terms, a set of laws, rules and regulations is also analyzed in the field of spatial and urban planning, and construction.

2.2. 20 years period / Timeframe

The study deals with time and space, here and now, referring to the recent past of 20 years ago, but with the great respect for all of the historical facts from long, turbulent and rich history of the space. 20 years period observed is the period from the end of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995) towards the present (2015), but also the period of intensive new construction. This period is the rounded timeframe relevant for serious analysis and dealing with what has been and hasn't been done in these times. 20 years is a measure of the previous post-war life, the Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina within the socio-cultural and spatial context where huge changes have been experienced. The period is placed within the context of meaning of 20-year-old historical development, the average planned horizon of spatial planning documents, and an average lifetime.

In post-war SR Bosnia and Herzegovina (1945-1965), 20 years meant its most difficult period, characterized by poverty, famine, deprivation, and misery. But it also meant biggest historical development that was carried on the shoulders of revolution, industrialization, infrastructure development, promotion of house construction and general strategic and expert planning. Last 20 post-war years unfortunately didn't bring remotely similar progress (until 2005, when 60% of GDP from 1991 has been achieved, Patros: 2005). 20 years after the war,

Bosnia and Herzegovina is stuck within itself, a space is degraded and devastated, with trends that do not promise many hope for the future. Therefore, there is the last deadline after 20 years for revision of results achieved and looking for next 20, which will be based on valuable gained experience, scientific research and further work in all fields.

In urban planning this criterion is relative. The period of 20 years presents planned horizon of all strategic documents of spatial and urban planning, based on law regulations of Republika Srpska (Law on physical planning and construction, Sl. Gl. RS 40/13). It also includes the period of average duration of the documentation planning (Spatial plan of Republika Srpska ; Spatial plan of Bosnia and Herzegovina, SR BiH, Parliament of SR BiH, Sarajevo 1989; Master urban plan of Banja Luka, Urban Planning Institute of Banja Luka, 1975). Executive document of physical planning refers to planned period of 10 years, and is valid until it is changed or new one is legislated, unless it is contrary to document of physical planning, or documents of higher order (Article. 25, paragraph 9 of the Law). However, due to various circumstances, conditions and possibilities some plans will stay effective for years after the deadline has expired, while others are changed several times during the planning period.

In personal and average lifetime, 20 years is a criterion for identification of 3 or 4 completed stages in one's life. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, depending on how individuals found their wits during the war and later in new peace conditions, this period is the criterion of a lost generation, shattered childhood, of the rise and fall and also of one tragic end and the one new and difficult beginning.

2.3. Distances

By constantly questioning results and perfection, and by preparing readers to imperfection, there is a risk of excessive reluctance in front of the issues and danger of losing control. Sennett (2012) argues that there is no answer to this problem of working / operating between desire of perfection and accepting hidden imperfections during the writing. Therefore Lledo (1992) points out that thinking means moving towards those issues, which illuminate and enrich it. It takes a certain distance, making possible to see and describe words in the immediacy of current presence, not directly, but in the intermediate complexity of its meaning. Regarding to the subject and working conditions, this research is characterized by particular problems and risks. Sejranović (Internet S) says that "nobody and nothing is perfect, except maybe the gaps" so it is necessary to recognize these shortcomings. They are divided into three groups and defined as an objective, temporal and spatial distance

2.3.1. Objective distance

Research is taking place on the edge of a process and time that have just finished, and on the other hand in parallel to the process that is still going on, in almost real time. Given that deals with the actual subject and that it is momentary facing contemporary problems with no temporal distance, the approach is brave and risky in same time, and it is possible to have a problem of objectivity. This is particularly "dangerous" in the specific context of "divided" Bosnia and Herzegovina and the author himself is aware of this.

The problem of objectivity is strengthened with the risk of author's approach, because authors according to Sennett (2012) usually start with an incorrect intuition, in relation to their culture. Kvale (1996) states that "the conception of knowledge as a mirror of reality is replaced by a conception of "the social construction of reality". Notwithstanding this claim in question, it is necessary to emphasize the value of this approach, which changes over time. This means that our understanding changes over time, because "'Truth' (or what provisionally passes for truth at a particular time) is thus bounded both by the tolerance of empirical reality and by the consensus of the scholarly community" (Kirk and Miller, 1986). It is similar with the author, who is continuously reconsidering, changing and enriching himself in every sense, so the risk of objectivity gradually decreases during the process. Finally Sennett (2012) confirms that errors of the creative process are fruitful because they contribute to the worth discoveries, and improve with the critical attitudes towards the quality.

Therefore it is important to get these risks to rise, because the words are not ordinary objects and because they themselves sometimes say more than one should want (Sennett, 2012). Regardless of best intentions, the author's approach still sounds biased to certain points, what is inevitable. As Lledo (1992) says, the testimony never starts from "neutral", and therefore no form of language is neutral, nor there is a neutral text, because each text is context. Although it deals with the Bosnia and Herzegovina as whole, indicating its historical continuity, highlighting the universal evil, defining a common cultural space and underlines the two-way process defined, concrete detailed analysis still includes only one Entity and only one-way process. This choice is exclusively result of personal experience, familiarity with the particular spaces as well as practical reasons. Lledo (1992) notes that since Aristotle we know that experience arises from the feelings and memories, where the memory is constituted both from historical and personal data. But he adds that every author is coined of his own memories in which he integrates collective experience and transforms them through the filter of his own individuality. Therefore no act of creation is the product of the moment, but the long-time process, what gives legitimacy to author's approach.

In accordance with the tone of the text and attempt to establish dialogue on open questions, there should be taken the positivist ..., despite shortcomings and risks. According to Lledo (1992) the objectivity of the text is also a phenomenon caused by the perception of elements, which integrate lived experiences and feelings. The text is the result of dynamic process of reading and interpretation, as well as specific and slow process of perception, which is never innocent. Voice of the written is only proposal that opens multitude options corresponding to the awareness that analyzes, criticizes and understands. Sejranić (Internet F) stands for the idea that every text gets value after the reading and interpretation, and that the truth is not only of one's who tells, but also the one's who listens. Each text is a part of the reader's experience, which, looking for his own interpretations, also becomes part of the context (Lledo, 1992: 45). Therefore, readers should be open for different individual experiences and memories that text abounds. Despite all kind of divisions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, this testimony should be understood as parts which form one truth, equally painful for all.

2.3.2. Formal / Institutional distance

What is important to note, and what is largely determined, the study is institutional relationship according to research. It also testifies about the time, place and context in which the research develops. In the absence of an objective distance, research subject is not interesting for archives of institutions, therefore all data should have provided a form number of other sources.

The research has been relying on cooperation with the institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republic of Srpska, but it was characterized by communication's difficulties. A long way to the information mainly led by written requests (often without an answer) then through system of officers (mostly without jurisdiction), and finally to the heads of institution. Although all parties stayed friendly and formally ready to cooperate, it was very difficult to get through to the essence. Communication was reduced to merely satisfying the request, it was characterized by a lack of understanding the subject, as well as drifting off-topic and focusing on propaganda information. The majority of responses to requests were justified by the lack of jurisdiction and referred to the infinite number of other instances.

The process has left a strong impression of a complicated administrative system that is not working to the extent that it should. It is supported by a number of individuals making decisions, but without any compromise to the matter, while sectoral bodies do not work as an integrated system. Coordination between institutions is very weak, data are missing, it is unavailable, incomplete and chaotic. Therefore, for further, especially documentary research it would be necessary to structurally change and reorganize institutions as well as to have quality systematization and data archiving, which is quite at low and primitive level for a digital age we live in. Online access is in many cases only formal, because the databases are poor and unsystematic. The huge problem is the inter-entity non-compliance of legislation and spatial planning documents. Thus strategic documents of urban planning should be treated integrally in a system that establishes spatial continuity.

Regarding research subject, particularly the case study on neighborhood scale built in the informal urban factory, complete data was not expected. However it must be noted that in Bosnia and Herzegovina there is no even relevant literature on particular topic, not even on certain theoretical aspects of planning, so the author takes full risk for data incompleteness. The institutional attitude towards the process, missing data and the status of previous researches have partly determined approaches and characteristics of the research. Disadvantages are compensated by resources from other scientific, technical and artistic fields, numerous informal sources from the fields of popular culture, contemporary art, politics and public life, and especially important testimonies of direct participants of the process. All of the previous readers, who have had an insight into the process, stressed the short time for research, which deserves at least double attention, given the problems, resources, size and its importance. Consequently, research is directly facing the problem, raises a number of questions and calls for a broad dialogue through the mutual work and multidisciplinary approach.

2.3.3. Spatial / Contextual distance

As De Botton (2002: 23) has expressed it, 'it seems we may best be able to inhabit a place when we are not faced with the additional challenge of having to be there'. The spatial distance between the author and the polygon of research was meant to be a disadvantage in terms of field work, sources and data availability. But on the other hand it brought many benefits. Specific atmosphere at the University of Granada has enabled distancing oneself from that complex context and everyday struggle for life, and also enabled observation, analysis and perception of the problem in a very different way. Contextual relocation contributed to the observation from many more angles, which secured greater objectivity. It also caused explaining the subject in a lot of different levels, scales and ways, which are not common in the space of research. Spatial distance has contributed to multilayer, multi-dimensional, multidisciplinary and multi-scale research.

On the other hand, a three-year process of research on the author's own space in the "exile" has meant flaring the passion towards the process and presentations of author's homeland. As Bijelic (Internet S) says: "... I felt the color of my region. Colors of the field, sky, and clouds, which are hanging on the mountains, and getting lost ... I own the gratitude to Bosnian landscape for finding myself...". Although this condition, with a lot of empathy, can mean the lack of objectivity, on the other hand it justifies the methodological approach and contributes to further development of research. It develops in direction of constructing a sincerely patriotic attitude towards the homeland, construction discourse of dialogue, peace and development of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

This kind of relationship towards the space is present with many authors, as well as with the Bosnian painter Jovan Bijelic. Although he worked in Belgrade most of his career, his motives have created the idea of him as a "painter of Bosnian landscapes and Bosnian nostalgia. They were formed by the half a century living in one (other) city and by the memory to Bosnia, which has always followed him and has produced that nostalgia of displaced. "Bijelic's paintings of Bosnia are idealized images evoked by an idyllic regions, in displacement. That typical scene, the subject of an intensive process of repetition constitutes the myth of the landscape infused with personal experience and nostalgic memory, in his work (Ćupić, Internet S)."

His firmly-established relationship with this topic is especially clear in the work "Motif from Bosnia" from 1937. Historical "millieu" is replaced by everyday timeless scene: the house as a metaphor of origin and nature with its universal power which does not exceed over the time. Authentic Bosnia, devoid of recognizable topography, is presented as a personal experience, as evidenced by the neutral titles as: motif, scenery, landscape. Emerging / Creating / Occurring / Arising out of Bosnia mainly, these works bear observings of the homeland in a memory as pure and naked nostalgia. Subjective artistically designed, Bosnia was perceived more as the landscape-a symbol than as a direct observation. At the same time, Bijelic does not decorate Bosnia because there is no need for that. He likes it the way it is. And precisely this lack of idealization is what makes his Bosnian landscapes persuasive, suggestive and authentic. It is a feeling that he describes by saying: "Everything had gathered in myself, in my head and pockets, during all these long years of learning and searching. It left only my Bosnia and its landscape within. It is not any particular hill, not a field, but a vision of that what lives in me - my Bosnia. Then

I suddenly realized that I am a painter of this country and that I am nobody beyond that, that I do not have anything else to say (Internet P).”

2.4. Structure

The research is structured in 5 blocks and 8 chapters. First of all, table of contents, foreword, resumes in Serbian, English and Spanish language, and the list of acronyms are given.

Block A - is an introduction to the research that determines the setting and the basic elements of research. It defines the subject, problem and questions of research, its relevance, the motives, as well as the importance of it in research practice. It explains the basic hypothesis on which the research process is based, the objectives and tasks of research. The second chapter explains the complexity of the approach and relevance of the methodological procedure. It is defined as the Jump Cut Urbanism with a multidisciplinary approach that includes three levels of study - cultural, social and spatial; three groups of sources - personal experience, art and popular culture, and theory of architecture and urbanism; as well as three case studies on the three spatial scales. It explained the qualitative research approach with the basic tools used. It also defined spatial and temporal framework of the research.

Block B - is one of the key components for the understanding of subject, and the overall complex context of the phenomenon and processes researched. It defines basic concepts, topics and guidelines, which form part of the cultural context as well as the social and spatial processes of contemporary Bosnia and Herzegovina. These are: war, division, migration, transition, identity and continuous process of new construction. The context is presented indirectly through insight into the cross-section of contemporary art and the most present artists from different types of art as music, literature, film, conceptual and visual arts. The research narrative has been created from this point.

After reviewing the basic concepts and cultural context of space, the next part of the text - Block C represents a kind of analytical base of research. The first chapter provides an overview of the origins and developments of "new" neighborhoods and cities, as well as the review of alternative models of urbanization during the XX century. This global random section defines the meaning of the new city, which is nothing new actually, but allows us to continuously research on the phenomenon in a broader context. The second chapter is a historical review of the development of Bosnian-Herzegovinian city, showing the continuity and permanence of perception of the new city concept and allowing us to continue thinking about it. The special emphasis is related to territorial organization and urban systems of Socialist Republic, just before the outbreak of the conflict and the changes that followed. Conclusions on review are drawing general elements of the post-socialist and transitional city characteristic for all of former Eastern European countries. This is a kind of bridge to the specific process of developing a new urban typology in Bosnia and Herzegovina, analyzed below.

Block D is the core which connects the two lines of research, through the analysis of the real space and through the concept of transition of spatial identity: cultural context and new urban development. The analysis includes three case studies on the three spatial proportions (1) Česma-Mađir neighborhood (Banja Luka); (2) The city of Istočno Sarajevo (East Sarajevo), and (3) the village, ethno-village Stanisici near Bijeljina. The three elements of the analysis are map of transition, matrix of new construction and matrix of transition.

Finally, the block E - contains conclusions of the research. These are performed by comparing the defined matrices of transition on the levels considered and spaces discussed. The conclusions are also given through the impacts of the transition, which are defined as re-territorialization, re-identification and re-construction, on a broader, general level. An entire list of opened questions is emerging, as well as potential subjects for extensive further research.

At the end, Annexes are given: Lists of references, sources and illustrations, index of key names and terms, and author's Biography.

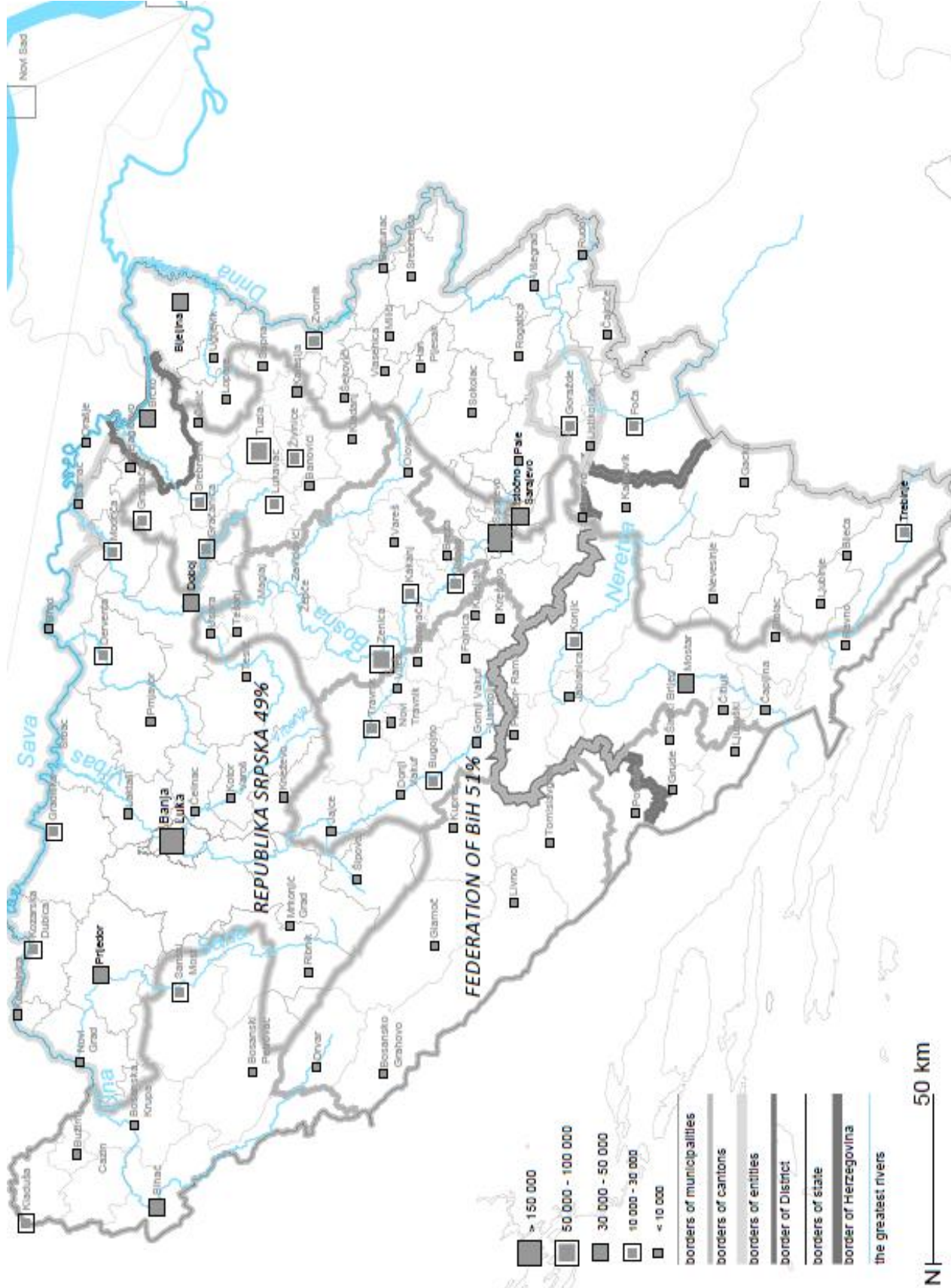


Fig. 2.1. The network of cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina.
Map redrawn by the Author.

Figures

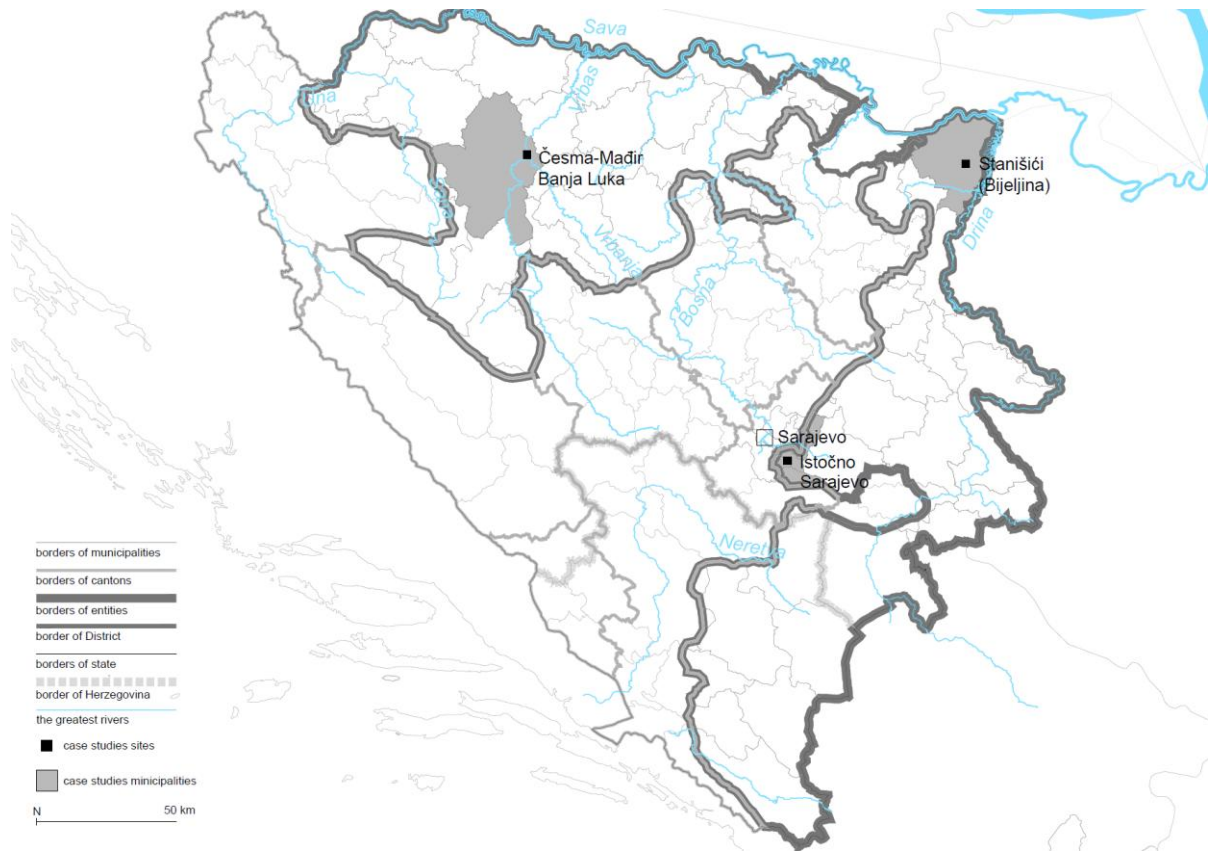


Fig 2.2. Three case studies in divided Bosnia and Herzegovina. Map redrawn by the Author.

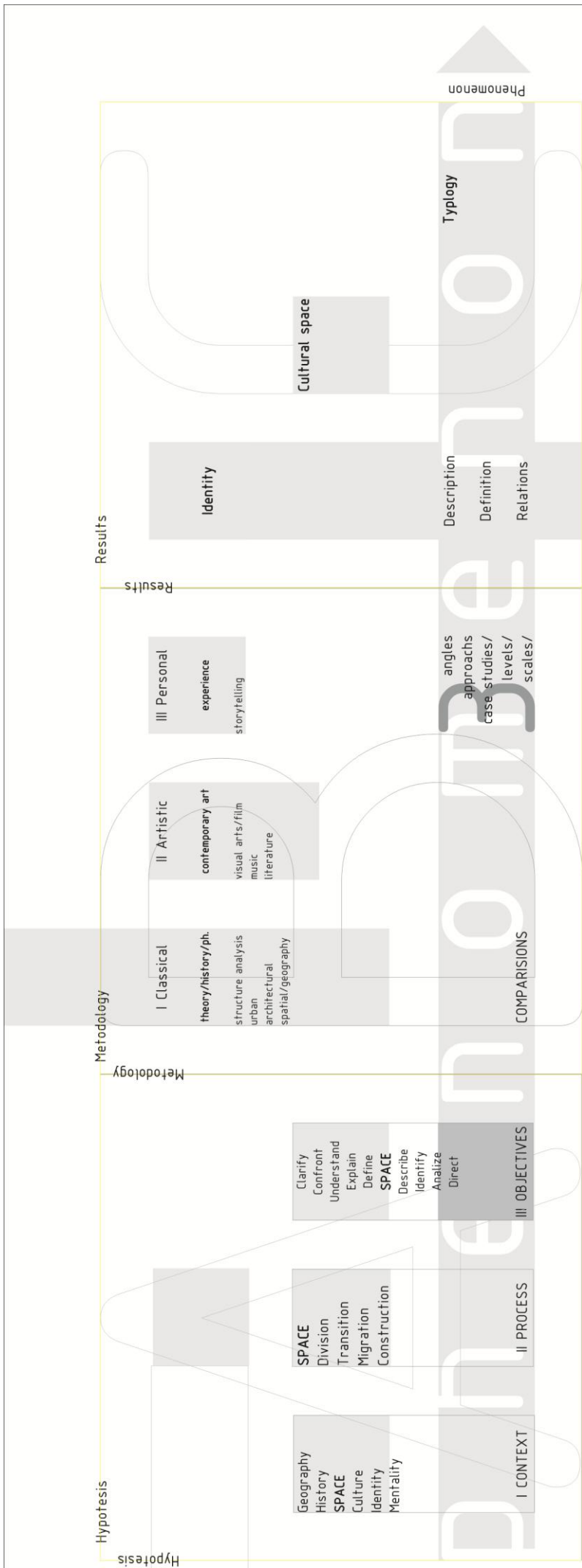


Fig. 2.3.
Diagram on the Research methodology
Illustration by the Author

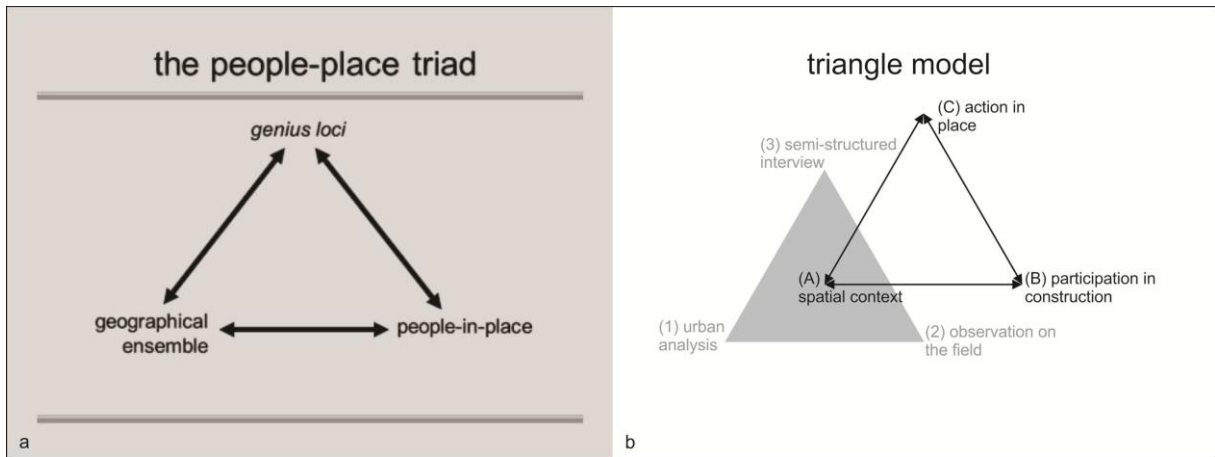


Fig. 2.4: Illustration of analysis used;
 a) Seamon's the people-place triad (Source: Seamon, 2012);
 b) The triangle model.
 Illustration by the Author.

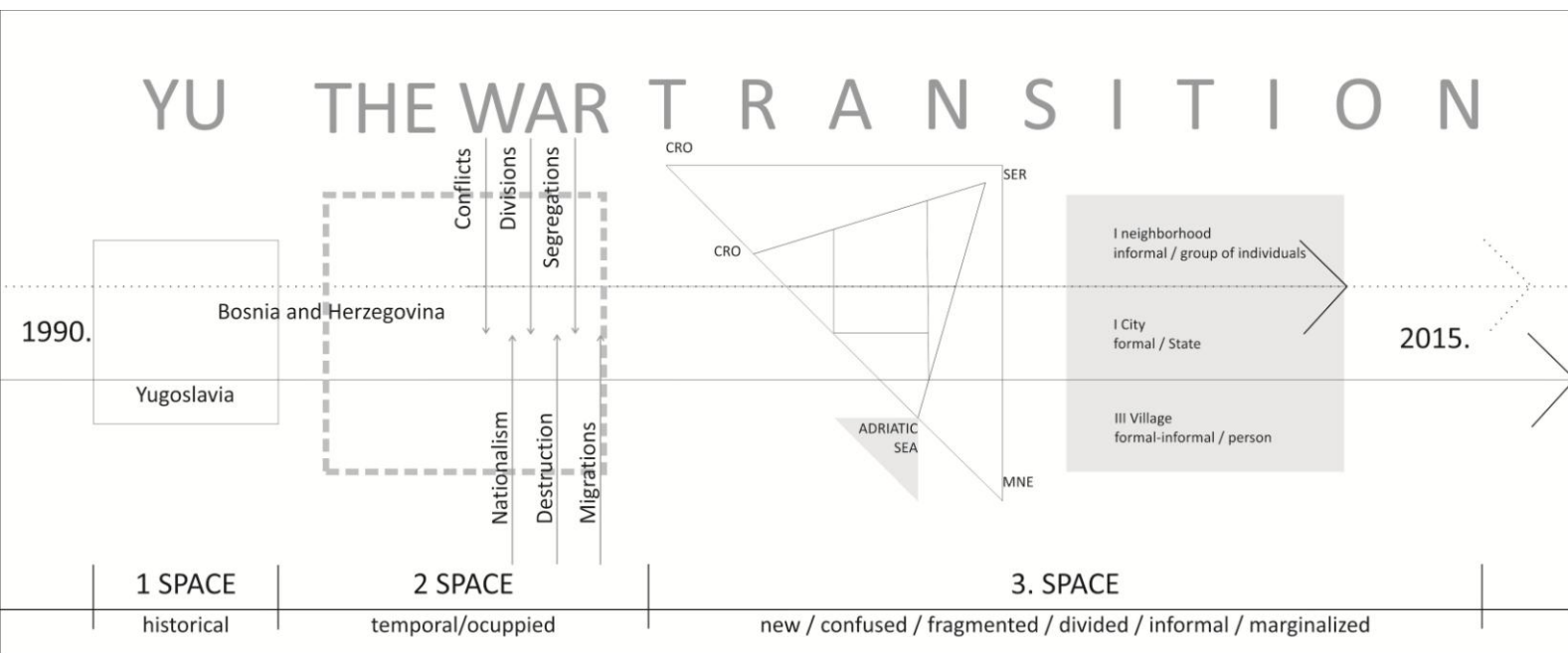


Fig 2.5. Simplified diagram on the Research. Illustration by the Author.

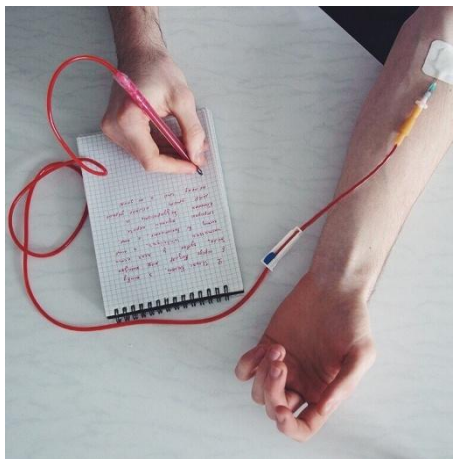


Fig 2.6. "Love letter with blood" Illustration on emotional attachment towards the research.
Source: [online] Available at: <http://blogdan.rs/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/tumblr_nkneeigjc1u7krcho1_1280.jpg?x21890>

BLOCK B

PERMANENCE OF NEW

3. PERMANENCE OF NEW CITIES

Some would say that the review of the phenomena / theme of new cities would be easiest to početi ispočetka, but it is not easy to define where the start actually. The question is where is possible to set the limit between the old and the new, between history and the beginning of the founding of cities? There is no answer to this question, that is complete or correct (Hall, 1996). Almost all theorists of the city more or less, beginning with the historical overview of the evolution. But the past is not only what happened twenty years ago, but also what happened hundred years ago, so there is also a danger of a too far reviews to time backwards (Sandercock & Lyssiotis, 2003) because today's cities, although the heirs of all previous eras often have almost nothing to do with them. Therefore, this review does not deal with the exact definition of the beginning, trying to understand the continuity of development and modern processes as part of it. They can not be viewed isolated.

Given that the "new" is a time determination which is valid in a relatively short period of time, the meaning of the new is not easy to define when / in situation when cities continuously develop, grow and regenerate, moving their limits in spatial or regulatory terms. Since the angle-dependent, the concept / notion of the new city was accepted as a perception of new [1] and different from the previous one in the process of urban evolution. In first periods, which lasted for millennia, and then centuries, the term was tied to something radically different that is removed by the old or above. In recent history, in addition to a radical or revolutionary changes, the new meant different sudden and intensive changes. At the same time, constant changes are almost never meant a completely removal of the old by new, but in most cases, upgrading that defined urban palimpsest. According to this, the new city will be defined as any new, different form or step in the evolution of the area compared to existing. In the same time, the new is clearly visible and different, according to the reasons, place, time and mode emergence.

Since the beginning of civilization, man has been linked to the land and all it has or has been creating arose from the earth (Abrams 1967). According to this, Abrams (ibid.) emphasizes that the city emerges in the struggle with the land or for the land, although many problems have occurred, which are also present today (Brenner 2016). On the one hand the growth of cities as living habitats depend on the land where they are found and built, and on the other hand, the concentration of population in cities following releasing land for food produce for a growing number of mouths. Over time, the evolution of mankind in relationship with the land met him with one change, and that is that land is not free, that movement it above the land is restricted, and that actually has become goods as well as food.

The problem is complicated more by the fact that people flock to the cities much faster than the development of the industry or formal urban factories can follow it. It is estimated that between 1960 and 1970th, 200 million people moved to the cities of Asia, Africa and Latin America. (Calthorpe 2008). Migration from rural to urban areas; Migration caused by industrial development; Migration caused by general social, technological progress; Migration caused by wars; Migration caused by natural disasters; Migration induced diseases; political decisions; planned foundations of neighborhoods and cities... Today's data are even more extreme: there are more than 50% of the population living in the cities today, and the United Nations estimate that this percentage will reach 75% by 2050.

Overlooking on the urbanized planet today, it is difficult to draw a conclusion about a specific, reasonable or desirable locations for the foundations of human settlements communities, neighborhoods and cities. They actually occur on a huge scale of different places because the whole planet is rich with diversity in both directions north-south, east and west. Yet in all these places, in the most varied type of geographic locations, climates, morphologies, natural and social contexts, there are settlements. The vast majority of urban areas is associated with communications as the key element: intersections, land, river and sea routes ... a bit contradictory, settlement as a static physical structure is always linked to the movements and communications at different levels.

On the other hand, at Rudofsky (1973), for example, we see a whole range of settlements built and positioned in some of the remotest and most inaccessible places in the world. Yet more than this, it seems that the settlements are connected with the source of life. With various types and forms of these sources, whether they are natural, economic, spiritual, social, family... In its constant movement, people have inhabited where they stood and where they felt the source of life, safety and belonging. At the point where they could identify themselves.

The first known cities are mainly concentrated in river valleys as Tigris, Euphrates, Indus, some of the most important civilizational cities were created with sea ports, with the intersection of the most important roads and so on. But ancient cities in Central America and South America were established in areas without significant waterway flows and many urban centers in Central America were created in the highlands surrounded the village system. Yet there is no doubt that regardless of the specific location, an important condition for the establishment of the city was the possibility of the exchange of goods and resources, as one of the main functions of the city (Rykwert 2000).

Cities are constantly evolved throughout history, in all civilizations, so that various examples are traced back to ancient times (Gaborit 2010). It is believed that the first known urban settlements people made before some 10,000 years (Rykwert 2000). Since then, it has built thousands of cities around the world, but only in the twentieth century has founded more than 750 new cities in seventy-four countries (Calthorpe 2008, Osborn & Whittick). Since 1976, England has close to a million people living in new cities, and it is estimated that at the same time in the USSR was built between 100 and 200 new cities, of which 40 are located outside metropolitan areas (Calthorpe, 2008: 223). This debate coincides with a new demographic phenomenon: the first time after thirty years of war and epidemics in the Middle Ages, the population of European cities is decreasing, which poses new challenges (Sieverts, 2007). But on the other hand, according to a growing number of the world's population, it is estimated that in different parts of the world exists the need to build thousands more new cities [2].

The difference between a well-defined new cities and those where it is not possible to determine it precisely, in fact, the difference is in the time of foundation and in time of the perception of the new city. Calthorpe (2008) points out that temporary and historic turning point is an important element in the foundation of new towns, and therefore the city is the product of time (Mumford, 1961) while the city of a certain time / period is the result of the awareness of a certain idea of the epoch. Sola Morales y Rubio (1997) show that the ratio of time to the development of the city lies in the timing space / estimating space by the time because relations of spatial elements when building describe the time sequence of processes that is materializing in physical form.

Turning time point in the historical sense is also an indicator of the change, the reason and motive for founding new cities (Calthorpe, 2008).

Although the city may have built a long time ago, it is determined by its history, geography, culture, urban structure, morphology, etc., it can rebuild, redefine and otherwise become new again, in some characteristic period. Cities are subject to constant change and constant growth, they develop and update, but in each of them there is a certain moment that this change make more visible, stronger, more intense, and that causes certain periods when the city is seen as a new and different. We have witnessed numerous examples of physical renewal of cities, which causes many other changes (marketing, tourism, migration), and in particular changes in social structure (which is perhaps less physically visible, but it is certainly much more significant. It is more visible in changes in feelings toward the city, personal experience, cultural life, etc.).

Hall (1996) establishes numerous time and semantically intertwined categories of cities that explain approaches of their creation, planning and development. Many cities were created as a mythical or historical recorded new foundations or perhaps re-establishment. The legends of Theseus in Athens, Romulus in Rome, and King David in Jerusalem are known to most. Between some newer well known foundations are Abbasid Caliph Mansur's Baghdad or medieval French and English movements; either as shelters cities or founded cities after the Reformation. In addition, there are new major cities who demanded require geographical or political

realignment- Madrid, Warsaw, Canberra- and almost all cities of America, the North and South (Author 0000). There are also those new cities, which were required for the industrial development and other natural resources exploitation. New cities are apart as separate single entity, emerged as parts of existing units, as their extensions. The establishment of cities has often been an evolutionary process in the development of the cells to the city (Batty and Xie, 1994), and some cities show a mixture of these two methods in different periods of their history. Thus the new cities except as separate units, emerged as parts of existing units or their extensions.

The city is shaped by impersonal forces. It seemed then - as now - that other concepts, feelings and desires are governed makers and builders of cities, that the city did not grow, while economists were taught by a quasi-natural laws, but yeah will artifact, a human creation in which many conscious and unconscious factors played a role. It seemed that some of the interplay the consciously and unconsciously that we find in dreams.

New cities have always followed the time / period in which they are / were placed / located or even walked in front of the social development (Le Corbusier, Garnier, Wright, CIAM and Modern Movement), thus bringing new, futuristic and utopian ideas that were often not understood. Mumford (1937) suggests that the best plan is the utopian one because powerful visions of urban futures (...) consider integral importance of many issues. However, although they represented progressive thought and were in certain conditions accepted and implemented without being completely examined or checked (Rykwert, 2000). Therefore Galantay (1997) defines new towns as a communities planned, created and incurred as conscious responses to the set goals. The plan of the new city is based on estimates of the potential growth of new communities, physical and social needs of the residents, which also depends on the culture and economic development of society, which build a new society. This process assumed the existence of authority and successful organization that can secure a place, the necessary resources and monitoring of the process to certain level of completion.

The planning process of the creation of new cities is in contrast with the genesis and evolution of cities in the slow organic process often with a bunch of unrelated actions (Galantay, 1977). Sassen (1994) claims largest number of cities has been founded and grew spontaneously, organically with little or no precise plan, regulation or control. However, although the unplanned growth of cities is typically uncontrolled, it also demanded the reorganization of many existing cities and establishment of new ones. Some cities show a mixture of organic growth and planned development in different periods of their history and many have been formed in this way, with different dynamics of growth.

As discussion shows, terms such as "new", "new settlement" and "new city" are not new at all. But despite the huge experience of construction, the concept of 'new city' is still ambiguous and vague. Hall (1996) believes that even after 100 years of planning experience, no answer to the question of a new city is really simple or true. There are neither time limits, nor geographic limits attached to this concept. On the other hand it reaffirms that the construction of cities has become science which requires deep analysis of all fields of human knowledge, especially social sciences, considering all benefits of civilization progress. (Cerda, 1859).

The idea of the concept of the new city as a real product, appeared with the movement of garden cities (Howard 1898), which represented a kind of counterbalance to ideas about super modern mega-polis as the vision of new city which is there from the beginning of thinking about "new" cities. In response to the same problem, the concept of the new city was rebuilt several times in its history, facing the pressure of urbanization development that followed the principles of CIAM, with certain advantages and disadvantages. Creation of new cities was also traditionally linked with the concept of "peri-urbanization" as a way of increasing the growth of cities suburbs. New Town concept nowadays is considered as a strategic response to emerging Megacities by governments in countries that face fast population growth in these cities (Falahat, 2013). Merlin (0000) identifies three categories of new cities: New cities were built to host new capital cities, new cities dedicated to the development of economic activities, and new cities built in reaction to the demographic changes and urban growth in major urban areas.

The history of cities Soja (2008) had seen at different levels. It starts from the first cities, followed by the second and third urban revolution. Moreover, allocates periods and the evolution of cities like Metropolis, Postmetropolis, Cosmopolis, Exopolis, fractal city etc. Rykwert (2000), see new cities in the formation of

suburbia, and then in the new movements of Howard's Garden Cities of Tomorrow, an industrial town of Tony Garnier, the phenomenon of the emergence of new capitals, Taylor's satellite towns and CIAM's modern city.

However, current European trends do not justify continuation of new towns foundations. Thus is again topical Mumford's (1961) issue about future cities. Calthorpe (2008) writes about pedestrian pockets, Catells (1996) and Hall (1996) on techno poles, Doxiadis's dream about Ecumenopolis is current again (1970), and many other ideas. But to think of the future, it is firstly necessary to analyze transformation of existing new cities (Gaborit 2010). It is necessary to observe the urban areas that were counterweight to new cities, following abandoned urban matrix (Jacobs, 2011), which had a great social success and created a culture that can not be simulated. Sieverts (2003) says that the central city became overloaded structure under which identity collapses, and that the focus of thinking should be relocated. Given the context of social relations and consequences that have left on them, Calthorpe (2008) gives priority to suburbs. However, solution may be somewhere in between, in some new areas between the city and the natural landscape, in fragmented urban areas, which are scattered throughout the territory where most of the people actually live in the world (Tietjen, 2011). In doing so, Abrams (2016) recalls the territory as continuous battleground, and according to Brenner (2016) it is not to be regarded as one more of the products of capitalist consumption.

Finally, the most important thing is that the people make both city and the new city. The city is an expression of the human spirit, rather than a physical entity or a place of economic activity (Mumford 1937). Therefore Abrams (1967) full responsibility for the establishment of towns attributed to man. The city has always been associated with human liberties, so development of the city is temptation about which man himself mostly decides, in spite of all the problems. At the same time not forgetting the culture that shapes society (Galantay 1977) and thanks to which the cities and regions of the 21st century should be more multi-ethnic, multicultural and multi-faceted.

Regardless of the endless debate about what is the new city, all elements listed above have a universal value, which defines the city. They can be identified with the teachings of the Chicago school of sociology, which says that the city is a "natural area", "moral field", "state of mind and spirit" and "artificial creation" as a complex phenomenon and center of civilization development. In the center of the city, the man achieves a vital link with the city and other members of the community, structures and processes of urban system, defining it as heteroegen social metabolism and giving it a multicultural character as the highest value.

3.3. Alternative models

We have already seen that the definition of new cities is a rather complex task, which can be viewed from different sides and have different meanings. The new city will be presented here through several referenced, random examples, showing different models of urban matrix, which emerged in specific times and places. They are considering a new physical form as a result of the characteristic changes in space and time, which actually defines the physical new city. All of these changes were a result of urban extensions, which in one moment of time and space, emerged in the form of some new spatial / urban units.

In contrast to the relatively extreme and unbuilt utopian plans (diagrams) of Broadacre City and Ville Radieuse, however many new cities of different sizes were built in the twentieth century. Some followed Howard's model of garden city, and others some more modernist principles, but as the most characteristic examples Sola Morales and Rubio (2003) stand out: the French "grands ensembles"; German "siedelung"; Spanish "ensanches" and the Soviet "workers' settlements" and adding examples of Nordic "satelite cities". All listed examples are characterized in that they are formed following plans. They are therefore very different of the phenomenon of the new city in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and in a sense they put a kind of counter-definition to the concept of Bosnian and Herzegovinian city. However, the common feature of all of these new urbanization have changed the physiognomy, structure and identity of the city, thus making it different, new and special.

3.3.1. Program growths

The first alternative model of a new town and an example of the program growth is the city of Barcelona. It is the city with a number of different models that have been developed throughout history. These range from the development of 'poligonos', suburban neighbourhoods (urbanizaciones marginales) on the outskirts of town, to the highly-professional planning solutions (ensanche), creative marketing strategies and others. Powerful urban evolution has always been linked to the geographic position, population growth, the mentality of the people, economic development and important events (Bontje and Musterd 2011, Ingersoll 2006).

However the physical growth of Barcelona has always been limited to certain framework that was both an instrument of creating order and preventing spontaneous growth. These firstly were natural borders of the two rivers in between the original city was located. Later the city walls determined the physical structure (4th century). However already in the late Middle Ages, Barcelona was rapidly growing and had to be spread outside the walls, but even then (the 15th century) appeared initiatives that have had a distant visions of the future of the city. Although the population was growing rapidly (from 37,000 in 1717 to 189,000 in 1855), the city was still trying to keep within the newly built fortifications, and managed to be organized in just 250 hectares (Bontje and Musterd 2011), which was result of the work of military engineers who designed buildings, streets and even entire neighbourhoods.

However, as a result of the continuous growth of the city, the walls finally fell in 1860, and then has started a new period of organization and regulation of the city. The most important program represents an ambitious expansion plan led by the engineer Ildefons Cerdá (1859). He proposed a new and modern city, based on a rational theory, promoting circulation, hygiene and social egalitarianism. "Thanks to its ambition, multiplying tenfold the historic city, and to its powerful geometry, that project has been able to guide the growth of Barcelona for the next 150 years. This was possible by the invention of management tools and the agreement of private owners to plan, sharing the long-term objectives, based on the economic benefits that accrue to all of the implementation of the project. The plan supposed the launching of a machine for massive production of town- with well organized houses and streets -, production of rents of land, housing and building process (Gómez-Ordóñez and Martínez-Hidalgo 2015)."

Cerda has also proposed a solution that's innovative and restrictive. His plan is unique compared treating the historical centre of the territory that virtually extends to almost the whole of Europe. The ideological and practical reasons have caused the growth of the city in the direction of Europe, but it is on the other side meant turning his back on the shore. The plan foresaw infinite expansion, which was beating his old concepts of discrete agglomerations and pattern of concentric organization. However, the plan is used only as a regulatory element in the physical sense, while development is left to private investors. The Spanish word 'ensanche' which meant enlargement has become more technical term, meaning a planned enlargement of a city.

The regulatory process of an open city development was promoted urbanity unprecedented. With desire to preserve the past, the historic centre has remained more or less intact. The objective was to appreciate the beauty and to meet the requirements of health and movement through proper conservation of the existing heritage, striving to improve in line with contemporary needs. The plan was created in connecting two orthogonal networks of different scales: a network that is cut diagonals and focused on the big wide roads and other smaller network that is focused to the second level of traffic. There are dimensions of the blocks 133/133 meters with an open centre, which is the basic element of the city and which provides the framework for achieving a kind of unity with the neighbourhood.

Cerda was one of the first theorists of urbanism, which is intended to make it a discipline in every way. Cerda's Barcelona Plan was preceded by a large four-year theoretical work which later also represented his posterior justification. The plan called 'The reform and expansion of Barcelona', is designed as an instrument of egalitarian policy, which offers the same conditions to all social structures, and carries an unmistakable sign of utopia. "Highlights of the new civilization is communication", and in his eyes, "the city is nothing but a type of cell that

reflects universal sustainability" (Choay 2009). In the end, the plan was not satisfied by creating a network of the territory that would become the same, so it opposes the logic of modular planning and regulatory urbanism. In addition, the plan does not propose a model of a new city, but generative structures that will allow the adaptation of the old city to the new techniques. These structures are derived from duplicate analysis of the specific context and components of the city as a whole, which makes Cerda a creator of urban geomorphology. It ensures continuity and homogeneity of the matrix where urban blocks offer complete freedom of architectural projects thanks to the articulation of small-scale, with a large network of roads in an unprecedented theatre coexistence.

Cerda's plan is completely realised and still is one of the most determining elements of Barcelona. It is his plan that provided the basis for the revitalizing of Barcelona in the last two decades of the twentieth century (Rykwert, 200:93). Other similar plans are only ensured sustainability of urbanity that has emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century. By the mid-twentieth century, all new extensions are covered and integrated without the need for changing the structure and separations including diversity of experiences and new architectural styles (Choay 2009).

In parallel with the planned development of Barcelona through the most important historical periods, the key moments and events, at all stages of development on the edges of the existing city were forming peripherals of Barcelona (Urbanizaciones Marginal - Busquets 1999). These informal settlements are seeking to integration with the nature, reflecting distant ideas of Howard's garden cities. However, they are forming on the basis of outdated and inefficient subdivision, after which they transform and integrate into the city that constantly push the boundaries of the periphery (Ibid. 24). The main characteristics following development of Barcelona's periphery are: increasing of size, search for cheap land, decentralization, relationship with infrastructure, environment.

Elements of the physical definition of extensions are: the project integrity and a unique management. The consequences are: urban growth in sealed packages; discontinuity of edges, separation, internal monotony. Economic factors of construction and management of polygons are: progressive increase of size, peripheral location, condensing, mid disorganization, lack of equipment and form of capitalist management of workers' housing. Ideological base consists of: the principle of decentralization which is located in the garden and new cities; the principle of the neighbourhood unit; and principle of minimum housing standards. Finally, they meet the principles of functional city (Athens Charter); separation of functions and traffic, hygienic conditions, etc. (ibid.).

'Urbanizaciones marginales' follow the process of formation, with total independence of the established plan or the technical norms that regulate it. Thus, the examples show how the various attempts parcelling can be considered as an autonomous operation, unrelated to land assignments, urbanization, etc. (Busquets, 1999: 40). Once the conditions of the neighbourhoods in relation to urban growth have been defined in greater detail, the role played by each group of U.M. areas will be interpreted. Regarding the structure of growth; That is to say, to what extent some neighbourhoods have acted only as a "simulacrum of urbanization" or represented "a direct mechanism of urban growth", etc. (ibid. 42) In situations like in Barcelona, where infrastructure investment enables external growth was very low, UM is used as a mechanism for creating new expectations, appropriation of capital gains from growth, etc. (ibid. 46).

In addition to not turning back from these types of settlements, Barcelona tried and managed to integrate them into the life of the city through a number of urban projects (Ingersoll: 2006). The Barcelona model signifies the integration of social and aesthetic purposes with the utilitarian programs of public works and a belief that infrastructure can enrich the life and the imagination of the city. Bohigas (1986) catalyzed the design community with the simple observation that a plan is only as good as the projects designed for it. Every act of infrastructure was treated as an opportunity for art and social improvement.

The further program growth is determined by creative industries, focused on cities or parts of cities, with particularly dramatic strategies and successful transformations. Along with continuous economic growth, the

World Exposition in 1888 and 1929 have been the reason for the transformation of a number of settlements. After a brief delay during the middle of the 20th century, or the concentration of energy in the following undertakings, Barcelona is reawakening after Franco's death in 1975 (Parcerisa Bundó 2014).

A spectacular transformation of the built environment, economy, society and culture scene in the 1980s and 1990s has its roots in the protest movements of the 1970s. The protest against the large-scale redevelopment of Poble Nou and Barceloneta (The Ribera Plan) included a group of architects called 'Laboratorio de Urbanismo'. The leaders of that group, Bohigas, Sola-Morales and Busquets would become very influential in the urban redevelopment process of Barcelona after the return of democracy. Two of their most important principles were historical and spatial continuity. This shows that the recent urban redevelopment strategy of using big events as generators of large scale restructuring projects has historical roots far beyond the 1992 Olympics. In addition to international events, extravagant architecture and landscape design also contributed to this development.

Regardless of the location in Europe, major cities were making great efforts to have hosted major world events, which are seen as catalysts to improve the urban landscape; run programs and projects that will have a lasting impact on the city and further development. Olympic Games 1992 in Barcelona have just served as a catalyst for accelerating the urban, economic and social restructuring of the city in the period from 1986 to 1992. The strategic plan of the city (1988), foresaw the transformation to cosmopolitan, commercial and tourist centre, which is using avant-garde architectural and urban solutions deployed throughout the city which is aimed to improve the image of the city (Busquets, 1998). Finally in the early 2000s, Barcelona has entered the final round of large urban restructuring inventing events as engines for spatial interventions (Gospodini 2002).

3.3.2. Fragmented extensions

After the end of the Thirty Years' War and concerns about the division, foundations of new settlements and towns in Germany is becoming a favourite entertainment for princes, which is associated with the construction of the fortifications in the nineteenth century (Unwin, 1984: 57). The war and the victory in 1871 stimulated the greatest expansion of Berlin, so that tradition of planning and construction, was then already created, which were later were repeated twice, after World Wars. In spite of insistent calls for decentralization, the planning policy remained unchanged, and the few concerted plans for "Settlements", or planned but dispersed and fragmented suburbs, led to a series of Bankruptcies (Rykwert, 2000).

However, the idea of "Siedlungen" has survived the time and experienced the boom 50 years later. First appearing as Berlin Modernism Housing Estates (German: "Siedlungen" der Berliner Moderne) consisting of six sub-seized housing estates that testify innovative housing policies from 1910 to 1933, especially during the Weimar Republic[1]. Along with commercial and industrial expansion the corresponding growth of population is similarly being provided for, not left to the chances of speculation (Geddes 1915-2000: 196). "Siedlungen" are defined as housing units created in Germany, as a singular "condenser" built to combat the crisis and unemployment. They reflected the strength of Germany which lies not only in her armies and fleets, but in her cities and citizens; and having heard so much of her mailed fist, should have cause henceforward to remember her warm and friendly hand (Geddes 2000: 183). "Siedlungen" as a typical urbanization is defined through a series of operations that included the construction of supporting infrastructure, typological grouping and so on. The value of the idea of minimum housing units in the idea of community, or the idea of autonomy (Solà-Morales i Rubió, 2003: 94).

Like other major German and European cities, Frankfurt is also spread in space dispersively, creating urban region of different networks and decentralized cultural diversity associated with the natural landscape. This matrix is much later explained through the definition of "Zwischenstadt" (Sievvert 2003), but its first and fundamental was "Siedlungen". In Frankfurt, as elsewhere, the council of workers and soldiers had dominated in political scene after 1918 and when they finally won control of cities, their strategy was to retrieve social peace through the compactness between the capital and labour. Frankfurt has developed as a major financial centre but it also had to satisfy demands of workers for an active housing policy.

After the war and the economic crisis, a program of public construction of approx. 15.000 apartments in a short time (1925-1933) was initiated. The individual schemes, for all their fame then and subsequently were minuscule, and many of them were disposed unmemorable on small plots around the city; only a few, strung out along the valley of the river Nidda north-west of the city, represent the classic satellites, and ever these are surprisingly small: 1.441 dwellings at Praunheim, 1.220 at Romerstadt. What made them memorable was the disposition of the houses in long rows alongside the river, the placing of schools and Kindergaten on the lower land, and the use of the valley as a natural green belt in which are concentrated all kinds of uses: allotments, sports grounds, commercial garden plots, gardening schools for young people, even perhaps a fairground (Hall, 1996: 118).

The city had all requirements and it was only needed to May propose an innovative development plan. Thus "Siedlungen" in Frankfurt were mostly characterized by: the experience of Ernst May's program (1931-1932), master plans and housing policy, construction of workers' settlements as a growth strategy, prefabrication, types evolution, minimum costs, rational flats, great attention to rational organization of the apartment, the theoretical foundation of the modern movement, as well as the advantage of urbanism in relation to architecture (Solà-Morales Rubió, 2003: 94). May was strongly influenced by the garden city idea, which involved settlements, 20-30 km away from the city with a wide green belt in-between. As this was not possible, the construction of satellite towns, separated by only a narrow green belt or a park was a compromise.

This break-up with the tradition of Raymond Unwin and Great Britain in the 1920s is certainly worthy of respect because May's satellites were uncompromisingly designed in the spirit of modern architecture (Hall 1996: 117). The properties are outstanding examples of the building reform movement that contributed to improving housing and living conditions for people with low incomes through novel approaches to town planning. The estates also provide exceptional examples of new urban and architectural typologies, featuring fresh design solutions, as well as technical and aesthetic innovations. Bruno Taut, Martin Wagner and Walter Gropius were among the leading architects of these projects which exercised considerable influence on the development of housing around the world. The idea of progressive settlements of the new Frankfurt are today considered the most important examples of the architectural history of the Weimar period, including the Bauhaus in Dessau, "Siedlung" in Berlin and "Weissenhofsiedlung" in Stuttgart [1].

Frankfurt -am-Main created by the energetic city architect Ernest May (1886-1970) was the main reference for the presentation of the German ring at the Congress of CIAM 1 (La Sarris, Switzerland, 1928). CIAM 2 has taken place in Germany (Mumford 2000) beyond May's invitation, and the reference to 'new Frankfurt' which Le Corbusier strongly supported as a superior model. Except of the social housing Goldstein in Frankfurt (1930 by Ernst May), some of best and most successful examples are Housing in Gross-Britz, Siedlung in Berlin (1931), "Dammerstock siedlung" in Karlsruhe (1926), "Margareteggurtel-hof". in Vienna (1919-1926), "Karl Marx-hof." in Vienna (1920), etc.

Unfortunately, after the War, Frankfurt dealt brutally with its miniature masterpiece, But still is possible to feel and to imagine what it might be, what it was, and what it celebrates. However, it is almost completely gentrified today, with only 11% of workers for whom it was originally planned. After more than half a century, the green area is ripe forming a real garden how May imagined. However, what is missing is a spirit, which is most difficult to imagine. Unlike the original principles "Siedlungen" post-war German cities are mainly planned in proper orthogonal matrix, highly functional, precise but boring (Zite2011): "The rectangular block dominated so much that even the street names are considered superfluous, with simple letters indicate the last vestige of ancient tradition and nothing remains from when the imagination and fantasy were topics" (Morris, 1984).

[1] Available at: <<http://ernst-may-gesellschaft.de/home.html>> [Accessed, Nov. 27, 2014]

3.3.3. Duplications

The third alternative model comes from a historic family of towns which have been multiplied (doubled) by the construction of new parts of cities. "Mitosis" cities was especially pronounced in France and its colonies, as there

was a huge presence of the French planners in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and the Greater Syria. Post-war France (1945-1955) was faced with a lack of housing, blockage of renting and lack of planning. But under a series of political decisions, laws, plans and decrees appears the ideas of construction new neighbourhood units, when begins a new major urban development.

However, the way to doubling cities did not go smoothly because the transformation was originally based on overcoming the problem of poor equipment and the quality of construction, but not to solve the basic problem: the integration of the neighbourhood as part of the new city. Although the concentration of urban growth in certain zones was wrong, "las grandes ensembles" have had great importance for the growth of French cities (1960-1970) (Solà-Morales i Rubió, 2003). This was the period when mayor cities begin massive construction of their peripheries mainly following the model of "grands ensembles". During the 1950s a progressive global urban population growth began in the rural areas and, consequently, the emergence and reappearance new neighbourhoods of high density collective housing with a number of housing for rent. New urban areas also experienced a significant urbanization of large residential areas by integrating homes, infrastructures and equipment, which were able to operate as autonomous units in the city.

These projects, a kind of critical revisions of the CIAMs, were carried out by Team 10. They extolled the principles of association / attachment, identity, and flexibility, where collective spaces (courtyards, corridors, squares) were marked by ideals of community, participation and socialization. Among of many similar urbanizations, the French "grands ensembles" are the best known for the quality of their construction and sub-equipment. One of them is the urbanization "Toulouse le Mirail" by authors Candilis, Josic and Woods which was constructed in the period from 1962 to 1977. The project had started on January 31, 1962, when the first prize on the competition was awarded, but the construction of the city began in 1964.

"The birth of a new city" for 100.000 inhabitants and a new regional centre was created with the objective of opposing the great demographic concentration of Paris (Solano Rojo 2013). This idea was realised through development of the south-eastern periphery of the city of Toulouse, foreseeing the construction of a new satellite city, as a set of five sub - districts connected to each other, thus proposing an alternative to the rational model of the system of French "grands ensembles". The project of expansion had attention to create and also to reflect a new urban reality.

This huge urban extension meant construction of the new and modern residential core, which would be complementary to historic city, and reinterpretation of its lessons. The construction of the "new city" was posed through an analysis of the place and a review of the concepts learned from tradition. For this reason, a form of collective dwellings and the whole complex arose from what the place itself required. Their main idea was to create a complex urban reality by integrating residential, public, commercial and industrial areas. The new structure is thus defined by following architectural strategy of the cluster, a system where buildings tend towards more flexible and organic forms, which are mainly materialized through large residential blocks, and with high density (Kostof, 1991).

On the other hand, Toulouse le Mirail is the attempt to build a city with "soul", structured according to main axis (a pedestrian avenue) that runs from south to north and east to west, generating a permanent urban infrastructure, which is open to change and which is perceived as the "new organism" of the city. The thing because this project is different from others is systematic application through the structure. The development of the structure is delimited by residential blocks of high density which are characterized by modular construction, the geometric criteria and "rule of the hexagon" (Solano Rojo and Valero Ramos 2012). By creating gaps between collective housing and open (inner) public spaces which act as open and dynamic "courtyards" of the new peripheral city, there is achieved a strong relation towards the landscape and certain attachment to the place has achieved.

Through this backbone, the architects proposed total separation of the pedestrian from the vehicular circulation, giving an importance to the street as the main value of historic city. This way the act of constructing a new city was the opportunity to think and to propose new and different spatial situations. Dealing with changes, authors

were able to propose rich diversity of spaces: large, medium, small, active, passive, natural, regulated or spontaneous; but always searching for harmony with volumes constructed and adaptation to the human scale.

With the passage of the time, the initial spirit of the project was degraded, and the synergistic work between architecture and urbanism has given rise to a centre where mobility, public buildings, housing and gardens form a unit, a space built for a man (Candilis, Josic, Woods, 1976). But still, this is one of the most emblematic projects of Team 10, which took their ideas to the maximum results. Even though entire residential complex was not completed, both the starting project and the built units are defining the search for urban context proposed by Team 10.

This was also the project that was a great opportunity for the architects to materialize many of their ideas. Finally, it is nowadays considered as a reference of the theoretical line of Team 10, and one of the icons of architectural heritage of the twentieth century in Europe. In addition, the project is a relevant case study to be able to face the urban regeneration that are being developed in social housing in France; and in particular the inseparable association of the process of transformation of the original project, considering social reality of the neighbourhood.

3.4. Perceptions of new towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The review of the "new city" phenomena continues through the historic section of the urban development in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina and a "common space" of South Slavic countries.

Continuity of constant changes and wealth of different layers, which are constantly accumulating, are defined through the permanence of urban accumulations, which are identified as intensive places (Karan 2015). To understand the space (urban palimpsest) as such, there is initially necessary to explain the individual layers, and to analyze the function of common relations and modern interpretation. The intensity of changes is specifically analyzed in function of "a new", function of migrations and changes in social structures. This will be seen later, as the most influence of the new perception. Identification of changes in the context of accumulation, undoubtedly influenced diversity richness of urban and cultural layers, but also to their pulverizing, explained by the concept of *Balkanization* (Todorova, 2013. Karan, 2015).

Historical reversals- periods in the development of the city, which is in the perception of the population, observers or guests, and even realistically perceived as new, represented a completely new contours that have contributed to a new, different experience of the city, which is still grew larger, more modern, different, changed (Sassen 1994). Thus the process of development of the city is never-ending process. The city as a permanent facility has temporary extensions and certain segmented projections into the future, but not a complete picture which tries to reach, which in fact never achieve. But before the image, the city is made up of a myriad of unconnected processes that are advancing with various concessions and dynamics (Thrift, 2005). Cities are the property of all periods of time, and many of them stretch for centuries (ibid.).

The intensity of the experience of the "new city" in Bosnia and Herzegovina is analyzed on the morphogenesis of urban development of the city of Banja Luka. However, due to the incompleteness of documentation of individual sites, this review shows wider territory of a "common space". The Analysis includes Sarajevo, Zagreb and Belgrade to make a triangular network of "new" cities that have had the greatest impact on the development of Banja Luka.

South Slavic countries represent a unique territory in Europe. It keeps the evidence material of civilizations of the Mediterranean, East and West, the Ottoman Empire which won the West, the Habsburg who then won the East, authentic heritage of Slavic countries and where are the four religions have left valuable monuments. Hellenic, Roman, Byzantine civilization, medieval Slavic countries, two empires, the Ottoman and Hapsburg and three religions, Orthodox, Catholic and Muslim, as well as heritage that has followed them, are interwoven in a small space like nowhere else in the world (Krstić, 2010), but therefore it is an indicator of millennial history, based on which can be interpreted the characteristics, causes and consequences of the changes that have shaped the history of South Slavic territories.. On a small and unstable regions of Europe where the several invaders sacked, several

civilizations, and which contains three religions, there is preserved a layered architectural heritage, valuable achievements and rich diversity (ibid: 19).

Having on mind often interweaving of all these influences, the complexity of relations and fragmentation of sensitive, always marginal and peripheral space, the genesis of "common space" urban development is not uniform, and, at distances of a few hundred kilometers, it has differences for centuries and civilizations. Given the difficulty of precise determination or allocation periods, they are presented to the general level of the whole "common space", and then as a function of "New Town" experience, more precisely determined in some specific cases. In addition to the general settings of most important periods, specified by the urban development and always a new "new town" experience, each specific space has its own specific periods of development. Due to the difference of subjects, time and context of research, the authors do not have a unique attitude or consensus on a clear division of historical periods of the urban development of Banja Luka.

During the 20th century, Banja Luka, a city in north-west Bosnia and Herzegovina, was an integral part of various socio-political and territorial entities. Its political and cultural role in regional networks of cities are often changed, as well as its economic power. After section through the centuries Ravlić (1979) specifically refers only to the period after the World War II through periods. Mandić (2013) observes anthropological and historical-geographical component of development and highlights eight periods. Sevo (1996) defines three pre-Ottoman periods and the other four concluding with Vrbas Banate. The process of morphogenesis of Banja Luka, according to the type of planned development, Simonović (2010) separates into three periods with several sub-periods, defining a total of nine. Due to the characteristics of urban form, Milojević (2010) distinguishes seven morphological stages of development of BiH cities. The urban development of Banja Luka, Savić (2014) divides the dominant various administrations separating five periods. Finally Novaković (2014) Today's Banja Luka is defined as the capital of the Republic of Serbian, one of two state entities.

She concludes that previous research on Banja Luka urban structure in the 20th century, dealing with the transformation of its urban form in different scales and explain the formation and change as a direct result of socio-historical and cultural factors. *The urban structure and architecture are often seen as a reflection of the social system and general cultural identity of the community, and built structure is generally described within the narrative of a homogenous social organization with a fixed cultural values of the 20th century period* (Novaković, 2014: 148). Artistic Autonomy of an architect and his work does not appear as a subject of research. This says about a collective psychology and a negligible role of the individual in the community, or a society to him. The speed of change, constant discontinuity still have not left time for thinking city outside the global phenomenon, large scale and focusing on "small" themes.

However, the frequency of almost regular rhythm and the number of these periods, which are approaching the twentieth century and later periods even more intensify, bear witness to the history of space, high levels of urban reservoirs and permanence. Mostly radical shifts social systems and cultural patterns (Novaković 2014) did not allow for evolution, spontaneous, natural character of the changes, nor its continuity. This space is already almost two centuries constantly exposed to complete structural changes, accustomed to newspapers and constantly adding new layers.

Regardless of the different impacts only the mentality has not changed through the centuries has remained the same. Mentality is assumed familiarity with the changes and the expectation that the changes bring someone else to the side at regular intervals from 25 to 50 years. The aim of this review that continues the contemporary "new" city is establishing a historical nor the formation of new layers and experience the "new city" which repeatedly appeared. Adopted review period development relies on the time interval caused by "newspaper" that each of the cities in the network have experienced in their own way.

(1) The first city (period of the first settlements - medieval city until 1463, 1528.);

(2) balkan-oriental city (otoman period 1463-1878)- 415 years;

(3) european city

(3.1) austro-hungarian city (1878- 1918)- 40 years;

(3.2) banovina city (period between two world wars, 1918-1943)- 25 years;

(4) period of Yugoslavia - modernist city (1943-1992)- 49 years;

(5.1) (the city before the earthquake, 1943-1969)- 26 years;

(5.2) (the city after the earthquake, 1969-1992)- 23 years; and

(6) "new city" (transitional period of Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1992-2017)>25 years...

3.4.1. First towns

This space is inhabited for six millennia, and it is believed that the first urban settlements were established in the Iron Age. The house and the village does not begin in a developed form, but they have their primitive ancestors, primarily in search of natural shelter, which eventually transformed into a *roof over head*, then the house and habitat and finally to the settlement (Krstić, 2010: 71). However, the centuries-long processes of adjustment and growth are virtually wiped out traces of pre-Turkish structure of urban agglomerations (Redžić, 2009). In addition to modest urban heritage (of cities) from Roman and Byzantium period and the invasion of the Tatars and Turks, weak development of the economy and medieval social sistem were not suitable for the formation of bigger cities (Krstić 2010, Bakaršić, Undated). *it looks like the process of formation cities is completely bypassed Bosnia, as well as the foundation of the economy, society and culture* (Krstić: 109). We can not find any Bosnian city until the mid-fourteenth century. Due to the absence of towns, inhabitants could not even be familiar with the state, as history testifies it. Vital population, the economic strength of the country, nor the culture of the people could not be created. *The peoples that did not build towns and did not begin to create urban population Middle Ages were residual in historical development* (ibid: 116).

Building process of towns in the Middle Ages, has a dominant feature of "re-urbanization" (Krstić 2010), , but in the relatively small "common space" has acquired a wealth of diversity, unknown in any other European area. Forts and certain suburbs are the oldest documented settlement in medieval Bosnia. The foundation of new cities is noticeable in mid-fourteenth century, so the medieval Bosnian state had developed a system of cities. This was mainly cities type-defense fortifications in which the seat of kings. Such were the Bobovac, Jajce, Kozograd, Blagaj (Musa 2005 Bakaršić, undated). Cities are related to administrative centers or major mines, in which there is mostly radio-concetrtd system of urban planning, in conjunction with contour lines and network communication (Krstic 2010, Ink 1959 Bakaršić, undated). Due to the direct connection with the place at which they arise, Krstic (2010: 119) says that those types are only conditional, because each has a different "place" of birth and each has unique history. It was not until the late Middle Ages began the process of intensive development of urban settlements, which marked the development of the urban phenomenon of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Banja Luka

Studies of the National Museum in Sarajevo 1971-972 testify the continuity of the habitat in Banja Luka which date back to the very distant past. On the remains of a Roman fort were also found the remains of an early Slavic hillfort settlement (from IX to XII century), and then from the late Middle Ages (Čremočnik, 1973: 193-195). According to this, the formation of Banja Luka[1] is related with two historical cores - Kastel fortress (Lower Seher) and Upper Seher. In addition to the two existing core, in the south of the city, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, appears a new residential area Novoselija, which stands on both sides of Vrbas river (Mandic, 2013). This kind of absence of the need for bonding, grouping and centrality, confirms geographical and urban discontinuity of the city of Banja Luka, which even today forms the part of spatial identity of the city on the Vrbas. In addition to these three points, there are also mentioned some other findings from earlier periods in the wider area leaving the Vrbas River from the canyon and flowing into a wide Banja Luka field, so the initial core of the city is very difficult to determine.

3.4.2. Balkan - orient city

The period, which lasted from 1527 to 1878, represents the longest continuity of a civilization, social and cultural organization in the region. After two centuries of devastation, continuous warfare and ruthless exploitation of various rulers who are constantly changing, Ottoman conquerors brought peace after the first wave of conquest (Stavrijanos 2005). A bit more than 400 years of Turkish rule for many Balkan peasants was more boon than accident.

By forming their own culture, the Ottoman Empire has unified the value of the Byzantine, Persian and Arab civilization (Cvijic 1967), and such has left a great impact on the culture and tradition of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is also expressed in relation to the city, the way of its formation and life. Bosnia and Herzegovina was a peripheral part of the Ottoman Empire as the military and civilian background front on the way to Vienna, winning Adriatic coast and later in defending the empire (Krstić, 2010). Since the peripheral character was one of the most important of the general situation in the Empire (Inaldžik, 1974), the influences from Istanbul and dependence of the province in relation to the central government were weaker. The border situation has determined the organization of the settlements to give a good military defense, and cities were dependent, what is slightly altered by the preservation of certain characteristics of the autonomous urban communities (Krstic, 2010).

Although Turkish influences are often overestimated (Mastilo 1959) and modified by folk dinar spirit, the core values were based on the principles of Islam, which combine the spiritual (saint) with the profane (Inaldžik, 1974). The development was dictated by the central government (Bakaršić, Undated) where special importance had waqf institutions, ie. Very widespread custom legacy asset in educational, charitable, religious and other purposes. Testator was rising various objects and was leaving certain sums of money for their maintenance. Although the waqf was a religious institution, the motives that were guided by individual testator did not always have a religious character. They were often concerned by deeper economic or military purposes. Vakufs played a progressive role contributing to the development of material culture (Mastilo, 1959), but an important factor of momentum was also Islamization. In the first half of the 17th century, more than two-thirds of Bosnia's population was Muslim (Bakaršić, Undated).

Inherited rules

In fundamentally changed circumstances political, economic, cultural and civilizational structure of the Turkish period comes to an accelerated foundation of new and development of the existing urban cores so that their number has tripled. The most of new cities were created in Bosnia and Herzegovina compared with other republics of the former Yugoslavia during this period (Krstić 2010). Construction was mainly based on the adaptation and expansion of existing or establishment of new out of the old city walls (Redzic, 2009). The basic rule and the main unit of the architectural order was the division of the land, as the basis for foundation cities.

Everything was created and developed spontaneously without a plan (Kojic 1970), external interventions or internal obligations that would set the standard, determined relations or dictated the rules (Krstic 2010: 130). Thus the Balkan-Oriental city is characterized by disordered form, irregularity of the street network and scattered houses. Although there is no meaningful design related (composed whole, squares, rows, parks) (Kojic 1970), there still existed not written rules, which over time have become commonplace (Krstic 2010). This confirms that such urban structure as well as relations and construction rules express the social structure of the city (ibid.). Thus the connection between oriental color and local traditions, gives very special physiognomy to some of our areas (Mastilo 1959).

Given that the foreign element was minimal and that was wasted by the time (Filipovic 1928) there were gradually created local styles that included local geographic and cultural characteristics in the cities of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The result of this adjustment process was creation of Oriental-Balkan style, within which to was developed a Bosnian-Herzegovinian style (Pasic 1991). The informal cities and residential areas with the rural character have emerged in relation to the logic and principles derived from religion, the man's scale and the natural environment. Two basic types of cities are a small city or "kasaba" as the most spacious urban settlement and big city or šehar as the highest form of kasaba which were only the largest and most beautiful

cities - Banja Luka, Mostar, Sarajevo (Mastilo, 1959). Cities are developed in an open unlimited space so the green space was equally valued and built as the basis of the urban fabric, which made a big difference between "closed" and "open" city of the East (Krstic 2010: 130). Besides the highlighted links with the natural environment, the structure of the city is characterized by a division into two main parts - economic and living area (bazaar and waving). On a strategic hill near the village, fortresses were constructed.

Čaršija and mahalla

As the heart of the city and the center of crafts, trade and transport čaršija is generally located on the flat ground steeped in green as the lungs of the city, near the river as the soul of the city, and the cross of main roads, which are the backbone of the city (Grabrijan and Neidhart 1957: 10). The urban structure, spiritual and secular life have evolved around 'religious complex' as the nucleus of the new city, which included a mosque with madrasa, lodging, imaret, several stores, etc. (Pasic, 1991).

Mahallas are the residential zone of the city, located right next to the bazaar, on the slopes of nearby mountains, outside the most important communication, bordered by gardens, yards and orchards. The interior of the structure is imbued with single-family houses with green gardens. Irregular matrix defines organic grid of narrow, winding alleys, which are fenced by high walls around the house. Urban structure is relatively under constructed, low density populated and as such fragmented and porous. Depending on location, in mahalla or čaršija, the facilities are built in rows or as free-standing buildings, but always oriented toward green space. Mainly two-floors houses are built for a large family (Novakovic, 2014: 150). The basic principle of the positioning of housing is depends to the morphology of the terrain, neighboring buildings and the group of houses as the whole (Neidhart 1957). This form of co-existence in the neighborhood, which is materialized in the form of mahalla, Finci (1962) considers as a kind of coexistence with nature in relation to a number of basic principles which imply the right to view, sunshine, ventilation and finally consumption for every individual house.

The characteristic of the life in mahalla reveals specific mentality and habits of the population, which is present even today. *The word mahalla is still synonymous for a good relation towards an ordinary life of the neighborhood, which is enabled by compact set of houses, bay windows and windows, which provided insights into events in public space winding streets and led to conclusions about the private lives of neighbors (Novaković, 2014).* Certain patterns of neighborhood life in which territorial and spatial-physical boundaries overlap between private (courtyard) and public (street) domain (ibid.), survived the centuries, and still form a part of everyday life. The structure of mahalla has also survived, through the evolution (in all new cities) but in slightly different form, mainly at the expense of traditional values.

Banja Luka

Banja Luka is located in the north-west part of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the geographical region - Krajina. It is placed at the point where the river Vrbas leaves the hilly hinterland and flows to Lijevče field and further to Posavina field near the Sava river. The first written traces about Banja Luka are dated in 1528. Soon after, with a shift of military operations to the West, it becomes an ideal strategic center; takes over the seat of the Bosnian Sanjak 1553, and then became the seat of beglerbeg, commander of the Western Sanjak of the Ottoman Empire. Most valuable heritage of the city owes Ferhad Pasha Sokolovic (Bosnian sandžakbeg from 1573, and beylerbey from 1580 to 1588), who founded the complex of Kastel fortress. His waqf is also owner belonging to the famous Ferhadija mosque (1579), the Turkish bath, caravanserai, bezistan, two bridges; later raised Defterdar Mosque (1595) and developed the bazaar. According to Evliya Çelebi there were 3700 houses, with gardens through which the water flowed, in the city at that time. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the city experienced the biggest rise; 36 mahallas and a large number of buildings were built until then.

The configuration of housing construction in this period, which is the characteristic of the city of Banja Luka, is a reflection of the culture by which the housing is treated as the space of free time (leisure). On the other hand is conditioned by topographic features and available materials (Finci, 1962). The typical position of a house on the plot is right next to the street, which sets the wall of the building in the function of plot's boundary and does not allow visual contact between the street and courtyards. The rest part of the plot is organized in a larger intimate

courtyard, with lush vegetation. This resulted in a low density which is approx. 60-80 people per hectare (Finci, 1962). Groups of houses were lined the river Vrbas and the main axis of spatial expansion of the city - Craski drum (the Imperior's road) (Novaković: 149).

The most characteristic example of oriental-Balkan city was Sarajevo (Krstić 2010: 126), the largest Ottoman city in this area together with Skopje (at the end of the sixteenth century had 91 Islamic Mahalla, two Christian, Dubrovnik colony and congregation of Jews with approx. 50 000 inhabitants). It emerged at the crossroads, in the picturesque amphitheater of the river Miljacka. Thanks to its geographical position at the center of Bosnia it became the seat of Sandžak in 1463, so it is characterized by monumental buildings of Husrev Bey, Sanjak bey Bosnia (1529-1541). Complete typology of typical buildings of a broader Balkan oriental city had been developed in Sarajevo. These are mosques (Husrefbeg mosque and a number of other, Emperor, Ferhad-Bey, Ali Pasha), madrassas, bezistan, han, clock tower, a hammam, a library, a caravanserai, around which develops Baš-čaršija, laced with a dense network of alleys with shops (1,080 stores in the seventeenth century) divided by crafts. There was built Orthodox church (1539) and the Jewish Temple. The entrance to the city is characterized by a fortress with walls and three towers-gates. On the slopes that descend towards the river were built mahallas that follow the terrain configuration and flows of many streams whose water piping in the gardens.

3.4.3. European town

3.4.4.1. Austro-Hungarian town

The new century in Bosnia and Herzegovina begun with the occupation by Habsburg monarchy in 1878 year. Austro-Hungarian rule was characterized by transition, visible in all segments of society, especially in the transition from feudal and theocratic, in the secular country. It also brings changes in demographic trends, members of all religions and nationalities lived intermingled throughout the territory of the province, so that mosaic of peoples was expressed more than ever (Hadžibegović 1991). Accordingly, for the first time in the history middle class society was developed (Krstić 2010), which was not national (Hadžibegović 1991), but without distinction of spatial and social mobility (Stojanović 1997). However Bosnia was the periphery again, with just one difference in relation to the previous situation - it was on the other side of the border.

Ivo Andrić describes arrival of Austria-Hungary in Višegrad[2]

But on the other hand the outward aspect of the town altered visibly and rapidly. Those same people, who in their own homes maintained the old order in every detail and did not even dream of changing anything, became for the most part easily reconciled to the changes in the town and after a longer or shorter period of wonder and grumbling accepted them. (...) Naturally here, as always and everywhere in similar circumstances, the new life meant in actual fact a mingling of the old and the new. Old ideas and old values clashed with the new ones, merged with them or existed side by side, as if waiting to see which would outlive which.

By a natural law the people resisted every innovation but did not go to extremes, for to most of them life was always more important and more urgent than the forms by which they lived. Only in exceptional individuals was there played out a deeper, truer drama of the struggle between the old and the new. For them the forms of life were indivisibly and unconditionally linked with life itself.

Indeed the town changed rapidly in appearance, for the newcomers cut down trees, planted new ones in other places, repaired the streets, cut new ones, dug drainage canals, built public buildings. In the first few years they pulled down in the market-place those old and dilapidated shops which were out of line and which, to tell the truth, had up till then inconvenienced no one. In place of those old-fashioned shops with their wooden drop-counters, new ones were built, well sited, with tiled roofs and metal rollers on the doors...

The market-place was leveled and widened. A new konak was erected, a great building intended to house the law courts and the local administration. The army, too, was working on its own account, even more rapidly and inconsiderately than the civil authorities. They put up barracks, cleared waste land, planted and changed the appearance of whole hills.

The older inhabitants could not understand, and wondered; just when they thought that all this incomprehensible energy had come to an end, the newcomers started some fresh and even more incomprehensible task. The townsmen stopped and looked at all this work, but not like children who love to watch the work of adults but as adults who stop for a moment to watch children's games. This continual need of the newcomers to build and rebuild, to dig and to put back again, to put and modify, this eternal desire of theirs to foresee the action of natural forces, to avoid or surmount them, no one either understood or appreciated. On the other hand all the townsmen,

especially the older men, saw this unhealthy activity as a bad omen. Had it been left to them the town would have gone on looking as any other little oriental town. What burst would be patched up, what leaned would be shored up, but beyond that no one would needlessly create work or make plans or interfere in the foundations of buildings or change the aspect which God had given to the town.

The bridge now remained completely isolated.

Ivo Andrić, *The Bridge on the Drina*, 1945.

The inclusion of Bosnia and Herzegovina in organized Austro-Hungarian monarchy was important milestone in the development. It is characterized by introduction of new administrative and political institutions, stationing densely deployed military units, and the most powerful momentum of the economy. It was expressed through modern economic activities, infrastructure construction, railway and road network. Industrial development has intensified urban development of old cities and the emergence of new centers with coal mines (Breza, Kakanj, Ugljevik, Kreka), near wood processing plants and other industries (Zavidovići, Drvar, Teslić, Lukavac, Simin han), and along main traffic junctions where multifunctional center were developing (Ostrožac, Jablanica, Čapljina, Kalinovik, Trnovo, Han Pijesak, Bosansko Grahovo, Široki Brijeg, Posušje) (Bakaršić, Undated).

After centuries of sameness continuity, Monarchy brings changes with the plan to introduce European civilization by construction of European cities. Population and urban centers, as well as their size, have continuously grown, the village grew into towns, and towns got more urban character, uz stalni razvoj infrastrukture i privrede. The most important points of development were again strategic and military ones, so that, administrative and military institutions, as well as necessary industrial facilities intended for local use have made characteristic of the urban physiognomy. Novakovic (2014) points out that this was the period of the advent of modernity, and Savic (2014) says that Austro-Hungarian period was characterized by the simultaneous experience of living in two worlds. 'Old customs lived near the of new statutes', which was reflected in the architecture and urban planning (Grabrijan i Neidhart, 1957: 72).

Unlike of building new towns, on the sites of destructions or new urbanizations, occupied towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina were integrated in the Empire. Two complementary methods were applied: reconstruction and "regulation" and "interpolation" in existing structure, without touching čaršija, mahalla and their inhabitants (Krstić: 150). On the other hand, Neidhart (1957) points out that Austro-Hungary was not able for 'hearing and understanding' for what there was found. 'Instead of a new town built next to the old, it has built new in the old, causing an urban tragedy' (ibid. 12). New urban entities were only put next to the old ones without integration into the whole (Pašić, 1991).

The lack of consensus on Austro-Hungarian influence in Bosnia and Herzegovina leads to conclusion that the modernization was only partial. However it must be recognized that the Austro-Hungarian period of only 40 years of the life left a huge and significant mark on development of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Tendencies of this process of urban development were set up also in the interwar period, but according to the slow pace of economic trends of neglected Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bakaršić, Undated).

Banja Luka

The arrival of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in 1878 and the first Austrian plan had marked the beginning of planned process of development (Simonović 2010), planned urban transformation and housing construction (Novaković 2014). New important components of the city in Austro-Hungarian period were new "invented traditions" - construction order, architectural program and styles (Savić 2014: 23). Banja Luka became an economic and cultural center of the Bosnian Krajina. There were constructed buildings of Heads of a county, magistrate, court, gymnasium, hospital, post office, power plant and waterworks, tobacco factory, hotel, press factory, and many residential buildings (Krstić: 150). Orthodox and Catholic Church were built, so the is the seat of the Catholic Diocese and Orthodox metropolitan center. Oriental character of the everyday culture, the urban structure and architecture has been replaced by European pattern (Novaković: 2014), but without penetrating into existing structure (Savić, 2014: 22). Banja Luka has 9.560 inhabitants in 1879 year and 14.800 in 1910.

The most important changes were construction of Carski drum (Imperator's road- which is still the main street), 17 kilometers of trees and numerous new facilities by Drum, which were built by engineers for the first time in history (Savić 2014). This street is the backbone of city life, the entrance and exit of the city. The rail traffic is operated and was built a number of infrastructure facilities. Banja Luka is perceived as a unique city, with the backbone of the Vrbas River and the main longitudinal road, with complex, multi-layered heritage. Yet on the other hand, a new visual order was established, because the city is characterized by dual structure, as part of the colonial practices: European city is formed separately, while the broader Balkan Oriental city has left to the local population.

3.4.4.2. Banovina town

After the end of WW I, Bosnia and Herzegovina became part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (then Kingdom of Yugoslavia) that existed until the beginning of World War II. Bosnian and Herzegovinean area in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia prior to the Second World War was administratively divided into four banates (banovina) which are not based on ethnicity or nationality. Sarajevo was the centre of Drinska banovina which included a large area of Serbia, while some parts of Herzegovina were included into Primorska banovina with its centre based in Split (Croatia) and Zetska banovina which seat was in Cetinje (Monte Negro) (Straus, 1998).

A similar but slower way of development, as well as urban transformations, which began with the arrival of Austro-Hungarians continues between the World Wars (1918-1941). Urban interventions are usually boiled down to a single architectures under the influence of the Bauhaus (Redzic 2009). The group of local architects, such as Neidhardt, Grabrijan, Dobrovic, Baylon, etc., who were educated in Central Europe together with leading architects as Loos and Le Corbusier, bring the latest trends in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

At the turn of the centuries Bosnian cities have marked by conflict between tradition and modernization, which try to balance (Karan 2015). However, except in industrial and military centers, there is no significant change for image of the cities in this period (Hadžibegović 1991). Until begining of World War II, modernizations were mainly focused on urban centers, where continued to maintain existing traditional relations and where the processes set to begin in the nineteenth century, while most of the country was still rural.

Due to the development of infrastructure, cities have become more open and migration more frequent, especially those from the Austro-Hungarian countries. Throughout the whole Austro-Hungarian period as well as the period between the two world wars, the tissue of the old cities were slowly changing in a way of retaining historical characteristics (Redzic 2009). At the same time, next to them entirely new cities were created, which were 'glued' together with the existing, and which are the urban centers of today's cities (Pasic 1991). There were made numerous interpolations in city centers, new avenues and settlements have introduced progressive standards and housing practices, creating new cultural layers in the built environment (Steiner u Mrduljaš i Kulić, 2012).

Banja Luka

During the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, and then during the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, a greater part of the north-west part of Bosnia made up Vrbaska banovina with its centre in Banja Luka (Straus, 1998). The beginning of this period, Savic (2014) defined as the point of the "crisis of memory" which according to Boyer (2001) means a period of radical break with tradition, which is only partially true. For the purpose of distancing themselves from the legacy of the occupying empires, there was engaged "desirable" past (ibid. 23). At the same time there existed tactics of operational use of inherited and past, but also destruction of the physical framework of previous patterns. Administration took care to create own identity, and symbolic deviation from the Ottoman and the Austro-Hungarian heritage (Savic 2013).

The city then passed through the most intense phase of cultural progress and development of the monumental city center in the spirit of European culture. This period was known for construction-minded Ban Svetislav Milosavljevic [3]. He took a new large-scale construction of representative public buildings (Vidakovic, 2006,

2011), changing the image of the city (Savić, 2014). The possibility to find an architectural expression that differed from the achievements made by the party was also in the application of modern as well as of vernacular, but this process remained incomplete, characterized by the paradigm of eclecticism and early modernism (Novaković 2014).

(...) the first ban, Svetislav Milosavljevic, wrote that in Banja Luka ruled stalemate that is more reminiscent of palanke in the hills than of the city with twenty thousand inhabitants. In the middle of the city there was a cemetery, and the mud up was all around up to the ankles. The image was changed very soon.

Savić, 2014.

Old Banja Luka were overnight transformed into a new Banovina Center (Savic 2014). The transformation of the is done "from above", and the key players were architects from other places, especially Croatian as bearers of modernism from the thirties of the twentieth century. However, the largest and most representative new buildings of Banja Luka were realized by architects who have studied the "national spirit" of architecture (ibid.). The principle of city's division in closed homogeneous communities of mahalla and čaršija has been supplemented by a new spatial type. Housing and other urban activities have been mixed along the streets modeled on Western European model, but in the smaller scale (Savić, 2014) on the periphery of the empire (Novaković: 151).

Due to the lower cost of living compared to other cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Banja Luka had a greater influx of 'active', which led to the largest percentage of construction (compared to other cities - including Sarajevo) and to the expansion of the territory, but at the same time an increase in municipal problems and declining levels of domestic culture (Finci 1967: 8). Immigration was particularly expressed during the period from 1931 to 1941.

This period is characterized by the simultaneous presence of several housing cultures whose spatial patterns were clearly separated or mixed: the legacy of oriental type of the neighborhood, the city with free-standing houses, dense rows of high-rise buildings from the Austro-Hungarian period and several collective houses of early modern conception (Novakovic 2014). The dominant spatial pattern of residential culture was free-standing house for a family, drawn back to the interior of the plot, which introduces the topic of frontyard and private territories exposed to views from the street (ibid.). The pattern, which has emerged as a characteristic of Oriental-Balkan city becomes formal during the Austro-Hungarian administration and the beginning of the regulatory planning (Simonovic, 2015). It was used for public facilities and is rooted until nowadays (Novakovic 2014). The concept of block construction, and arrays of multi story buildings have not taken hold as in Sarajevo, so it is present only in a short central stretch as an exception.

Banjaluka is predominantly small town, which was 'developing on the periphery of the empire, in a climate that is aside from the major European development trends, and whose initial "non-Western" urban structure was characterized by a way of life that at the same time was to be modern, but also resisted transformation' (Savić 2014). Relations to the past were starting point of modernization and preservation. The use of many layers of built structures from previous eras often stemmed from rational reasons and economic logic. Given these characteristics, it is estimated that the most progressive period of Banja Luka urban development. Thanks to the growth of urban and social structure, a specific geographical location and other circumstances, Banja Luka received the contours of a small European town. Since then it has developed in this direction, and even today is considered the most European, atypical Bosnian town.

European city of South Slavic countries is best illustrated by the city of Zagreb, which firstly was formed by two cities - Kaptol and Gradec in Middle Ages. Later in the New Century, gets a new, lower city, which was placed a bit southern. Thus urban history of Zagreb shows a unique transformation, from the Episcopal city, the city of civic stock to the regulated European city. Each of these cities is kept original features and 1850 have been merged into a single urban entity (Krstic 2010). However Zagreb got the valuable role in the second half of the nineteenth century when the Habsburgs had become absorbed to solve the state-political and cultural issues of the South Slavs, for which Zagreb was just perfect polygon for experiment (Blau & Rupnik, 2007).

New cities testify two waves of destruction, conquest and construction, which during several centuries, shaped urban and social development (Krstic: 152). This robbed them the time and conditions for renaissance and baroque development, so the life of medieval towns was replaced by oriental - Balkan city, which after four centuries was replaced by European one, which achieve cohabitation with inherited (ibid.). Although both empires - Ottoman and Hapsburg - have left a significant legacy, these are the characteristics of their provinces. Architectural and urban expression is not stemmed from the continuity but imported from the side (Krstic. 153). In addition to own capitals, the Balkans had three great 'outside' capitals: Istanbul, Vienna and Paris (Pavlovic 2004). Although it belonged to the cradles of European civilization as a "first and last Europe" (Stojanović 1997), the Balkans were the only European colonial area for centuries (Krstic 2010). Although the Slavs jointly inhabited this territory, their inheritance belonged to different civilizations (Krstic 2010) until the appearance of Yugoslavia. Therefore there is a particular need of integrated interpretation of this phenomenon, which is still poorly researched.

3.4.4. Socialist town

According to Tanpinar (2012), it is common that the course of history "transform the town every three or four hundred years", but a metamorphosis in the 20th century really accelerate. By the decision taken in the second session of AVNOJ (Antifascist Council of Peoples' Liberation of Yugoslavia), in Jajce, in November 1943, the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina was restored within its historic borders, that time as one of the six federal units - the Peoples' Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, inside the borders of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia, that is, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Social context is radically changed, and a newly established socialist state had big ambitions. Socialist planning, based on economic and political co-operative, with modifications in various aspects, has been showing unitary and liberal tendencies, which remain present during 45 years (Kulic: 5). At the heart of Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina was her most inaccessible, the most rural, least developed and most heterogeneous republic.

Understanding of the Yugoslav context is based on reading two positions 'in-between': one related to the global and the other to the inner contrasts that fundamentally marked the modern history of the region. Such a complex historical frame resists to simple classification and getting complicate boundaries of established categories of modernism (Thaler, Mrduljaš & Kulić 2012). During the period of less than half of century, within specific social project of self-governing socialism there has been developed heterogeneous and authentic culture. The history of the region is crucially marked by interruptions, attempts at establishing continuity, and the repeated revisions of the concepts of modernisation (Steiner u Mrduljaš i Kulić, 2012).

Given that two former Yugoslavias (Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, from 1918 to 1929 and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, 1929-1941) were not defined formal role of cities in social development, the socialist Yugoslavia brought radical change. State government has adopted modern civil engineering as the part of urban ideology and consolidate the construction industry with the construction of cities. It has been accepted that expansion and renovation of the cities growth into a large arrangement of the territory, which allowed the planning and efficient resolution of two key issues: the mass construction of housing and traffic infrastructure (Krstic 2010). The first phase of socialist urban planning is conditioned by ideological and pragmatic goals so that was marked by the simultaneity of utopian and instrumental objectives. The process of urbanization, connecting the two extremes: quick and rational construction, on the one hand, and achieving far-reaching goal of gradual approximation to the ideal of social utopia and its proper environment on the other hand (Mrduljaš i Kulić, 2012).

The transformation from rural to urban and industrial society, as well as strengthening the urban proletariat were considered prerequisites of building socialism (Kulic 2009). The post-war idea of a better life for all members of society is a key principle for consideration and implementation of modern city concepts. Modernity of everyday practice and the space was met variety of contexts, against which was not able to be implemented (Djilas, 2015: 20). The humanistic basic idea of modern city of divided and separated functions has resulted in

cell structure of the city. This meant that every function and every member of society have the own special and precise location. The urban tissue city was divided into zones including residential areas, work, leisure and traffic (ibid: 21).

Specific geo-political and ideological context, which Yugoslavia was aware, influenced on forming a specific type of 'new socialist culture' (Kulić, 2009: 7), in which have been developed architecture and urban planning, combining communist ideology and western aesthetic and technological models. According to this, the Yugoslav cultural space is heterogeneous (Đilas 2015: 6). It was implied that otherness enriches the plurality of cultural space and practice as any form of reality, which is reduced to the sum of individual everyday life culture (ibid. 5). Mainstream lifestyle implied, socialist way of thinking, use of common goods, and the repercussions of such an organized life is a distinctive, unique and rich Yugoslav cultural space (ibid. 18). A collective being grew as a sum of individuals who build their existence in relation to duty towards society, the needs and interests of the collective.

The European cultural upheavals in Yugoslavia were on the sidelines, but this effect can be seen, especially in larger centers, by adoption of or delayed eclectic urban model (Sica 1981: 645). Therefore, Yugoslavia has the meaning 'of modernism of underdevelopment' (Savic 2014), 'unfinished modernization' (Mrduljaš, 2012), or 'land in-between' (Kulic, 2009).

Due to intense process of industrialization, there was a large rural-urban migration in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which increased the pressure on requests for housing (Novakovic, 2014: 4). This was a constant feature at the time of formation and development of modern society. People were displacing the villages, inhabiting cities and constructing suburbs. They lived in the old and new parts of the city, growing with new cities, mining and industrial complexes (Djilas, 2015: 22). However, the lack of ideas about urbanization and ruralization cause marginalization concept of the city and lead to the conflicts between rural-urban (Ćerimović 2008, Pusic 2000). Within urbo-centric policy and the new ideology of 'proletarian', the village was undesirable (Petrovic and Raskovic 2011), which paradoxically led to the emergence of 'rural' in the urban space, especially in smaller cities (Pusic, 2000).

This time was marked by a previously unknown expansion of construction of "common space", within which are planned and regulated socialist cities throughout Yugoslavia. The first architectural tasks were to meet the needs for reconstruction of devastated country. In the cities that were destroyed during the Second World War, it was to provide new living spaces to accommodate the population. Cities are usually built to urban plans based on the principles of the Athens Charter, but Bosnia and Herzegovina was lagging behind because the absence of experts with experience. While in Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana and Split were developing according to spatial, urban and regulatory plans, in BiH cities have been built by the simple type-schemes in short deadlines.

With rapid and all-round development of the first industrial, and tertiary activities, and development of transport, the process of urbanization was very intensified. Small and medium centers with limited functions, as well as a substantial number of rural settlements grow into a polyfunctional, industrial, administrative, school, university and medical centers. The socialist city is, especially in the second half of the century, marked by huge extensions of urban areas. Cities were growing in all directions, and larger Yugoslav towns, were given new, modern counterparts. In addition, socialist construction included a number of new residential areas and new urban centers located near industrial plants or existing mines - Novi Travnik, Banovići, Vitkovići, Vogošća, Ilijaš, and others (Strauss 1998, Bakaršić undated). Along some of the major traffic / communication routes, there were emerged first longitudinal settlement bars with chaotic deployed, individual houses. They were especially present along communication routes through the valley of Bosnia from Sarajevo to Zenica, Lašva valley from Travnik to Vitez, valley of Jala and middle Spreča, along the main road between Banja Luka and Bosanska Gradiska (Bakaršić, Undated: 83). These new forms of territorial typologies are beginning to be developed especially in the post-socialist - transition town.

With the enthusiasm, creativeness and ambitions architects expressed characteristics and the way of thinking of their renowned architectural schools and individual professors who were dominating their environments as the

distinguished creators (Straus, 1998). Given that social realism is not survived as defined style (Krstić: 158), a new style was desired, which would fit a monumental new ideology (Karan, 2015). The modernism in Yugoslavia was also marked distancing from the cultural and political influence of the Soviet Union, as well as the modernization and liberalization of society (Kulić, 2009). It was based on the principles of European urban planning, global influences of modernism and Athens Charter, but also showed some specificities. The architecture has again become an essential part of the cultural context. With the intellectual upgrading of human needs, it fought for recognition as creative and social discipline (Štraus 1998). Kind of system of values and its peculiar ideological attitude towards tradition coincided with the modernist tendency of termination with the past (Petrović i Rašković, 2011: 40-41). It was guided by the idea of creating a new symbol and reduction of all types of differences in the entire territory of Yugoslavia (Mrduljaš i Kulić, 2012). Although the Yugoslav modernism received criticism of failure to comply with the traditional typology and current heritage (Redžić 2009), it was not made a radical break with the pre-war heritage here (Kulić 2009).

The period of socialism has left a great impact on the cities of the former Yugoslav republics, especially considering that most of their structure had roots in this period and that initiated creation of working class. In the period of greatest economic progress, almost all cities have expanded in proportion and size, changing its silhouette and forming a new image of cities, which were maintained up to 90's (Kulić 2009, Štraus 1998). The socialist city is characterized by top-down planning. Urban and Regional Planning were integrated into the system of social planning and contractual urbanism was introduced in regional planning (Krstić 2010: 159). Investment policy and the basics of construction of cities were handed over political control of the republics. New cities, were formed as a monumental open networks (in the form of infrastructure) with dispersed housing blocks and large public green spaces between them (Karan, 2015). For several decades the modernization, cities have changed more than in all the wars and fires that have endured for centuries back (Redžić, 1983). A large number of cities has experienced drastic transformation of 'traditional town', which not clearly defined at the turn of the twentieth century in most of the former Yugoslav republics.

Therefore Bogdanovic criticizes modern urbanism and disregard to the 'small urbanism'. He warns of 'destruction of the landscape' and memory, which does not take into account the context and rejects architecture uniform requirements, which is the same and in the various traditions and very different landscapes of Yugoslavia (Bogdanovic, 1958: 76). At the same time, Neidhart and Grabrijan (1957), highlight the old town center as a source of new expressions of socialist architecture. Therefore Neidhart works on creating specific, contextual expression, and critical regionalism of his students Zlatko Ugljen leads to the development of post-modernism in Yugoslavia. Inspiration is sought in the past, tradition and context, which are recognized as a broad set of possible konstituiteta that share similarities and differences across geographical, ethnic or timeline (Petrovic and Raskovic, 2011: 42). After 70 years, construction shows tendencies toward fragmentation of housing (Straus, 1998) and reconstruction of traditional city.

However, while attracting new residents, many cities have experienced horizontal expansion, which were actually complementary to the vertical. Despite legislation [7] parcellation is not recognized as basic asset in establishing the new urban areas. This way, the city is beyond the scope of original needs and is deformed beyond recognition. Anarchic and scattered expansion in the form of satellite settlements and poly-centres, as well as "wild settlements" are forming at the periphery and meadows of suburban areas on the borders between urban and rural structures. Therefore, in addition to strong growth, the socialist cities are also characterized by beginning of the process decompress. In the process, the capital city - the metropolis of Sarajevo was first of all with about 15 km² large ring of unplanned settlements without basic infrastructure (Bakaršić, Undated: 83). Losing control of the expansion of cities is dominant process, which has resulted in the exploitation of natural resources and the city (Krstić 2010).

Although it is believed that modernism and socialism real radical break with the past, urban planning did not take place on a blank white sheets (Karan, 2015). Some cities have lost human scale, but can not be assessed as inhuman, and 'unfinished modernization' can be understood as potential for future development (ibid.). On the other hand, in an effort to realize the scale of the needs of the city, this period had meant growth rather than

development, because "urbanization follows development, instead to confront it" (Krstić 2010.). Nevertheless, the rural character of the city which can be seen as a disadvantage, can mean an advantage, that the city can provide a special kind of vitality and new quality. On those grounds arose post-socialist, post-war, transitional new city of Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose character continued this process.

Banja Luka before the earthquake

After the World War II, Banjaluka became the second major city in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Simonovic, 2010: 115). Post-war reconstruction in first swing was based exclusively on the damage repairs caused by war and getting in order of basic municipal services [8]. Also by the increased need for housing construction as the war aftermath and the intensive migrations. the main characteristics of urban landscape formed a single-storey residential buildings [9], which until the 60s remained as dominant elements of the urban structure. The process of the reconstruction was based on urban plan (1952) emphasizing the transverse directions, in order to prevent the the South-North spread, which has not happened (Novaković 2014, Savić 2014). Two boundaries between "oriental" and "European" town dissapeared during this period (Savić: 41), so the city was seen as a single entity.

The new culture of living is reflected in the free-standing residential buildings or collective neighborhoods, which were interpolated into the structure of city centre. As in other Yugoslav cities, the housing construction is faced with the challenge of directing processes of planning and design, tight deadlines, lack of finance, poverty, lack of skilled personnel, lack of modern materials, technologies and construction techniques (Savić 2014, Novaković 2014). This results in repetition of typical architectural patterns and low standards. Architectural scene does not realize associative links with the past and inherited, which is considered outdated and backward (Savić 2014).

The period was ended with the event that will change the outcome of these activities, the morphology of the city and flow of everyday urban life - the earthquake that occurred on October 27th of 1969.

Banja Luka after the earthquake

Violently interrupted planning activities continued in different circumstances for Planning Urban Development. Due to the construction fund was significantly damaged or destroyed, it had to be replaced by a temporary prefabricated buildings, which are still in use (Simonovic, 2010: 119). The other half is characterized by intensive work on the planning and construction of housing units, as well as on development of a new urban plan. Urban plan with projection of 230.000 inhabitants, for the period up to 1990 was adopted in 1975. Concept from 1952 was completely abandoned, and continues longitudinal expansion of the city, planimetric base is a form of deformed deltoids with eccentrically positioned center, which extends north-south direction (the length of 10 km and a width of 6 km).

The planned development is characterized by transport networks, which are not carried out systematically. Transformation was carried out by interpolation into inherited physical structure, and the construction of typical residential blocks. There were built many residential areas as Hiseta, Čaire, Hanište, Mejdan, Nova Varoš, Budžak, Starčevica, Petra Preradovića, Ante Jakića, Borik etc. (Ibid.). Interpolation of housing complexes took place (1) by removing existing structure and allotment abolition and formation of "super blocks" in an immediate vicinity of existing fragmented structure; (2) by partial implementation of the previous process, there was created a typical urban block, in which an open block stands remained framed by a fragmented structure from four sides. Huge complex of public facilities were interpolated in the central urban area also.

With regard to compositions and relationship towards regulation, such a development of Banja Luka was completely different from anything in the immediate surroundings (Simonović 2010, 2015). In addition, deviations from the plan became the rule, adopted solutions were implemented inconsistent, changes have occurred partially, so the heterogeneity of the physical structure, spatial fragmentation and discontinuity have emerged in all scales. As the result of inadequate resolving housing needs for increased number of residents, there have emerged trend of construction on the city's outskirts. Despite the strong momentum of the economy, major investments, significant architectural and urban planning competitions and scope of construction, the potential remained under-utilized. The urban culture could not overcome provincial spirit.

However, this intensive period has completely changed the image and perception of the city of Banja Luka. New settlements built on the principles of CIAM, including the Nova varoš, Borik, "29. November" and Starčevica are the major contributors to the experience of the new socialist city of Banja Luka. They are part of the enterprise of reconstruction, the work on urban plan, several concepts of the central urban zone and some new places.

New socialist towns

After the Roman, Ottoman and Habsburg empires, the new federal state had the strength, knowledge and resources to achieve the fourth wave of construction and reconstruction of cities in the region. In addition to existing cities, have been built several completely new cities as for example, Nova Gorica, Velenje, Ploče, Novi Beograd, Sevojno. In Bosnia: Novi Travnik, Čapljina, Ljubija, Titov Drvar ... Many were built or renovated as for example, Podgorica (Titograd), Skopje, Zenica, Dobož, Bor, Bar (Krstic 2010: 161). In addition to a whole new cities, almost all of them got new housing settlements. However, some of the largest and most complex projects such as the expansion of Split and reconstruction of Skopje after the earthquake have been only partially achieved. Thus the process of modernization stopped halfway and remained unfinished, while completed segments indicate how modernist ideal city could look like in spite of all advantages and disadvantages of 20th century planning. Even unfinished, all these projects have finally come to life, providing homes to hundreds of thousands of residents. They have become an integral part of wider urban identity that can not be read only through the prism of socialist ideology, but also from the functional and spatial quality. Such urban identity and functionality of socialist modernization are part of common, transnational achievements that regional urban centers are connecting the "common space".

Novi Beograd (New Belgrade)

New Belgrade is the most characteristic, 'par excellence example of' 'new socialist city' where is possible to follow development of Yugoslav modernism and an attempt of its physical embodiment. It was conceived, planned and built on anyone's empty field, as a modern ideological capital of the federal Yugoslavia, which developed in the context of 'brotherhood and unity' (Kulić, 2009).

By abandoning the idea of reconstruction of old Belgrade, the urban center of the Balkans is to be achieved through the construction of a new city on the other (left) bank of the river Sava (Plan architect. Nikola Dobrović (1897-1967). At the time when the country was still devastated after the war, the initiative is originated from 1946 by the leadership of Communist party of Yugoslavia and was under constant surveillance by Marshal Tito, the Politburo of the Communist party of Yugoslavia and the city committee of the party. The construction of a new administrative capital was a symbolic act of establishment of the new state, before then pressing need. Even the location was very symbolic: empty marshland for centuries served as a 'no man's land' between the Austrian and the Ottoman empire, and shared the occupied Slavs (Steiner u Mrduljas i Kulic, 2012).

In contrast to the sudden and uncontrolled development of the old city, Novi Beograd was developing in the system of strategic, visionary planning of an international team of experts, who laid the foundations of modern urbanism. In the contrary to initial plans, in which the housing was marginalized as a function in relation to the planned federal facilities, in the phase of the concept's materialization of the concept stage, the housing has become a key content of the new city (Blagojevic, 2007). New Belgrade lost its symbolic meaning meanwhile, but also a negative connotation of the 'socialist dormitories' without public facilities. However, as the capital of the monarchy, and then socialist Yugoslavia, the 20th-century Belgrade was kind of the city - laboratory for different theoretical and practical ideas of what a modern city is and what should be (Đilas 2015: 50).

Finally, the most important for the development of New Belgrade, as political and cultural center, as well as for the realization of the urban area with a high quality of life, is the concept, which is not based on ideological grounds, but on the understanding of modernist principles towards urban planning. Thus it can not be seen only as an ideological monument because such interpretation could become the subject of ideologization again (Blagojevic 2007). Although Novi Beograd represents simultaneous praise and challenges of modernism and its re-interpretation, it shows the complexity of the relationship between the city and politics and remains a testimony of the urbanism of the time.

Novi Zagreb (New Zagreb)

After an insignificant position in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Zagreb became the first center of the Modern thanks to prof. Viktor Kovacic and achievements of so called "Zagreb School". After the war, the city has been expanding by filling the space between the railroad and the Sava, and then spill over to the other side, thus abandoning the previous idea of longitudinal east-west axis. According to the 1962 plan of New Zagreb it was completely new city which would accommodate 250 000 inhabitants in residential areas and housing developments. Soon after, city (characterized by the orthogonal grid and residential buildings) was built. New city was based on residential areas, areas of greenery and recreation, as well as on the new industrial zones (Krstic: 160). The beginning of New Zagreb development from mid-1950s to the early 1970s was a symbol of economic power, the place of the classic Cold War rivalries and test place for modernist architectural experiments (Steiner in Mrduljas and Kulic, 2012).

Novo Sarajevo (New Sarajevo)

After a period of intensive construction, significant expansion and planning which marked Sarajevo entry in Europe without a comprehensive concept, a city in the Kingdom remains without valuable interventions, although it was one of the centers of Modern. However in the Republic achieved a remarkable rise as the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which attracts a huge number of people (1921- 66.317 inhabitants, 1981- 319.017) with the workplaces in the industry and army. Complexes of public, educational and industrial zones are changing the character of the city, and while large multi-family housing settlements stretches down the valley of the Miljacka River. On the other hand, there was no power and skill for the necessary transverse expansion of the city, so the city remains squeezed between the slopes which were built in the informal urban factory. Thus, Sarajevo confirms neglected truth that significant urban concept can not be born in the city where this idea has no origins - except by radical intervention (Krstic 2010).

No matter that the better life firstly demanded for changes of social relationships or technical knowledge (Blagojevic 2007), a modernist idea makes one of the key principles, which connects the period of post-war reconstruction and the reconstruction of cities. Observation of recent cultural layers shows that this space, despite repeated interruptions, confirmed as authentic architectural space of imagination, which is a safe place on the international map of modernity (Steiner in Mrduljas and Kulic, 2012). The first time since the Roman period the urban heritage did not belong to different and even conflicting civilizations; but exactly to the same (Krstic, 163). A socialist city will be remembered as the experience of ethnic, religious, cultural and social differences.

Figures

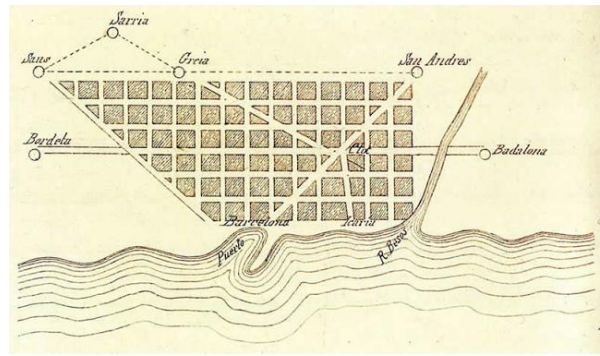
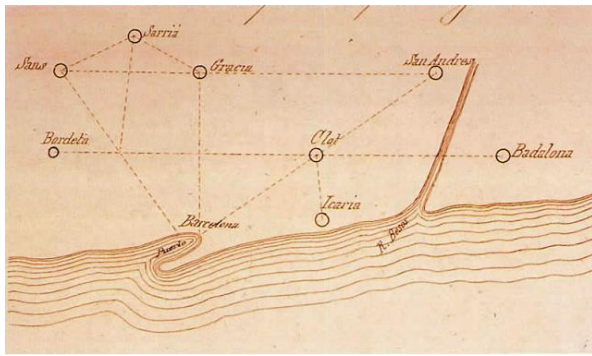


Fig. 3.1. Set of villages (Sans, Gracia, San Andres, Icaria, Barredona, Badalona, Bordeta, Clot etc.).

Fig. 3.2. Application of the proposal for connecting nearby villages.

Source: Magrinya, F. and Marza, F. 2009. Cerda 150 anys de modernitat.

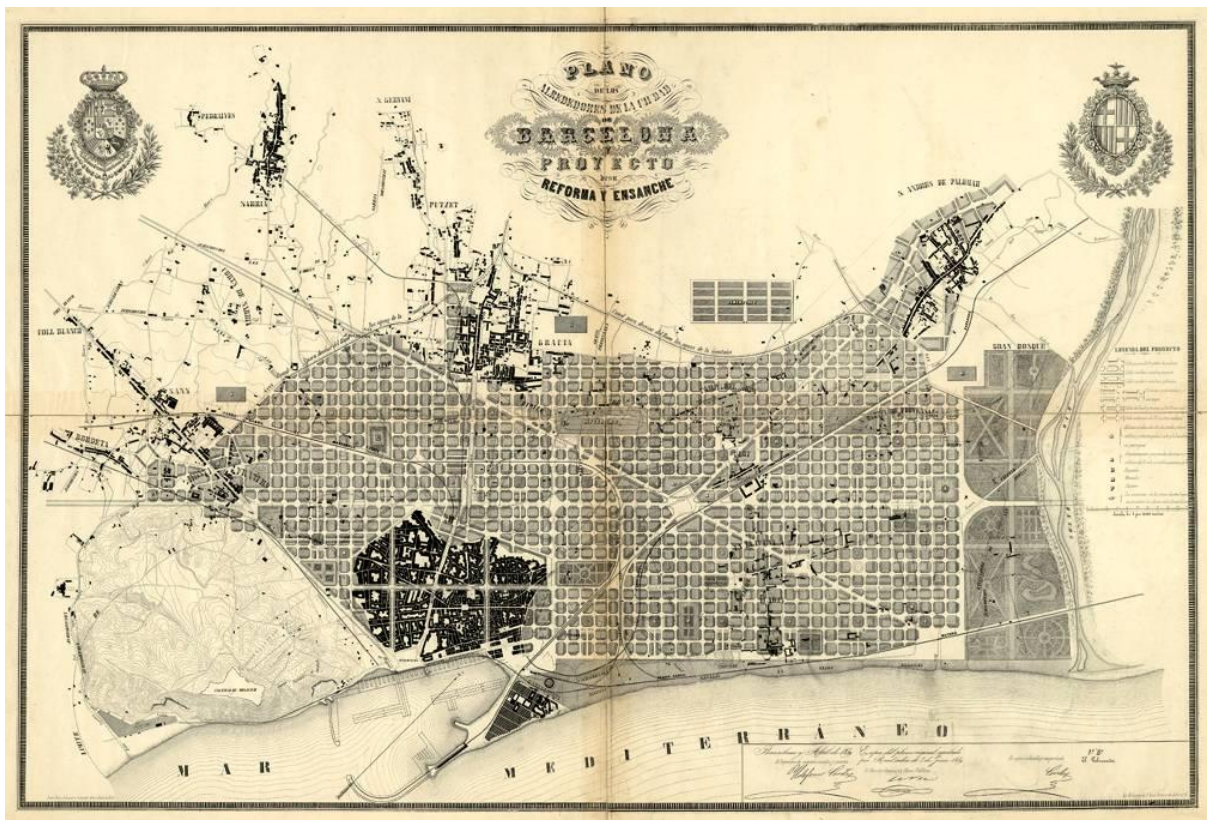


Fig. 3.3. Barcelona. Ildefonso Cerda. Plan for Reform and Development of Barcelona, 1859.

Source: Cartographic Institute of Catalonia, RM.84360. Source:
<http://cartotecadigital.icc.cat/cdm/ref/collection/catalunya/id/1365>

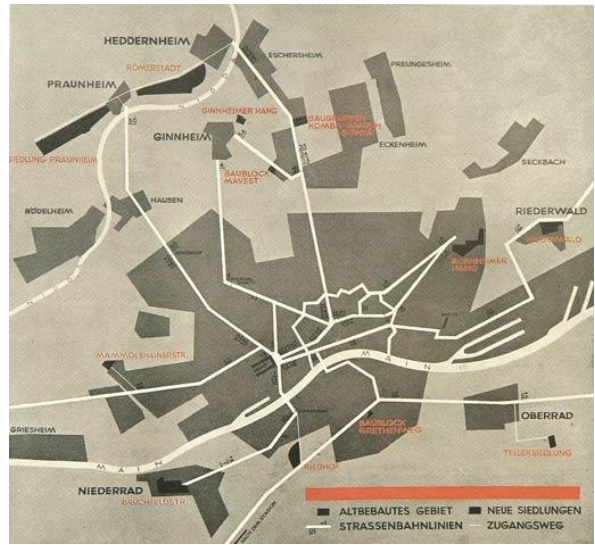
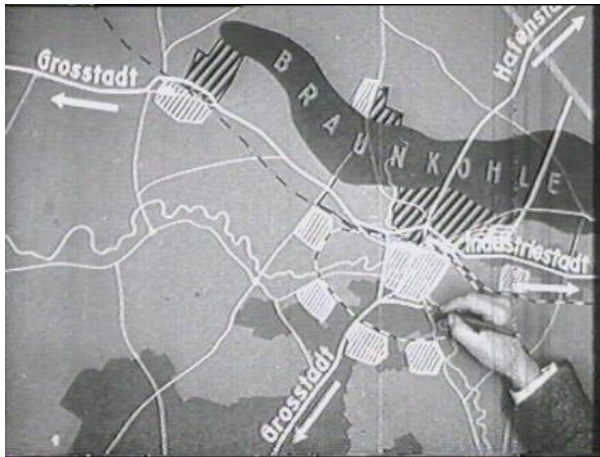


Fig. 3.4. Films on town planning from the archive. Frame from the Film The City of Tomorrow. Source: planum.net
 Fig. 3.5. Frankfurt city plan showing new satellite housing estates 1930. Source: https://www.moma.org/interactives/exhibitions/2010/counter_space/the_frankfurt_kitchen
 Fig. 3.6



Fig. 3.7. Plan of Toulouse le Mirail.

Source: <https://agingmodernism.files.wordpress.com/2010/01/38-marfaing-plan.jpg>

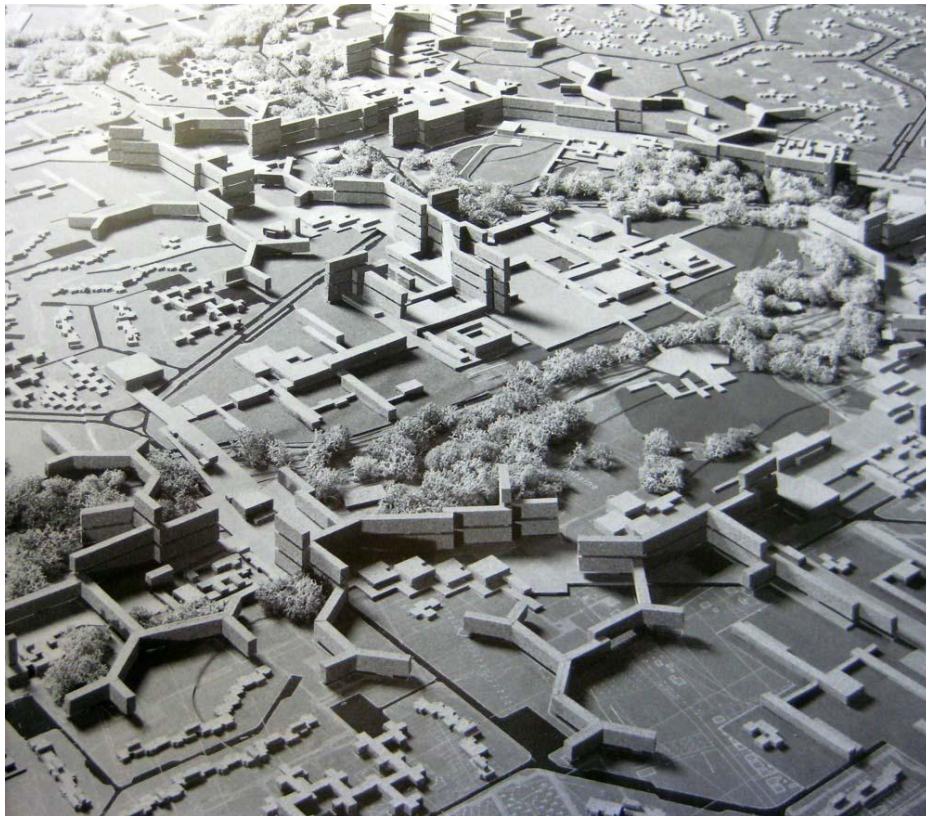


Fig. 3.8. Toulouse le Mirail. Site model.

Source: <https://agingmodernism.files.wordpress.com/2010/01/63-gruet-site-model.jpg>

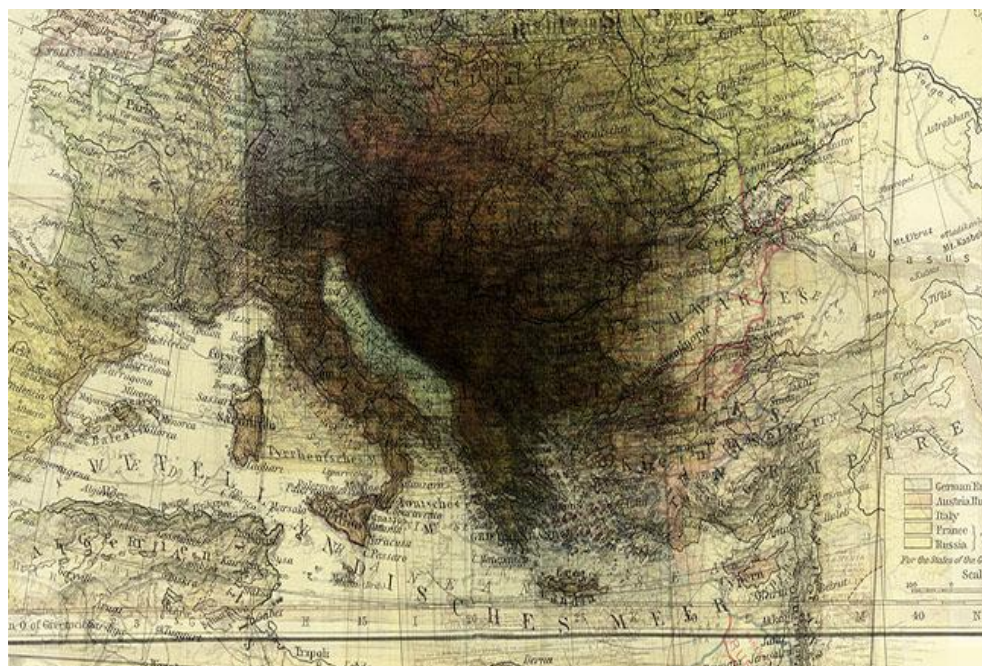
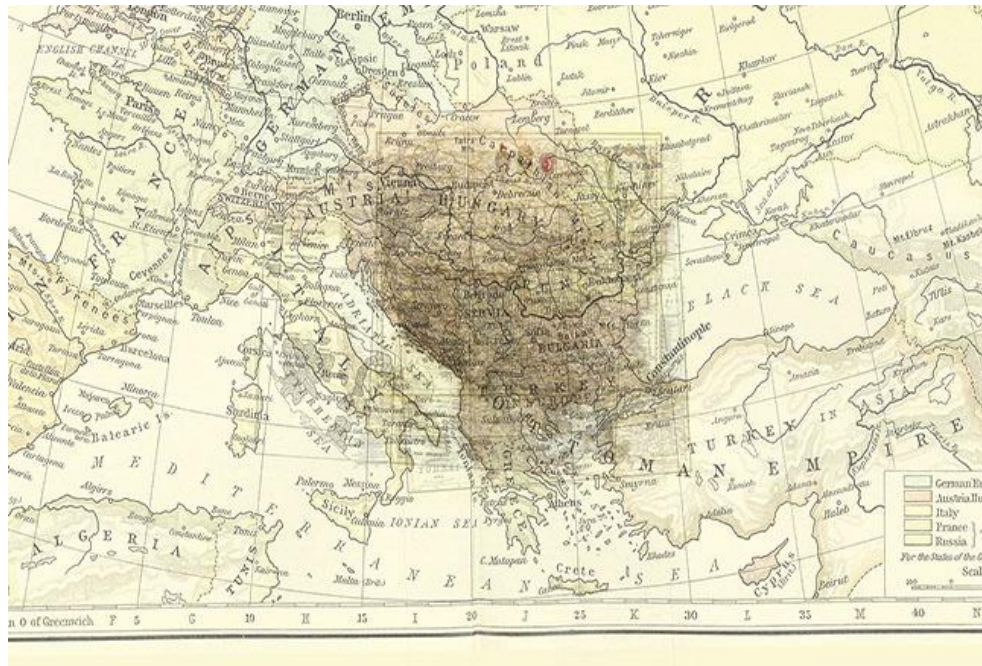


Fig. 3.9. Čmajčanin, L. 2014. Geometry of time
 [Installation, lightbox, print on Barrisol canvas, Dimension 306 x 395 x 25 cm].

551.35 – Geometry of Time confronts us with various delimitations of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose borders were set and changed following dynamic and intense historical processes. It points out the social and political reality of Bosnia and Herzegovina by illuminating the conflictual and unstable nature of its territory. For centuries the borders were set by wars and peace treaties, while in 19th and 20th centuries they were constituted by turbulent ideological events. At the time cartography turned into political geography and produced openly nationalistic, imperialistic, intentionally educational maps with a clearly underlined territorial nature. Besides the territory they represent, historical maps of Bosnia and Herzegovina thus also map the interests and conquest plans of cartographers throughout history.

[online] Available at: <<http://www.lanacmajcanin.com/projects/item/132-551-35-geometry-of-time>>
 [Accessed: My. 6, 2015]

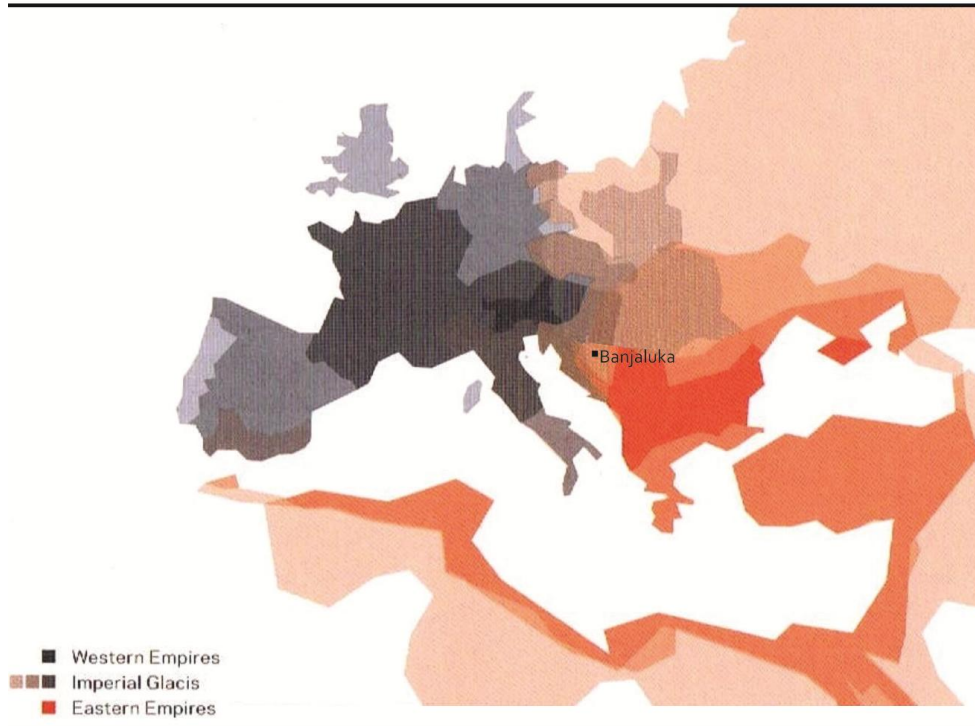


Fig. 3.10. Imperial Glacis. According to Rupnik, I. Blau, E. 2007. Project Zagreb: Transition as Condition, Strategy, Practice. Zagreb: Actar.

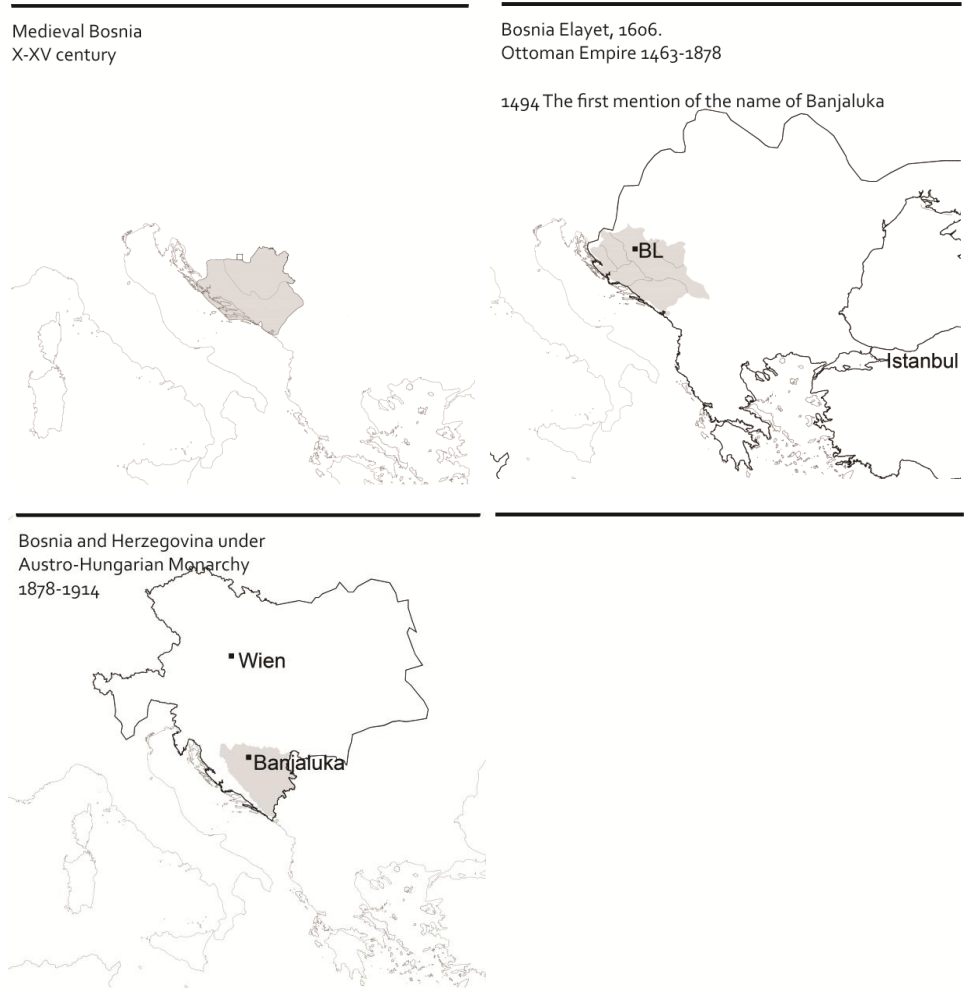


Fig. 3.11. Bosnia and Herzegovina and Banja Luka throughout the history. Maps redrawn by the Author

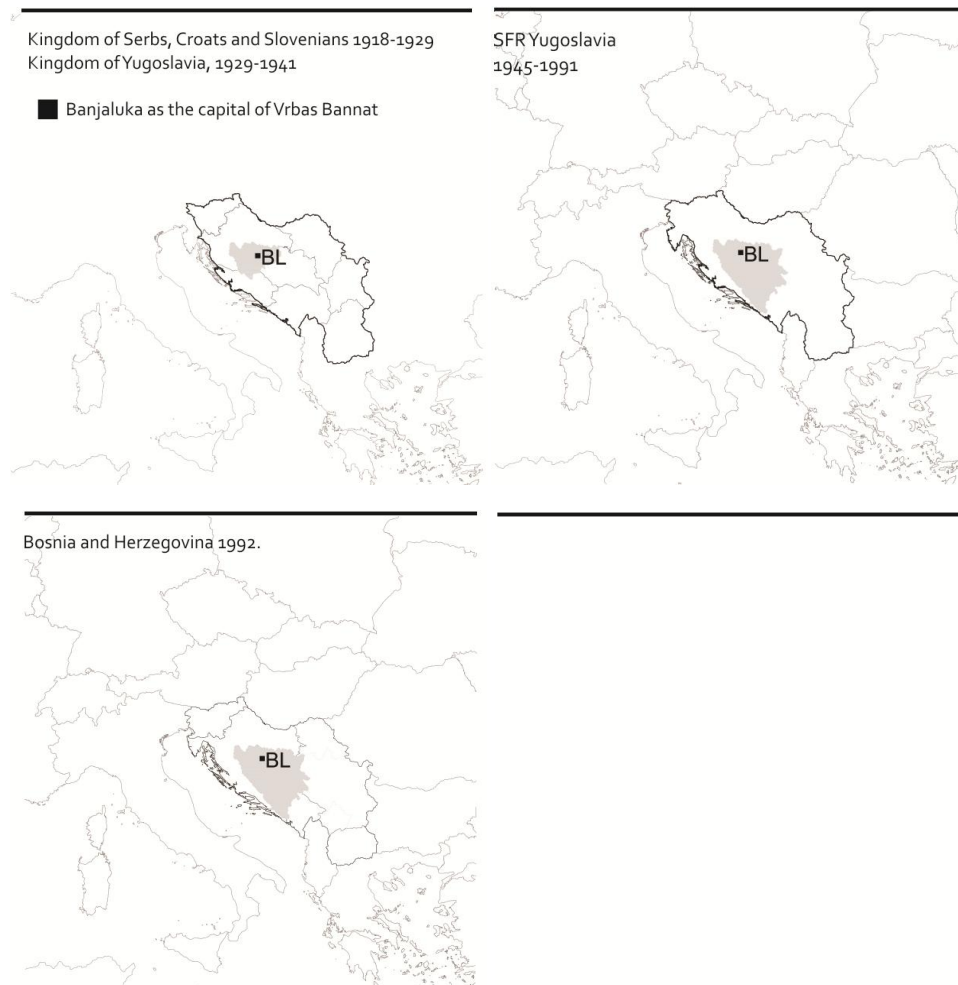


Fig. 3.12. Bosnia and Herzegovina and Banja Luka throughout the 20th century history.
Maps redrawn by the Author

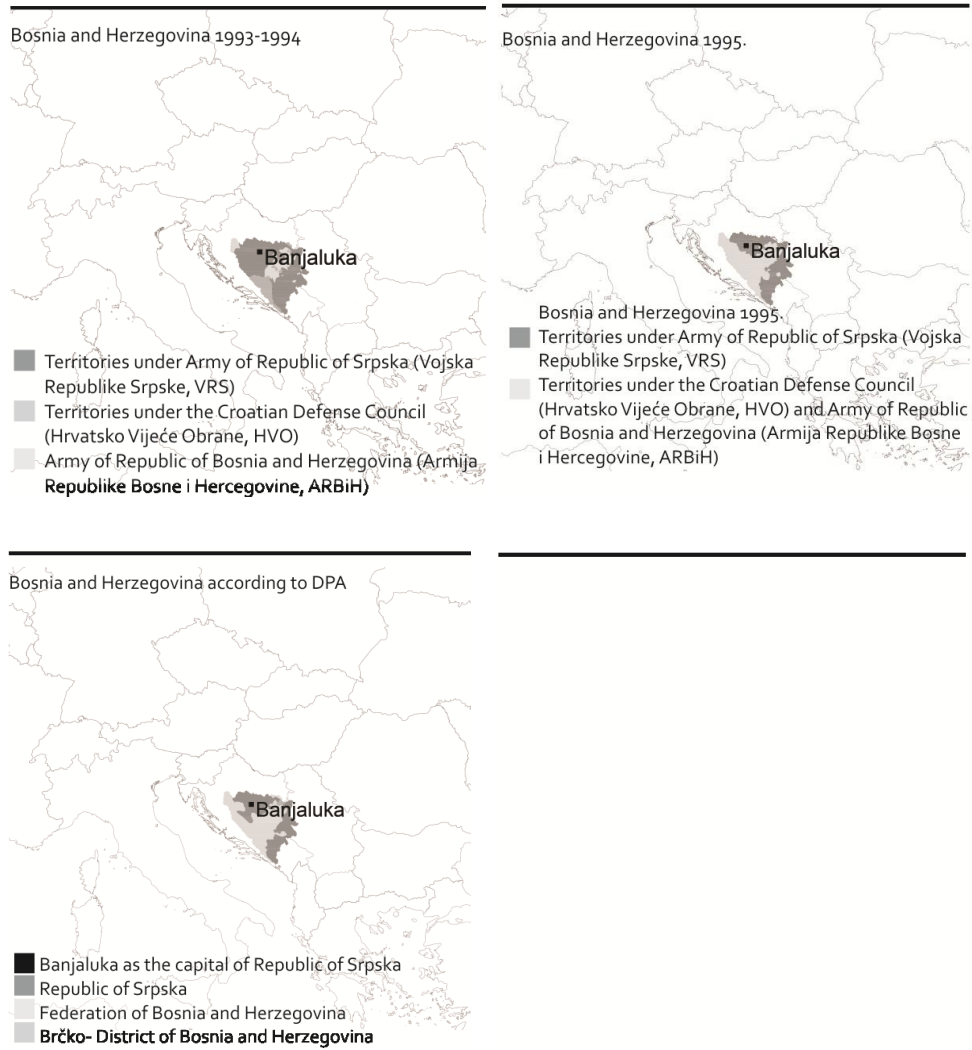


Fig. 3.13. Bosnia and Herzegovina and Banja Luka throughout the history. Maps redrawn by the Author

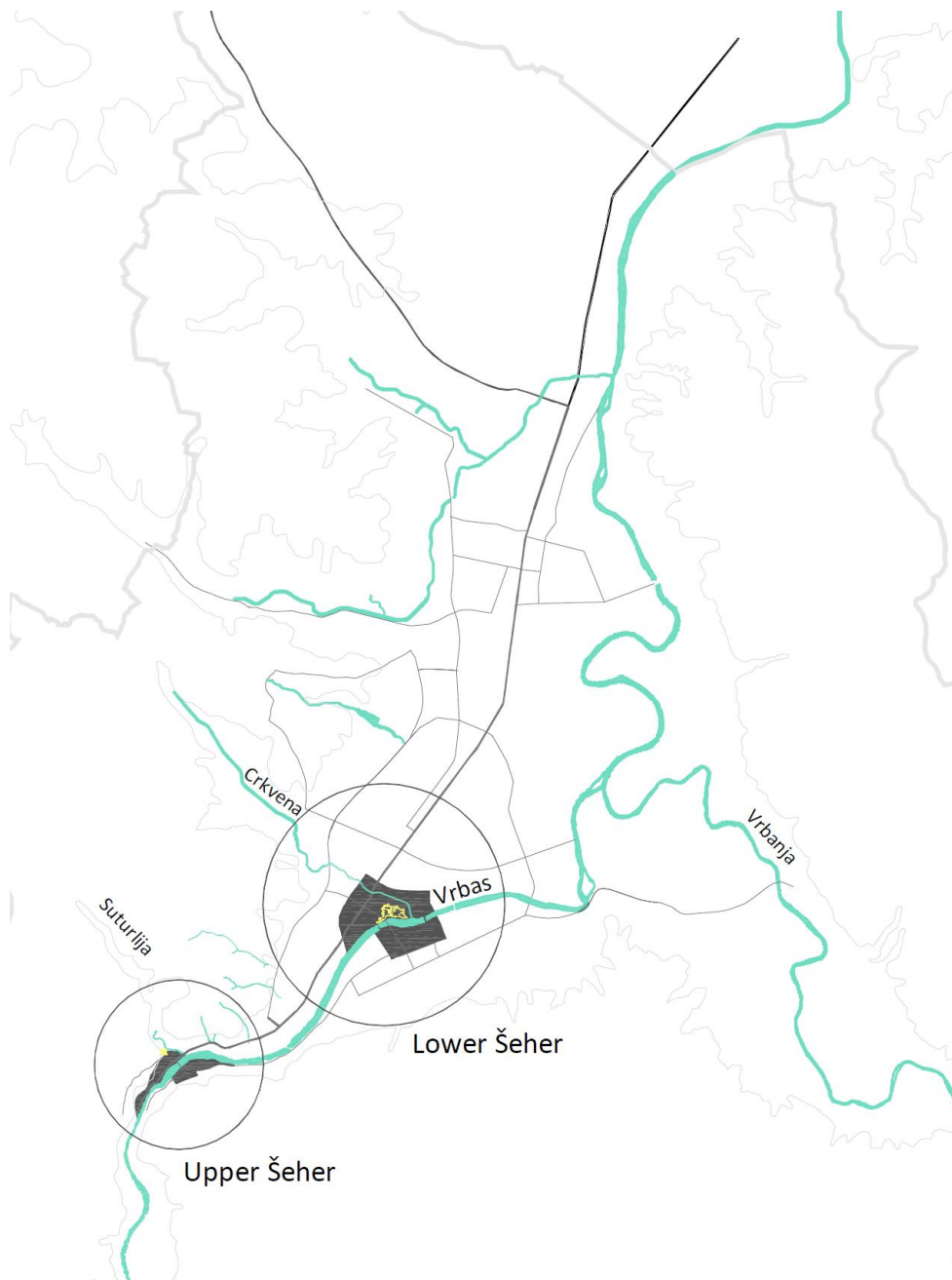


Fig. 3.14. The formation of settlements around two core with fortresses along the river Vrbanja and the main communication.

According to: Симоновић, Д. 2010. *Пејзажни градови, поређење развоја урбаног идентитета Бањалуке и Граца*. Бањалука: Архитектонско-грађевински факултет and Stanković, J. 2016. *Mapping and memory in Banja Luka* [Doctoral thesis] [pdf] Available at: <[http://discovery.dundee.ac.uk/portal/en/theses/mapping-and-memory-in-banja-luka\(3498283e-c43f-4ab3-b1d5-44ec1e1133e5\).html](http://discovery.dundee.ac.uk/portal/en/theses/mapping-and-memory-in-banja-luka(3498283e-c43f-4ab3-b1d5-44ec1e1133e5).html)> [Accessed Oct. 14, 2016]

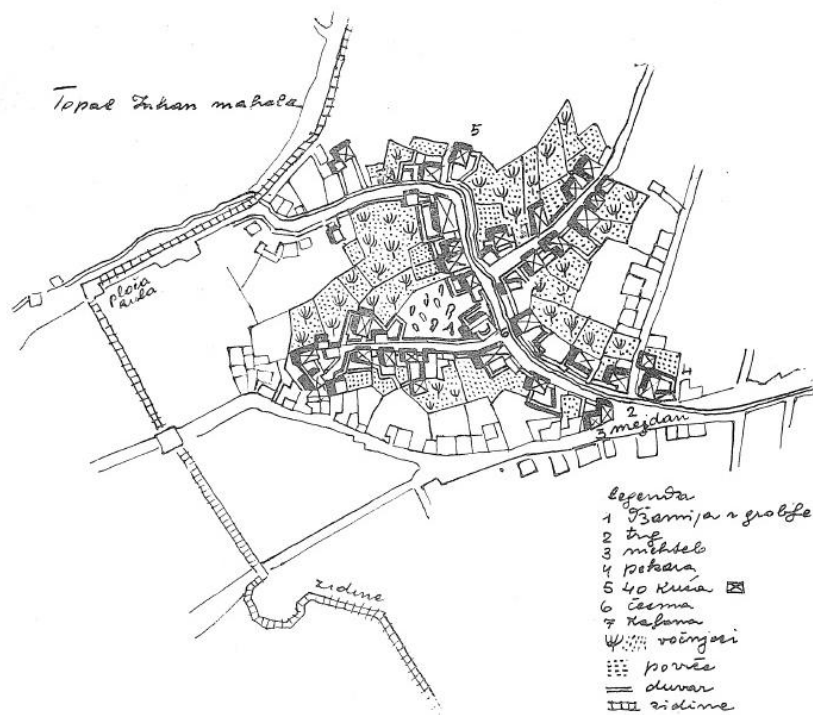


Fig. 3.15. Hand drawing of Juraj Neidhardt. Example of mahalla: Topal inhan mahala in Sarajevo.
 Source: Grabrijan, Dušan i Juraj Neidhardt. 1957. *Arhitektura Bosne i put u savremeno*. Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, NR Bosna i Hercegovina, NR Slovenija, 145.



Fig. 3.16. Hand drawing of Juraj Neidhardt. Podjela grada na mikroceline - čaršiju i mahale. Example of Sarajevo.
 Source: Grabrijan, Dušan i Juraj Neidhardt. 1957. *Arhitektura Bosne i put u savremeno*. Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije, NR Bosna i Hercegovina, NR Slovenija, 145.



Fig. 3.17. The view on the Grab settlement from the place located above the oldest Banja Luka's neighborhood - Iliđa.

Reproduced from Verica Stošić & Zoran Mačkić, *Banja Luka which exist and does not exist* (postcards and photographs) (Banja Luka, 2010).



Fig. 3.18. The view on the structure of mahallas in Gornji šeher neighborhood.
Source: Ravlić, A. 1979. *Banja Luka, razdoblja i stoljeća*. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša.

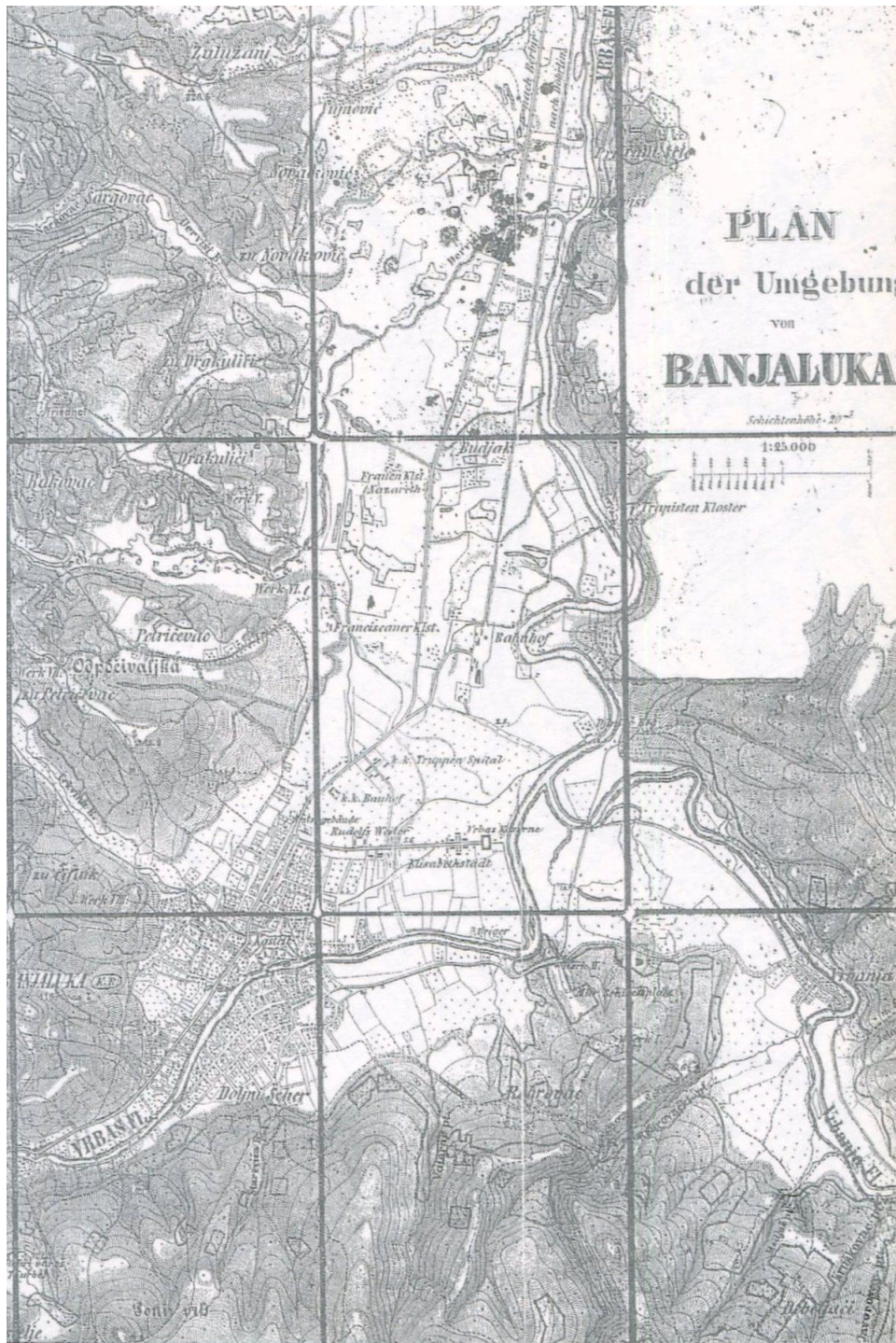


Fig. 3.19. The plan of Banjaluka [Banja Luka] from Austro-hungarian period (1890)



Fig. 3.20. The first cartographic map of Banja Luka [1881/84].
 (Source: Stankovic, J. 2016. Mapping and memory in Banja Luka, doctoral thesis.
 [pdf] Available at: [http://discovery.dundee.ac.uk/portal/en/theses/mapping-and-memory-in-banja-luka\(3498283e-c43f-4ab3-b1d5-44ec1e1133e5\).html](http://discovery.dundee.ac.uk/portal/en/theses/mapping-and-memory-in-banja-luka(3498283e-c43f-4ab3-b1d5-44ec1e1133e5).html) [Accessed Oct. 14, 2016])

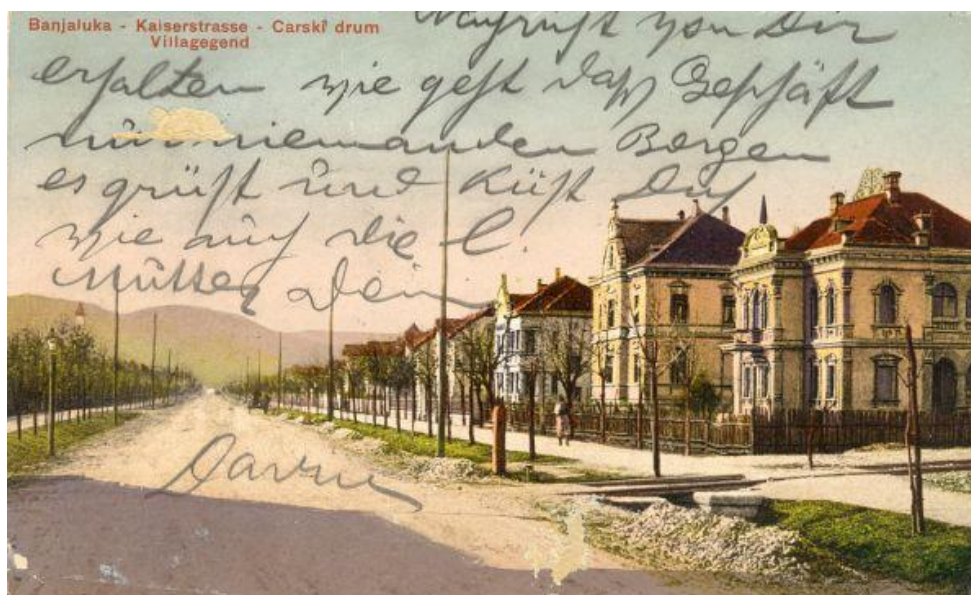
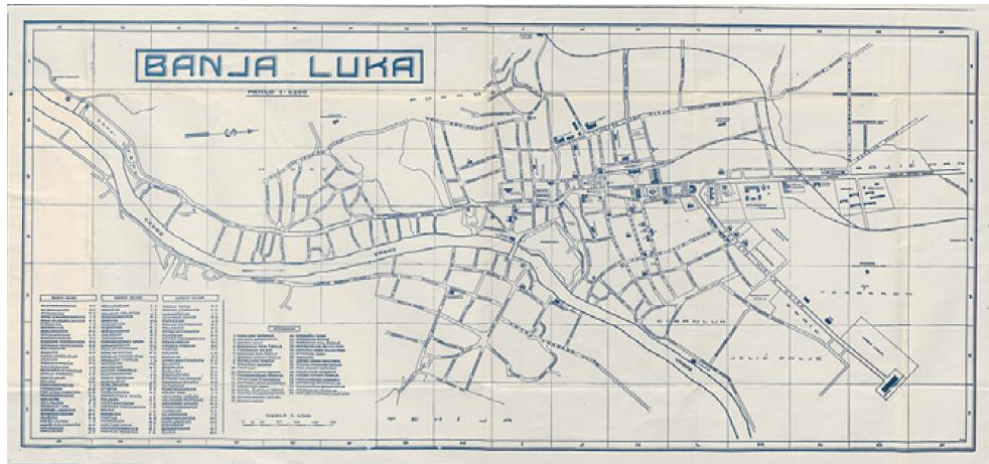


Fig. 3.21. The main street - Emperor road [Carski drum] from Austro-Hungarian period.
 Reproduced from Verica Stošić & Zoran Mačkić, Banja Luka which exist and does not exist
 (postcards and photographs) (Banja Luka, 2010).



1936

Fig. 3.22. Map of the city of Banja Luka, 1936.

Source: The Archives of the Republik of Srpska [Arhiv Republike Srpske] Bosnia and Herzegovina.



1935.

Fig. 3.23. Central Ensemble of the city of Banja Luka, with the church together with the building of Banska uprava. Reproduced from Verica Stošić & Zoran Mačkić, Banja Luka which exist and does not exist (postcards and photographs) (Banja Luka, 2010).

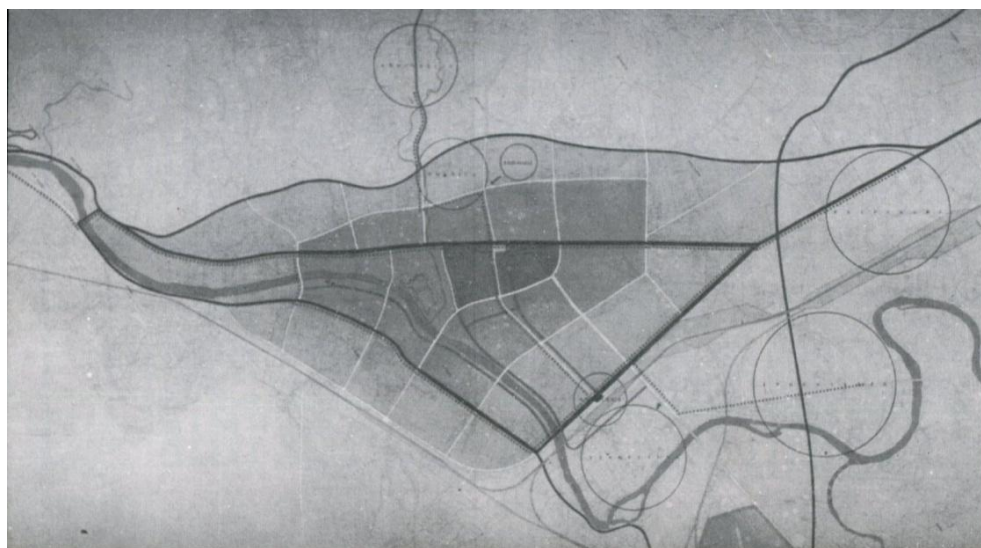


Fig. 3.24.a. The current state of the urban structure and traffic networks.

Fig. 3.24.b. Plan of communications.

Mater Urban plan of Banja Luka, 1952.

Source: Симоновић, Д. 2010. *Пејзажни градови, поређење развоја урбаног идентитета Бањалуке и Граца*. Бањалука: Архитектонско-грађевински факултет.

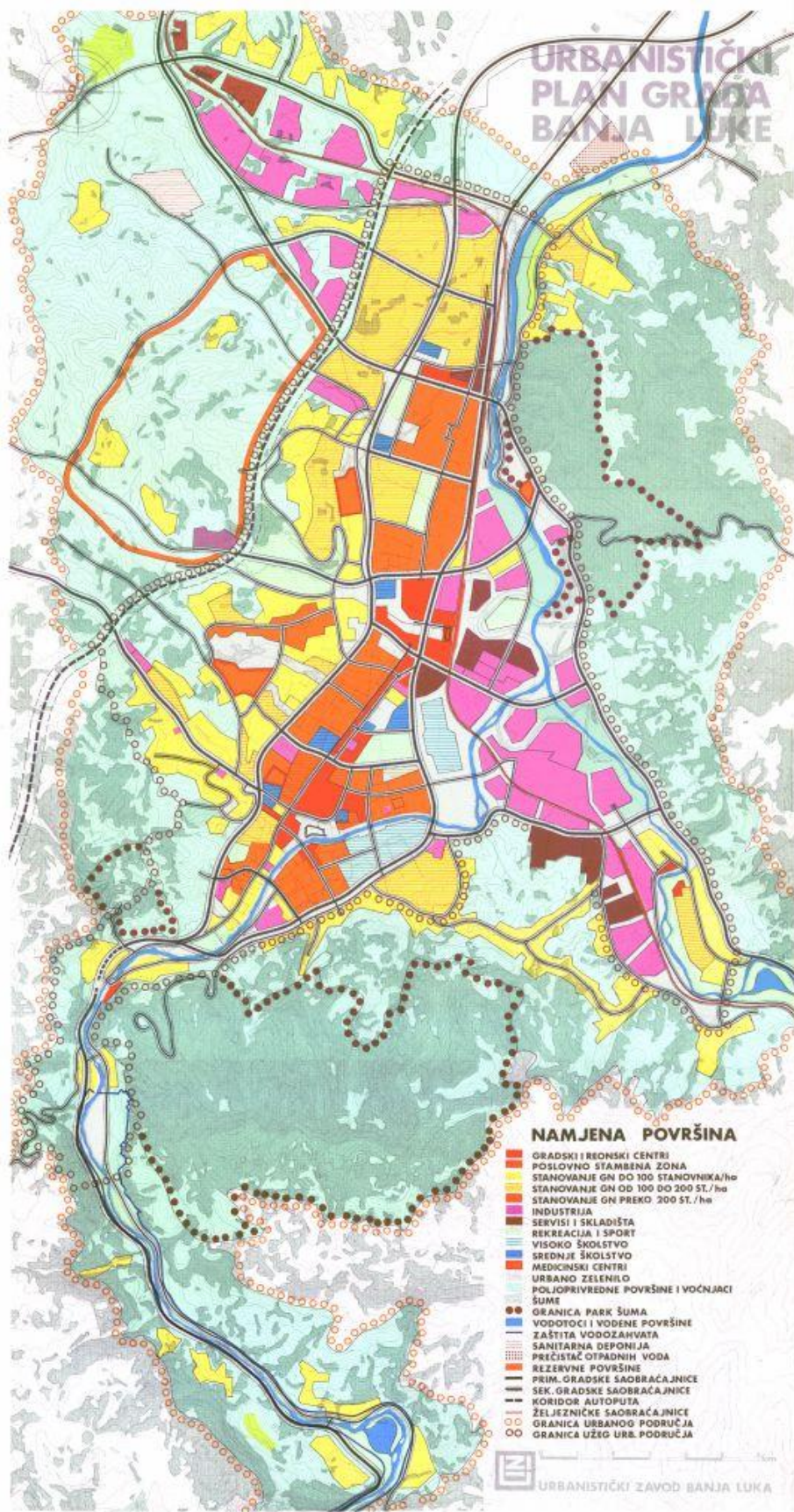


Fig. 3.25. Urban plan of Banja Luka, 1975.
 Source: The Institute for Urbanism of Banja Luka. Banja Luka, 1975.



Fig. 3.26. Tito observes The master plan for New Belgrade
Source: Meili, M., Diener, R., Topalović, M., Muller Inderbitzin, C. 2012. *Belgrade: Formal/informal, Research on Urban Transformation*. Bazel: Verlag Scheidegger & Spiess.

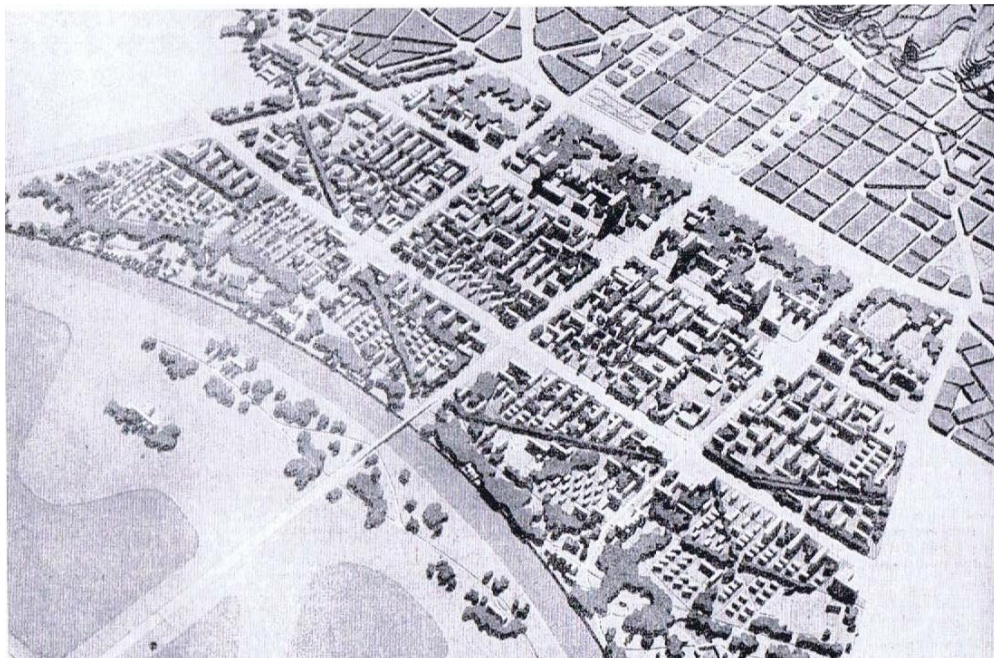


Fig. 3.27. Antolić plan, aerial view of model, 1947. Source: Blau, E. Rupnik, I. 2007. *Project Zagreb, Transition as Condition, Strategy, Practice*. Barcelona and New York: Actar.

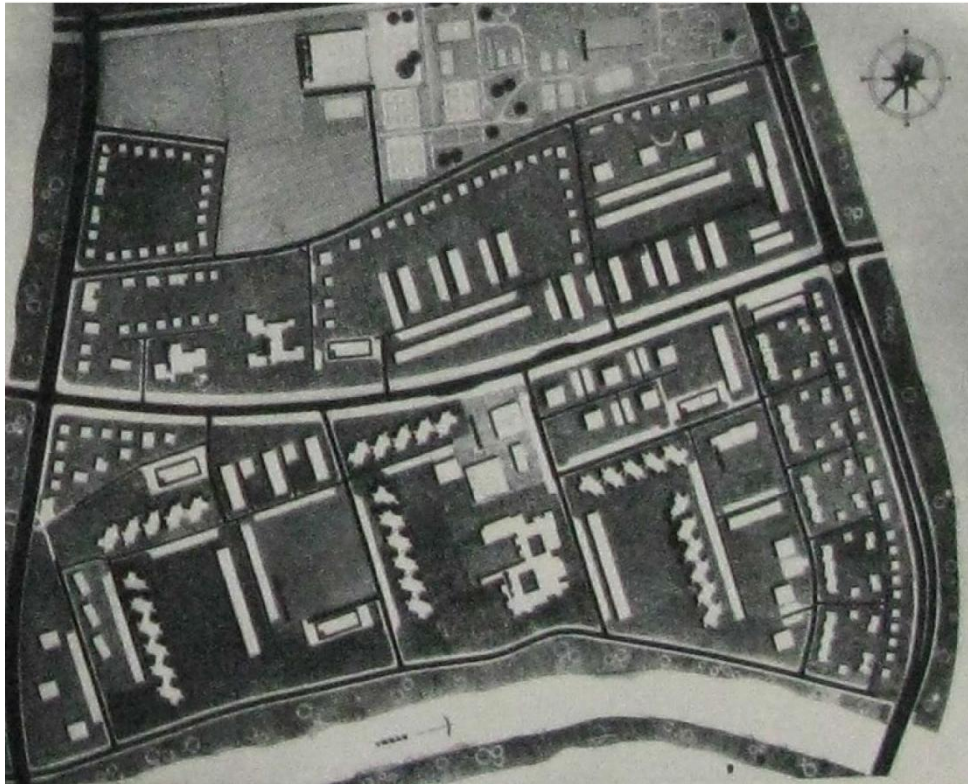


Fig. 3.28. Amendment of urban plan for Borik neighborhood in Banja Luka - detailed design.
Source: Karabegović, B. (ed) 1974. *Banja Luka. Pet godina nakon zemljotresa*. Banja Luka: Glas.



Fig. 3.29. Delegation of President Tito passing by during the opening ceremony of the newly constructed Borik neighborhood in Banja Luka. Source: <http://www.mij.rs/>

BLOCK C

ENTRY POINTS

4. THE FRAMEWORK

The construction of the new city of post-war Bosnia-Herzegovina - the city of transition is seen through the filter of several elements that have most significantly marked this process and mostly affected the elements of the transition of spatial identities. These are: (1) the war, marked by identity conflict, violence (ethnic cleansing and genocide) and destruction (urbicide and culturicide); (2) the geography of the conflict (the formation of internal lines of demarcation and division into entities under majority ethnic groups) has defined a new structure of territory; (3) the process of refugee and ethnic exchange of population, which changed the character of multicultural cities; (4) the process of social, economic and cultural transition, defined as a period of in-between two political systems; and finally (5) the transformation of cultural space, which is marked by the process of weakening and losing the old identities, as well as searching and constructing new ones. It is defined by their mutual conflict, which is also reflected in urban development and everyday life of cities.

Aside from discussing the mutual correlation of severely "wounded" context and space, this filter represents a set of read-out of symbolic space, which are metaphors of actual space of Bosnia-Herzegovina and which help to understand it as such. Indirect description of the context, which still bears the painful scars of the recent past, trying to understand the modern society of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the context of 'common cultural space'. The analysis establishes the connection between (1) the symbolic space of the art, (2) the perception of cultural space and (3) the reality of physical space of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

4.1. In the Land of blood and honey

There was one country once...

Underground, 1995.

Kant was saying that the natural state among people living side by side is not a state of peace but rather a state of war, i.e., one in which the conflict constantly threatens. The state that yet has to be established is a state of peace that becomes eternal ethical, legal and political objective, which has never been reached. Therefore, until then, to a state of perpetual peace, war remains an essential element of the context of Bosnia-Herzegovina, part of the direct experience of people and space, and the cause of social, cultural and spatial processes.

Fifteen years has passed and we should be prevented from talking about that, because mostly absurdities have been told and usually only those who were not there and did not see anything are talking. The war was a war, it's a different planet. No one can understand it. Or you were there or you were gone. Nothing else did not matter. If you were there, then it's all clear, and you do not ask anything. If you were not, you have no right to ask. Do you understand?

Vojnović, 2013: 233.

The violence and ethnic cleansing in the Bosnian war have caused profound changes in people's perceptions, have become the determinants of their life and identities, so they simply have to be taken into account, and therefore Šehić (2006) asks forgiveness for this "unpopular act". Bypassing the battlefield, trenches and shooting, authors are trying to understand the incomprehensible, and testify to the horrors of this war through their personal experiences.

Štikš (2006) raises a number of questions about how it all began, how it all unraveled, who did pull the damn strings, whether there were warning signs, and finally, where does the war and hatred come from. However, he also says that there are truths that must not be requested, maybe, but also that we should not let this fatal past rule our lives. On the other hand Jergović (2013) is trying to understand by saying that the gun hate did not emerge from anything he has known in Bosnia. "The hatred that I met was individual, and collective evil would be born out of it. Bosnians have hated for a long time, persistently and with "merak"^[NM], but completely disorganized (Ibid. 125)."

However this is not about the final findings, nor the endless explaining of the circumstances of the conflict, but rather about its consequences, the context that produced and influences that have permanently marked people

and places. Kaldor and Woodward have already in 1995 separately claimed that this is a different war, which has become the conventional and widely accepted characterization. According to Kaldor (1999), a new war is a unique blend of international conflict and civil war, domestic and foreign participants, who compete in the claims of sovereignty. At the same time, paramilitary and national armies enter the cities and villages, and war becomes not only regional, but also intra-urban conflict.

The causes of the war are part of the dynamics of international political and economic changes, in which weakened Yugoslav institutions did not have the ability to manage a political crisis. Štiks (2015) speaks of the entire century of disintegration in which the situation in the second half of the 1980s is the key to understand why the Yugoslav self-managing socialism faced a rapid and widespread delegitimization as both political and socio-economic mode. In identity sense Kusturica (Do You Remember Dolly Bell? Figure N)) shows a complex social context of socialist Yugoslavia torn between two worlds, East and West, and entrenched traditional values and modern life. Although appeared this conflict shows that the awareness of Yugoslavs has began to wake up, due to the general context, and that they are aware of their different identities which are inherited and accepted.

By highlighting economic factors, Woodward and Allcock underline an important element in understanding Yugoslavia's disintegration. Ruined economy that is rapidly declining, as well as living standard of the population, unequal distribution of incomes between republics, lack of democratic means, changing frame of reference in relation to the one which was established during World War II, devastating identity fear, growing nationalism, separatist goals, and loss of social trust have destroyed state institutions. Therefore, as main causes Štiks (2015) highlights federal institutions, constitutional engineering, and the control of political elites. Perović (2001) considered that Yugoslavia could not rely on the detrition of the communist ideology, which has affected all Eastern European countries. Triggers of violence were issues of citizenship, borders and territories, and the role of the federal military. With no democratic outlets, no fora for unbiased dialogue, the opinions and the forging of perceptions were left to academia, the bounded media – and public rumor (Skotte, 2004). Yugoslavia disintegrated, accompanied by magic ethno-religious violence, which culminated in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The war supported all four of the new wars characteristics: goals of war, methods of warfare, economy of war, international response (Kaldor, 1999). As in most of the conflict fronts, goals were based on crude identity issues - emerged as a result of the loss of power and relevance of the country. The new power relations of identity based on new ethno-national and religious narratives, the fear of becoming a minority has become the motive of conflict (Jović, 2001), resulting in massive displacements of civilians. These wars are not fought to 'build nations' so Beck (2005) labels them as 'post-national wars' (2003:93–108), whereas they are being served to the public as 'tribal wars' and 'ancient hatred'. Although Bačanović (2012) claims that identity wars don't come from cultural but from small differences of similar people, they are nevertheless a part of 'identity politics' where the state is relevant only in so far as it affects the identity policy.

On the other hand, the identity politics of the war was not the legitimate representative of all participants of the conflict, as it did not represent the majority of the population that did not want war (Zetra project). Two Tanović's (2001) soldiers were forced into wars led by interests they themselves didn't understand, so when they start an insane argument about "who started the war?" ethnical nationalism was most accurately deprived of sense, the same nationalism on which the war was supposedly based. The protagonists are in a constant state of tension wavering between moments of anger and frustration which are muted by moments of recognition and belonging. The trench as a particular location engages their beings and a hermeneutic play (Figure N). However, the propaganda was stronger than the feelings of ordinary people, which were manipulated. According to Marković (Film Tour) the war has become a stage setting of deep conflicts within personalities, the consequence of the separation of all negative emotions and their projections on the Other.

Divided and formally different, but essentially the same, the media created an atmosphere in which war seemed correct on each individual side (Film Tour). As a final collective act, the war is realized through mass mobilization orchestrated from the centers of power (Belgrade, Zagreb, Washington, London) with the complete lack of awareness, knowledge and understanding of the same war (Film Tour - Figure N). Mass communications had fundamental importance, so the story of "threatened nations", along with demographic statistics and estimates emphasized the imminent threat for the survival of the nation and that had the need for protection (Jović, 2001). The presence of home cameras during the war gave the speed of light to images, as well as the possibility of being seen around the world in a matter of seconds. contributed to the general perception of the war and the first "war spectacle" (Kaldor 1999). Therefore Žalica (Fuse) shows that war and nationalism are not great epic

story, but there is much more "behind" them. Ordinary people became victims of great interest and manipulation by criminals, politicians, and international bureaucrats.

Regardless of these, conditionally accepted many other variants of the conflict, there is still no consensus on the issues of close war history in Bosnia and Herzegovina, or a distant one for that matter. Churchill was saying that the Balkans simply produces more history than it can bear, and Lowenthal (1968) that never before so many people dealt with so many different pasts. Although all attitudes toward the past should be based on facts, policies are taking them into account only in selected, specific conditions. What happened here is that the facts have been relativized by the ploys and spins of political and intellectual elites, the media and the far right. In each of the post-Yugoslav states and societies, there are simplified narratives about the sufferings of their own people or nation, alongside denial or relativization of the crimes perpetrated by members of that same people. 20 years after the war, there is no situation in which the facts about the war are given the weight they deserve, and that is what, in return, strongly affects society itself. (Štik, Internet R).

When speaking of post-socialism and post-Yugoslavia, Buden (2013) points out that we live in a time of post-history (Fukuyama, 1992). Given that modern society is suffering from obsessions of specific own history, exclusive to the other, the question arises, why there is no past and where the future is. Instead of history and memories, Nora (1996) highlights the existence of "the democratization of the relationship to the past, which means that historians lose their monopoly when it comes to the truth about the past." Peter Novick, American historian concludes that such fragmented history can not produce any consensus, so there is no point in letting historians to decide what happened. Because which historians - Croatian, Bosniak, Serbian? "Jergović (2013: 127) writes that no one here did anything for the truth, that the truth has stopped to be an argument, so he does not believe it will ever be mentioned in the writing of history." The truth will be offensive if someone says it, it's the same of Serbs as it is for Croats and Muslims."

On the other hand Lledo (1992) does not doubt in the existence of a double, multiple history ... Other history and others' histories, so he affirms them somehow. Therefore Bloch (1952) puts human life in the center of history, by saying that the present is more important to understand the past, moving backwards from the end. As opposed to the method of knowledge about the present, Bloch favours indirect approach to the past, that should be handled through the testimonies of opposing and different types, but indirectly as well. According to him, the history of direct war context is the most difficult of all sciences. In broader context of the Balkans, Koulouri (2007) points out that it is impossible to write history, because there is no Balkan identity, then there is no reason for us to construct one. She refers to international misunderstanding of Balkan countries since it was wrongly based on the concept of 'Balkanization' (Todorova, 1997) in the beginning of the 20th century. Although the Balkan peninsula has played a major role in history, the area has been subject to less intensive study than any other European region. To the outside observer the Balkans often appear to be a puzzle of confusing complexity (Jelavich, 1983). Koulouri also adds that their findings are based on marginal aspects, declining issues that really made division, and which has not always been naive.

4.1.1. The imagined Bosnia

Historically, Bosnia-Herzegovina has always been a multicultural, as a result of numerous regimes that led to the heterogeneous structure of ethnic composition of population (Serbs, Croats and Muslims), religion (Orthodox, Muslim and Catholic) and cultures (East and West). Moreover, it was not just the demography that was entwined with the various regimes, but also but also the city's urban structure. The Ottomans, from the mid-fifteenth century, followed by the Austro-Hungarians, from the late nineteenth century, and than socialist Yugoslavia left a landscape dotted with institutions of various faiths. However, despite the historical continuity of coexistence, there were also traditional national hostility and tensions in Bosnia and Herzegovina. By approaching closer to the context, Andrić's thought can be confirmed: "Bosnia begins, where logic ends" so in addition to historical, imaginary dimension of the conflict and its background should be considered. The greatest Bosnian writers also spoke about the metaphysical Bosnia, not avoiding hatred, as part of its cultural space.

Bosnia is a country of hatred and fear. (...) Because the fatal characteristic of this hatred is that the Bosnian man is unaware of the hatred that lives in him, shrinks from analysing it and - hates everyone who tries to do so. And yet it's a fact that in Bosnia-Herzegovina there are more people ready in fits of this subconscious hatred to kill and be killed, for different reasons, and under different pretexts, than in other much bigger Slav and non-Slav lands... Yes, Bosnia is a country of hatred. This is Bosnia. And by strange contrast, which in fact isn't so strange, and could perhaps be easily explained by careful analysis, it can also be said that there are a few countries with such firm belief, elevated strength of character, so much tenderness and loving passion, such depth of feeling, of loyalty and

unshakeable devotion, or with such a thirst for justice. But in secret depths underneath all this hide burning hatreds, entire hurricanes of tethered and compressed hatreds maturing and awaiting their hour. (...)

Ivo Andrić, 1920.

Bosnia is a hard, freight land and is not easy to live here. Seen from the outside and without love, Bosnia is rough and tough, seen from the inside and with the love it deserves, it is rich in human, although completely unknown in itself. One is rarely more painfully and dramatically determined by the history as a Bosnian. So much has been accumulated in these people during centuries! The feeling of own uncertainty, someone else's guilt, heavy history, an uncertain future, fear of change, a desire for goodness and humanity, which would be related to all people without any restrictions and frequent disappointments that have born hatred. These are very complex and intricate people and it is difficult to dismiss them on the first sight and by external impressions. Maybe because of an uneven walk through history, because of the constant accidents, and due to historical fate, Bosnia never had the fortune to be left alone aside of the powerful neighbors. From distant bogumils, which present real unorthodox face of Bosnia, these people were cursed, burned, and destroyed by popes, emperors, kings, so the survivors were always returned to their defiance. We live in the crossroads of the worlds, on the border between nations, each under attack, always guilty to someone. The waves of history break on us, as on the ridge. (...)

Meša Selimović

The space of Bosnia has been seen as "geo-political, cultural and historical phenomenon," as "the most authentic part of the Dinara massive," "rich in historical and cultural heritage" of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian, Christianity and Islam, as well as the backyard of Europe (Radulj, 2011). This specific space "in-between", is tragic, absurd and conflicting in every sense. It is space of politics, of dilemmas and doubts, the land of blood and honey, and finally imagining impossible, which are all associations of Bosnian territory. For spatialization of the story about Bosnia and its people, Radulj (2011) uses the metaphor 4,5D BA(O)SNA^[NB] - invented term that means stagnation of thoughts in the interpretation of the time, coming from rational misunderstanding of their own time and space. Using a play with words, it tells a story about the context of life, and about physical or imaginary Bosnian milieu, which can not be described otherwise. The narrative space is thus replaced by cultural reconstruction and it is built from the idea of space, poetic, theoretical and critical notes, using transposition and metaphor. The term "Bosnia" is spatial and temporal abstraction, as a reflection of the record and the story about the space, but not the space itself. This is discontinuous total space, which is in constant polemical debate between few cultural systems where the very act of construction is set as an event in timeframe, and as a comment of the time and space.

The metaphysical character of Bosnian context is present in most of the film narratives that speak of the irony and absurdity of war and its inherent origins, circumstances, and historical interpretations (Petrunić, 2005). In Undergorund, Kusturica used metaphors from different time sequences, linking the same space, problems, changes and divisions in one thread, which are repeating in approximately equal intervals and resorts to the thesis of unresolved historical and national debts, as destiny. The statement about the explosion of the 'Bosnian pot' [N], turns the representational concept into the sphere of metaphor, myth and metaphysics, so the Underground (1995) becomes a statement of high political-ideological (in) definiteness. Message of Tanovic's "No Man's Land" is on the "man on the mine," who, as it seems, does not have any other salvation except death, which is, again, a kind of, so-called Balkan eternal destiny. On the other hand, this complex, painful, and eternal destiny theme is set on the general level of humanity in which it should be considered.

4.1.2. The real Bosnia

When an escalation of conflict happened after a long period of peace in the region, and 45 years of living in "brotherhood and unity". One bloody war broke out from one cultural space, one physical space, city, school, language, and history.

While "day to day flowers flourished from seeds that might have been a hybrid, crossed western culture and Balkan hot temper made the hybrid grow obscurely on a fertile land full of talented and over emotional people, who had poetry as a part of their spiritual tissue, and music as their sister." (Karajlić 2014: 105)!" The war was a reality in which people finally started to believe and Through which which they were rapidly changing (Jergović, 2013). Death was the only continuity of the everyday life, which was not disrupted (Šehić, 2013: 101). " All that is left is to wait and see who will live, who will kill and who will die. (Hemon, 2013: 77)." "Life was becoming very serious matter, different from everything I knew about it. Every mistake could be fatal, I felt it, but I still was not clear how or why (Jergović 2013: 16)."

Hemon was also trying to figure out how it all could have happened. " A lot of time has passed while I was trying to figure out why all that I knew and loved went to the air... (2013: 88)." Štiks (2006) finally admits the incomprehensibility of that fateful war. " It seems to me like some infernal logic, some old curse which I don't know how we earned, is slowly erasing the cities from the face of the Earth in which religions, nations, languages, roads have been mixed as deck of cards (Ibid. 134)." "I walked through the war I had nothing to do with, and about which I am not concerned. (Ibid. 185)." The war and everything that accompanies it were oncoming noisy and arrogantly, without wondering if you have the will to participate in all these pseudo intellectual gossips about the origins and religion, earth and blood, About graves sprinkled with bones of someones ancestors, in rallies where leaders of nations, who look like the bad guys from "Alan Ford", are being cheered (Sejranović, 2010: 105)."

Rodriguez Andreu (2012) says that "one must put aside loyalty to the nation, (...) in the chaos of war every soldier and every civilian should decide not just for the side of the front – they should decide whether they are for or against the war." However, residents of Bosnia-Herzegovina, it seems, were not aware of their power, and their role in the war. All of us who were in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, were in a way a part of it. As hostages or victims of the conflict that pretty much no one wanted, we all took part - consciously or unconsciously, passively or actively, willingly or unwillingly. War military service, work commitments, shelling, kidnapping, intimidation, detention, harassment, shortages of basic foodstuffs, sanctions and blockades are just some of the forms of violence, which were conducted daily. Cruelty, equanimity and humiliating nature of warfare and feelings such as despair, fear, anxiety, helplessness, injustice, hatred and struggle for survival have left permanent scars (Tour, No Man's Land, Circles, Fuse).

The war in Bosnia is also marked by basic methods and objectives of the new wars (Kaldor, 1999), such as genocide, ethnic cleansing, urbicide (Bogdanović 1993, Bublin 2005, Mazzacheli 2010), culturecide, and cultural cleansing (Bevan, 2006). The destruction and occupation of space were "legitimate warfare" at all spatial levels, from the state (the Republic, Entity) through the region (Krajina), municipalities (Srebrenica, Žepa, Goražde) to cities (Sarajevo) and neighborhoods. The key issue throughout the war, and the main cause for this extraordinary flux of people, was the policy of 'ethnic cleansing'. 'The Others' were expelled, the area 'cleaned', through intimidation and violence, or by outright massacres (Skotte).

Kamerić (2003) is placed in the role of a girl who was described by an unknown Dutch soldier on the graphite of military barracks in Potocari, in Srebrenica in 1994/1995. [N] Kamerić (2013) shows a series of hundreds of photos of shelled exterior wall of her bedroom, where her head stood.

Finally, at the lowest, but the most important level, the house was subject of destruction. Due to mutual overlaps between ethnicity and territory, wars of identity are specifically targeted to housing facilities, ensuring the expulsion of 'other'. By the nature of these wars, in the center of the conflict is the house, which is individually targeted and killed (Udovicki & Ridgeway, 2000), because the killing of the house is contributing to the long-term suffering of many people. Housings are therefore looted, burned and destroyed through recognition of their symbolic nature of identity. Instead of 'winning the hearts and minds', new wars rely on 'sowing fear and hatred' which entail mass killings, expulsions and various forms of intimidation directed against the civilians and against the 'laws of war'.

Although, the universal violence reflects cowardice and unreasonable reasoning according to Selimovic, Zizek (2008) points out that violence is all around us, and yet we are not able to explain or reconcile with it. He warns that the obvious violence is actually the product of hidden violence, which constitutes our political and economic system. Subjective violence consists of two types of objective violence - "symbolic" embodied in language and forms, which Heidegger calls "our house of being" and "systematic" which refers to consequences of "smooth" functioning of the economic and political system.

" Outside, on the street other laws were valid. [...] In our town, I felt like a stranger when I realized that we are not brothers, not because I do not want to, but because there is no good will for that with majority of its inhabitants of both nationalities. (Šehić, 2013: 14)." "Every day, the situation increasingly confirmed a lie about the Bosnian hatred, lie about country's ice intolerance (Jergović, 2013: 127)." "[...] Life in War is a strange and disgusting (Šehić, 2013: 82)." "[...] The new reality introduced only two time categories [...] the classic passage of time: before the war, and in war (Štiks, 190). The events became" parts of the mosaic of a war that became more and more ethnic and even religious, so genuine and, finally, ineradicable, one conflict in which we should not be

involved, one predictable disaster, which arises from the same subconscious of region and from conveniently selected quotations of their own writers (Štiks, 2006: 68)."

4.2. Geography of conflict

4.2.1. War course

Given the particular position and continuous mixing of the population, Bosnia was, and still is, the most heterogeneous republic of former Yugoslavia. However, it is the only republic where Muslims make up a significant part of the population and in fact its largest nation. However, Sokolović (2006) says that the Bosnian territory can not be defined as a specific ethnic territory, nor ethnicities in Bosnia can be defined by an association with a specific territory. Map of National Composition of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1991. shows the following composition of the population: Muslims 43.7 % (Central and Eastern Bosnia), Serbs 31.4% (represented throughout Bosnia, proportionally the largest group in the regions bordering the Croatian and Serbia), Croats 17.3% (mostly in Herzegovina and mountainous regions on the border with sea hinterland Croatia), Yugoslavs 5.5% (the highest portion in the federation) and others 2.5% (practically invisible) (Figure N).

Territorial segregation was traditionally a characteristic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, both in rural and urban areas. Muslims formed a majority of the heterogeneous structure of urban population, while Serbs and Croats over populated periphery of cities and rural areas where they owned more land. However, such structure has weakened over the years and was not a hindrance for the full social integration in the period of socialist Yugoslavia and the ideology of "Brotherhood and Unity". In rural areas it meant a few hundred meters of distance, the place behind the corner or the other side of the hill, while in cities it is less noticed. On the other hand, there were other borderlines, which had more sense in the lives of the people than ethno-religious affiliations. To be urban or rural, educated or not, these were very important differences in Bosnia (Djilas 1958, Woodward 1995 Mazover 1998).

Given the importance of the politics of identity, this map was the basis of division, although denying the reality of everyday life in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This territorial map known as "leopard skin" is also subject to manipulations of scales and sizes of units, which significantly change the image of Bosnia. By simply increasing the scale it is possible to delete the borders and minorities, and to observe certain relatively homogeneous territories of ethnic majorities (Blagojevic, 2001). On the other hand, the true nature of the complex multicultural Bosnia is hiding in a tiny, filigree scale, where the nature of being Bosnian was to live 'with others' (Bring 1993, 1995). Unfortunately, these very 'others' became mortal enemies in the early 1990s, when the war ripped Yugoslavia apart. It is only through the creation of 'the other', the enemy, that the notion of 'we' or 'ours' emerges (Beck 1998, 2003).

After the Serbs proclaimed Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and for a short time occupied the parts of the country where they were majority, the territory is divided into three parts. Initially formed dividing line has become a war front that was opened during the four years of conflict. The course is then unfolded around strategic geo-political points important for consolidating, securing and connecting territorial units, best positions possible in relation to the enemy, claiming pretensions towards expanding and keeping free territories.. There were several phases that marked dynamics of sporadic movements of the front, regrouping and formatting the territory, which led to the final division. This had important influence on the process of refugees, territorial re-organization and the structure of cities.

The course of the war and direction of its finishing have been marked by several events. These are primarily (1) In 1991 there were previous conflicts in Slovenia and Croatia, and the formation of the Republic of Serbs - Krajina in Croatia. (2) In 1992 The "silent war" was conducted before the official start of the conflict (about which there is no consensus) throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina, especially in big cities as Sarajevo, Mostar, Banja Luka... The first year of the war was marked by the beginning of the siege of Sarajevo, breaking Serb corridor through Posavina, mass deportations from all parts of the country, and intense conflicts on all fronts between the three conflicting parties, their fractions and paramilitary forces. (3) 1993 marks the continuation and escalation of intense fighting; The establishment of protected areas (for areas of Sarajevo, Gorazde, Srebrenica, Tuzla, Zepa) under the command of UNPROFOR; the culmination of the Muslim-Croatian conflict, especially in the Lasva Valley in Central Bosnia, the destruction of Mostar, and so on. (4) 1994 marks the intensification of military operations, the continued

destruction of Sarajevo, but also the agreement between Croats and Muslims, and creation of the Muslim-Croatian Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina (later the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina), as well as renewal of conflict in the UN protected areas in Croatia. On the request of UNPROFOR, military action of NATO was directly involved in the war and directed against endangering the protected zone. (5) Finally, 1995. was marked by the final fights (especially around Doboj and Sarajevo), and the fall of Srebrenica and Zepa, which are accompanied by Croatian offensives "Flash" (Ser: Bljesak) and "Storm" (Ser: Oluja), NATO strikes the positions of the Army of the Republic Srpska and assists final campaigns, taking the territory and the expulsion of Serbs from large parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina, especially from the West, which was the convergence of imaginary percentage division of the territory and the introduction to the peace.

4.2.2. Negotiated border

Once started these wars are extremely difficult to end. They become endemic conflicts where envisioning a post-conflict settlement, not to mention peace, seems, if not illusive, extremely difficult (Kaldor et al. 1995). However, the war ended by signing the Dayton Peace Agreement on November 21. 1995. Bosnia-Herzegovina has been divided to units formed by ethnic majorities - in two entities, the Muslim-Croat Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina (later the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina) with a majority of Muslim (later Bosniak) and Croatian (Catholic) population and the Republic Srpska with Serbian (Orthodox) population majority, and the self-governing district of Brcko (under international supervision until 2012), functioning as a de facto Bosnia's third entity.

Unfortunately, the Dayton agreement was not a democratic agreement, not even negotiated by Bosnians or written in one of official languages in Bosnia. Pushed by the U.S. and European powers, the agreement between the authoritarian presidents of Croatia (Franjo Tuđman) and Serbia (Slobodan Milošević) carved up the territory of Bosnia as guarantees of the peace. The political framework accompanying this agreement in effect made Bosnia internally divided and supervised by international bodies - a protectorate under UN-EU with a large Nato Stabilization Force overseeing the peace. Paradoxically, just few months before NATO troops were direct war participant against Bosnian Serb forces. According to artistic narratives (Fuse), an obstacle to manipulation and exploitation has been set. Without it ordinary people could normally co-exist and work together without problems. This way extremely politically negotiated Dayton agreement has been designed more to "end war" than to build a European state. The creation of this kind of exceptionally complex political structure called unfinished state didn't lead towards solving deep ethnical disputes that triggered the conflict in 1992.

Kant said that no peace agreement can be considered valid if it is signed so it contains the triggers for some future war. In that case, it would be only a truce, disposal of hostilities, not a peace that means the end of conflict. As well as the end of the war, the boarder agreement between two entities was also political act based on trade territory. Unlike the restrictions, which suggest the meaning of completion, the limits are set to negotiate, to exclude and include at the same time (King, 2007). Thus, in spatial and semantic sense, Underground by Kusturica culminates with a scene of separated island with predestined shipwreck victims who celebrate again, singing and dancing unaware of new changes and not caring about the continuous conflict of the same people nor the redrawing of boundaries. The war again culminates between them, in which "there is no hope, faith, love and morality and where there is no orientation in despair " (Figure N).

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). Yet, as Gearóid Ó Tuathail (ibid.) suggests, the coherency of this map simply "ended the war but did not resolve any conflict", the war in Bosnia was not completed, but only frozen. Though negotiated in haste, and somewhat crude in formulation, it got Bosnia's warring factions to stop slaughtering each other. But the Agreement left something very ugly in its place. It is important to note, as Ó Tuathail identifies, that Bosnia-Herzegovina 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" (ibid.); 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 preexisting internal division.

The division was based on the ethnic majority in municipalities (1991 census), i.e. on the administrative units that were not based on ethnic, but rather on functional, geographical and economic principles (Mrduljaš, 2008). On the other hand, the border is a result of agreed division of territory in the ratio of 51% to 49% in favor to the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mysteriously, illogical and tentative line that was drawn mostly follows the last war demarcation line, giving legitimacy to the initial war division. The creators of the peace treaty which divided Bosnia into two entities used maps with a scale of 1:600,000, which highly enough talks about the level at which the politicians thought about the future of the territory (Pilav 2012). Ćurak (2011) says that this border is imaginary division of the country, which previously did not exist as a political and geographical term of Bosnian history, nor nor as following any logic of spatial and territorial planning^[NM].

In addition to the inter-entity line, which means the two entities and one district, within Bosnia-Herzegovina there are many other borderlines. According to the majority ethnic representations of Croats and Bosniaks, the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina is divided into 10 cantons. Five of them are considered Bosniaks: Bosnian Podrinje, Canton Gorazde, Sarajevo Canton, Tuzla Canton, Una-Sana Canton, and Zenica-Doboj Canton. Three cantons are considered as Croatian: Canton 10, Posavina Canton and West Herzegovina Canton. The remaining two cantons - Central Bosnia Canton and Herzegovina-Neretva are considered to be mixed, and there is reciprocity in political relations between Bosniaks and Croats. The country is also administratively divided into 12 official cities, 141 municipalities, and several natural, economic, geographical and administrative regions.

According to Neill (2006) there are more types of borders today than ever before in history, so "we are defined by different kinds of borders", in every aspect of social life. Borders can no longer simply be understood as the geographical divisions because they are not just edges (Tsing 2005), their form and function has become too complex, too hybrid. The boundaries have become wild, unregulated and multidimensional characteristics of different layers of space, which emerge in the space of complex systems.

Although Bosnia-Herzegovina is a space too small for this kind of maneuvers, its imaginary and physical space is constantly a subject to new divisions so borders become an important feature. Given the strength of highlighting three different identities, nations and religions, cultural space is divided, according to origins, language, dialect, roots, affiliations, identities. Therefore Čmajčanin (2011) invites for enjoy the freedom of designing and tailoring Bosnia as our homeland (Figure N). The game allows creation of a suitable model by everyone's own means, desires, needs, sense of national identity, ethnicity, religion, political affiliation or guided by some other, personal preferences. In this way, a specific imaginary mapping allows individual interpretation of the territory and creation of one's own ideal or missing map (Topalović, 2014).

The need for division, emphasis, categorization, shows that the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina had no winners or losers, but that it hasn't yet been completed and that the war trauma is still live. Špirić's (2009) digital work "Minesweeper Bosnia & Herzegovina" works on the principle of original computer game. He asks the question "Do we lightly play it and 'by clicking' on the mysterious fields" if we put it in the context of Bosnia-Herzegovina? (Figure N)^[N] Bounded in the conflict between space and identity the topic of Bosnian and Herzegovinian borders of cultural space is opened. Radulj (2011) observes three Bosnian nations as the three sheep in a sealed bag. In a limited, small and confined space there is no possibility for action that would be different than the one that is geared towards only one (second) in the immediate vicinity. Mrdja (2010) uses the scar on her arm, which was created in the past (1985) and compares it with the borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina at the moment. However scar and border have become smaller in time. Miljanovic (2006) represents this narrowness and borderness, as well as a sense of hopelessness, as a horror of experience, because the experience of living in Bosnia-Herzegovina is much more difficult to describe than to experience. Finally Spiric (...) uses very direct means to sign Bosnia-Herzegovina as a danger, as something to watch out for!

4.3. Refugee process

4.3.1. Scale of refugee

What brought the day after demarcation was devastating. So much desirable time after the war (Štiks, 2006: 190) has brought only questions without answers, and opened some new ones. Vojnovic (2013) wonders how to continue living in this killed space, how to deal with the past and offenses of generation of fathers. Jergovic once said that he is not interested in the level of speech that manipulates with numbers, because every number is a part of a human destiny and each of them is individually important. Although in the war numbers were not killed but people, it is important to note basic facts about the tragic consequences of the Bosnian war, which show a wide scale of this conflict, which are still felt and are part of everyday life.

Almost four war years were marked by terrible sufferings. Different data speak of 100.000 people killed in Bosnia, around 20.000 in Croatia and about 300.000 wounded. When the war ended and housing destruction assessments were done, it was evident that about 35% of Bosnia's housing stock had been damaged or destroyed during the war years (IMG 1999). UNHCR reports (2004) state that 450.000 house units were destroyed or damaged. Regardless of widespread destruction and the serious loss of human life, former republican borders were not changed. However, a significant change and redefinition of ethno-territorial arrangement is caused among them. On the other hand, the sizes of the pre-war ethnic spaces of three nations were approximately the same to those that were controlled in the moment of getting peace agreement - under the HVO^[NV] 19% was located, under the BH Army^[NV] 33% and 48% of the territory under the VRS Bosnia-Herzegovina^[NV]. Mrduljaš (2008) concludes that war, conditionally, did not led to a significant narrowing or spreading of the territorial framework of any of the three nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In order to understand transformations of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, it is necessary to include migrations as one of the most important process. Since ethnicity and territory are, by and large, overlapping issues, wars of identity have tremendous demographic impacts. War conflict was followed by extremely large population movements. The collapse of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and the complex and brutal civil wars that accompanied it, resulted in massive flows of refugees and IDPs (internally displaced persons) from and within the region. The reports from UNHCR in 2004 say that more than 3,000,000 people were expelled from the territories of former Yugoslavia.

By the time the war ended in December 1995 and spring 1996, more than half of Bosnia's population of 4,4 million (Cenzus 1991) was forced to flee their homes during the recent war. 2,2 million people were displaced from their homes or they became refugees. Of those 1.2 million found refuge outside Bosnia proper, affecting almost every country in Europe directly, while about 1 million people of all nationalities were displaced within Bosnia-Herzegovina itself. It is also important to note that Bosnia-Herzegovina was at the same time country which recived approximately 350.000 of Serb refugees from Croatia, of whom some 35.000 stayed in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and thousands of refugees from Kosovo in 1999.

Refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina sought refuge in more than 100 countries worldwide. Neighbouring countries, as Federal republic of Yugoslavia, i.e. Serbia and Montenegro, and Croatia accepted about 500.000 (40%) of refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina. In addition, around 700.000 had become refugees in Western Europe, of whom some 345.000 were in the Federal Republic of Germany." (UNHCR, 2001, p.218-219) while, outside of the region ,West Germany - 320.000, Austria - 86.000, Sweden - 59.000, Switzerland - 24.500, Turkey - 23.500, Netherlands - 22.000 and some other countries accepted the largest number of refugees at the very beginning of the war. In years after, in 2005, this figure significantly changed. Over 200.000 refugees went from Germany to some third countries, while Sweden, Norway and Denmark have accepted many more refugees.

4.3.1.1. Reflexive process of population exchanges

The inner and outer directions of process of refugee are conditioned by different factors, but basically depend on the decisions of individuals and families, as well as of the political movings of local and state institutions. The flows were directed towards ethnically homogeneous territories and territories where the same ethnic population has a simple majority. Directions of refugees also followed the traditional migration flows. Immigration targeted the territories where the permanent residence had some of their relatives or friends. They also often chose economically developed regions because of the possibilities to resolve main problems of the accommodation as well as employment (Marinkovic, 2005). Geographical location and traffic communications were also very important. People were afraid of new conflicts and displacements, and often chose the place from which it would be relatively easier to flee again. The vicinity of major transport corridors and roads or borders with nation-home countries were decisive for Croats or Serbs.

According to Markotić (2000) national directions of refugees was very highlighted: Serbs to Serbia in 81.4% of cases, Croats towards Croatia in 70.3%, and Bosniaks to the Federation and European countries in 89.2% of cases. The spatial distances of movements are also an important factor. Analyses indicate that staying in some destinations was not accidental, and that a smaller number of these persons still had enough time to choose a destination (Marinkovic, 2005). Apart from these, there were other specific reasons of refugee directions.

The process of refugee was reflexive. One of the most important indicators of the process was a list of households and refugees in March 1996 according to which the Republic Srpska has 130.860 households that have had to move from their original place of residence. According to estimates, this means that to this group belong 480.000, or one-third of the total population of the Republic Srpska. At the same time data shows that around 650.000 inhabitants had to left this space in period between 1991 and 1996. The majority, or about 80% of the population consisted of Bosniaks (Muslims) and Croats (Jakšić, 1996: 102).

Although there were no universal principles, a certain regularities in the movement of refugees and displaced persons could still be point out. Marinkovic (2005) lists four dominant groups of factors and circumstances that influenced these trends. These are (1) the proximity of the former permanent residence, (2) relocation of industrial plants in the period of military operations, (3) free choice, given the circumstances of the war and (4) available accommodation.

The process of exchange is marked by several waves. Chronology of refugeeism is based on the Census of refugees and other war-affected persons in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (2001) (Marinkovic, 2005). It will serve as a basis for definition of several periods of new constructions of neighborhoods and settlements.

(1) 1990. The first signs of separatism are manifested by certain republics of former Yugoslavia and movements of people had already started. These were mainly students, seasonal workers, military personnel and their families. (2) 1991. By adopting the Declaration of Slovenian and Croatian independence in May and June of 1991, the first armed conflict appeared which affected the substantial emigration of the Serbian population from these republics. In the second half of 1991 mass armed conflicts were happening in Croatia, which caused greater displacement and refugee of Serb populations towards the areas that have not yet been affected (3) In 1992. armed conflicts began in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in parallel, continuous process of mass displacement and exile of the indigenous population. (4) The intensification of the war in 1993 brought a new wave of refugees. At the same time due to certain stabilization period, a smaller returns were registered. According to UNHCR the peak of the refugee crisis was when there were about five million refugees and displaced persons and other victims of war in the former Yugoslavia. At the same time, the first time since the outbreak of the conflict, due to a stabilization period, a slight case of return was registered. (5) With the intensification of military operations IN the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1994, and the renewal of the conflict in the UN Protected Areas (Sectors North and South) in Croatia, there was a new intensification of the process. (6) In 1995 the most dramatic and the most extensive refugee process happened, as the result of military operations in the Republic of Croatia ("Flash" (Bljesak) in May in western Slavonia, and "Storm" (Oluja) in August in Krajina) and Bosnia-Herzegovina (the west Krajina municipalities and the region of municipalities in Sarajevo basin, "Mrkonjić pocket", Posavina, Ozren, etc.). (7) The last great exodus of the Serb population in Bosnia-Herzegovina, happened in 1996 during the implementation of the Dayton Peace Agreement, when the large part of Serbian Sarajevo municipalities transferred to the jurisdiction of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. During February and March the vast majority of Serb population left from the area in an organized action. (8) The period between 1996 and 2001 was characterized by the

implementation of the DPA and the process of return of refugees and displaced persons in the previous place of residence, moving to other areas or having decided to stay in the places of refuge.

Returning process

For all of my returns [...] I have always had the same anxious feeling as then, feeling that no one is waiting for me here, that in this city, nobody misses me. Sometimes I hoped that after many years of returnings I might feel to be back home again, but it never happened.

Vojnović 2013:143

The Appendix 7 of the Dayton Agreement dealt with the right to return of about two million of displaced persons in total, who were victims of ethno-religious expulsions. It was because no peace agreement could proceed without taking into account the plight of the refugees. According to data of international organizations there were still at least 100.000 IDPs in BiH by the end of 2014. This was the period after almost 20 years since the conflict has ended, during which more than million people were internally displaced. The true number is likely to be higher, given that the figure only represents those who have obtained legal status as a “displaced person”, and their children. According to data approx. 580.000 IDPs have returned to their homes, but the numbers are questionable and not in accordance with the real situation, nor with the Census 2013. Although the requirements for the restitution of property were solved very successfully (93%)^[NS]. According to the estimates of NGOs and Ombudsman^[NO] the number of returnees was much lower due to a lack of sustainable measures of return. The international community did not insist on those measures as it did on the restitution of property. "The returnees and IDPs are often exposed to social rejection or limited access to social services, given that there are no measures that would guarantee sustainable return"^[N]. Therefore, a significant portion of population sold their returned property or has kept it only for occasional visits. The returning process took around 5 years- until 2001, when the returning of pre-war properties was allowed, i.e. 10- by the end of 2006, when the process is essentially completed by verifying the property laws in most of municipalities.

4.3.1.3. Ethnic engineering

The most important information on population movements and changes in the ethnic structure are two Census of the Population, Households and Dwellings, which were held just before the war in 1991, and then in the autumn of 2013, whose results were published in 2016 after three years of waiting^[NC].

According to Census 4.377.033 inhabitant lived in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1991: Muslims- 1.902.956 (43,48%), Srbs- 1.366.104 (31,21%), Croats 760.852 (17,38%) and Yugoslavs- 242.682 (5,54%). Today 3.531.159 inhabitants live in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Bosniaks- 1.769.592 (50,11%), Serbs 1.086.733 (30,78%), and Croats 544.780 (15,43%). In the entity of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina 2.219.220 inhabitants live (62,85%), in Entity Republic Srpska 1.228.423 inhabitants (34,79%) and in District of Brčko 83.516 inhabitants (2,37%).

The 2013 census shows that a number of residents in Bosnia-Herzegovina has declined by almost 850.000, compared to 1991 (accounting for almost 24% or 1/4 of the current population), while demographic analysts warn of even more dramatic situation. The Census 2013 and other researches (Pasalic, 2012) show enormous demographic losses in entity and state levels, as well as small and medium-sized cities, while at the same time population growth was recorded only in larger urban centers.

According to 1991 census 126.628 inhabitants lived in Mostar - 43.856 (34,63%) Muslims, 43.037 (33,99%) Croats, 23.846 (18,83%) Serbs, 12.768 (10,08%) Yugoslavs and 3.121 (2,47%) others. According to 2013 census 105.797 inhabitants live in Mostar - Croats 51.216 (48,40%), Bosniaks 46.752 (44,10%), Serbs 4.421 (4,17%), and 3.408 (3,33%) "others". Compared to 1991, the number of Croats increased by around 8.000, the number of Bosniaks about 3.000, while the number of Serbs decreased by almost 20.000.

Before the war 195.692 inhabitants lived in Banja Luka - 106.826 Serbs (54,58%), 29.026 (14,83%) Croats, 28.558 (14,59%) Muslims, 23.656 (12,08%) Yugoslavs and 7.626 (3,89%) others. 185.042 inhabitants live today in the largest city of Republic Srpska - 165.750 (89,57%) Serbs, 7.681 (4,15%) Bosniaks, 5.104 (2,75%) Croats, and 6.504

(3,53%) Others. This means that there is 20.000 less Bosniaks and 24.000 less Croats, while the number of Serbs in Banja Luka has increased by nearly 60.000, compared to 1991.

Comparison of data for Sarajevo is based on the number of inhabitants who lived in four current urban municipalities before the war, because in the meantime, the city has changed its administrative arrangements. In 1991 a number of 361.735 inhabitants lived there - 182.503 (50,45%) Muslims, 92.271 (25,50%) Serbs, 24.241 (6,70%) Croats, and 36.684 (10,14%) Yugoslavs. Sarajevo today has 275.524 inhabitants - 222.457 (80,73%) Bosniaks, 13.604 (4,93%) Croats, 10.422 (3,78%) Serbs, and 28.626 (10,56%) "Others". These numbers show that 40.000 more Bosniaks live today in Sarajevo, 10.637 less Croats and about 81.849 less Serbs.

No generation in Bosnia-Herzegovina could escape wars, sufferings, destructions and displacements. As a result of the war and post-war policy, these processes were completed with radical changes in ethnic structure. Caught in a political rift, Bosnia-Herzegovina is turned its war demographic tragedy and post-war disaster into a constant model (Kazaz, 2016). On the territory of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina 2,5% of Serbs live, and in the Republic Srpska approx. 2% of Croats and about 14% of Bosniaks. Category of the population called "others" - which were previously Yugoslavs, people in ethnically mixed marriages and ethnic minorities which were part of the urban population - is below 1%. Once a multi-ethnic, multicultural and multireligious Bosnia-Herzegovina has become completely different - ethnic ally and territorially divided and homogenized with no recognizable structure of leopard skin.

The process of ethnic homogenization caused the death of multi-ethnic cities, which is a picturesque term for disappearance of others in the new, ethnically homogenous territories. The largest number of municipalities and cities in the Republic Srpska are demographically consolidated in terms of Croatian and Bosniak population. Cities of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina have become in majority Bosniaks (Zenica, Sarajevo, Kladanj, Olovo, Jablanica, Banovići...). Municipalities and cities such as Livno, Duvno, Kupres, Vitez, Čapljina, Stolac, Ljubuški and Prozor have become extremely Croatian. Mostar has become bi-ethnic city, divided into eastern and western part. From the symbol of multiculturalism of the entire Yugoslavia Sarajevo became the Bosniak and Muslim city, and symbolism of its public spaces shows the character of the Bosniak identity. It is the same case with Banja Luka, Bijeljina, Zvornik and other towns of the Republic Srpska, where Srbs dominate, just as new Bosnians in Sarajevo, Tuzla, Zenica, and new Croats in Stolac, Čapljina, Ljubuški and other Croatian cities.

4.3.2. Today's refugee is tomorrow's citizen

Today there are over 50 million displaced persons worldwide, and displacement is a continuum of time, agency, and capital, rather than a temporary state (Brickman, 2016). The movement of people and goods are an ongoing processes that continuously shapes the world. Therefore the phenomenon of migration has a long tradition and is not a new concept (Vermeulen, H. et al. 2015). However, the refugee is a still burning issue, although it is maybe the only imaginable figure of our times in the context of erosion of traditional nation-states as political category. At least until the process of dissolution of the nation-state and its sovereignty is not complete, the refugee is the only category that can be used to perceive the forms and limits of political community (Agamben, 2005).

Due to the scale of the process in Bosnia- Herzegovina the category of refugees and IDPs appears as the form of new subject in space and the main agent of construction. Although the words 'refugee' and 'internally displaced person' are open to discussion and interpretation in everyday language, legal definitions of terms are well established. The United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (1951) defines refugees as persons who have crossed national borders due to a 'wellfounded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion'. On the other hand IDPs are persons or communities who are forced to leave their homes and places of residence as a result of the conflict or to avoid the effects of armed conflict, general violence, human rights violations, natural disasters or disasters caused by human factor, which did not cross internationally recognized borders ^[N].

Their rights within the system-torn country and in the chaos of war were mostly declarative, based on the Geneva Convention ^[N], as they were essentially protected only by international humanitarian organizations.

Constitutional and legal status of refugees and displaced persons on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina is regulated by the provisions of the Annex 7 of DPA, the Constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and other specific official documents^[N].

More important than definition is the social and spatial status of this subject. Unfortunately, the refugee is viewed unilaterally, as the holder of a single, exclusively national identity (Štiks, 2011) for which was expelled and settled in the new ethnically cleansed environment. It was the basic characteristic of the refugee population, which is seen as a collective body in the service of war policy. Arendt (1943/1994) argues that the refugees are as a litmus test for the concept of human rights and warns that the protection of refugees could be provided only and primarily by belonging, which guarantee these rights (Adelman 2008). Apart from identitarian characteristics which has represented responsibility without any rights, refugees are stretched between other categories of law and definitions.

Štiks (2011, 2015) analyzes the right to the citizenship starting from the policy in the former Yugoslavia, which was followed by the construction of the "nation-state" based on the idea of the existence (or creation) of "Yugoslavs". However, this concept has not become live, and conflicts of civil/republican and ethnic identities of citizens have been confirmed by war. The disintegration of the Yugoslav system of "parallel federal and republican citizenship" has caused the introduction of new and different "regimes of citizenship", which have not develop the sense that all citizens "belong to" the country and vice versa regardless of the ethnicity. Due to ethnic homogenisation, the refugees inside of Bosnia-Herzegovina did not have this problem, but it was expressed in the case of returnees, and is one of the reasons why this process has failed.

The central problem of refugees was the lack of basic human rights until they have become members of the community (Arendt, 1943/1994). The refugees are exposed to the fate of human beings who, unprotected by any law or political convention are nothing but human beings. Kant expresses the idea about the right of the citizens of the world, which is a necessary complement to the public right of a man in general, and therefore to eternal peace. Thus hospitality means the right of every person not to be received in a hostile manner in the event of arrival to the ground of somebody else. People with different statuses have to put up with each other because, as Kant says, nobody has the primary right to be in one place more than another.

According to Arendt (1943/1994) the term "refugee" refers to people who have left one space and strive to begin a new life in another. Thus, all their activities are directed to adapting and finding their own ways of fighting with an uncertain future. Despite the ghosts of the past, difficult process of re-construction of both home and life, and the new feature in the new environment requires strength, optimism, and different kind of changes. Accordingly the displaced – rather than being relegated to mere 'beneficiaries' or actors without agency – represent untapped potential and resources, which can be leveraged in activities across the spectrum of response-recovery-reconstruction, even in contexts different from those in which they were created. Refugees, have been historically assimilated into being productive contributors to the economic, social, cultural, and institutional dimensions of societies (Brickman, 2016). Finally, refugees do not have the need for recognition of any status, they just want to continue a normal life, nothing else. But that is the biggest problem.

On the other hand, the acquisition of the rights of citizenship was not a problem. The mere application for a new permanent residence meant the loss of the rights of refugees and displaced persons. This was the other side of the issue for many refugees, who in this way lost the rights to receive any aid (food, medicine, hygiene supplies, clothing and footwear) or other help (the right to alternative accommodation, assistance in resolving housing issues, etc.) on which they still depended, not regarding the citizenship status. The mere change of civil status is not meant to resolve even basic, not to mention other problems of displaced persons. Therefore, the State "made sure" that the legal transition from the status of refugees/IDPs is brought to an end relatively easy and fast. By 2001. and finally by 2006., the status of a citizens was given to most of the displaced, thanks to which they could freely exercise their rights as everyone else.

4.3.3. Culture of refugee

A man is not a tree.

Selimović, M.

Refugeeism has all the characteristics of a serious, complex, multidimensional and a difficult social problem. It disperses people, destroys families, dignity, life, destiny and identity. Although it is inferior to poverty and unemployment, it gets more social weight because of durability and its consequences (Maric, 2013). They do not only affect individuals but also their families, smaller or larger communities, institutions, immediate and wider social environment from which they tear off, but also the space to which they fled. Maric (2013) adds that many of these consequences are unobservable for others, but forever remain in the minds of refugees.

Thus, in general characterization of of migrant figures (Nail, 2015) many other aspects are missing such as religion, gender, memories, family lives and personal strategies (Vermeulen et al 2015). So, for their understanding, it is necessary to include the culture of refugeeism. This culture is made up of several important elements which form the life, destiny and culture of refugees, and finally affect their attitude toward the places they leave, and inhabit on the other hand.

I was a refugee; I also was a refugee; We were all refugees; We are all children of refugees; "Us refugees (Arendt, 1951)", "The little prince was also a refugee (Tiago-Stanković, 2015)," ... All these cries for millions of modern refugees around the world asks them to persist on the path to safe havens. But also that it's a process that many people have went through, and that refugeeism is actually always the same. The expulsion (Sassen, 2014) from the country, city, culture, or family remained as harsh punishment (Ognjenovic, 2013) from ancient times until the present day. It directly reflects on the culture of refugeeism, which is viewed through the elements of matrix of spatial identity transition (CR. X). It consists of (1) map of transition (leavings and comings); (2) matrix of new construction (trauma) and (3) relations of identities (the life outside the place of origin), with particular attention to the last element.

4.3.3.1. Leavings and comings

When the transport aircraft of the United Nations took off from the Sarajevo runway, on July 7th in the morning, I deeply believed that the shame will kill me on the spot if I take a look at city just one more time. I decided to sit at the assigned places and to resist desire to look out the airplane window for the last time, at Sarajevo from which I fled. I covered my face with hands, I put my head between my knees and did not have the courage to raise my hand to the besieged city [...] from which I was leaving as a deserter from personal disaster which intertwined with his accident in the strange way. Like a coward, I repeat, without a word of greeting.

Štikis, 2006: 54

"Štikis's testimony on leaving" Sarajevo, is only one in millions, which opens the eternal debate about the nature of public liability and personal guilt, or the question: Is a moral obligation to treat homeland from cannibalism, or should we throw ourselves to it when it gets hungry (Ognjenović, 2013)? Demić (2014) describes this intense guilt and guilty conscience as as a feeling of complicity, which should be recognized, regardless of the reality of participation. Thus it is clear that beginning of the war marks the end of a normal life, a break with the past and the beginning of an uncertain future. Leaving is just the first step marked by trauma, "tear-off from something that I considered connected to me, the expectation of something new, a desire to finish with all of this (Sejranović, 2010: 115).

The decision of leaving the home place and home, family, friends, work and security is the last option for the people to decide. However, the reasons and motives such as insecurity, fear of biological disappearance and uncertainties are irrefutable. Immediately on the other side are trauma, fear of a foreign land, stress, or hopes that will stop (Marić 2013). At the time of leaving, many do not even know where to go or or what it waits for them there. "I sat on the bus and left. To nowhere, from nowhere (Sejranović, 2010: 119)." But in those moments it does not matter, because people are looking to "to save head on shoulders." It is only important to

flee away and to come to a "safe area". That is the way in constant motion, without turnings, from which there is no way out, just one stream of the river.

Although Crnjanski (Црњански 1929/1966) believes that uncomfortable feeling of leaving should not be seen as fatal, because people actually leave the place, but the place does not leave them, Hemon (2013: 128) argues that leaving is really the end and says: "The rest of it was the rest of my life." Leaving means the loss of everything, the feeling of complete helplessness and loneliness. It is enough to have a man move from one place to have everything that he/she leaves looking like it never even existed. "In such world, there is one basic rule, consisting of two, always packed bags (Zuko Džumhur on Bosnia). These must fit all properties and memories as well. Everything outside is already lost. It is pointless to search for reasons, meanings and justifications. They are burdens as well as memories (Vojnović 2013: 137)." Leaving is accompanied by only two bags in which life does(not) suit. The greatest nightmare of being lost, of aimless wandering, always unpredictable paths, homelessness and life on the street is achieved. Therefore, the basic experience of refugee is the loss of everything, from home to country, memories and cemeteries, up to metaphorical identity, which refugees are looking for (Daković, 2013).

I asked refugees, people who have lost their homes and fortunes, what they are regretting not being able to take with them to exile. Family photos, all of them answered, the ones that are usually stored in an empty cardboard boxes of shirts. Everything can be compensated, they told me, everything can be regained, but we will never be young and smiling as on the old photos that are lost forever.

Kapor, 2013.

In terms of lost 'Homeland' (Tuan, 1997/2001), place associated with personal and cultural roots, the forced coming in a new environment according to belonging to specific ethnic group is also traumatic. Even when a man by his own choice changes the place of residence, country or continent and, with a lot of will, intentionally goes where life will continue, it is not enough to create immunity from immigrant attacks. And it is even more difficult to overcome it if he is forced in any way (Ognjenović, 2013). People who had their property, their jobs and their safety became refugees, by overnight. In that state of shock the largest number of people are not able to view their situation or what they all expected in exile (Maric 2013).

I am afraid to think where I actually am. In a city that is, like all other cities, full of colors, signs and signposts that precisely [...]determine the place and the meaning for everyone [...]A hundred kilometers from the end of the world, people plan their future, Susteren riveted winter soles, tailors sew clothes that will last for a whole life, writers begin three-volume family saga that will be written for ten years [...]Actually people are living how I lived myself before the war destroyed all things and disrupted every rhythm in my city. Before fear made me to give up on all the considerations and to flee. All I have left behind to measure the price of fear, at least in a memory [...]The home, books, refrigerator, video, furniture, feeling that I have to save some for tomorrow

Jergović, 2013.

"Integration with the new environment is the largest psychological problem of refugees. Many people frantically want to keep elements of their identity, life, habits of their previous environment, and therefore do not accept the environment into which they were thrown. They think that what they have left behind is more important and bigger than those they found in places where they came violently. They are closed, and hardly make bridges towards the environment where they have moved (Koljević, 2014)". However, the situation is new for the people of the places where refugees find their refuge. They are also faced with a number of changes which they are not aware of, or fully understand. Negative characteristics of life are being identified with the refugees, who are blamed for many changes made by war, poverty, insecurity, and so on. Vojnovic describes this relationship through the prism of misunderstanding and rejection of new and different in the specific context in which feeling is particularly enhanced.

There was Brčko through the window. (...) As the vast majority of Bosnian cities, it was much more beautiful than it was in reality, even with the lowest height. (...) "You have a nice view, you see the city." (...) "Oh ... I see it, my Vladan, but I do not recognize it. There is so many new people. I would forgive them for being Serbs, my husband was also a serb, but he was a human being at least. They are not as our citizens of Brčko. Do you understand what I am saying, Vladan?" [...] "These are different people. What to do. All of them were brought from somewhere by accident, I know that, but ... sometimes behave so that man, God forgive me, I am asking myself, whether they

have ever been persecuted by anyone if they were at least a little bit more considerate." [...] "I know that, believe me I know. Me and my Rajko were fleeing for as long as I can remember. [...].

Vojnović, 2013.

On the other hand, one completely new life begins for refugees. The so-called integration period apparently runs its course, getting to know the environment, acquiring new habits, exercising friendships, constructing a new life becomes a part of everyday life, but all these are happening in the shadow of leaving and nothing can make up the lost (Jergović 2013). Vojnovic (2013: 58) says that "once when You move from your own place, You can never go back. Everything else becomes less important. Hemon (2013: 179) writes, "We were everywhere and nowhere," and Jergović (2013) that "I could be somewhere else, or finally nowhere with every next moment [...]. The rest of life is a life between two worlds, never really leaving from the one they had to leave, nor ever completely accepting the one where they moved. However, the possibility of a new beginning is the most beautiful theme of refugee, because no matter how difficult and challenging it is, it suggests positive changes and encourages progress (Koljević, 2014).

4.3.3.2. Identity of refugees

Given this torment between old and new, inherited and future, Sejranović (2010: 126) believes that refugees live without an identity, with a sense of emptiness and insufficiency. This is life on the edge, belonging to more places at the same time, but always with the same emptiness and loneliness, regardless of geography and sense of nonaffiliation (ibid.). Past and present exist as two completely different periods in parallel, and simultaneously. Thus, nostalgia becomes permanent and inseparable accompanist of refugee. It is often marked as a "journey to the past " or a "memory that has a future", with the aim to establish relationship with the previous. However, this relationship is difficult to become part of a new culture, so refugees unconsciously accept division to before and after, which becomes a permanent condition. Refugee culture is united in memory towards what it was and what it will be (De Toro, 2006).

One is the real world consisting of family, war, wandering, misery and starvation, and the other is mentally-emotional world filled with faith, dreams, desires and hopes (Crnjanski 1929/1966). In doing so, the present is accepted as temporary, while imaginary "life" takes place in another time. But the truth is that returning is not possible because that space simply does not exist more. His characters are displaced forever, home is inaccessible forever, the loss is irreversible, while the contact with the past, is only random, irregular, lyrical and inadequate (Hemon, 2014). In nostalgic search for innocent past spaces, they are replaced by memories and fragments (De Toro, 2006), so displaced life takes place as both, personal and strange, unique and recognizable.

The way to survive becomes imitation of a past life, a prediction skill, and recognition of the most intimate pain and pleasure (Hemon, 2014). The sense of distance makes the narrative of the relationship between past, present, and future, in conditions that are constantly changing. Displaced person constantly struggles for a narrative stability through the system of nostalgia (Hemon, 2013: 25), so he/she constantly recalls the childhood, landscapes and movings, as well as family warmth and forgiveness (Crnjanski 1929/1966).

Nostalgia evolves into a complex organ, which continuously works and replaces the lost or becomes a tumor that makes it difficult to breathe, sleep or hang out with the 'carefree' natives (Hemon, 2014). Boym (2001) defines two types of nostalgia, restorative, which evokes the national past and future and reflective, which is related to the individual and his own cultural memory. The first enhances the effects of imagined community or nation, and mythologized narrative of collective pictorial symbols, which are re-discovering or inventing (De Toro, 2006), it is incomplete and fragmented, aware of the gap between identity and similarity. When creating a new national cohesion, the support is sought in heritage and tradition (Karan, 2015). On the other hand, it is reflective and oriented towards a single narrative that evaluates the characteristics of memories, delaying returning to home forever.

Ognjenović (2013) believes that it is understandable that each new situation, as well as adverse changes in the circumstances of life, by causing the identity anxiety, which becomes the framework of the refugee identity.

Thus identity of refugeeism is torn somewhere between wanting acceptance from two camps, between the one before, the one between and the one after (Kureishi, 2009), which yet has to be built. Transformed reality of identity exist synchronously (Hemon, 2013), so the refugees are placed outside of people they used to be, now they are divided between themselves over here to themselves over there. "Distance between us and others is measured by the relationship with our own values, which are evident to us (although they may not be for others). Others always remind us who we really are: what we are not and what we will never be (ibid: 28)". Therefore Maluf (2016) says that the life between two worlds is very difficult, because it is a life without belonging. It can not and will not be ever more, something, somewhere will always be missing and now place will ever be as 'at home', so complete and 'true'.

Identity is now constantly in the interval between the loss and creation. It becomes an idea impossible to think about in the old fashioned way, and it's still an issue without of which it would not be possible to consider some questions. Given its continuity, a special identity form is developed. Said (1990) says that migrations have very different natures, but regardless of this, they have something in common where they become one. This is a new concept which is not a topic of dominant practices, but it challenges them in their own bases, leading to some resistance and reflectivity as well. This is the third or hybrid culture, emerging between several cultures (Bhabha 1990), so it introduces a host of new sounds, colors, sensations in just one, unique territory. Although the concept of the culture of displacement was equated with not-belongingness, Bhabha (1990) recognizes it as a new cultural landscape in which all forms of culture stands in a constant process of hybridization, and allows the emergence of other forms and positions.

Finding, construction, and acceptance of hybrid identity is a collection of all lives (Hemon, 2013) and different sets of identities into one, which can be accepted as a permanent condition in culture (De Toro, 2006). However, this is not an easy task, so Maluf (2016) points out that the acceptance of multiple identities becomes a struggle for human dignity. According to him, the identity is infinitely complex, multi-layered, multi-dimensional, and composed of a number of components. And we share each of them with others, but only their essentially unique "combination" does what differentiates one individual from the other (ibid.). The identity is the difference, which unites more except of sharing and excluding.

Thus, the concept of identity can no longer be maintained only on the basis of belonging to a nation or basis of origin (De Toro, 2006). Multiple fragmented world simply does not allow the existence of essentialist notion of identity. However, this does not imply homogenization or assimilation of displaced because that is impossible due to the number of people, and because there is no single world culture. It is made up of a network of social relations and between different regions, which means more foreign elements, not their exclusion. Besides, the culture of refugeeism implies that identities are crossing the borders of nation-states (ibid.) and going beyond essentiality of national identity. Žurić (2014) argues that there is an invisible (refugee) nation that has no boundaries, has nothing to do with nationality, but only with the fate. After the loss of a sense of belonging, refugees cross the problems of identity and in some ways they reject them. Beyond all policies, identities, religions and nations, there mainly exists a human need for natural normality and peace, against which all identity themes fall into the water (Arsenijević, Internet AL).

On the other side of tragic and traumatic refugee experience, many authors point out that every loss opens a field of new possibilities. No matter of its difficulties, the refugee experience is also recognized by the freedom, as its most valuable element. Therefore, many refugees testify that they would not change their own migrant experience. Said (1990) thinks that the boundaries and barriers, which enclose us within the safe and familiar territory can also become prisons so that is desirable to cross them. He adds that the exiles cross borders, as well as break barriers of thought and experience.

Although Sejranović says that refugeeism can also become trapping routine - a way of life, which is just slightly different from the usual, on the other hand provides a different perspective on people, social relationships, meeting others and oneself, and distinguish the important and unimportant. It is an experience that enriches so that one becomes a bit of everything, of every new beginning, acquaintances, city, home, work ... It is usual to

say that refugees are richer for an entire life in relation to others. Therefore, Hemon (2014) writes that the refugeeism is no longer tumor on the soul, but fruitful, transformative position defined by equal distances from all points of banal, aesthetic and disorganized world. Using the term "reflective nostalgia" (Boym, 2001) he points out that it has the capacity to awaken many levels of consciousness and that it can be very productive.

Regardless of different types and feelings, positive and negative characteristics of nostalgia, Hemon (2014) points out that exile is a concept that is rapidly becoming obsolete as it is now easily possible to be virtually present and participate in the parent room. Categories such as homeland, home, past, future and, in particular, the present are going to be redefining in the light of the fact that the simultaneity of human experience has become conceivable. If universal digitization makes the world where nothing is ever possible to forget conceivable, then it is possible that nostalgia is no longer necessary for relationship with the past. Thus the displacement becomes bridgeable, or at least tolerated with no particular aesthetic interventions (ibid.).

4.4. Process of transition

An explosion of democracy wasn't followed by the enlightenment of our nations and nationalities and desire for progress, but valuable shame having fear of mediocrity, escorted by writings of tabloids, ornate with false provincial glamor behind which mere desire for survival was hidden.

Karajlić, 2014: 43.

The cause of trauma that underlies the transition of spatial identities is not only the war and its time-space discontinuity (Šehić, 2013: 217). "The break-up of Yugoslavia, the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the period of the post-war recovery have followed the process of social, economic and cultural transition. It is reflected to all pores and segments of society, destroying the system of values, on which an entire generation of socialist Yugoslavia rested. "Transition" is defined as a conceptual framework, which shows the interval between two political regimes, i.e. the time between the collapse of the old, undemocratic and setting of a new, democratic political system (Kasapović, 1996). Modern political vocabulary implies that the process of transition from a socialist society is perceived as totalitarian, whereas capitalist societies are perceived as free.

"Transition" is a continuous series of changes in all areas and is seen as a general and cultural problem (Atlas of Transformation 2011). Key spheres (economy, politics and culture) of system pursued at the same time are interdependent and contradictory while denying the legitimacy of each other. Thus society in transition gives the illusion of unity, with masked social divisions, with the hidden boundary between state and civil society, and the hidden difference between public and private spheres. These societies are characterized by uncertainty, the kind of limit state between socialism and a new political order in which everything is open to question, uncertain and confusing (Esbenhade, 1995), for which uneducated population was not prepared. "In that state and in this, what it seems to be, a thick fog we did not only lose our jobs, property, health, friends, children. We've lost the idea of how to live as a people. We got lost in transition"(Krivokapić, 2014).

In the economic sphere, the imperative was maximum productivity and profit, but as the economic power is automatically a political, the imperative of politics is different than economic. According to the Atlas (2011), the policy should guarantee the equality of all citizens regardless of their economic power, so that they can participate in collective decision-making process to the same extent, and thus have a share in the self-determination of society. The universality of attitudes is not guaranteed neither by wealth, nor by poverty, but by openness of society, the visibility and audibility of diversity, which have not practically realized in transition.

Economic transition has predicted a realistic and sustainable development based on available resources and potentials, with regulations that are gradually adapting to European requirements and standards (Milojević, 2013). Although in a small post-war country under the auspices of the international community everything needs to look perfect, there are still remains of war hiding, as well as ethnic tensions, corruption, crime and other deviant phenomenas (Fuse - Figure N) resulting in devastating consequences on the country (Progress report, 2013). Bosnia-Herzegovina is one of the poorest countries in Europe, which led to a culture of poverty. "People in the culture of poverty have a strong sense of marginality, of helplessness, dependency and not belonging.

They are strangers in their own country, convinced that institutions do not serve their needs. With the feeling of powerlessness, a feeling of inferiority and personal unworthiness is widespread " (Lewis, 1966).

On the other hand, Chomsky (2003) states that "all around, from popular culture to the propaganda, there is a constant pressure to make people feel helpless, and that their only role is in ratifying decisions and consumption." In the sphere of culture, the dominant imperative is "self-expression" self-knowledge, the will to experience and realization, which in return can cause the conflict. The cultural transition takes place with the question what kind of culture would legitimate this kind of nationalist politics and market economy? Since it has already been completed at the beginning of the war and was forming the part of a war culture, the transition was fatal for culture and media presentation of cultural production. Tabloidized journalism, according to Baudrillard (1994), contributed to "the overall autism, immobility, reduction of abstractness, obsession with entertainment, mass consumerism and uncritical swallowing of the content". So Debord (1967) points out that "The spectacle can not be understood only as a mere visual excess produced by mass media, but it's actually a world view that is materialized."

A direct consequence of the "culture of poverty" (Lewis 1966, Перић Ромић 2013), media propaganda and nationalism, is the dominant subculture of "turbo folk" ^[NTE]. As an indicator, but also a symbolic expression of political determination "turbo folk" and its cascading between the limits of the law is often cited in the marriage between Ceca and Arkan ^[NCA] and many other phenomena that have become part of mainstream culture ^[NVC]. It is "trash", "banal" and "pornographic", "(semi) rural", "Oriental" and "Balkan" so it possess a threat to the indigenous national cultures, as well as the possibility of "European" and cosmopolitan future. On the other hand it creates a completely new system of values, according to which everyday culture of life becomes esoteric.

Although it is the most frequently used term to describe social changes in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 (Veselinović et al. 2010), Puhalo (2015) says that transition is one of those terms that justify many things in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but nothing explains clearly. According to many authors, the transition is still ongoing process, which justifies its failure and many other social, cultural and environmental consequences. It will be close to end only when political culture that has undergone transformation from allegiance to participatory starts to function, with individuals as active subjects of political life.

(Non) Everyday life

The reality of everyday life, which is not 'imaginary' dispels desire of the previous as well as the new imaginary communities, which give a way to the desire for a better life. According to the matrix of the picture of Iheronimus Bosch, "Garden of pleasure", Miljanovic (2013) paints the reality of life in Bosnia- Herzegovina as a landscape with realistic motifs from tombstones, whose appearance coincides with the development of kitsch and turbo-folk music in the 1980s and 1990s. This iconographic show of typical images, figures, symbols, (...) is placed in the space of a typical rural landscape of "common cultural space", and it defines reduced collective image of physical and social context of the last 20 years. He revises the term of pleasure and its various contemporary representations as stereotypical and pessimistic view of society. The shape of the image of personal satisfaction becomes an expression of collective absurd and division. In this case, the cemetery is the encyclopedia of pictures of individual lives that have joined together in a collective garden of eternity. In parallel sound basis, members of Philharmonic Orchestra simultaneously play their favorite works, creating a collective audio division, where the sound of personal satisfaction becomes collective, absurd element of torture (Fig. N)

This painting is a metaphor of everyday life of ordinary people, who are faced with real-life problems.

Notwithstanding the difficult war and post-war living conditions, the time does not stop, it inevitably runs, but life goes on. People conduct their lives as best they know, and try to get it out in the best possible way. And life as always and everywhere consists of a series of small everyday practices, carried out unconscious, instinctive, normal and natural, without alternatives. It is conditioned by natural needs, instincts and feelings, which is defining it in any conditions. However figure shows that regular users of space unconsciously follow the breadth and fitter "text" which are printed, but are unable to read it (De Certeau, 1984). Although they are focused on

their own daily struggle for survival, people are part of the imaginary collective that works in a self-established "system". All their 'invisible' activities, as a basic form of the experience are focused on transformation towards this system and the space it produces within.

Again, according to De Certeau (1984), everyday life is distinctive from other practices of daily existence because it is repetitive and unconscious. But just of the other side, there is taking place one non-daily life, which everyday use as its sole and primary resource and which relentlessly exploits. For sake of an apparent right to a free life, all dimensions of space and life in Bosnia and Herzegovina are collectively divided towards belongings and loyalty to national groups. However, (non)everyday life takes place according to unique matrix. In contrast of a real set of numerous and big problems that are facing society and space, the main discourse is focused on the concerns of ethnic tensions. The basic characteristics of public media space is constantly present war discourse and fear of a new outbreak of the conflict, which significantly slows down all other processes, and distorts the system of values.

In parallel with dominant discourse, official nationalist policies, conflicts of memories, etc, a different everyday life is taking place in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Politicians / leaders of the main political (nationalist) parties are family friends and business partners in there. They live in an "distant" space which has nothing to do with reality, which is an isolated position from where they manage processes in a way to maintain one and always the same state of poverty, constant tension and fear of reinstalling the outbreak of the conflict. It is going indoors of elitist large fenced properties and headquarters of Parliaments and Governments. On the other hand, ordinary people try to re-establish friendly, business, cultural and other links that would lead to overcome the conflict in favor of a peaceful and normal life. This life takes place outside official representational space. It emerges spontaneously in the imaginary created common spaces. These are mostly small indoor spaces of typical Bosnian and Balkans café bars (ser. kafana) (where people sing the the same happy and sad songs in a special atmosphere of community regardless ethnic, religious or other affiliations) or large open spaces of concert arena or other events which are marked by certain kind of temporality.

4.5. "Mutual" cultural space

As well as its territory, the society of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Herzegovina is divided into ethnic parts living next to each other and not with each other. Communities are themselves-generated and tend to be mutually exclusive (Bourdieu, 2001), which is especially prevalent in the post-conflict contexts. Thus each nation has its own political parties, media, writers, historians, so the national narrative provides the sense of 'belonging' to a nation as well as security (Neill, 2004). It is therefore normal that in the country with three nations there is a conflict of national feelings, especially because the collective memory (Halbwachs, 1992) is open to dispute. Since cultural institutions as units of power have the power to reproduce structures of belief and experiences through which they understand cultural differences (Bourdieu, 2001), cultural space is also divided, heterogeneous and limited.

Opposing ethnic, religious, national and other groups of identity are aimed to reinforcing and distancing between differences. Although Sennett (2006) believes that the regime, which does not give reasons for the care of others, can not preserve its legitimacy for a long time, It does not have to be applicable in Bosnia-Herzegovina-Herzegovina. Robinson et al. (2001: 976) warn that B-H 'either can represents a continuing cleavage along ethnic lines and gradual re-establishment of a multi-ethnic society'. In fact this is just a matter of political attitude, because the protection of identity may also be required in some other small things. Therefore a different narrative will be created here, which, which is outside the official and unilaterally constructed national narratives of "insurmountable differences" between cultures, identities and nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is searching for existence and possibility of re-establishing (re-setting) a mutual cultural space as the basis on which it would be possible to build a mutual future. Moreover, this broad insight into artistic space analyzes the existence of a hybrid cultural identity, which has been historically and traditionally characterized as the space of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

It is the space that is recognized in many areas of life, which we are trying to observe, understand, and perceive - as "mutual" cultural space. It is represented by the art that constitutes the social game, whose value is relative in relation to collective belief that reflects this value (Bourdieu, 2007). Bourdieu adds that art has the power to stop the time along with space which was created with many other influences. Although it is based on illusion, the artistic interpretation rises an infinite number of associations, images and impressions as metaphorical elements of the real "mutual" space or context in which it creates and develops.

The specificity of cultural space can be understood through representation of selected artists of different nations, generations, styles and interests, which affect everyday life of Bosnia-Herzegovina. All of them were born, grew up and went to school in the same state, belong to the same geography, language, cultural milieu and social norms. Finally their art was inspired from the same "mutual space", in which they worked and lived, and created the awareness of generations through the idea of that space. The only element of their separation were different external influences that neither before nor after were exclusively Yugoslav. A breakup of cultural space that they belonged to and followed from different sides, suffering many influences, is also painful. But as soon as possible they crossed borders again, and continued there where from they actually never left, so the art in some way, imaginary re-created space.

Thus, the "Mutual cultural space" is defined as the space of comprehensible language, mutual history and culture, and as a context of all social and spatial processes. It is the space which is still present in everyday life, in memories and minds of the people, and around which different identities are gathered. Their mutual boundaries are vague, irrational and artificially constructed, even unknown and invisible from the outside. In some moments they are getting reduced, forgotten and disappearing, and then in another, they emerged built-up and strengthen again. Since that division of identities has not been completed, and that is not really possible, this quest is an attempt for (re) establishing that "mutual" space, and reconciliation of conflicting identities.

4.5.1. Borders of cultural space

Art is affected by, and depends on numerous important and inevitable elements. One of them is cultural context in which we find ourselves, and therefore we can formulate the identity only on the basis of cultural interpretation which says 'who we are' and 'where we come from' (Neill, 2004). Betts (2015) says that it is possible to understand dynamic relationship that a film has with culture and vice versa through cultural context, different perspectives, and the film as an important presentation of the culture. Although Lyndon (2012) points out that a phenomenon has always been possible to study focusing on the small scale, in the meantime we have chosen to move away to imaginary, so physical dimensions of the territory could be analysed in a broader and more neutral way. According to Lindon (2012) processes of perception allow creation of imaginary space which is synthetic expression of relations between individuals in the area, and people and places, or milieu. Lefebvre (2013) defines it as conceptualized ideal space, which is constructing an everyday life and is releasing from it at the same time.

However, prudence is necessary in the use of the term 'cultural' identity during the social construction of identity because of the multiplicity of contested meanings to which the word 'culture' is attached. Bhabha (1994) says that the language of culture and community is poised on the fissures of the present becoming the rhetorical figures of a (national) past. On the other hand cultural identity has a much greater sense for social actors, rather than the traditional sociological concept of the 'role' (Castells, 1997: 6-7). Bundalo (2010) and Štikis [N] draw attention to potential risks that can appear in this relationship between reality and art because its results are limited (Bhabha, 1994). Art itself is not able to change the narrative or identity that political actors and institutions directly produce, so we should not expect too much. Art expresses the challenging times in which we live and it is a subject to manipulation, so it is necessary to approach it from several directions, because only this way it can provide complete answers.

Observing one cultural space through the art is particularly complicated in the context of the Balkans. Owen (1995) says that there "nothing is simple", so this exceptional region seems like a confusing, complex category difficult to define to an external observer. On the other hand Lindon (2012) notes that the concept of foreign and exotic has been lost nowadays, when the vast majority of people knows other communities. Anyway, in the

western popular fiction and film the Balkans are usually represented as a threatening, mysterious and inhospitable place where western adventures are carried out. As a metaphor for conflict, violence, and uncivilized population it is described in metaphorical language. The region is defined according to its position, the clash of civilizations, and the destiny marked by centuries-old hatred, as opposed to the qualities of unique identity and a language of physical geography (Goldsworthy 2015, Owen 1995, Todorova, 1999).

Therefore, the concept of the imaginative geography is introduced (Lindon 2012, Canclini 1997, Calvino 1974), which is observing non-physical dimensions of the territory in an exceptional way. Although the symbolic representation of the space is older than any other, this is relatively new concept. For geography, an imaginary involvement in the way of understanding the relationship of space and society represents a new challenge. Only 10 years earlier, it became clear that the imagination is an indispensable part of the geography and the articulation of real space with its ingenious forms is inevitable, despite the conscious risk of difficulties of bridging geography's boundaries. In this context, imaginary geography refers to the multiplicity of theoretical and methodological approaches to study the spatial dimension of social (Lindon 2012).

4.5.2. Hybrid space

Mutual cause among difference must have a meta-narrative in the background (Neill 2004), which has the ability to gather everyday cultural practices around one meaning. According to Sennett (2012), the narrative is the root for something that could be lethal readability and imposed organization of differences that could be conditionally (uslovno) celebrated (Neill, 2004). On the one hand, cultural differences must be respected and protected, and on the other, culture is subordinated to the theory of universalism (Bourdieu, 2007). As a part of the cultural identity, the art is re-establishing a special category of mutual space as a frame for post-war reconstruction, construction and everyday life. Art has a mission to define the space, which is somewhat abandoned, invisible and forgotten.

Although the memory of hybrid identity of Bosnia and Herzegovina is still alive, its reconstruction in post-conflict period is a painful question which depends on many influences, but above all of joint determination that is directed to its solution (Socrates). Rodriguez (2000) reminds us that many important scholars have already developed ideas about the meaning of culture, nature of multiculturalism, as well as the tension between differences and equalities which still allow these conceptual nuances to be examined. When talking about an idea of a union, Hall (1986) observes that there are several definitions of cultural identity. In an attempt to examine the relationship between single, individual, and collective identities in order to reach true awareness, a third approach has been selected. This is the process of discovering the hybrid identity that is found in the culture as a third space (Soya 1996, Lefebvre 2013). Lindon (2012) states that the condition of hybridity is also increasing globally, because the trend of standardization and homogenization is opposite to the human need to feel unique and different since they are carriers of increasingly complex and special biographies.

According to Bhabha (1994), this continuous process of social articulation which involves differences of unity "requires the approval of cultural hybridity". Negotiations about differences, as well as the alignment of past and present, are representing complexity which can be found in an analysis of identity formation process in post-conflict areas. Hall (1986) points out that rediscovery of identity is often "a passionate research (...) led by a secret hope that out of all the misery, self-contempt, resignation and forced sacrifice it is possible to discover some different, more beautiful past whose existence can rehabilitate us in relation to ourselves and others". This attitude is both encouraging and scary at the same time, because in contaminated context passion can be awakened in "wrong places" which could than turn in a radical direction from the set goal. Arendt (1951) expresses similar view while talking about mutual space that favors a narrative about an individual where difficulties are acknowledged in attempts to reconcile mutual denominators of diversity.

As both mitigating and aggravating circumstances, Ignatieff (1993) states that identification process in the former Yugoslav republics depends on what one is not in relation to others. This suggests that conflicted identities are actually depended on each other, thus we can conclude that the Balkan differences are merging

into uniformity and that essences of identities are intertwining. Thereby, Neil (2004) points out that cultural importance denies the idea that identities are created solely regarding the space which becomes limited place of only one identity, since certain places are creating narratives which are connecting a number of communities, individuals and finally different identities. This is especially true for hybrid identities which have been essentially created out of the narrow, limited spaces, in a context of the third space (Soja, 1996, Lefebvre 2013) or imaginary territories (Lindon 2012). Therefore every society produces its own space (Lefebvre 2013) that is balanced between the two poles of conceived and perceived space. In between of these, there is the lived space of pure subjectivity, of human experiences, of people's sense-making, imagination, and feelings.

Goldsworthy (2002) suggests that the Balkan identities and places of culture have been created in a space in between or in some other third liminal space. Although Canclini (1997) says that this space is difficult to capture due to the cultural transformation that constitutes a system of problems with infuriating dynamics, the hypothesis states that hybrid identities can be found, observed, understood and perceived in a mutual film space. According to Wojcik (2015) the film represents archives of memory which reflect the changes in cultural landscape, and Hall (1986) adds that their repeated imaginary discovery shouldn't be underestimated because the film plays a key role in "our" times (Petrunić, 2005).

4.5.3. The search for a "mutual" cultural space

It would be logical to initially go back to where we came from.

Šehić, 2013.

The search for a "mutual" cultural space refers to the idea of "imperfect memories" (Boym, 2001) and the idea of re-memorialization (Nora 1996: XXIV). However history and memory are difficult to reach, so the search for "places of memory" is a challenge that makes everyday life unpredictable. It becomes part of multidimensional cultural process that evokes collective memory (Neill, 2004). It is also a process of constant negotiation with their own cultural biographies, where history is a living body so daily activities are adapting to the present. In order to reconstruct life and the culture, artists started from the remaining traces of past, which caused various processes of hybridization (Canclini 1997).

Reading of past through the art is not an easy task either, since the memories are divided into three narrative thoughts - (1) war and (2) the post-war play, and the (3) times of peace and innocence of the old Yugoslavia. In a kind of hypnotic trance of their alter egos, the authors returned to the past, where the main topic is search for their own identities. In addition to them, the study search for identities, which are suppressed but which could be re-constructed as the basis of the "mutual" cultural space. The authors such as Štik and Vojnović highlight their works as a way to searching and resolving identity problems, which are constantly subject of reviewing.

An essential element of cultural space is also a media memory which is, in addition to the content, expressed in the individualized form and images. According to this, Halbwachs (1992) points out that present concerns are what will determine which part of the past we will include in collective memory (Novick, 1999: 3). This is why art is caught, and could be a powerful tool for presenting the myth of the new historical truth. For these reasons we should appreciate all of the efforts facing the past, regardless if they are directly focused on the process or have a long-term consequences. There is also a difference between different kinds of art, which are perceived collectively or individually, allowing different access to all the terrible things that happened [N].

It is clear that the relationship between culture and the place as a setting or location of certain 'lieux de mémoire' (Nora, 2004) evokes deep symbolic meaning (Lefebvre, 1991). They mainly point out repetitiveness and eternity of the subject which reveal how conquerors and conquered are always equally unhappy, inseparably and reluctantly connected as (eternal) "unfortunates in an evil time" which doesn't seem to end in the Balkans. According to Hall (1986), it is moreover a picture which is not only a rediscovery but also a step towards the production of hybrid identities in mutual cultural space, or reinterpretation of the past, which brings hope for overcoming the conflict, and construction of a peaceful future.

"No matter how the past was 'a whore', man is what he remembers" (Jergović, 2012), and Sejranović argues that this is the only meaning of existence, that it is the only way how to forget and to move on. Štiks (2006) points out the admiration for the courage of calculation "with the past, tied with crimes committed in his name ... (241)" The memories are painful, difficult and conflicting, in a form of myth without boundaries of time and a form of identity; they are connected with personal and collective history as a factory of man and nations. "Sehic (2013) points out the necessity of breaking the memory about the previous, "former, old, better, and more beautiful life when we were all young, strong, and without the burden of others deaths, which from the war continued in peace (101)."

On the other hand according to Šehić "memories are so ugly so they disable themselves. [...] The images, faces and landscapes that I have buried deep below the surface of consciousness long ago, they are now like sparks in front of the eyes like some crazed MTV's video" (Sehic, 2013: 15). However, facing the reality of our subconscious goes out on the most beautiful, but Sehic adds that "our greatest weapon becomes dreams and art." Although the enigma of the past seemed unsolvable for Štiks (2006), it determines his entire existence, "my work, my attitudes, my life, my literature (246)." That is why he still believes that it is possible to reconstruct difficult story through which we exist, despite the ominous destiny that 'joked with all of us'. Jergović says that "most of our generation has collectivized its memories," because it is easier to do so. "History has replaced the memories and so they became a nation." Vojnovic (2013) finally joins in the search for the self, and coming to terms with what generations of fathers left at the behest of his post-Yugoslav children. [...] He does not accept the thesis of oblivion and insist on the view towards future.

4.5.3.1. Pre-conflict space

The questioning reexamination is based on "... the Yugoslav identity, which has disappeared after the breakup of Yugoslavia. No matter that the space where I grew up have not gone, and that Yugoslavs or a sense of belonging to the space have not disappeared," Vojnovic (2013). [...] If someone grew up and lived in the belief that he/she is Yugoslav for years, his sense of identity can not be dissolved because the state has disintegrated. [...] No one can be denied that he/she feels as he/she wants. Sejranović says that he "never cared for that he never cared of declaring himself as... as a Yugoslav, a Muslim, a Gypsy, Albanian, Serb, or even Norwegian, but to others it is obviously important. For others, it just means everything. Hemon (2013) from the Far asylum talks about the pre-war feeling which relevance of the meaning has changed from unreality to the essence, bz the times. "By distinguishing others, we distinguished ourselves (20), [...] and the importance of the distinction was directly proportional to the distance (23). They were not-we, and we were not-they. We could be the same, we were able to compare, but self-legitimizing had to be collective, because they belonged to the system where the only form of identification was belonging to a group (23).

Collective and personal traumas are spilling over from one to another, constructing a single universal narrative of memory of the immediate painful past. According to Šehić (2013) the true life in Yugoslavia was a lie, which has returned through thousands of shells during the four years of war. "I do not think I will ever be able to get rid of disgust towards all platitudes on which the former state has rested. I am sick of the bare mention of these words (2013: 14)." Simultaneous attraction and disgust at the thought of living in the former state and to its dissolution, he describes as engulfing sense of "perversion". Štiks argues that he is every time more closer to 'belief that it is impossible to continue the life after knowing that everything was a lie, a deception, a fraud ... [...]. What I touched was a false bottom actually, because, now I know, a lot of the space was left to decay (propadanje) (Ibid. 20)".

[...] ... They were all Yugoslavs once. And they were all communists. Nationalistic mother-fuckers [...] You know, it was not war as we wanted to [...] but it could not be different, if side by side, there were we defining Yugoslavia in those uniforms, and those one who were destroying it. We sang the same hymn, we had the same coat of arms headed. But that what has been mine, for them it was not theirs. So [...] I can say it now [...] nowhere has been so much nationalism as in the Communist Party. Communism has probably failed only because bedrock hillbillies that were a part of it saw new churches and new priests. The state has failed because none of them had meant more than their own one-horse town for which all those great Yugoslavs were only dying. At the end Partisans and Chetniks, Ustasha and Mujahedin, believers and non-believers joined to fuck everyone else Yugoslavs were disappearing overnight like they never existed.

They were probably scared to death by Sloba so they scattered throughout the world or became jerks so we were trying to save the country against all of that. but save it for who, sons of bitches Slovenians, and Croatians, and Serbians, and Palestinians. I was about to protect it, for thirty years, from internal and outer enemy, and then suddenly I had not have to whom, And what the fuck for to protect it? Fuck it ! [...] And than fuck all of us who believed in it (86) [...] "Emir Muzirović, member of the JNA. [...] I was only sorry for my old father, who built this

country with his bare hands, and I am glad he died before he saw for whom he was built all the bridges, schools, hospitals [...] to what kind of scum he left it all. They lived with us all those years, smiled to us in pioneer uniforms, waved with flags, and in the end they could not wait to get it all finished with so they could go fuck themselves. fuck them and everything they stand for, motherfuckers [...]

Vojnović, 2013: 87

... Yugoslavia, as an idyllic frame of memories, disappeared at the same time when the self-destructive and destructive mechanism, a machine that like a tank treads over everything that is dear and close. Yugoslavia had committed suicide, and thereby not only killed hundreds of thousands of people, yesterday's Yugoslavs, mostly those who had once loved her, or they went to death loving Yugoslavia, but also negatively determined the future of their survived children, and those who will only emerge in the shadow of its disappearance. While we are alive, we will think, write and talk about Yugoslavia, we will curse and swear at it, we will spit on its graves and bitterly regret over the name and the lost innocence of youth of some already very distant childhoods and lives. Yugoslavia was the best and worst thing that happened in the histories of all the Yugoslav peoples. For the first and last time they were the protagonists in world history of Yugoslavia. We are born within, we are after we sank back into our blissful anonymity and into the magma of lost and unfulfilled historical longing. We got the state and we unsubscribed from world history. Now we are trying to convince ourselves that someone knows something about us. Tina Maze, Novak Djokovic, Danis Tanovic, Davor Suker... These are the names to replace the only one: Yugoslavia.

Jergović, 2015.

4.5.3.2. National space

Ideology and religion are the business of the poor, Maho. I'm surprised by you!

Quote from the film *Sjećaš li se Dolly Bell?*

But in the time of post-Yugoslavia, everyone has practiced politics. The political shift from socialism to democracy, from a planned economy to a market is a major historical turning point and in such times people feel insecure and turn to old values, especially the ones that were suppressed under socialism, both religion and nationalism. Therefore the nationalism is still powerful element of the conflict, as it was in the middle of the war and in post-war period.

For centuries Bosnia and Herzegovina held peripheral position, between the blocks of great powers and religions of East and West, which favored the constant conflict of religions, ethnicities and mentalities (Blagojevic, 2011). Religion and nationalism have become a weapon of revenge throughout history Sennet (2014), so it is one of the reasons why during the 1990s emerged as an important factor. After the war, religion is going out of the private domain, it returns to political and cultural life and actively participates in social change. Thus the national identity within Bosnia and Herzegovina was directly linked to ethnic and religious affiliation, so these three components have become inseparable (Rechnicer, 1996). Highlighting one to another is strongly visible in the space, as the most prominent attribute of ethnic identity (Blagojevic, 2011). For the first time after almost 70 years of stagnation, churches, mosques and theological faculties have been built, taking the role of the central motif of many neighborhoods.

Although differences are minimal, almost imperceptible and intertwined in a very small area in Bosnia and Herzegovina, they are always focused on the other. On the nearest also, so it becomes the only point of reference in relation to which it is necessary to build and reinforce the differences. At the same time Bosnian identity is suppressed compared to three national identities - Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian, so every other, multilayered and ambiguous identities have become undesirable. Although they are not necessarily exclusive to the national identity, the other and differentis always under convictions, and pushed to margins.

According to Šijuk (2011) The life of Bosnia and Herzegovina, is a surreal picture like someone else from above is moving its elements. Man is only a figure, who does not have any ability of thinking, decision-making and action, so his role is free of responsibilities (Figure NŠ). In such a context, Radulj asks "Who would be a God in Bosnia" (Figure NMR) ?! As "A house" (the first, most important, basic) Bosnjak (2010) directly indicates church, cathedral and a mosque, which in the structure of discourse indicate the symbol that most of the people believe in and which defines three major nations in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Figure BS).

With the new three-ethnic Bosnia-Herzegovina new forms of ethnic identity were formed. Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats suffered another historic transformation because former modernist forms of ethnic identity, profiled in accordance with the ideology of Titoism, replaced collective forms derived in accordance with the ideology of nationalism. These new collective identities of modernist and communist narratives were replaced by narratives and procedures of clericalization, archaism ghettoization, militarization, victimization, etc. and new Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats live a life marked by pronounced interethnic distance. The trap inside the conflict between space and identity opens the topic of boundaries of a mutual cultural space of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Radulj (2011) sees three Bosnian nations as three sheep in a closed bag (Figure N). In a limited, small and constricted space there is no possibility for any kind of action that would be different from the one that is directed towards only one thing (other) in immediate proximity.

Bhabha (2010), however, relativizes the meaning of the nation, which is not an expression of everyday life. He argues that there is a continuous gap between the accumulation of temporality and strategy execution in the production of a national narrative. It is symbolic process through which social imagination - nation, culture or community - become the subject of discourse and object of identification. Therefore, it could be seen how the concept of the nation appears as a double narrative in reading between the borders of national space. The author says that nation is not only historical phenomenon or part of the politics, but also rhetorical strategy of social reference. According to Bhabha, national identification requirement can cause a crisis of national discourse and meaning of the process. These temporality force historical reviews in the context of political or literary languages, including people 'as one'.

4.5.3.3. Post-conflict space

The issue of a post-war identity is very complicated because the society is burdened by collectivist reading, through ethno-national, religious or similar collective identities. There is no interest in the specific personal characteristics as unique individuals, so people are reduced to being members of ethnic groups, which represents an impoverishment on every level.

Sehic (2013) calls himself as, "First of Ten, [...] without identity and personality." He compares his own identity to Borg from the Star Trek, to a group in singular, without individual and parent awareness (79). Vojnovic attaches it to environment "which forces us to pretend, to be more acceptable for an assumed majority (Vojnovic, Internet 2)." Therefore Aresnijić highlights the problem of particular identities that are constantly promoted, but every individual should be defined only with his/her appearance and work that they want to be defined with (2015). Sejranić writes that "We all have multiple identities (Internet 5) so Hemon (2013) concludes using differences as pre-condition of belonging: until we know who we are and who we are not, we are also like them. To the question of identity for someone from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Hemon usually says that it is complicated, but also adds that it is nothing more than a network of unanswered questions - a constellation of others (Hemon, 2013: 122).

Searching for a lost identity in a mutual cultural space is visible in cross section of several symbolic spaces, which are recognized as an emotional space, space of language, place of conflict and space of an event. While Tetak is playing a well-known traditional song Sevdalinka "Teško meni u Saraj'vu sama" every gesture represents explosion of symbols which are constructing the space of identity. Thereby, an ordinary little man is only the object of social, political, economic and cultural changes surviving them as only knows. Mrdja (2009) illustrates this explosion, whose inherited Yugoslav identities are apparently calmed until someone suddenly "wakes them up" and gathers them in the same place, when the chaos emerges (Figure NM).

A special category of cultural space emerges from personal identity narratives - Emotional space. "My cities are also Ljubljana, Pula, Visoko, Sarajevo, Novi Sad. [...] It is in some way my personal biography. My family was and still is there, people I love are still there, whenever I go to these cities, there is always someone to cheer with (Vojnovic, internet). Bogdan Bogdanovic (0000) was saying that Yugoslavia exists in one of its microcosm no matter what happened with it and Vojnovic also agrees. "Intimate, emotional homeland means intimate, emotional connections, which work on a private and friendly micro level."

According to Arsenijević, this mutual space is stretching from Turkey to Vienna and he considers it as his own in some way. "Despite our insistence on the impossibility of understanding, to insurmountable differences, historical disputes which lasts for centuries, we are very similar. The second impression is about dynamics and interesting of

space how it is good in itself, but how much is not able to see unifying positive elements that can actually be used to form one positive wording communication. The people who live here are required to understand each other better than the rest of the world will understand them ever (Arsenijević, 2015)". "Yes, I will always feel the space from Vardar to Triglav as my own" (Sejranović, Internet 3).

It is also recognized in alternating shifts and intertwining of mutual space, and the chaos between them (The tour). At the same time it is united in the war idea, hatred of the other, and nostalgia for past times, from one different, third party. This distorted image of space and time represents another truth about the tragedy on all sides that happened the same way, at the same time.

As people are able to belong to several cultures and multiple languages simultaneously (Sejranović, Internet 3) the mutual cultural space is related by language, so it should not be built around the nation. [...] I call this language "ours", but it could also be called Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian, as well as Montenegrin. For me it is a just one language that has more names, more standard spelling, and grammar, but to me it is all the same" Tanović similarly highlights that the protagonists in his film *No Man's Land* in fact speak the same language, and although today, every nation call it differently, we understand each other perfectly (Portuges, 2002, p. 676).

The Yugoslav peoples are simply familiar with weach other, sometimes on good, sometimes on bad terms, as it is always with neighbors (Sejranović, Internet). [...]Although mostly for somebody else's interests they were unfortunately at war with each other many times, which symbolically defines the space of the conflict. The trench in which Serbian and Muslim soldier meet and fight each other is the second film space recognized. Its physical boundaries are creating a third space in which a sense of neutrality subsists. By sparing the life of the other man, peace is observed — a peace that erupts into war outside of boundaries of the trench. This rises a doze of hope and implies a shared collective identity and mutual cultural space. The question "Whose Bosnia is it, nobody's or everybody's?" remains unanswered and Daković (Internet 1) says that "Our battlefronts are still a no man's land, and eternal image of war, difficult to overcome."

The symbolic space is recognized as simultaneous kinship and distance, as well as a mesh of lives of confronted sides which rely on each other despite of divisions. It is found in the same event, past and future which are divided (Fuse), but also in the future, in which event yet has to happen. It is in the people who have trouble walking because they carry heavy burden of the past, they are still managing to leave this circle of past and to look forward to future (Circles). Thereby the relationship between people, psychological space between actors- view, silence, emptiness, memory, thinking, forgiveness, religion, as well as visual and emotional strength, form a mutual space that is connecting them.

4.5.3.4. Indivisible space

The space of *sevdah* is strongly linked to the territory, and is part of the cultural geography of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where beauty of *sevdah* is celebrated like nowhere else.. There are all together, cities and villages of a mutual "cultural" space - the cities of Sarajevo and Banja Luka, Prijedor and Mostar, Visegrad and Travnik, Visoko and Gradacac ... Rivers, Bosnia, Drina, Vrbas, Neretva and Sava mountains Jahorina, Igman, Romania and Trebevic, valeies, fields and plains, hills, mountains and forests, the distant coast and seas up to Biograd and Constantinople ... through *sevdah*, its sound, the way of interpretation and understanding, it is possible to see the space of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the wealth of all its diversity. But also the vigorous presence in the space of art in people's everyday life, and their place attachment. The continuity of life in urban areas, and certain permanent conflict between opposing urban and rural lives. The space spreads in *sevdalinkas* as life itself and as *sevdalinkas* give forms to those spaces - to rivers, mountains, valleys, towns and villages, creating a rhapsody of the nature revived.

But, as everything else in Bosnia, *sevdalinka* is the subject of identity divisions. One reject it, and others exclusively make claims on it.. However, it is defined as indivisible goods of broad Yugoslav cultural space and its constant presence in everyday life. Each verse in *sevdah* actually speak about "mutual space" as a product of different mixed identities. To the question "Whose *Sevdah* ?!" Imamovic responds, "If it is important to You, it is yours!" Because *sevdah* heritages Eastern brevity, and organic type of minimalism, but also the Western tendency to Romanticism, broadness and the infinite [...] description. Therefore, the complex definition of *sevdah* can not be easily divided as everything else in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is imbued with identity feelings, deposited over the centuries in a space known as crossroad of cultures, so Imamovic (2016) rightfully claims that *sevdah* is a transnational musical genre.

Music can be someone's property only through the violent harnessing in this or that identity. The entire aesthetics of sevdaha was harnessed in 'celebration of past times. Turkish words and feudal titles were originally counted in the texts: some were deleting them and other were writing them where they did not belong. [...] However, it is wrong to tie sevdah to anyone, because it is nonsense. The history of sevdah shows, it was a representative of the Slavs, Turks, Serbs, Yugoslavs, Muslims with a small m, Muslims with a large M - Bosniaks. [...] In the 19th century,

for example, musicologist Francis Kuhac defend musicological elements of sevdah as originally Slavic, taken over by the Turks.

Just look at first sevdalinkas [...] recorded in Sarajevo in 1907 and 1908. It is a Variegated family of "strange names" most of whom, would not find a place in the ethnically cleansed histories, for whatever reason. Musicians of the time sang in Bosnian / Serbian / Croatian, on Ladino, Turkish, German, Russian... Numerous musicians and singers sang sevdah as Roma, Jews ... [...] In addition, most of contemporary repertoire came from the cafe, stages of folklore groups and vinyl records from before World war II. From living people, not from abstract entities. [...]

Imamović, 2016.

Therefore it is impossible to declare a tradition as a "clean one" because the search for authenticity makes the set of "cleansing" but also "defilement". By contrast, sevdah is drawn from all sources that keep it active... [...] As there is a compulsion to decide what is most important in sevdah: identity which confirms or denies it, poetics which is shared with other kind of South Slavic art, musical heritage of the Ottoman sphere [...] or something else [N]. In contrast, sevdah is what is left when you cross the borders: uncertainty, sadness, nostalgia, melancholy, bundle, key of the house that no longer exists. It is losing the ground we stand on, and identity with political articulation can not stand without the ground, and blood "[N]. Finally, sevdah proved to be inclusive in terms of identity and therefore it is recognized as part of the mutual cultural space confirming its existence and indivisibility.

Sevdah as embodied freedom has been seen in one more representative of the new sevdah, which is sevdah himself - expression and the being of pure freedom (Jergović, 2015). The man and woman in one, comes from Foca to live and work in Sarajevo without any restrictions. [...] In that moment Foca is the place of ones, and Sarajevo is a place of others. During the war [one of the most beautiful mosques of the Ottoman epoch was destroyed in Foča, and the people who were praying in the mosque had to refugee. Meanwhile Sarajevo has become a city which keeps the pain of the ones who remained ...and the pain of expelled, but also the city that does not want to know of pain of others. As it does not recognize the truth of unwillingly leavings from Sarajevo. [...]

This way (road) (between the two cities, cf.. Aut.) is barely eighty kilometers long, and lasts [...] for two hours, but in all other respects, it is the longest way in the world. Especially if you are from Foca where there is no more sevdah and you are going to Sarajevo where people who claim identity and national rights on sevdah live, [...] certified by blood and the war. [...] The young man who comes there to sing with his name belongs to the people of those who expelled others from Foca. But his sevdah continues in the silence of the missing people and in the shadow of destroyed Aladža. In the same time his singing is wondrous, cherubic. [...] Bozo (Vrećo) sings as he feels, out of context, as he would be sang whenever, in 1914, a hundred years earlier. It is the beauty and the tragedy of Bosnia's destiny, its final hopelessness and lessons that is equally futile to go as it waste to stay in Bosnia.

Jergović, 2015.

4.5.4. Understanding space

By closing the circle between reality and art, a few symbolic representation of space are set as its essence and practically justification of this relation. Artistic presentation / image, the ability of imagination and setting into the actors' position at the center of artistic space, says that art space is actually closed and recognizable real space. The space is formed according to similar pattern and revives the atlas of spaces defined by richness of diversity on limited territory. It consists of all those elements, which can not be divided - rivers and lakes, hills and valleys, cities and villages, forests and plains, roads, cultural and natural heritage that can not be left, taken and given. They are big and small, plain and hilly, continental and Mediterranean, cold and warm, urban and rural, old and new, large and fragmented, but are such so that one Bosnian and Herzegovinian feels and understands them as his own, regardless of their differences.

Neill (2004) says that one must be careful in 'mapping' cultures crudely onto places, given that multiple cultures and identities frequently inhabit a single place and contribute to its character. But experienced artistic performances show images, which are associated with a variety of specific spaces within a "mutual space". From these, it is obvious that predominant images are to a large extent connected to a specific space. The plot and the setting are inseparably connected and defined by that same connection. It turns out that an event is equal to space, and an exclusiveness of one over the other is recognized. Setting would not be the same without that

image, nor would the image be what it is in some other place, thus the setting is recognized in harmony with cultural space.

Thus, the perceived space primarily represents the setting, the mentality of people, war and finally reconciliation, as its main features. Some other meaning mainly represents uncertainty towards a complex and rich mosaic of different impressions that images produce. It is about the perception of identity, which can exist independently of a single space, mentality and events that define this space. This interpretation is giving universal value to the space which exists as a parallel, out of the formal and accepted, rising optimism and possibility to rediscover and reestablish joint dimensions of cultural space. They reveal the possible existence of a different dimension of the space - trans-space or perceived space (Lefebvre, 1991).

The complexity of identity differences, the eternal conflict, but also everyday topics, position of an ordinary man and the context in which all conflicted parties participate equally, are defining characteristics of a mutual cultural space. Despite the dominant perception of conflict, cultural diversities are perceived as an advantage because they are representing resources for one's own reconstruction and can mean more opportunities to challenges of reality. On the other hand it is irrelevant in relation to everyday life in BiH, so it could be a disadvantage which causes instability and leads to constant conflicts..

Recognizable cultural space which combines its physical and mental component is a proof of the hypothesis which states that in the region of post-transitional society, contaminated with history and amnesia, as well as in a post-war area of BiH there still exists a mutual cultural space, despite of all the divisions, which is a product of all the diverse, intertwined, and complex identities from different levels. Space is seriously wounded, fragmented, and vulnerable, but it can be worked on with a goal to rebuild historically multicultural community, as well as joint future. Although the conflicted and multicultural space themselves are actually part of its identity, further construction of a mutual cultural space towards hybrid identity, and long-term peace should be to re-establish the culture of memory, cultural exchange and art.

United community has a great potential, but it demands a lot of political will as well as technical persistence and society which is determined to make it happen. A careful and long-term social work is therefore required, with the cooperation of all political programs, which should be open to the cosmopolitan policy (Harvey, 2000). With this the cultural policy of tolerance and understanding should be set with this aim, according to the mutual life, without fundamentalism as the enemy of tolerance (Neill 2004).

Figures

Ethnic structure

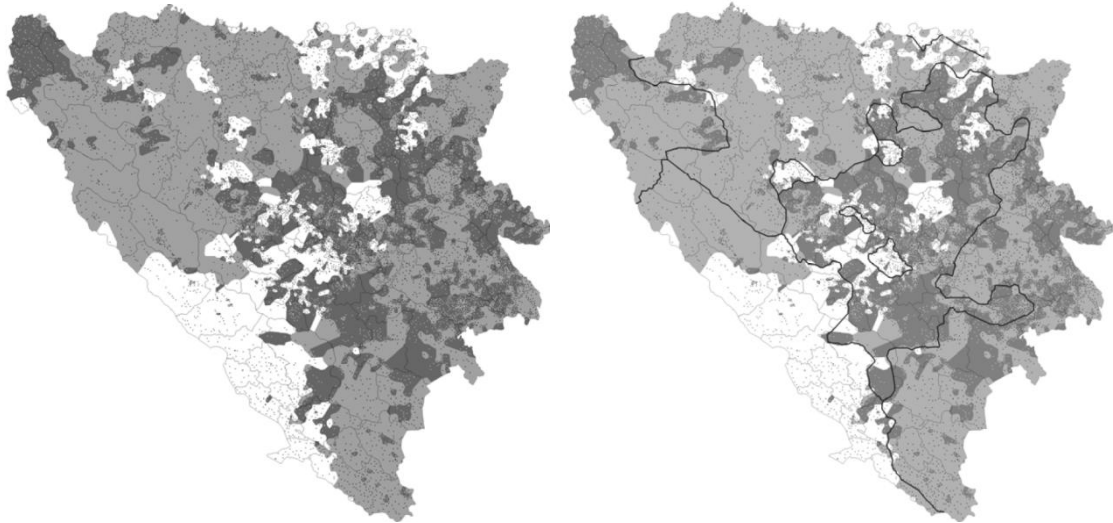


Fig. 4.1. "The leopard skin" of the ethnic structure in Bosnia and Herzegovina by settlements. According to Cenzus 1991. dark gray - Muslim majority; light gray- Serb majority; white - Croats majority. Map redrawn by the Author.

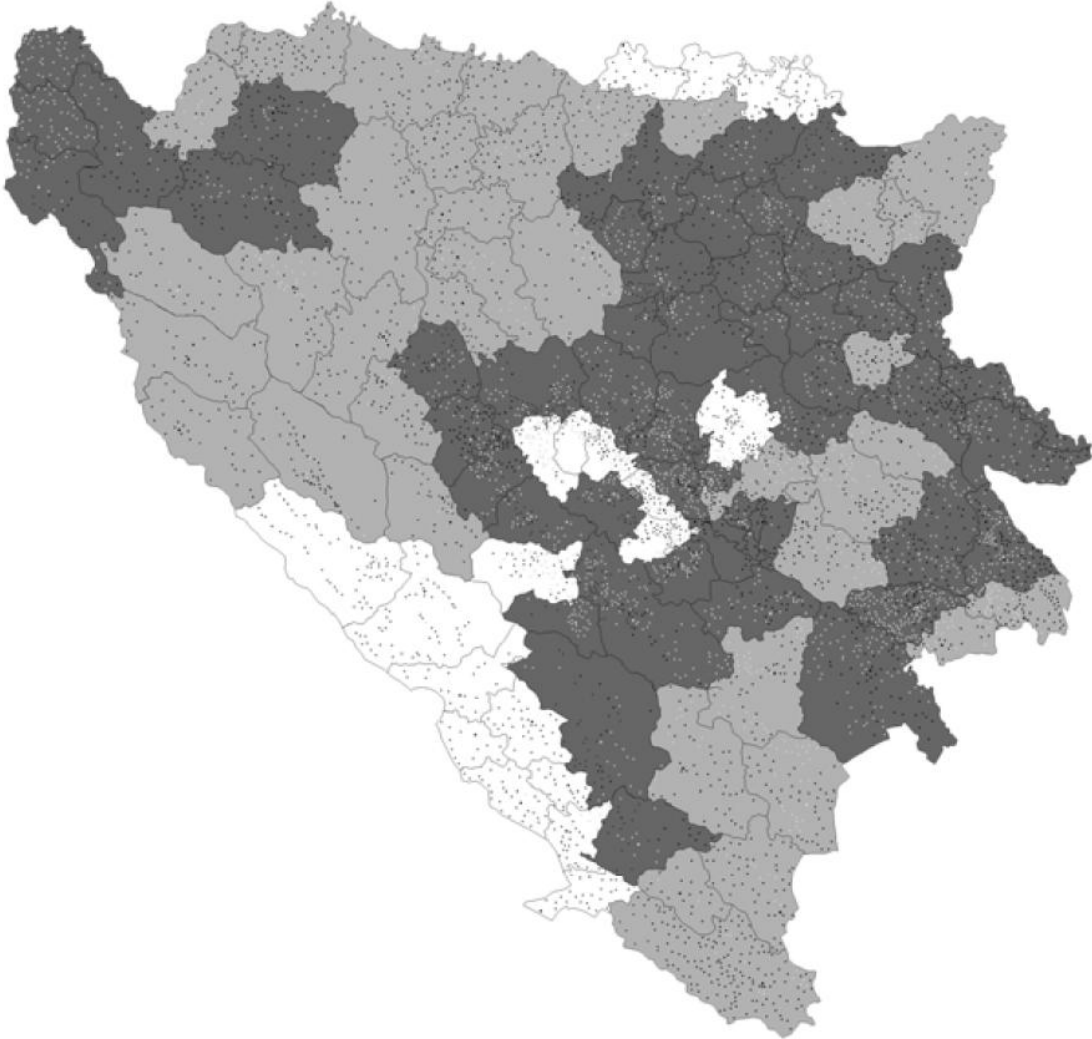


Fig. 4.2. "The leopard skin" of the ethnic structure in Bosnia and Herzegovina by municipalities. According to Cenzus 1991. dark gray - Muslim majority; light gray- Serb majority; white - Croats majority. Map redrawn by the Author.

The course of the war



Fig. 4.3. The war frontlines. Illustration by the Author.

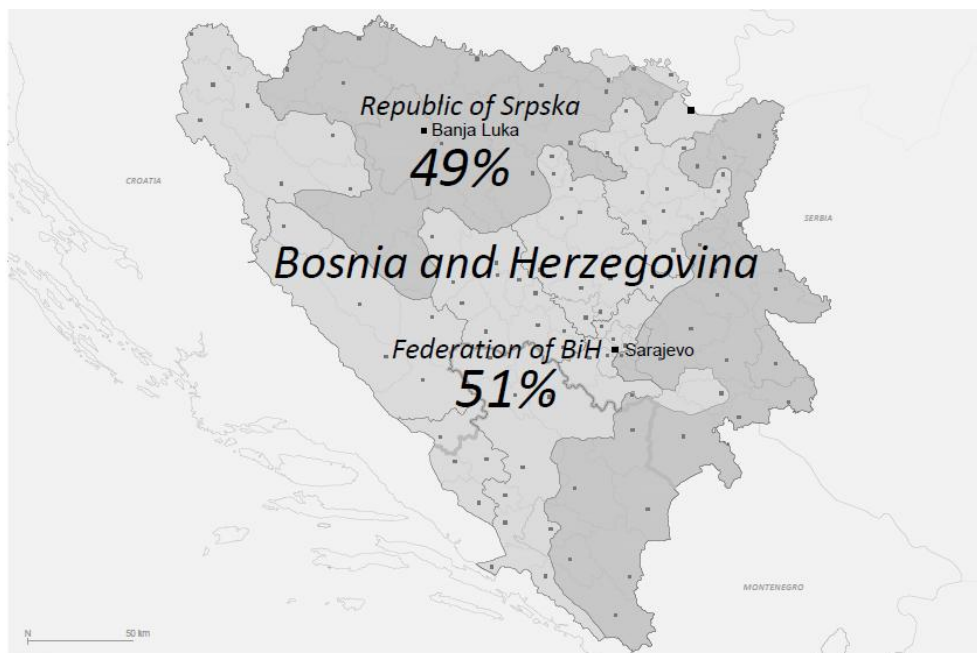


Fig. 4.5. According to DPA, Bosnia and Herzegovina is composed of two entities [The Republic of Srpska and The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina] and one district [Brčko District]. Map redrawn by the Author.

Destructions



Fig. 4.6. A view of destroyed Sarajevo after the conflict, in 1996. Photograph: Chris Leslie.
Source: <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/feb/14/sarajevo-bosnian-war-love-story-woman-photograph-croat-serb-bosniak#img-2>



Fig. 4.7. A view of destroyed Brčko during the war.
Source: http://www.brckosupervizija.ba/web/?page_id=11&lang=sr

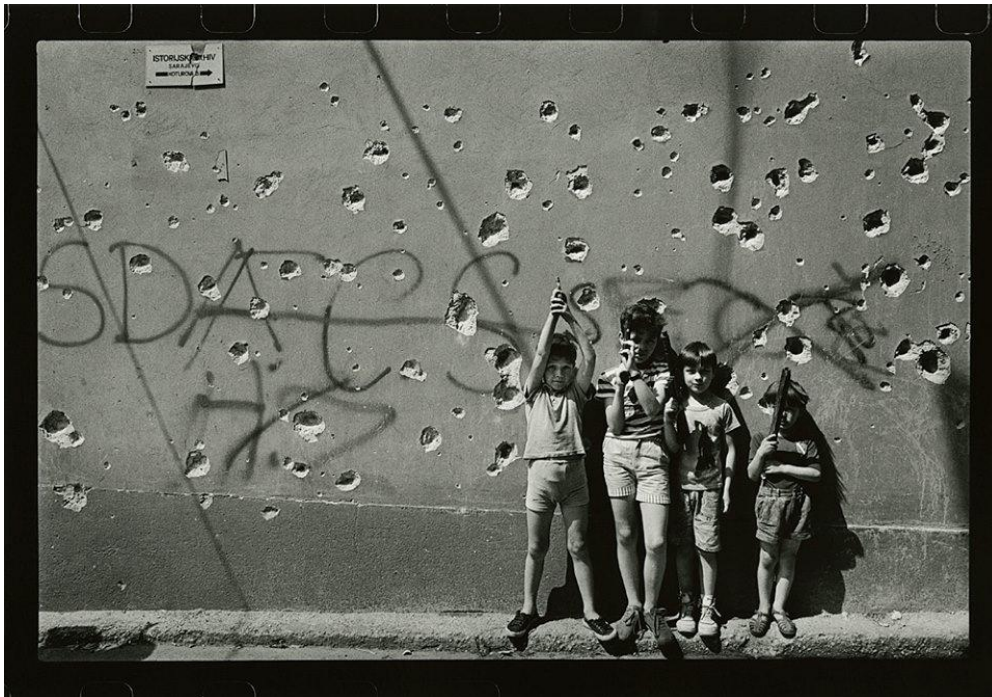


Fig. 4.8. "Odžaci" Photo by Miloš Cvetković / RAS Srbija.
Source: <http://www.blic.rs/kultura/vesti/kako-je-nastala-najpoeticnija-slika-rata-90-ih/1wd07qq>

Fig. 4.9. "A love story" in destroyed Sarajevo. Unknown author.
Source: Facebook page.

Fig. 4.10. The childhood in the War [Djetinjstvo u ratu]. Photo by Milomir Kovačević Strašni.
Source: Author's facebook page

The process of refugee

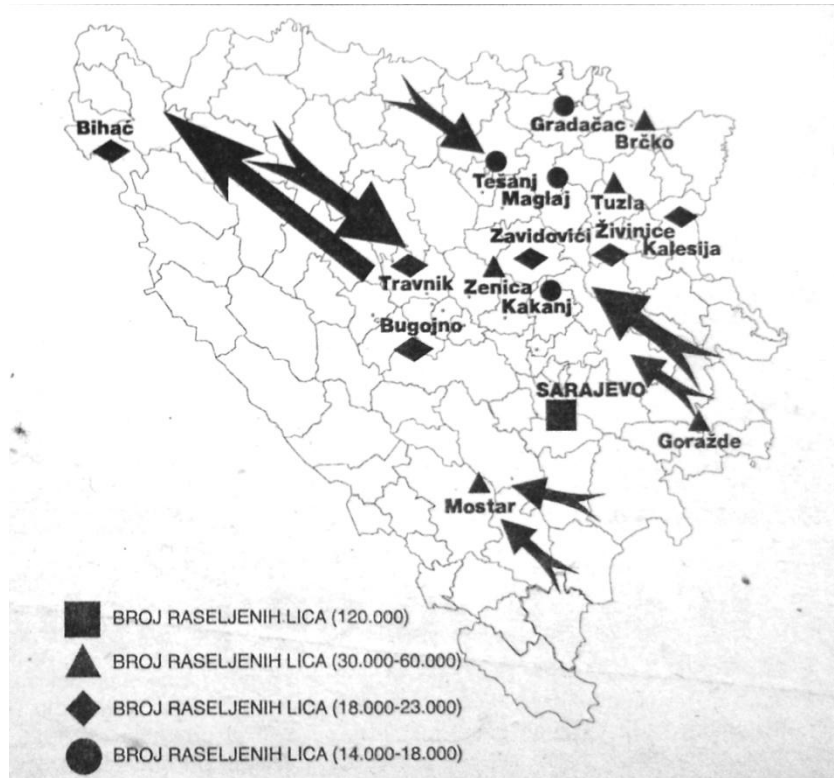


Fig. 4.11. Directions of refugees from the Republic of Srpska towards the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Source: *Oslobodjenje*, Dec. 23, 1995.

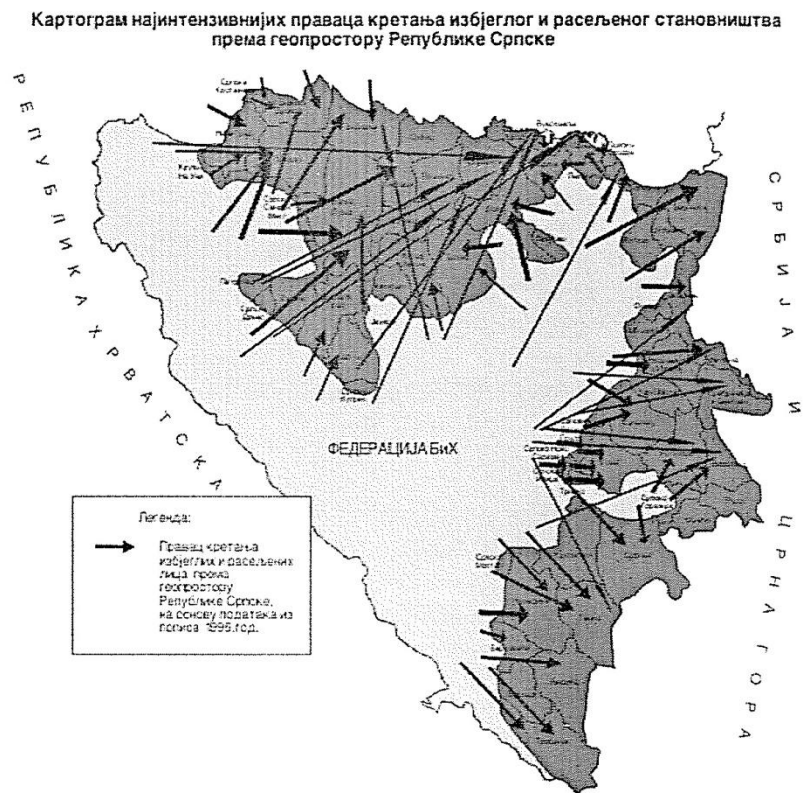


Fig. 4.12. Directions of refugees from the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina towards the Republic of Srpska. According to Маринковић, Д. 2005. *Демографски проблеми процеса избјеглиштва у Републици Српској*. Бања Лука: Демографско друштво Републике Српске.



Fig. 4.13. Lenadro Erlich, "Pulled by the roots". 2015. GLOBALE, ZKM, Karlsruhe, Germany.
Source: [online] Available at: <<http://www.leandroerlich.com.ar/works.php?id=56>> [Accessed: Oct. 27, 2014]

Fig. 4.14. Dave Glass, "The moving houses of San Francisco"
Source: [online]
Available at: <<http://www.messynessychic.com/2014/10/14/the-moving-houses-of-san-francisco/>>
[Accessed: Oct. 14, 2014]

Fig. 4.15. "We have moved" Source: [online]
Available at: <<https://www.facebook.com/covjekiprostor/>> [Accessed: Oct. 27, 2014]

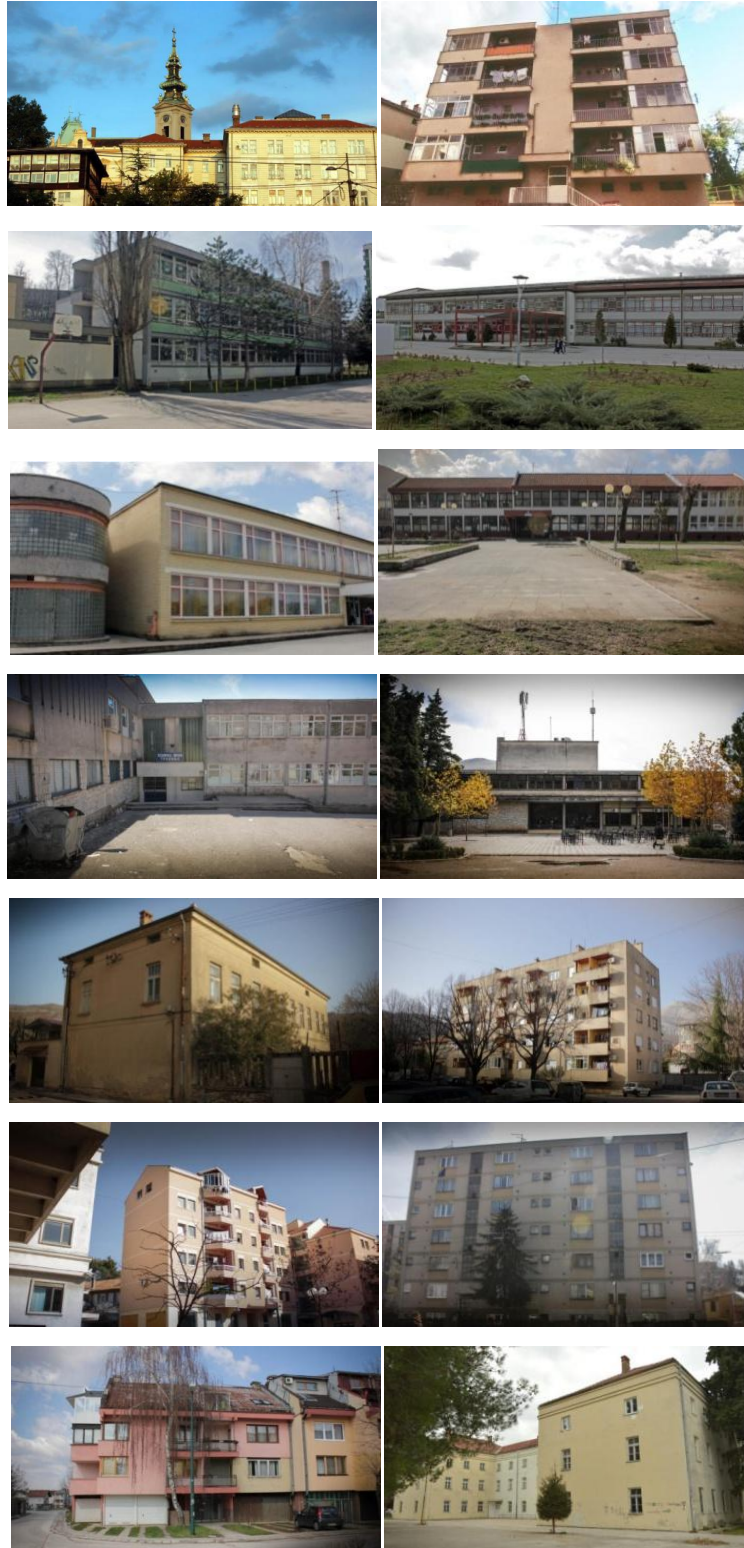


Fig. 4.16. Bošnjak (2013) draws the transition process which is still ongoing in terms of architecture of several cities where he lived, grew up, and was educated during the process of migration of his family. His focus is on the house, 20 years since refugee process has started. He analyzes its absurd appearance in the new, "ethnically stable" region, which is actually the same on all sides of the conflict.

Bosnjak, I. 2013. Growing up and architecture. part 1: How socialistic architecture shaped & influenced my personality? Places & buildings where I used to live. From 1984 till nowadays... Part 2.: How socialistic architecture shaped & influenced my personality? Schools & faculties where I was educated from 1988 till 2011... (mixed media: photos / sounds / smells / thoughts / sights).

Source: [online] Available at: <<http://www.igorbosnjak.com/architecture.htm>> [Accessed: Oct. 13. 2014]

Alternative refugee camps

Flotel Europa

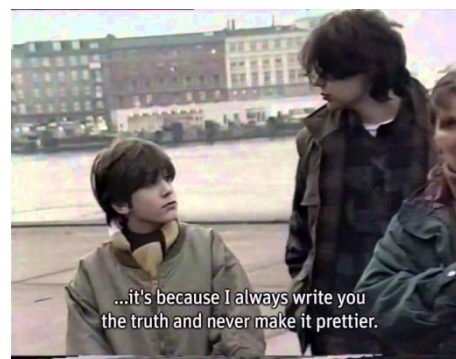


Fig. 4.17. Screenshots of the film scenes. Tomić, V. (2015) *Flotel Europa* [Film].

INSTRUCTIONS FOR TAILORING

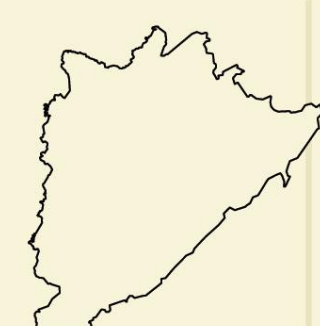
Preparation for sewing
Before cutting and sewing, you need to read the instructions carefully. There are many tips and tricks that will help you to make the best of your fabric. It is important to use the appropriate size of fabric and to choose the right type of fabric. It is also important to use the appropriate size of thread and to choose the right type of thread. It is also important to use the appropriate size of needle and to choose the right type of needle.

1. Layout of the pattern pieces
2. The numbers of pattern pieces
3. Interpretation of the pattern pieces
4. Finishing the pattern pieces on the cutting card/paper

Legend:
 Number 1 - 18 - Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
 Number 19 - 20 - Canton
 Number 21 - 22 - Republic of Srpska
 Number 23 - 24 - Brčko District
 Number 25 - 26 - Municipalities

Legend:
 XL - Universal size
 M - Medium
 S - Small

5. Selecting the size
6. Display of the immediately tailored models
7. Combining the pattern pieces



8. Preparing for copy
Before cutting and sewing, you need to read the instructions carefully. There are many tips and tricks that will help you to make the best of your fabric. It is important to use the appropriate size of fabric and to choose the right type of fabric. It is also important to use the appropriate size of thread and to choose the right type of thread. It is also important to use the appropriate size of needle and to choose the right type of needle.

Legend:
 Number 1 - 18 - Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
 Number 19 - 20 - Canton
 Number 21 - 22 - Republic of Srpska
 Number 23 - 24 - Brčko District
 Number 25 - 26 - Municipalities

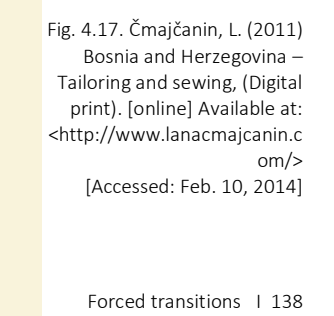
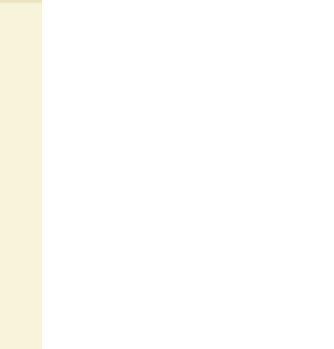
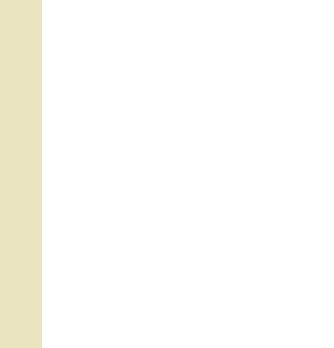
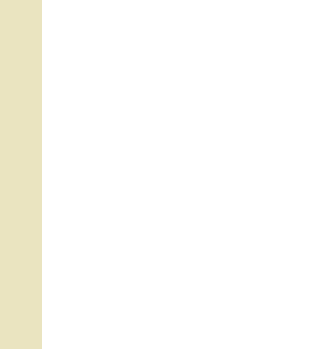
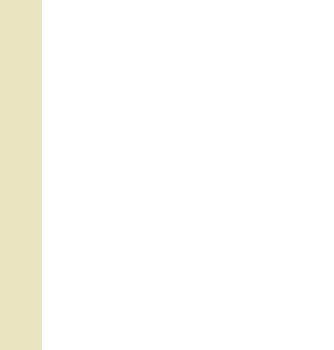
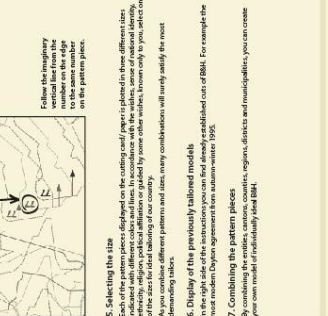
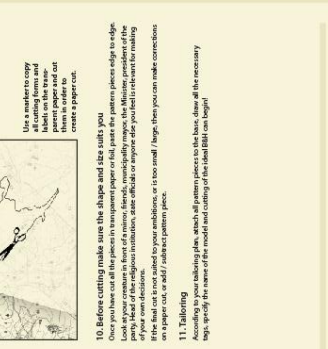
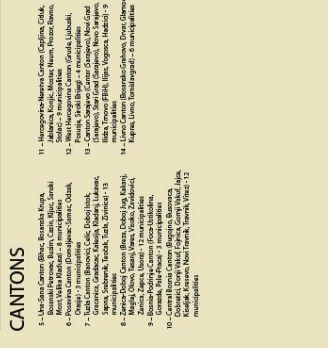
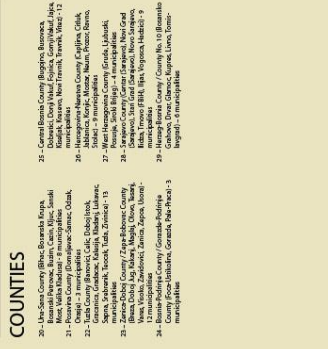
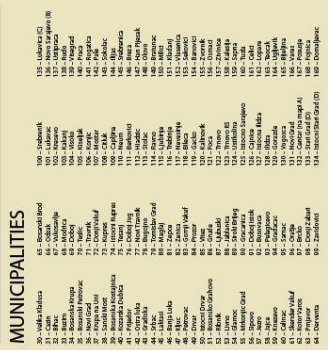
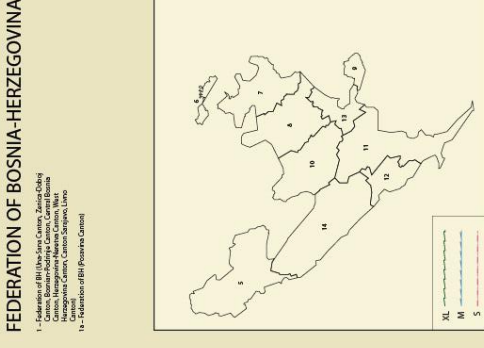
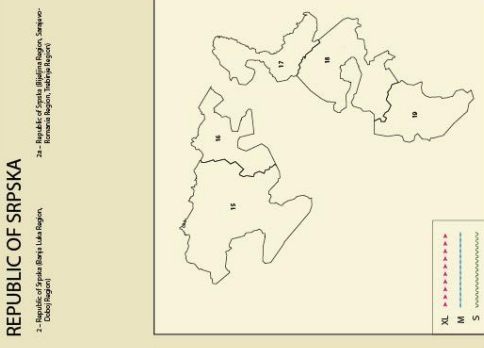
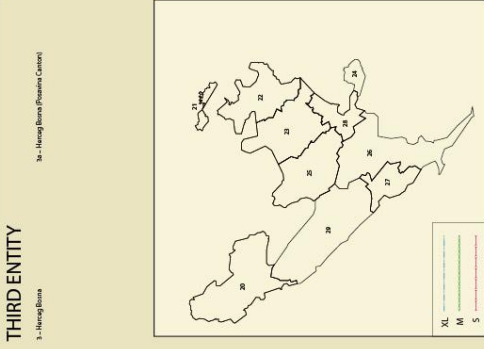
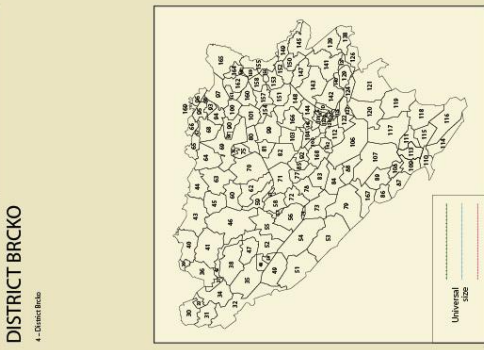
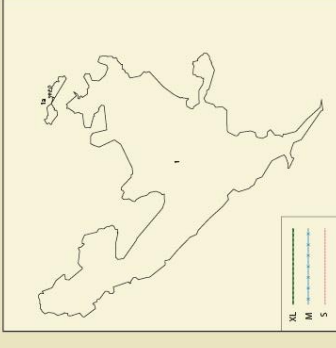
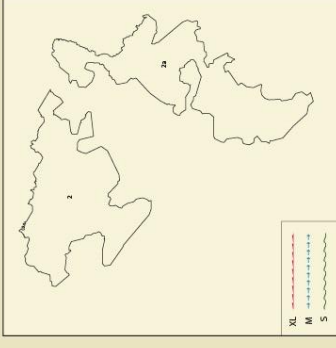
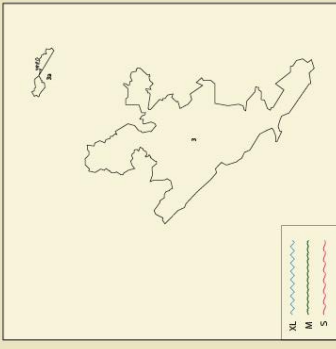
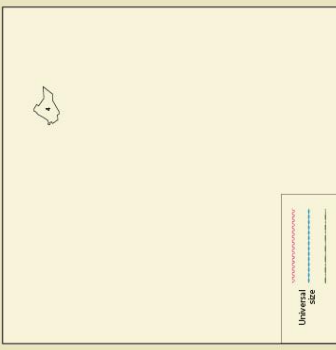
Legend:
 XL - Universal size
 M - Medium
 S - Small

Legend:
 Number 1 - 18 - Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
 Number 19 - 20 - Canton
 Number 21 - 22 - Republic of Srpska
 Number 23 - 24 - Brčko District
 Number 25 - 26 - Municipalities

Legend:
 XL - Universal size
 M - Medium
 S - Small

11. Tailoring

Fig. 4.17. Čmajčanin, L. (2011) Bosnia and Herzegovina – Tailoring and Sewing, (Digital print). [online] Available at: <<http://www.lanacmajcanin.com/>> [Accessed: Feb. 10, 2014]



Borders / Divisions

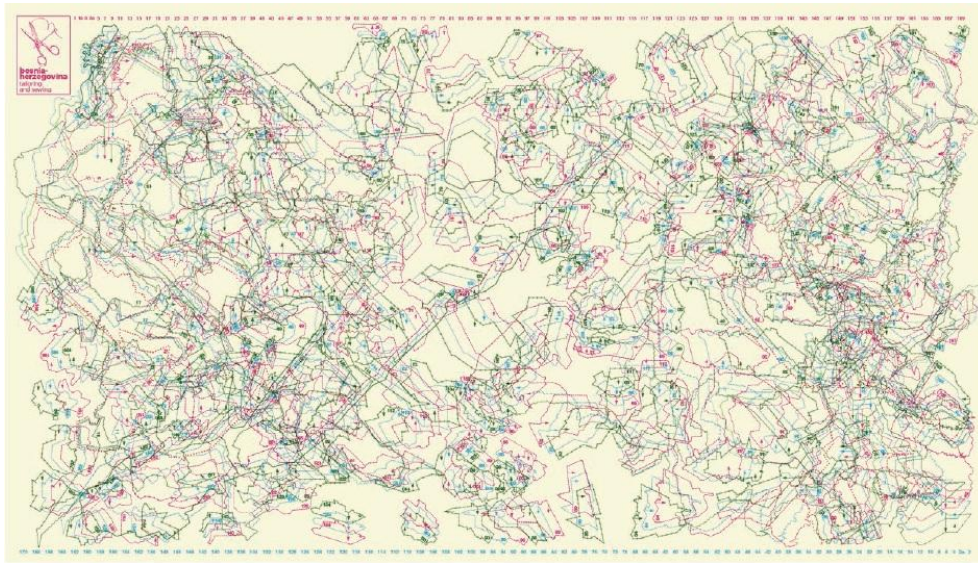


Fig. 4.18. Čmajčanin, L. (2011) Bosnia and Herzegovina – Tailoring and sewing, (Digital print). [online] Available at: <<http://www.lanacmajcanin.com/>> [Accessed: Feb. 10, 2014]



Fig. 4.19. Čmajčanin, L. (2014) Geometry of place [Engraved glass, 56 panels, 7mm glass]. [online] Available at: <<http://www.lanacmajcanin.com/projects/item/134-geometry-of-place>> [Accessed: My. 6, 2015]



Fig. 4.20. Miljanović, M. (2006) Welcome to Bosnia (installation, layout setting for the exhibition Real Presence). [online] Available at: <www.mladenmiljanovic.info/mladen%20miljanovic%20machines%20rule.html> [Accessed: Feb. 10, 2014]



Fig. 4.21. Mrđa, B. (2010) Granica. [online] Available at: <<http://borjanamrdja.info/photographs/border/>> [Accessed: Feb. 10, 2014]. and Radulj, M. (2011) 4,5 D BA(O)SNA: ambiental scene event, (PhD art project). Belgrade: University in Belgrade.

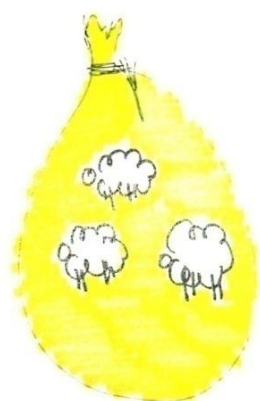


Fig. 4.22. Minesweeper je popularna bezbrižna logistička igrice za odmor i relaksaciju. *Minesweeper Bosnia & Herzegovina*, digitalno generisani interaktivni rad funkcioniše na istom principu kao i originalna igra. Da li ćemo ležerno pristupiti igri, i nasumice klikatati po zagonebnim poljima ako je stavimo u kontekst Bosne i Hercegovine?

Bosna i Hercegovina je i dalje minama najkontaminiranija zemlja u Evropi. Pretpostavlja se da je 3,2% teritorija BiH i dalje prekriveno minama. Procjenjeno je da lokacije zagađene minama/NUS-om direktno utiču na sigurnost preko 900.000 ljudi, što postavlja našu zemlju među najugroženije na svijetu i otežava njen ekonomski razvoj i neometan i siguran život njenih građana. Od 1996. godine do danas, u Bosni i Hercegovini od mina je stradalo ukupno 1.667 osoba. Samo prošle godine, ukupno je bilo 39 žrtava, od čega 19 smrtno stradalih. (Izvor: www.bhmac.org)

Špirić, D. (2009) *Minesweeper Bosnia & Herzegovina* (Digitally generated interactive art work) [online] Available at: www.dajanspiric.com [Accessed: Oct. 13, 2014], and Špirić, D. (2009) *Bosnia*. [online] Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10202520202865370&set=a.10200635239262458.2207389.1204415074&type=3&theater> [Accessed: Feb. 15, 2014].





TKI OVNA U VRECI,
MNOGO VUNE, TVRDO MESO,
MOŽE JE I ŽBUCI.
NO JEDNO SRBI I KOMEČ!



Fig. 4.23. Radulj, M. (2011) 4,5 D BA(O)SNA: ambiental scene event, (PhD art project). Belgrade: University in Belgrade.



Fig. 4.24. Dejan Šijuk, 2011. Zivot.
Source: <https://www.behance.net/gallery/1899335/ILLUSTRATION>



Fig. 4.25. Marina Radulj, 2011. Who would be the God in Bosnia?
Source: Radulj, M. 2011. 4,5 D BA(O)SNA: ambiental scene event. [PhD art project]
Belgrade: University in Belgrade.



Fig. 4.26. Igor Bošnjak, 2010. A house / graffiti /
Homage to Vlado Martek House, 1997 "Write its name on each thing you purchase or own."
Source: <http://www.igorbosnjak.com/a%20house.htm>

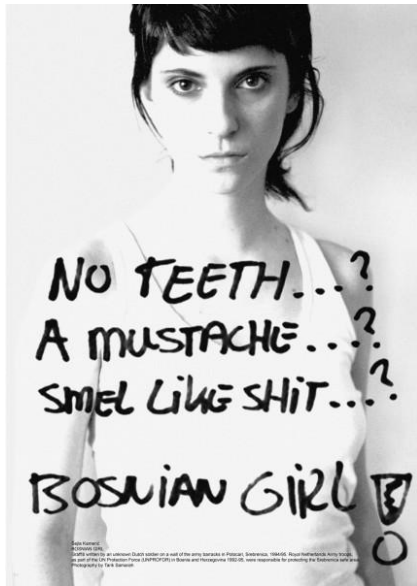


Fig. 4.27. Kamezić, L. (2003) Bosnian girl (Black-and-white photograph).
 [online] Available at: <<http://sejlakameric.com/works/bosnian-girl/>> [Accessed: Oct. 13, 2014].

home-sick /'hoom,sɪk/ *adj* feeling sad because you are away from your home: *On her first night at camp, Sheila felt very homesick for her family.* — **homesickness** *n* [U]



Fig. 4.28. "Homesick" shows the desire for spatial trauma from which we all ran away so we could return into the same boundaries. The label with the direction towards Sarajevo was set at more than 100 places around the world. Kamezić, Š. 2001-2014. HomeSICK (*The public project installed in more than 100 places over the world. The arrow always points in the direction of Sarajevo.*) [online] Available at: <<http://sejlakameric.com/works/homesick/>> [Accessed: Oct. 13. 2014.]

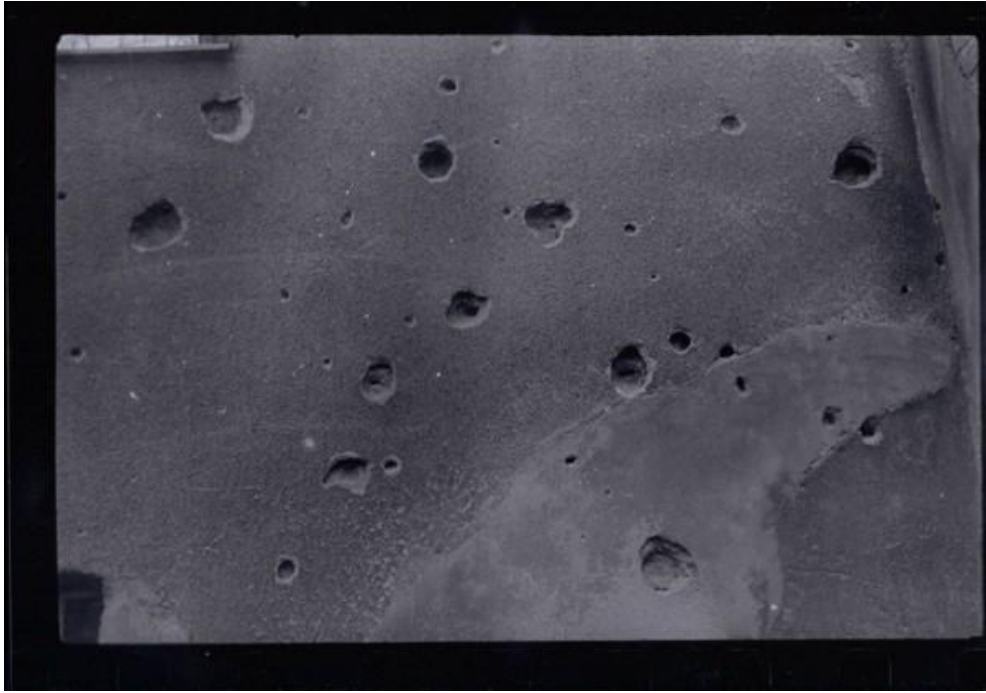


Fig. 4.29. Kameric, Š. (2011) June is June everywhere, (Digital print). [online] Available at: <http://sejlakameric.com/works/june-is-june-everywhere/> [Accessed: Nov. 5, 2014].



Fig. 4.30. Screenshot of the film scene.

Beban, B & Horvatić, I. (Directors, Writers, Producers) 1997. *The Hand on the shoulder* [Film]. UK: Arts Council of England, Channel 4 Television Corporation, Ontario Arts Council.

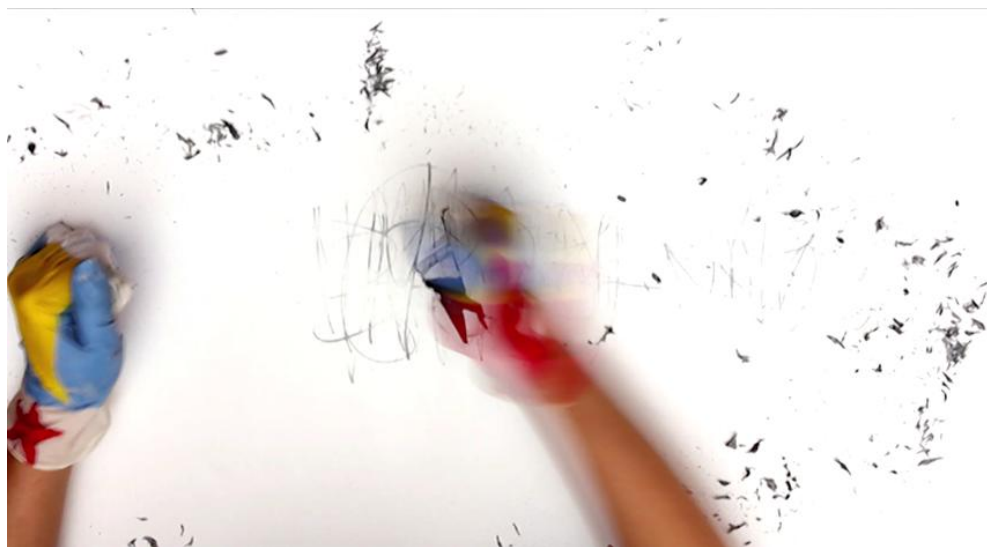


Fig. 4.31. Borjana Mrđa, „Rukavice“, 2009. Source: <http://borjanamrdja.info/>



Fig. 4.32. Screenshot of the film scene.
Kusturica, E. (Director) Sidran, A., Kusturica, E. (Writers) (1981). *Do You Remember Dolly Bell?* (Serb. *Sjećaš li se Dolly Bell*) [Film]. In F. Sutjeska film (Producer). BiH: Sutjeska film Sarajevo.



Fig. 4.33. Screenshot of the film scene.
Tanović, D. (Director, Writer) (2001). *No man's land* (Serb. *Ničija zemlja*) [Film]. In F. Dumas-Zajdela, M., Baschet, & C. Kolar (Producers). Slovenia: MGM/United Artists.



Fig. 4.34. Screenshot of the film scene.

Marković, G. (Director, Writer) (2008). *The Tour* (Serb. *Turneja*) [Film]. In F. Stanić, T., Cvetković, S. (Producers). Republika Srpska: Balkan Film, Srbija: Testament Film.



Fig. 4.35. Screenshot of the film scene.

Golubović, S. (Director) (2013). Koljević, S. Koljević, M.P. (Writer) (2013). *Circles* (Serb. *Krugovi*) [Film]. In F. Georges, E., Hočevan, D., Kecman, I. Matić, B. Z., Mitrović, J., Ris, A. (Producer). Srbija: Baš čelik Beograd.



Fig. 4.36. Screenshot of the film scene.

Kusturica, E. (Director) (1995) Kusturica, E. Kovačević D. (Writers) *Underground* [Film]. In F. Depardieu, A. Vučelić, M. (Producers). France: CiBy 2000.



Fig. 4.37. Screenshot of the film scene.

Žalica, P. (Director, Writer) (2003). *Fuse* (Serb. *Gori vatra*) [Film]. In F. Duraković, J., Kenović, A., Lenouvel, T., Mehić, Z., Platt, J., Šimunac, B. (Producers). BiH: Refresh Production Sarajevo.

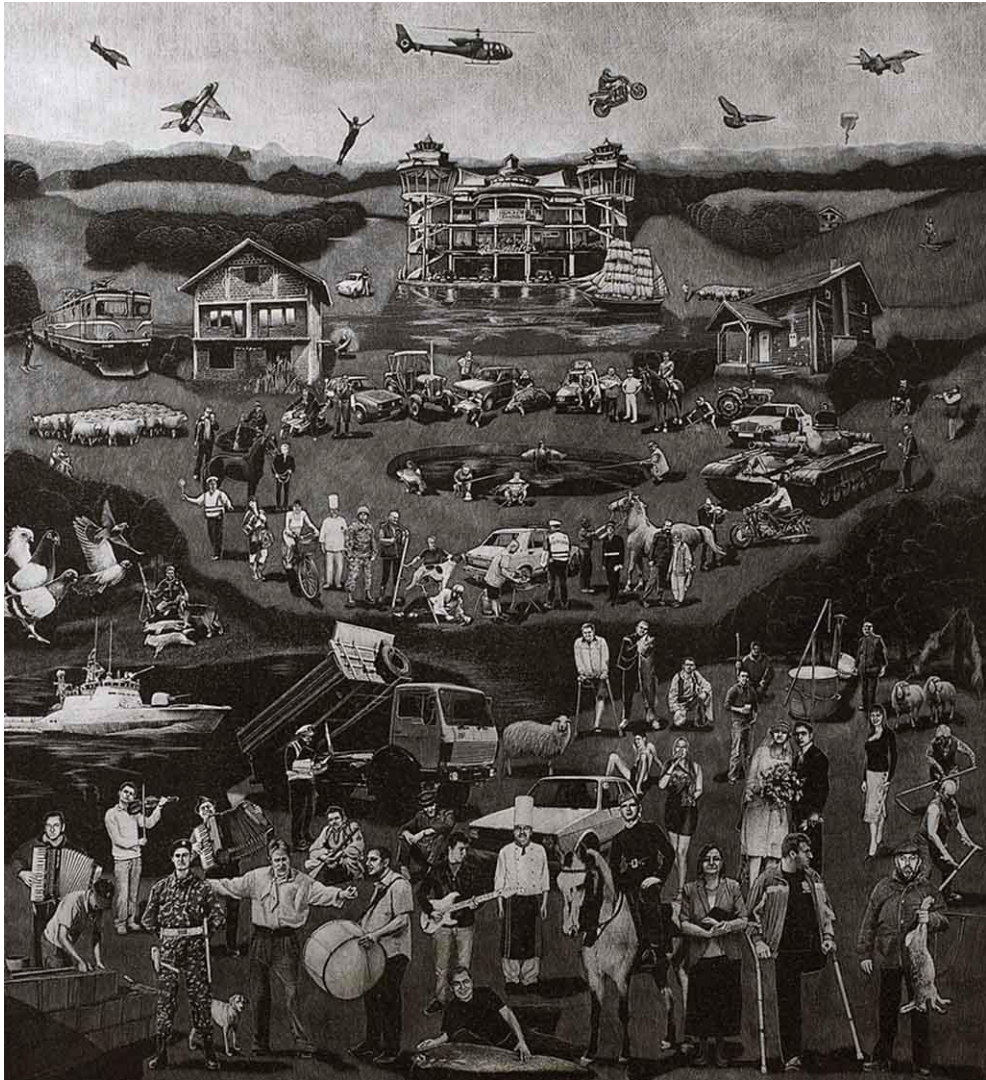


Fig. 4.38. Miljanović, M. 2013. Garden of delights (Installation at 55th Venice Biennale, Metal, engraving on granite, 2013, photo Drago Vejnović). [online] Available at: <<http://www.mladenmiljanovic.com/THE-GARDEN-OF-DELIGHTS>> [Accessed: Feb. 6, 2014]



Fig. 4.39. Sabina Đogić, Wo ist das sevdah? [graffiti] 2014.



Fig. 4.40. Sabina Đogić, "I am the sevdah?" [graffiti] 2014.

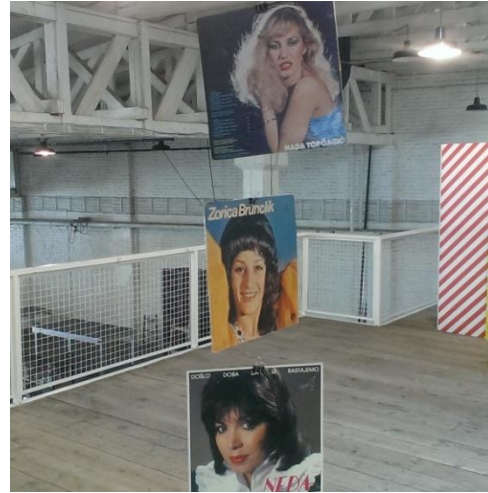


Fig. 4.41. The wedding of Ceca and Arkan. Source: [online] Available at: <story.rs> [Accessed: Apr. 13, 2015]

Fig. 4.42. Bojan Krištofić, "(Est)etika nacionalizma" [exhibition] 2014. Photo by the Author.

Fig. 4.43. Milica Tomić, "Sama" ["Alone"], [Video installation 36'] 2001. Source: [online] Available at: <story.rs> [Accessed: Apr. 13, 2015]

BLOCK D

CASE STUDIES

5. TRANSITION OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD

Česma - Mađir, Banja Luka

Oh Banja Luka and those villages of yours

*Oh Banja Luka and those villages of yours
There I have seduced my sweetheart*

*Seduced him with my raven eyes
White face and honey mouth*

*Ah my sweetheart if I would be yours
My wish would come true*

*Dear mother I will take him to my place
He will be lovable to both me and you[N]*

One of the most famous songs of Banja Luka, in a bit archaic, ambiguous and non-literary way speaks about love play between a girl and a boy. City of Banja Luka and its neighbouring villages are representing a lyrical framework in which the girl seduced a boy, and where their further love play takes place. Zanimljiva je ovdje upotreba glagola *zanijeti*, umjesto uobičajenog *zavesti*. It is interesting that the verb "seduce" is used here (*zanijeti*- in Serbian) instead of more usual charm (*zavoditi*- in Serbian). Double meaning arises here because in Serbian the verb "zanijeti", meaning "to seduce" is used to indicate the beginning of a new life. If these verbs would be compared in this context, they could be connected in the same meaning- birth of a new love, what is actually essential meaning of opening verses of the most popular song about Banja Luka.

Instead of the love between a boy and a girl, this introduction to the first case study deals with the city of Banja Luka as the context and specific place of the song. The analysis establishes a conceptual link between the birth of a new love and the birth of one conditionally "new town". The setting from the song is transposed into the actual physical space and in both cases it is a city of Banja Luka with its hinterland area. The birth of the love to Banja Luka, is the process of establishing relations between the city and new residents, who settled in this specific context. The poetic experience of the city is unfortunately different from the real one as the arrival in Banja Luka represents traumatic experience of an entire "lost generation"[N] which lost the part of its childhood and youth during the war and post-war years.

Pasalic (undated) states that War generation of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been particularly marked by generation born between 1967 and 1973, which were direct participants of the war during their most fertile years. These are the generations that fought in the period when they were able to give the most; vulnerable generations, which had difficulties to integrate into normal life, in the postwar period, because of suddenly interrupted continuity of period of formation, childhood, adolescence ...

Sejranović (2013) said that the theme of exile extended to the fate of Yugoslavs and loss of the lost generation. It was torn between the former Yugoslavia, distant exile, the hell of drugs and tragedy of war on the one hand, and on the other the impossibility to forget how it was before, and not accepting the new situation. A member of this generation thinks how "happy children may still mature earlier than us - unfortunates who remain prisoners of their premature and only apparent adulthood" (Vojnovic 2013: 241).

The poetic perception of the City also reveals something about the etymology, history, geography, mentality and identity of Banja Luka. The wide valley, which, like an inverted funnel (*lijevak in Serbian*), slowly opens from *Vrbas canyon* at the south towards *Lijevče field* ^[6] on the north marks the end of the canyon and the beginning of the field in one direction and viceversa. That space, which opens to the north, and closes to the south, looks like it opens and spreads its arms, hugging and accepting all its incidental and intentional visitors, permanent and temporary guests, young and old world travellers, newcomers and natives. This small part of the bigger funnel, its beginning and a bottleneck, which is followed by a wide opening to the north, to Sava river and the Pannonia Basin is recognized as the Banja Luka valley - A unique geographical and natural unit.

Banja Luka (*Bajna Luka - fabulous/fairy tale/magical port - auth. trans.*) becomes quiet harbour to ships (Matvejević, 2007) that have found their permanent refuge there from the vast seas where they sail. Some of them stay longer, and some shorter, some come with certain purpose, and some accidentally, some are forced, and the others free, some stay temporarily, others permanently. All these ships of various types, dimensions, materials and ages come to the port to rest, remain or to continue. But all of them find some kind of, even if it is only temporary refuge and protection and many of them remain forever, no matter if they had found a permanent place for new life, or if they are steaming for eternity.

Open, wide and quiet port *seduces* regardless of the reason, the character of arrival or length of stay, just like the birthplace from the song. Banja Luka succeeds to get involved and play the role of mother, and also to provide conditions for a new beginning of life. The general spatial (geo-strategic position), social (political) and cultural context in the last twenty years, has represented conditions for the birth of a "new city" near the "old" city of Banja Luka. Consciously or not, planned or spontaneously, accidentally or intentionally, Banja Luka has seduced one completely "new city".

If following verses of the song, only physical elements of attraction are revealed in the first part, and then in the second psychological element with the use of conditional verb forms is revealed. This physical perception of Banja Luka as a safe/ quiet harbour with opened arms, that *seduces and charms* is different from the perception of new inhabitants. In this context and on the free interpretation, the song is linked to the phrase "mad frontiersmen" (ljudi krajišnici in Serbian) which is used in the past to characterize the people of Krajina region. It speaks about different perception of arrival to the city, which seduces and frightens at the same time.

After years of war, My parents wept with grief and happiness at the same time, because there was the possibility to find a peaceful refuge in Banja Luka, in Krajina. [4]

Therefore, by following just one popular song and only two views on it, it is revealed that transition of spatial identities and (re) construction of a new life and a "new city" in fact represents the result of a complex process and a difficult experience.

These two views mark the contrast between the physical and the psychological perception of Banja Luka, as the basis of a "new city" in the eyes of its "founders". At one hand, it is a really quite harbour which, at the time of the war, provides shelter at the start of a new life. On the other hand Banja Luka in Krajina also represents the beginning made on foundations of painful wartime past, which "founders" are carrying with them. "New City" is a metaphor for new beginning in a place and time where it does not belong. For many, it is a necessary evil "a step backward", the end of a beautiful, carefree and safe youth, and the beginning of a "real" life. Depending on the roots, origins and places of previous residence, the founders of the "new city" are looking to this new beginning from different perspectives. For others it is a big step forward, which means a shift into the future, the new urban life, better chance for employment and development in every sense.

Given these differences, perception of the "new city" was different for two groups of founders - the ones who came in from Krajina and those who came from other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. For others a perception of Krajina has always existed, as the country at the end (Kraj- the end, The territory at the end- in Serbian). Krajina has always indicated the end of unique distant territory little known and not very well connected to central and other parts. Distant, inaccessible and settled by "angry" people, it was perceived as separate entity. It gravitated more to Zagreb, less to Sarajevo hence there are differences in culture, language and everyday life patterns that were even more noticeable.

In post-Yugoslav context of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Krajina looked even worse in the eyes of the founders of a "new city". Far away from Drina river, at the border with Serbia and Belgrade as the capital, with whom it was connected only by a narrow corridor Krajina did not provide a lot of security to its new residents. In those hard times of "collective madness", there was not much opportunity for reflection and logical choices. Things just happened and life flowed through some of its strange courses in those strange times. There was little right to make choices, and there were even less choices to make. Every opportunity for freedom, security or any other similar solution was accepted automatically, even if it was just temporarily.

5.1. Map of transition

After centuries of development, and various changes the city went through, it has found itself in a specific context, at the end of 1995, when a new, rapid growth of Banja Luka has begun. Thanks to the geographical location which positioned it outside of the mainstream of the war, Banja Luka survived the war times relatively quiet and came out of it physically unharmed, but decades behind in development and with non-physical wounds which were much larger. Therefore a construction of completely new life begins in parallel with the physical construction of the neighborhood. After traumatic experience of war, starvation and migration, refugees and displaced persons have been trying to reestablish broken links and relationship to a new place, house and home. The main element of the process are people who define a new perception of the image of the city - the (re) construction of a new city.

The approach to viewing urban space as physical framework is affirmed by turning a focus of population, patterns of space usage and their relations on the configuration. This allows selection of the domain of everyday life, which Lefebvre (1991) called the lived space.

5.1.1. Social morphology

5.1.1.1. Previous structure

According to the evolution of the city, the population of Banja Luka grew steadily in all stages of development, with only some exceptions, marked by stagnation, or sudden growth. Before the war the Municipality of Banja Luka had a total of 195,692 inhabitants, of whom 106.826 (54,58%) were Serbs; 29.026 (14,83%) Croats; 28.558 (14,59%) Muslims; 23.656 (12,08 %) of citizens who declared themselves as Yugoslavs; and 7.626, or 3,89% of those who identified themselves as others or undeclared. At the same time, the urban area of the city had a heterogeneous ethnic structure as most cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The total population of urban area was amounted to 143.079 inhabitants. The ethnic structure was as follows: 70.155 (49,03%) Serbs; 27.689 (19,35%) Muslims; 15.700 (10,97%) were Croats; 22.645. (15,82%) Yugoslavs and 6.890 (4,81%) others (Census 1991).

The number and ethnic structure of population are indicative of the analysis of changes by ethnicity, which largely marked a "new development" and "new perception" of the city. The relationship between the structure in the urban area and the area of the municipality is also indicative for changes of the urban population. From this insight, it is clear that the Croats and Muslims mostly formed urban structure of population (Bakaršić Undated, Mastilo 1959), while in rural areas mainly Serbs lived. This phenomenon of fragmentation of urban and rural population by ethnic groups is dating back to the time of Turkish rule, when the privileged Muslim population lived in urban neighborhoods of cities (mahallas) and worked in the city centers (bazaars/ čaršijas), while the Orthodox and Catholics mostly lived in rural areas, living from the agriculture (Bakaršić Undated).

5.1.1.2. People in motion

Radical demographic change in Banja Luka, emerged during the war in 1992-1995, and immediately after emigration of Croatian and Muslim population and the arrival of Serbian refugees. In this period, more than 50,000 Bosniaks and Croats were moved out from Banja Luka (Milojević 2009, Marinković 2005, Census 2013), so it is considered that third of the prewar population of the city has been irretrievably lost. On the other hand, in the same process, a large number of refugees came to Banja Luka from different sides. It is estimated that Banja Luka received around 72,000 of Serbian refugees and displaced persons which mostly stayed permanently in the city (Milojević 2009, Marinković 2005, Census 2013). According to the census of 1996, most of refugees stayed in Banja Luka region - 35.889 (27.4%), followed by Sarajevo-Romanija region- 30.776 (23.5%).

Leavings and comings

I wanted to escape even further, but there was nowhere to run anymore.

Sejranović, 2010.

Aleksandra Djurdjevic [1] witnesses on directions and periods of exchange in Česma-Mađir, describes leaving of non-Serbian population and the arrival of new ones, which took place in several waves. Given that in Banja Luka there was no armed conflict, the process of forced emigration of Croats took place quietly and spontaneously in particularly strange atmosphere.

"People have sensed trouble, some were speaking about the war, although no one could have guessed what was going to happen later, even in the darkest forebodings" (Sejranović 2010: 94). The situation in Yugoslavia was rapidly deteriorating in the late eighties, the atmosphere was suddenly different. Aresnijić[N] described it as calm before the storm, as the strange silence that occurs before an enormous explosion and change that inevitably follows afterwards. Hemon (2013) described the summer of 1991 through the image of abundance of parties, sex and drugs; laughter was hysterical, the streets were crowded by day and night. The city (Sarajevo), resplendent in the seductive glow of inevitable disaster, looked more beautiful than ever (123). Štiks (2006: 23) wrote: "I will remember April 1992 as one of the most beautiful months in the last few years of my life, but that is the impression that we usually have about the period that preceded a disaster."

The process began with the release of work, expansion of hatred, intimidation, threats and so on. The first wave of movings took place in 1992 when mostly women and children left, as well as young people who were capable to be in war. That was not part of a rumor, it was not announced. People just disappeared overnight. First neighbors and friends from childhood simply were not there anymore.

Jergović and Štiks remember all the details, facial expressions, spoken words, feelings and date at the period of leaving (Sarajevo). "Last day of March, she went out of town. It seemed as she left like she went on an excursion. Without a goodbye. [...] I left because I was afraid and because I found that damn choice [...] I did not say goodbye, because I did not have courage (Jergović 2013: 124). "Upon leaving Štiks only hopes that the City "will stand together with those who are closest to me today, that I left without warning, without a word, like a coward or, more appropriately, as a traitor. In my defense, I want to say that I had no choice (2006: 13)."

Latif aga is voyaging...

Bosnian traditional song (sevdalinka) 'Latif aga is Voyaging' [N] talks about migration of Muslims from Banja Luka to Turkey, during Austro-Hungarian annexation, approximately at the time when Alexa Šantić wrote his song 'Stay here'. In this song a vojage from Banja Luka has been described, which is here used as the basis to describe the context of journeys which have had an affect on the exchange of population and change in structure. As opposed to feelings of people who in war times come to one city and observe it with bitterness, the feelings of people who are leaving the same city are full of wistfulness and sorrow.

*Latif aga is voyaging
With his friend Sulejman*

*My friend Sulejman
Do you feel sorry for Banja Luka?*

*Banja Luka's picnics
Courtship near Vrbas river
And the hills of Djumisc*

Beautiful Fata Maglajic

According to this travel of Latif aga (Gafić, 2002), from the popular song all the elements are recognized and very clear, the specific atmosphere and emotions that are associated with this epic journey, colored by subtle and discreet, lyrical sentiments. From the perspective of space researching, travel is defined as a movement through space, movement in space and movement from one area to another. The result of travel is a change of space. As a departure from one and arrival to another. This change in the definition of travel is not just momentary, it is not happening and has not finished in one time. That is why it is specific as well as each process that runs at a time. Change itself has its own specific duration and life. A shift from one area to another and from one place to another is an act and a process, an event that has always had a lot of different meanings.

Latif- Aga`s travel is basically caused and conditioned by a strong change and its inevitability. By selecting changes, a different, more free and better life. But in contrast of that, It was inspired, guided, and sung in an atmosphere of sadness and melancholy. The travel was farewelled by the sadness of the space and place of departure, that he is leaving forever with a sort of unconsciousness or semi-consciousness. Although this element of eternal separation is destined to be related with the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and with a strong grounding in a specific and turbulent history of constant change, it is also imbued with the personal sense. Personal sense of individual being is here again an expression of the collective. The song revives the feeling of traveling on a much wider field.

Latif- Aga`s travel thus particularly paints one specific space clearly and accurately, linking it to real, live people and events. The space is alive and gains a much greater sense of becoming a specific place. Image of the city is invaluable, on the river and little hills, with the typical urban events of that time and the beauty of the girls, which has certainly marked the life of a whole generation. That is why this wealth of spatial layers is so important, that is why this path is so difficult and why it hurts so much. That is why all trips in a way strongly encourage to think about life, times and people... About the quality of spent time in the same life and the people who actually make it the most. In this specific rejection of entrenched and everyday routines, one of the same and a hundred times lived space, traveling makes the revaluation of the same space and a review of the relationship to it.

Most of all, the character of this travel, some kind of comfort, hope and outputs present a friend and trip companion. He is there to make everything easier, more beautiful, more meaningful... e is there to ease the pain of the abandonment, being left behind, of the old space, and to meet, share and accept the newly discovered one. To look at each other, to examine and compare. That is why someone is always missing on travels, someone close to the passanger, who understands and feels same as him. To make this precious time, experience and energy of conquest roads, the space on the road, and finally to spend it to share it not with anyone, but with people for whom it really means something. There are too much energy and benefits that are produced on travels to be spent without a clear purpose, without a meaning, and at the very end without returning.

...

Year of 1993 went more or less peacefully, while the second wave occurred in 1994 when a large number of people left, including the older people as well. They mainly went to Croatia; to Rijeka, Zadar, Sibenik, but also farther away. It is interesting that the war refugees from Republika Srpska went to Croatia through Serbia and Hungary. [1]

In 1995 the operation "Bljesak" (Flash), "Oluja" (Storm) and the "fall" of Western Krajina municipalities happened, causing all remaining Croats leaving Mađir, with only a few individual exceptions. This was an organized operation. [1]

At first, people from Mađir mainly went abroad, mostly to Sweden and Germany, in the process that was helped by various humanitarian organizations, the Catholic Church and Caritas. In the second and penultimate wave, old residents of Mađir, who have remained, went in organized migration. They could not choose where to go, and they were mostly settled in small Serbian villages and cities, such as Plaski, Major, Sisak, Petrinja, and further to Karlovac, that were left abandoned (devastated) after the "Oluja" (Storm)- War operation [1].

My family members settled in the village of Kozari (near Karlovac in Croatia), which is a bit similar to our neighborhood by morphology, position in relation to city and closeness to industrial zone. All of these people mostly remained in some suburbs like Mađir, where they could cope and adapt.[1]

Solà-Morales (2008) said that settlement takes place where the absence of protagonists is noticed. The new ones came in the place of previous residents. *New residents started to arrive immediately after the first departures of Croats, but the biggest wave of arrivals occurred in 1995*[1]. They had arrived from almost all parts of former Yugoslavia.

Data from the Interview and Questionnaire shows that most of the new population of neighborhood comes from the Bosnian Krajina (Drvar, Petrovac, Grahovo, Kupres, Sanski Most, Ključ, Krupa, Cazin, Bihać, Velika Kladusa, ...) - 28.89%; from Croatia (Slavonia and Istria - Rijeka and its surroundings, then from Knin's Krajina, Zagreb region) - 15.56%; from Central Bosnia (Jajce, Bugojno, Gornji and Donji Vakuf, Travnik, Vitez, ...) - 6,67%; From the Sarajevo-Zenica basin (Sarajevo, Zenica, Visoko, Breza, Vares, Kakanj, ...) - 6,67%; from northeast Bosnia (Tuzla, Zavidovici, Lancaster, Tesanj, Maglaj, Zepce, ...) - 4.44%; From Herzegovina (Konjic, Prozor, Jablanica, Mostar, Livno, Duvno, Ljubuski, Capljina, Stolac, Široki Brijeg, Posušje, ...) - 4.44%; Serbia (Kosovo and

Metohija) - 2.22%. Interviews state that the big majority of the neighborhood population are refugees and displaced persons[2], while only one third of the population lived out here before, or they have moved from other parts of the City (including rural areas) or other areas that are not listed - 28.89%.

Refugee center of Banja Luka was host to the largest concentration of refugees and displaced persons. The 1996 census recorded 156.028 persons, or 37%, or 95.416, or 34.9% in 2001. The Municipality of Banja Luka is in the first place in Republic of Srpska, with 35.889 (27,4%) i.e. with 22.757 of the total number of refugee and displaced households in 1996, or 22.757 in 2001 (List of refugees and displaced persons and households of Republic of Srpska" in 1996 and re-registration that was carried out in 2001. According to the origin, Sanski Most, Kljuc and Drvar are on the first three places that have been participating in the new population structure of New Banjaluka.

The largest number of refugees are from Muslim- Croatian Federation, and Croatia. Even 37 municipalities of previous places of residence have given more than 1,000 refugees and displaced households, who have moved to the Serbian Republic. These are: Sarajevo (24.467), Sanski Most, Zenica, Key, Tuzla, Drvar, Mostar Bosanski Petrovac, Bosanska Krupa, Lukavac... Similarly data shown from 2001. Number of 76,5% of the previous residence places consisted of municipalities in Federation of BiH. A third of this number, or approximately 36.8% of displaced persons were from the territory of Sarajevo, Zenica, Mostar and Tuzla, i.e. the largest urban-industrial areas of the former Federal Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Total of 90,7% is displaced from the former Federal Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, while 8,8% refers to prevent households from the territory of Croatia.

According to previous place of residence of refugees from the Croatia, they are mostly from the area of Sisak-Moslavina County (Dvor, Kostajnica, Novska, Petrinja, Sisak, ...) with a number of 23,0%, the city of Zagreb 18,1%, Brod-Posavina County (Nova Gradiska, Okucani, Slavosni Brod, ...) 10.9%, Primorje-Gorski Kotar County (Rijeka, Delnice, ...) 9.6%, Pozeza-Slavonia (Pakrac, Pozeza, Lipik ..) 7.5%, and Bjelovar-Bilogora (Daruvar, Bjelovar, ...) 4.9% of share. 75% of refugees were from the city of Zagreb and these five counties, 25% of the total number of refugees were from other Croatian regions. In the opposite direction, the total number of displaced persons from the Republic of Srpska, were mostly from the area of Sarajevo-Zvornik region with 50.9%, followed by Doboj-Bijeljina region with 25.3%, Banja Luka with 15.2%, while the lower number was from the area of Trebinje-Srbijne (Foča) region with 8.6% of share

There was only - 15.55% of population that lived in Česma-Madžir, before the war; 4.44% moved during the war, while the majority of 80.00% has moved immediately after the war. In addition to the categories of refugees and displaced persons, the new structure of population is composed by locals, which used the war for moving from rural to the urban parts of the city.

Agents of construction directly testified about the process of transition from the previous place of residence in Banja Luka, including the basic elements of transition, the period between leaving the previous place of residence and final settlement in Banja Luka. Serbian Orthodox priest, parish of Česma-Madžir, Budimir Bjeličić [2], explains the process of settling his family.

We moved here from the Čuprija, a small city in Serbia, after years of refugee life. There were lots of impacts and it is complicated to explain it. It's a very long story so You could write a whole article just from my answer. I was born in Dalmatia and finished my school in Šibenik (both in the Croatia seaside), got married and just started to work when the war started in in Croatia, 1991, when we had to escape. We did not know where. Nor we had any idea. We did not expect it, we were not ready, beacuse we believed that everything will be resolved somehow in Yugoslavia. Like all normal and positive young people, we were optimistic. But it did not resolve. We just sat in the car and headed into the column. Without any objective or idea where we will stop. A 4-year-old son and 1-year-old baby who breastfeeds, the wife and me.

Our first stop was Glamoc in war-torn Bosnia and Herzegovina where we lived until the summer of 1995. But under the onslaught of one of the last war offensives - the "Oluja" (The Storm) operation we were forced to run and to seek refugee once more... Through the woods in the column with tens of thousands of other people, we were moving for days, through the whole of Republic of Srpska... Then we run as far away as we could and finally arrived to Belgrade. In a state of the chaos, the war, international embargo and refugees crisis, Sebia was an exhausted country. When my Bishop asked me, where do I want to go, I just said, let it be the will of God, My Bishop. Wherever, I am just asking that there is peace. Nothing else.

In the interview with Goran Arbutina [3], the president of the NGO and the football club Recreativo from Česma-Madžir neighborhood, that was conducted in Banja Luka, on August 25th, 2015, he witnessed the transition of his own family.

We moved to Banja Luka from Sisak, a small city in Croatia. The process of relocation was not too complicated except it lasted for 7 days... Because of the borders blockade and limited freedom of movement, the way led us through Hungary and Serbia. It was just before the very end of the war, when the possibility for property exchange was opened. [3]

In an interview conducted in December of 2014, Rajko and Ljubica Kuvač [4] described their process of refugee and arrival in Banja Luka.

Our arrival in Banja Luka was the peek of a long war journey that took off from our birthplace (homecity), the small city of Visoko near Sarajevo. It was in May of 1992 and we thought that we should just get away for a while, until the situation calms down. We went like we were going on vacations, with just two suitcases, leaving behind an entire life, family, friends, work, home... Going through frequent control checkpoints, driving through alternative routes (over the mountains), it became clear that we may not go back so soon. Travel to our first refuge destination, in cottage of our relatives in a village of Kneževac, just 200 km away from Visoko, lasted more than 18 hours. [4]

After one year of being refugees in Serbia (3 months in the village and 9 months on the mountain - in the collective refugee center in Belgrade's children's resort Mitrovac on Tara, Tara mountain- Bajina Basta municipality), and two years of war in Brcko (the narrowest point of the corridor through Posavina, between two first war front lines and almost daily cross-shelling from the Muslim and Croatian side), at the beginning of 1995, we finally arrived in Banja Luka. But not immediately in Mađir. We finally came here, in the spring of 2011. The transition period in Banja Luka lasted for entire 15 years. [4]

Reasons and directions

The reasons for these exchange directions were defined by the war state. As the main reasons for settling in Česma-Mađir, respondents state migration caused by the war (1991-1995) - 46.67%; living conditions - 20.00%; employability - 8.89%; family connections - 20.00% and other reasons - 4.44%. In addition, there are other reasons such as similarity to the previous place of residence - 13.33%; economic conditions (real estate prices, the cost of living) - 51.11%; physical and natural characteristics - 8.89%; a combination of different parameters - 8.89%, while the continuity of life in the neighborhood expires only 17.78% of the population. At the same time respondents point out that their settlement in Česma-Mađir was a personal decision - 95.56%; caused by a particular type of assistance (providing land or other benefits) - 2.22%; and the political decision of the republican or municipal authorities - 2.22%. At the same time, regardless of their refugee and economic status, as well as elements of the transition, they did not have any advantages in solving the housing problem - 95.56%; they had support of republican or municipal authorities - 4.44%; support of labor organizations - 2.22%, and the support of international donors - 0.00%.

Isolated agents of construction stand out specific personal reasons.

My Service brought us to the very poor southern Serbia, in Vranje, where we met with poverty. After a year we came to Čuprija in Pomoravska region, in the valley of Velika Morava river, in the middle of Serbia. However, as a newcomers, we have not been accepted there, we did not feel welcome. There we encountered a formidable specific identity of bigoted, closed, inaccessible Serbian farmers, the environment in which it was impossible to handle and where we simply could not achieve adequate quality of life. [2]

Although I raised two churches in Čuprija, the parish hall and many more, we always felt like strangers... Always as refugees and never as our own. Surrounded by people who do not understand us, who are not accustomed to diversity which is not approved. We wanted to return to our homeland, among our people, where we understand each other and where we feel ourselves, where we are welcome... Finally in 2008 we came here in Banja Luka. [2]

Reasons for settlement in Banja Luka were driven by personal instincts of my parents at one hand, but on the other hand were randomly imposed (Banja Luka was the largest center of the free, ethnically cleansed Serbian territory, with no direct armed conflict), and finally logical, because parents were thinking on the possibility of education, employment and future life. [3]

In those times, there appeared possibility for property exchange between different warring parties. When one of the relatives accidentally succeeded, many others have followed his example. By signing a legal contract, we changed our house in Visoko for another one in Banja Luka. This way it was possible to get remaining family members from Visoko out of the position of occupied and vulnerable population, who were minority, and to get

them to ethnically homogenous and conditionally "free" territory. It was also a way to go out of the war zone (the first defense line in Brcko) and to move to a quieter area. Finally, to bring our family together after years of separation. The question of property was no longer so important, because unequal values of exchanged properties were compensated by others.[4]

There were not any other reasons. We did not have any other connections to Banja Luka, we have never been here before, nor did we know the city, the region or people. But we have tied ourselves to Banjaluka, forever. Besides temporary resolving the roof over the head, we were thinking that Banja Luka, as the largest city of the newly created Republika Srpska, have the biggest opportunities for development, that it is good for our children's future and that there have already lived many people we know and relatives, so we would not be alone. [4]

There were also smaller groups which followed the path of a leader (the first one that informed about good experience of the place where he had managed to "come upon"). Thus, in many cities we find settlements where entire groups of refugees from one place live in the same street, the same block, same row, or in several residential buildings in the immediate vicinity. *For example refugees from the region of Sanski Most in Česma-Mađir are concentrated in one area of the village [1].* It hampered their integration into the new social, cultural and spatial context, but on the other hand it strengthened the power of the group, which fought for their status. Accordingly, many groups perfectly adapted to living conditions in the new place of residence (without any connection with the previous place of life) or even imposed their own patterns. They have succeeded to overcome problems of refugees in a relatively short time and to achieve better quality of life than before.

Organization of refugees in this way depended on conditions of exile, place of origin, education level and other factors. Better organization is observed in a case of refugees from smaller rural areas than in those from large cities. Urban residents were not unique in the process of exile and joint problem resolving. One part of them relied on their own, individual skills, while the lack of this type of grouping in order to achieve the same objectives to certain categories of the population made the process of orientation more difficult.

Elements of motion

The loss of emotional world from pre-war past, tangible objects that made it: a living room (the universe of intimacy), books (time points) or images (eventually stored in the crystal), the loss was established as the ultimate pain.

Šehić, 2013: 215..

The process of refugeeism has been composed of different elements. Starting with bare life, over several bags of personal memories (documents and images); furniture (dishes and other supplies); means of transport; all the way to industrial plants and construction elements of buildings, in the most extreme cases. But even when the refugees apparently did not carry anything with them, they actually wore everything they had - life, memories, identity, customs, traditions ... The inhabitants of Česma-Mađir reveal elements of their family transitions. Aleksandra testified that, when leaving from Mađir, *the people carried only basic things, that ones they could pick up[1].* Arbutina says that his family from Sisak carried only essentials with themselves, in hand luggage, which they dragged for seven days through three states until their final destination. Taking into account all the places where they were living from the first exile, until their arrival in Mađir, family Bjeličić *no longer remembers what and where they had or what and from where they left. [2].* Family Kuvač emphasized that their process of moving to Banja Luka was specific because it was long (*lasted for three years, it was carried out in different phases and conditions*). *That is why we were able to preserve some symbolic family heritage such as documents, photos, children's toys...[4]*

Returns

The returning process to Česma-Mađir was compressed to individual cases of well-off families who did not have to sell their assets in Mađir to resolve the issue of homelessness elsewhere in Croatia, for example. Therefore they have the option of staying in their homes nowadays during their retirement. [1] Many families resolved their property issues by changing property, which was good option, although unfair in some cases. Finally, the

majority of Croatian and Bosniak assets in Česma-Mađir were sold to Serbian refugees, so the reasons for their return and any real connection to the place was practically lost. [1]

The process of return is proportional in all of new ethnically homogeneous areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Refugees and displaced persons [1-4] point out that they did not even consider returning. This abstract possibility has always been conditioned by other impossible reasons, guided with the idea that nothing can be as it used to and that return actually makes no sense. The idea mainly appeared in moments of despair because of unresolved refugee and property status. It was also driven by nostalgic, sentimental and utopian ideas of returning all previous inhabitants, property, jobs and economic sustainability. But in addition to life-threatening situation in the first post-war years, uncertainty was increased by impossibility of sustainable return. After the sale of property in the previous places of residence, in order for (re)construct a new life, the possibility of return is reduced to a minimum. Return cases are recorded only individually, mainly among elder population.

5.1.1.3. New structure

Meanwhile, various estimates of the number of population trends were carried out for different purposes. Spatial Plan of the Republic Srpska 2003-2015 was designed following information on the number of inhabitants in the municipality - the city of Banja Luka for 1996: 217,968; 2001: 221,096; 2006: 227,046; 2011: 232,646, 2015: 236,721. According to the Institute of Statistics, in the urban area of Banja Luka 182,500 inhabitants lived in 1999, and 189,709 inhabitants in 2006.

According to the Census 2013, Banjaluka has 185.042 inhabitants (65.652 households, with average 2,8 inhabitants in household and 87.644 dwellings). At the same time urban area has 150.997 inhabitants (49 914 households and 64,226 dwellings) (Cenzus 2013, preliminary results). Although the number of inhabitants compared to 1991 has slightly changed, the most significant change is reflected in the ethnic structure - 165.750 Serbs (89,57%), Bosniaks 7.681 (4,15%), Croats 5,104 (2,75%), 2.733 (1,47%) do not identify themselves on ethnicity, while 3.437 (2,06%) people identify themselves as others, and 334 people did not give an answer. This means that Banja Luka has 20.000 (73,11%) less Bosniak inhabitants and 24.000 (82,42%) less Croats, while the number of Serbs has increased by almost 60.000 (63,61%) compared to 1991.

According to the Census (1991) Česma- Mađir had a population of 1.678, among them 10 Muslims, 774 Serbs, 531 Croats, 264 Yugoslavs and 99 others. There is still not available new data about precise number of inhabitants or the ethnic structure, so it is based on estimates. The Serbian Orthodox Church, Parish Česma-Mađir accounts with 434 households [N] or about 1.750 inhabitants, who are of Serbian nationality and Orthodox religion, which is about 1.000, or 150% more than in 1991. According to Detailed plan of regulation (2007) there is about 2.030 inhabitants in 646 households. The president of the local community[5] highlights the number of 2,500 registered voters, so estimates about 5,000-6,000 residents living in the neighborhood (including other categories of population, residents who are registered elsewhere and live here, and unregistered voters) *There is no any other information on the social structure, demography or social map of neighborhood.* [5]

5.1.2. Neighborhood history

The historical development is divided into three periods.

Arrival of Trappists

First mention of Mađir was at the end of 18th century when Lipovac family was mentioned as first residents. [1] The history is linked to the establishment of a Trappist monastery, in Delibašino village, about 1 km to the north. Arrival of Trappists is linked to the name of a wealthy Serbian merchant and landowner Tomo Radulović, who sold them a piece of land in 1869 on the right side of Vrbas in Delibašino selo and allowed the construction of a Trappist settlement (Ravlić 1979, Mikić 2004, Tejinović 2009, Malinović 2013). According to the first census in this area, they made and which dates back to around 1879 the population formed mainly of Croats Catholics.

River Vrbanja is also mentioned with the name of Mađir. Trappist monks were connected to the city over that river. It is also believed that there was a ferry crossing over Vrbanja, and that there was a bridge which was a connection to the city's Small market-place [1].

There were only 4 families who had arrived and settled in Mađir long before the Trappists possessed the land. These were Bilićs, Čosićs, Lipovacs, and Matijevićs. Long after the arrival of the Trappists, this area attracted larger population and other families who also became landowners. Among them are Blaževićs, Dojčinovićs and others. They mainly occupied naturally flattened lands suitable for cultivation. Inaccessible land in side, streams and gullies were natural limits and boundaries. The border area is also plowed by furrows. [1]

Population also increased thanks to the tradition during which Mađir's girls took their boyfriends to their homes where they founded family and household[1]. It could be said that they did not get married, because they were not leaving their land and home. This custom was maintained until the 60s of the twentieth century when the socialist culture came and prevailed. This way Serbs also came to Mađir, and some of the first families were Rajkovići and Babići. [1]

For Babićs, my mother's family on whose property my father came in 1970s, it is believed that they have come from the area of Livno in western Herzegovina. The reason is unknown. Serbs were mostly coming from the environs of Banja Luka, to be a little closer to the city. Some of places of origin were Šiškovci and Kriškovci villages in Lijevo field, and Mrkonjić Grad as well, at least for Rajković family. Some of them were also coming from neighboring Krčmarice village. [1]

The population mostly lived from agriculture and livestock although the plots were not too big. The houses were modest and not so solid. Only wealthier houses were constructed with brick, and even concrete, at the beginning of the last century... Anyway, the houses were all small and modest in dimensions... [1]

Urbanization

With the arrival of socialism, the living conditions are gradually changing. Urban development of Česma is particularly intense from the beginning of the twentieth century and the beginning of industrialization when working-class families settled around the industrial zone of the city, which was located across the river (Urbanistički plan Banjaluke, 1974). *Šurlan family had biggest possession, so according to them they owned the whole area between the bridge on Vrbanja and former suspension bridge on Vrbas river (destroyed in the floods in 2014)[1].*

The population started to be employed at Incel (a celuloze factory), Vitaminka (food factory), Vrbas (wood industry) etc. This industrial development was accompanied by urbanization. Electricity arrived in the mid 1950s. *My mother (48 years old) does not remember that she studied over candle, and says that they already watched reports of the Kennedy's death on TV. There were only a few TVs in the village then, and people had gathered to see the most popular shows [1].* The water was pumped from the wells until 1983, when the village was connected to the city's infrastructure system. It still remains, but with very small capacity, so houses in higher zones of neighborhood still have many problems with water supply.

Given that the neighborhood position is downstream from the industrial zone and that there was a high pollution going on at the time of its flourishing, the area was not suitable for intensive settlement, urbanization and infrastructure development. Asphalt road through Česma (main street) and Southern connection to the city (over bridges on Vrbas and Vrbanja rivers) was created in the mid 1960s. Due to the quality of that road, many new residents are saying jokingly, "If you had worth anything, Tito would have made you a better road". North connection with Trappists and with the city (over the bridge on the Vrbas river, built by Trappists) took place via forest path. The new route was not made and asphalted until the year of 2005, when the new bridge was built in Trapisti. At that time public lighting and a new bus line arrived as well. Regardless of specific characteristics, the neighborhoods of this period were marked by the beginning of suburban type in the outskirts of the largest industrial centers in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Aganović, 1977).

The ethnic structure is in line with development of the socialist republic, which was heterogeneous, with some differences according to zones of the neighborhood. Česma was predominantly Muslim, but there were more Serbs than in Mađir. Croat Catholics were mostly living in higher areas, on the Krčmarice hill, above Česma.

However, until the end of the socialist period and the beginning of the war, the ethnic structure of the population was approximately equal. *I remember that there lived one-third of all nationalities, when I was in the first grade of primary school (1987) [1].*

Growth

Given the specificity of the post-war development, the history of the neighborhood and the city is actually located in all other places where new residents come from. Therefore, the entire area should be seen in relation to the wide range of places and cities of former SR BiH and SFR of Yugoslavia (Figure N). Thus the history of the neighborhood and the city outside of their boundaries is very complex and in some ways can be defined as a collective memory of the Serbian people across the former Federal Republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

The postwar period was characterized by the process of intensive construction, a strong collective feelings and a new common beginning. Regardless of ethnic and religious homogenization, the new social structure has become even more complex than before. In the years that followed, people from different geographical areas, increasingly show small but significant difference - the culture of life, traditions, customs, patterns of space usage patterns of behavior, and others - that lead to certain conflicts of identity. This shows that certain elements of personal, collective and finally spatial identity does not depend on ethnic and religious affiliation, and national homogenization that has been an important element of the process.

5.1.3. Geography

Česma-Mađir neighborhood is located in the north-east border, in the urban area of the city of Banjaluka which is the second largest city in Bosnia-Herzegovina (after Sarajevo) and the capital of Republika Srpska with 150.997 inhabitants (Cenzus, 2013, preliminary results) and the area of 1.232 km². It is an individual housing neighbourhood situated on the right banks of the Vrbas and Vrbanja rivers, 4 km away from the city centre to the north-east direction.

The form of neighborhood, as part of a wider territory is determined by the system of natural elements of the place. These are on three sides - south, west and north - Vrbas and Vrbanja rivers, that form a wide border strip towards the rest of the urban territory through entire flow, next to the neighborhood. It also includes protected elements as the mouth of Vrbanja which flows into Vrbas river in the south-western part of the fertile Mađir fields, which is located in the north-western part. The nearest neighboring settlements across the rivers are Vrbanja, Medeno polje, Novi Borik, Banjalučko polje, Kumsale, commercial (former industrial) zone Incell and industrial complex Vitaminka.

Besides being the border, and generator of urban form, the river could also impact the daily life and the feeling of staying in the village. Although it is often a limiting factor, two rivers have never been an unbridgeable obstacle. On the contrary, the city of Banja Luka developed in parallel on both sides of the river, like most other Bosnian-Herzegovinian cities. However, regardless of traditional quality, identity character and enormous potential they have, rivers are not sufficiently exploited, they do not form part of the urban structure, nor do they generate activities or further development.

On the other side - north and east - the border is formed with partially wooded slopes of the surrounding hills (the nearest Krčmarice and Slatina villages further to the eastern hinterland). Deep northern border, with the function of a long access from the north (approx. 1km) is formed by protected natural complex - Park Forest Trappist, complex of Banja Luka brewery, Trappist monastery complex, Delibašino village, and Lazarevo neighborhood towards the north-west and Priječani neighborhood to the north.

Due to meandering of both rivers, the territory spreads in all directions, creating specific organic form. It consists of two clearly rounded units/entities- two parts of the neighborhood - with a Duboki potok as a natural boundary. The southern part - Česma is defined by the flow of Vrbanja in Vrbas, by Duboki potok on the north and the slopes of Krčmarice on the east. Two altitude zones define Donja Česma (between meander) and Gornja

Česma that steeply climbs in direction of south-west - north-east. The northern part - Mađir, except the meander of Vrbas, which frames Mađirsko field, is defined by a Trappist forest park from the north and the slopes of Krčmarice from the east.

The morphology is also determined by a number of gullies (occasional torrential streams) and a series of plateaus (terraces) in generally mild undulating terrain. Given its proximity to rivers that surround the neighborhood on three sides, the forest hinterland on the north-east, and the proximity of air spa Slatina (4 km east) the neighborhood microclimate is nice.

These various and numerous geographical characteristics are very specific, but also allow the newly arrived population to recognize some features of their homeland in them and to achieve a certain attachment to the place of new (re) construction. The settlement is thus recognized as part of the broad spatial identity of the former Yugoslavia and the continental part of the Balkan Peninsula. The total area of the complex is about 290 hectares. Altitude terrain from 150 to 280 MASL. While most built part of the village is at an average altitude of 175 MASL.

5.2. Matrix of new construction

Cities are not being destroyed only physically and from outside, but also spiritually and from inside.

Bogdanović, 1993.

As demographic analysis has already shown, the matrix of neighborhood construction has been both destruction and construction. The beginning of the process was marked by internal degradation of the neighborhood and then by "occupation" of "abandoned property". Bosnia and Herzegovina was strongly occupied from various parties in the last 20 years, and this is an important characteristic of the context in which it has developed. The specificity of this occupation is that it came from the inside. Ó Tuathail reminds that BiH is the place that is "historically stabilized by external geopolitical and political forces (2006: 143) which were instruments of unification of numerous ethnic differences". Among the many types of occupation - historical, national, religious, economic, media, cultural, and others, violent spatial occupation has also occurred.

Occupations

The occupation of space was "legitimate" tool of war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. All citizens, who spent the war in BiH, were under some kind of occupation, hostages or victims of the conflict that no one wanted, but in which they all participated [N]. War conscription, compulsory work, daily shelling, kidnapping, intimidation, detention, harassments, shortages of basic foodstuffs, sanctions and blockades were just some of the forms. Police checks, raids, expulsions, and disappearances of people became normal (Sejranović, 2010: 112, Untold stories [N]). All spatial levels were occupied, from the state (republic, entities) across regions (Krajina), municipalities (Srebrenica, Žepa, Goražde, ...) to cities (Sarajevo), in which urbicide (...) and culturecide (...)

Finally, At the lowest, but the most important level, many houses have experienced a number of temporary occupations during the war and immediately after. "This phenomenon of properties occupation has been present from the very beginning of the war. In the situation of departures of non-Serb population from the neighborhood, many natives used it to move from village to city, from suburbs to center, from small apartments to larger ones, from one apartment to several apartments, etc." [1]. This shift from the countryside to the cities, seeking opportunities for a better life is a process that is going on continually and presents a big challenge for cities. It is estimated that 200 million people moved to the cities of Asia, Africa and Latin America between 1960 and 1970 (Abrams, 1964).

Temporary occupations of conditionally "abandoned" buildings were conditionally legitimate phenomenon, which was not a subject of legislative consequences. The amount of "free" objects in a certain place has been decisive for the reception of refugees and solving the problems of

"homelessness". Abandoned houses were occupied by others who were coming in waves of refugees, from all sides. People were coming to the places where they could find the "available" accommodation.

It was a difficult war time. The society was exhausted after three years of the war. Electricity cuts were permanent, there was not enough of anything. Food was arriving from humanitarian aid. In general state of the chaos, refugees were just entering in the empty properties of other people (not only Croatian) and "were occupying them" in a kind of savage onslaught. It was literally an open fight every square meter, room, apartment and house... The main sign was to clearly display a Serbian flag or some other nationalist symbol (4S - popular Serbs phrase- "Samo sloga Srbina spasava" / "Only the unity can save the Serbs") that was demonstrating the occupied property." Every house of Croatian neighbors was occupied then has been occupied then. As well as Serbian if it was empty.

Fearing for their own property, and even for their bare lives because the end of the war couldn't be seen and the enemy army was closer to Banja Luka than ever before. the natives used to were saying: "Why did not you stay to defend yours, why did you come here to scramble ours?!" [1]

These occupations in some way were representing tacit compensation or exchange of properties that in peaceful conditions could not be realized nor be fair. However, many refugees who arrived to the "free" territory, have occupied abandoned property and lived there temporarily. In those times they used to say, "Let him take my property 'there' and the problem is solved." Given the specificity of the process of exchange of population and territory, the temporary situation was relatively short compared to the international standard (Brickman, 2016). This is also the time when the greatest number of people resolved the "roof over the head" problem permanently by starting with the *in-process* housing.

Abrams (1967) points out that this fight for the "roof over the head" is an essential feature of urban development at the global level.

The conquest or taking the property by force was one of the cruelest forms. This form of intrusion into the other's private properties is the form of the land appropriation by those who are seeking shelter. The problem particularly came to the fore with the invasion of the farmers who inhabited the cities. "The problem is complicated by the fact that people flow to the cities, much faster than the formal urban factory can to follow it. "Migrants usually arrive without money and education, and mostly live on the edge. The life on the street, overpopulation, suburbs without basic infrastructures and taking other people's property represent a major threat to the development of cities."

The house on number 22

One house in Česma-Mađir neighborhood has a special destiny in relation to the occupation [1]. It was temporary occupied home for seven different families during the war and immediately afterwards.

The house on number 22 in the Zdravko Dejanovic street was built by Joso Cosic from Mađir, after The World War II. In the mid fifties he gave house to his brother Petar and his wife Melanija (from Mahovljani, of Italian origin), who had two children, Andjelko and Vera. Andjelko married Ankica (Lipovac) from Budžak neighborhood in 1980 and they had a daughter, Marija in 1981. Petar died the same year. The house was than first extended by upgrading two more rooms. Marija's (Maja's) grandmother Melanija has raised me until I went to school, and since me and Maja were the same age and first neighbors, it was natural that we were best friends. Her little sister Danijela was born in May 1987. However, the war began soon and they left Mađir. Shortly before the war, Vera moved to Italy to live with her aunt and Andjelko fled to Croatia (in Vojnić) with his wife and children, in 1993. They live in Petrinja today. Melanija went to Italy with her daughter.

That same year Radivoje Radujković moved to the house with his wife Mirjana and two daughters, Claudia (10) and Andrea (2). They fled from Rijeka (Croatia), but they had Bosnian origins as Radivoje is from Čelinac and Mirjana from Tuzla. However, they did not stay long. Already in 1995, after the operation "Storm", Radujković went to Serbia, but he did not stay there longer either. They returned to Bosnia again only few years later and finally settled in Čelinac (small city, 20 km south-eastern from Banja Luka).

After them a family from Glina (Croatia) moved to the house. They had three daughters Jagoda, Ljuba and youngest Zorica (about 10). They also marked the history of the house very shortly by moving to Serbia soon after.

Lazo Milovanovic with a big family (his mother, brother, wife, two children and grandchildren) moved to the house after the "fall" of Mrkonjic Grad (August 1995). The youngest members of the family were Dejan (4) and Maja (1).

They only stayed for two years after which they moved to Maglajani village, near Laktasi (20 km northern from Banja Luka), where they made a home and where they live today.

Immediately after them, Ljupko and Marija Kondic from Sanski Most came to the house. Unfortunately they lost a son in the war, and came there with only two children and grandchild (Goran and Zorica). Their life was marked by yet another tragedy, because Zorica's first husband, with whom she had a son Srdjan was also killed in the war. The owner of the house, Andjelko finally received restitution of the property in 2003. So the Kondić family had to leave Mađir by moving to Priječani neighborhood. As the family of fallen fighters, they received a land and materials for the house construction there. Meanwhile Zorica got married again to Momir (from Turbe) and gave birth four children more in Mađir, where they live until today.

Soon after Andjelko sold the house and the land to Dusko Kovacevic from Mađir. Since the property counted almost the hectare of the land, Kovacevic used an opportunity moment, and sold the parts of the land as plots for construction. About two dozen of new houses were later constructed there. The proper old house was bought by Gojko Vukmirica from Bihac. He lived there with his nephew Ratko Vukmirica and his family. Ratko's wife Mladenka (from Maglaj) is a war widow that has two children Drazen and Zeljko, with her first husband, and one more daughter Jovana (born in 2000) with Ratko.

Gojko Vukmirica died in 2012, meanwhile Ratko constructed the new house near the old one, where he moved with his family. The old house is for rent now, and Željko from Livno (western Herzegovina) currently resides there with his wife Bozana and children Jelena (13) and Danilo (6). They moved to the house in 2013, but they will leave soon, because Zeljko got the right to move to a new apartment in new housing built for the war veterans, in nearby Aada neighborhood.

So, we are expecting some new tenants in the house at number 22 again. And some new kids as the house has always been full of their joy despite of difficult everyday life!

Aleksandra Đurđević, 2016.

Ljubica and Rajko^[4] also testified that the possibility of the house occupation was an important reason for their refugee route via Brčko, which was a "refuge haven" with many abandoned houses, which was found by a large number of refugee families from Sarajevo valley. During the three years of life in Brcko, on their refugee route, they occupied two apartments which they abandoned upon resolving their own property status later.

Brčko was located at the narrowest point of the Republic of Srpska (approx. 10 km), by which was passing so called corridor of life (the only line of the road and connections between Banja Luka and Belgrade) and therefore had a strategic importance. Given that was on the first two lines of defense - two war fronts (with Croatia in the north and with Muslim-Croats Federation in the south) - the city has been subject to almost daily shelling and the frequent moving line of defense in order to expand the corridor to the interior of the territory of the M-C Federation.

"It was clear that I was caught up in a war that was obviously already long, in which the uniformed army of bar-owners was fighting against gypsy guerrillas by using whatever it takes. They were fighting for the control over the muddy road that linked the improvised parking lot and a messy restaurant (Vojnovic 2013: 33)."

Every new extension of the territory meant the expulsion of former residents, but at the same time meant a new spatial resources for the growing number of refugees that were occupying it from the other side. Sudden military actions and the onslaught against the "enemy's" territories, left a large number of completely undamaged houses, which were ready to be used by new "occupiers" immediately after the actions. Due to the chaos of the war, significant property was looted by the military and paramilitary divisions and war gangs, which first decline in the properties. There are known examples of the large number of war profiteers, who got rich just on the base of the war booty. Objects that were not squattered immediately, were a subject of devastation by refugees and other people. They were founding necessary items to equip their "shelters" in these abandoned houses. Goings into this "operations" of searchings in the newly "liberated" neighborhoods has been called "shopping" in that time. A large percentage of these assets was also used for the survival of many families, who found pieces of furniture, appliances, dishes, clothing and jewelry sold on the black market. For example, there was famous flea market in Bijeljina, which was experiencing its biggest boom at that time. It was a driver of economy of this conditionally free city.

A number of individuals and families were occupying several houses and apartments, and then they were "reselling" it to other families who were coming later, Who were not able to find adequate accommodation or simply did not resolve their 'roof of the head' in that way. There were also cases where refugee families permanently stayed in these houses, after they have been signed legal contracts on exchange or sale of assets with previous owners.

Author's memories, 2016.

These small, personal and symbolic occupations of other people's living spaces, in the struggle for shelter, are reflecting the general state of the war and the development of the conflict at a higher level. Štiks (2015) points out that conflicts in the 90's were not just a matter of nationalist ideology, but also a struggle for control of the territory which mainly includes the economic resources, used by new elites to join the global capitalist system and the transition process which emerged immediately after the conflict .

Once the mines in Bosnia are sold off, or once you start to offer cheap labour and human resources to so-called global investors, you will be doing precisely that – occupying a territory and turning it into a resource and commodity for sale; you will be selling its material wealth and people on a global level. The left therefore has to show that such a mixture of capitalism, procedural democracy and fascism was actually the cocktail which came crashing down on the heads of the 130 thousand people who lost their lives during the breakup of the former Yugoslavia.

Igor Štiks, 2015.

5.2.1. (In) formal urban fabric

The state of temporariness lasted until 2000, until the conditional stabilization of the situation, facilitating freedom of movement and establishment of a rule of law. Then the law provided a legal process of restitution to the pre-war owners. Resources of available properties were spent quickly, and enormous pressure of refugees and other immigrants on the city of Banja Luka and Česma- Mađir neighborhood continued. So the new construction process had to begin. "The neighborhood was experiencing big changes again. Searching for permanent accommodation, many temporary inhabitants were leaving to other places and others were coming to stay here permanently, by buying their own property, houses, or a land for construction" ^[1].

Construction was especially intense from 2003, and it reached its peak somewhere in 2006. It was the most vibrant period in the life of neighborhood, because everything seemed to be the big construction site. We could hear hammering and various other noisy sounds of construction everywhere. All of this was happening in the spirit of a common view of the future, optimism and happiness because of the construction of new homes and new family lives. The locals have used this period to work on their properties also. To upgrade, expand or finish their houses (by putting fences, replacing windows, colouring facades etc.) [1]

5.2.1.2 Territory without the model

Although the territory was partly covered by planning documents, construction of neighborhood Česma- Mađir, in general, and was not planned. In the chaotic process of construction, the space on urban border has become a playground with no rules. Existing plans were respected only in principles, because they had higher order (level), without the obligation of conducting it, or with validity expired, brought in a completely other conditions, which did not suit the new circumstances of neighborhood's development expansion. Urban planners could not manage to respond to the new situation. They were mostly introduced to the spaces when structures were already constructed and matrix was set. The planning apparatus did not have any capacity for any kind of operating (Milojević 2013).

Master plan of Banja Luka ((Urban Planning Institute of Banjaluka, 1975) treats the neighborhood as the zone of industry, urban greenery, recreation and sports. This plan had recognized only dominant facilities, while traditional housing with rural character had not been defined as a component of planned development.

The objective of the *Detailed plan of regulation of individual neighborhood "Česma - Madžir"* (Urban Planning Institute of Banjaluka, 1990), had was on the existing housing regulations, new sites for individual housing construction and other public and infrastructure facilities, although this was opposite to the Master plan. The concept was based on using modifications, that were previously planned for warehouses and services, traffic areas and green spaces. This means that individual housing construction was not allowed in most of the area previously covered by this plan (Urban Development Plan, 1975), but that this new plan actually approved it (...) The Plan was brought on the basis of the needs for new locations for individual housing construction and support facilities, locations for commercial facilities in the industrial zone, etc.

The concept was based on natural conditions as limiting factors, solutions that will adopt existing fund of constructed facilities, potential opportunities with respect to the future traffic corridors, regulations of the River and transmission line corridor." The interesting thing is that the planned solutions ascertained spatial changes, which were not the subject of previous planning or were inconsistent of it. It also recognized the trend of informal construction, which was getting bigger with the growth of planned development of socialist cities.

This plan for a relatively small area did not fit the new post-war needs of neighborhood's expansion and was not considered. This was therefore a state of planned documentation which had the settlement to welcome the largest wave of urbanisation.

Given the very limited financial resources, as one of the crucial elements of the informal construction, vernacular builder was not able to pay the costs of relatively expensive planning documents, architectural projects nor building permits. Due to the specific conditions and the urgency of the situation, the population did not have time to wait for the planning documents. Residents simply "took the matter into their own hands," and acted outside the planning system. They actually planned directly on the ground, which was not prevented (...) In the very similar case of new settlements around Sarajevo, Skotte et al. (2015) points out that authorities acknowledged the situation, and were in a way helping the settlers- by not intervening, what Meili et al. (2012) calls stability of informal. During the transition period, informal construction has evolved to unofficial social policy under the tacit assumption that the construction of a number of unnecessary houses, in this case- the square meters, at least engages creative activities in a correct way (Meili, 2012). It could be said that the act of building, no matter how difficult it was, represented a kind of occupational therapy and a way of releasing energy.

However, accustomed to the system where he came from (the life in Yugoslavia), a vernacular builder had a certain fear of making a mistake so he also had a need to formalize his activities in accordance with the law. Therefore, many of them have at least begun the process of obtaining permits for the construction or later legalization^[N] what Busquets (1999) defines as alternative urbanization. Today in 2015, most homeowners, 64.44% possess the required (technical) documentation (urban permit / location requirements, detailed design project, construction permit), 26.67% - partly, and only 8.89% declared – they do not possess the documents (Interview and questionnaire). On the other hand, the City Administration estimates that despite of different actions on legalization process, there still exists around 20,000 illegally constructed buildings in Banja Luka (City government information).

Meili et al. (2012: 96) assesses that undertaken legalization process is not effective. Rather it represented a typical example of populist political strategy, for example creating a situation in which it was less expensive to legalize illegal construction than to build legally from the start. Underscoring the informal city's Darwinian qualities, most of the smaller structures - the family dwellings - that were meant to undergo legalization have been caught in bureaucratic deadlock while the stronger informal developers managed to exceed all regulations. With the social, political, and economical benefits of informal construction being greater than hazards, legality and illegality have coexisted as equally useful options. Legality is a value calculated in a view of an EU future; but it has remained on expensive, complex, only partly possible or even wholly impossible value (ibid). Established and ordered illegality, in turn, is a value based on and backed by constant investment in networks that have proven more stable than the transitional governmental frameworks. Compared to the highly organized building processes following European standards, which are characterized by the involvement of investors urban planners, architects/designers, bankers, city authorities, users and developers, Meili (2012: 98) states, that for example, Belgrade's simplified informal schemes, in which regulations are provisional and design credits and professional construction unnecessary, is surprisingly more efficient. Illegality has been cheaper, faster, and not too much at a risk which has made it highly attractive.

At the same time the newly formed government began to recognize the problem of new settlements and brought acts to begin the planning process. However, guided by the motto "I don't care about anything until it's happening in my backyard" the residents didn't actively participate in these planning processes.

Detailed Regulation Plan *Česma- Mađir* (Urban Planning Institute of RS, Banjaluka, 2007) for the planning period from 2001 to 2010 was adopted in 2007, after 4 years of working on it and 12 years after the neighbourhood expansion.

The area is partially built and without any indication of the existence of an organized development and use. Since the plan was developing during longer period, at the same time the land owners were constantly splitting parcels on their own. Objects were also being placed on the parcels, which resulted in uncontrolled intensive construction. The backbone of the housing development are older buildings located along the existing two-way, narrow profile, street. Intensive construction of residential buildings without the necessary documentation is significantly present. The new facilities are generally settled by refugee population. There are even three generations of residents in such facilities. Numbers of objects were built by the refugee population, but also the ones who left the Country, but have some plans to return at later age or they left it for children who will rarely want to return to their homes. The current use of space suggests that in the process of further construction and urban reconstruction it would be possible to harmonize its spatial development with the basic principles of the city urban master plan. Existing construction mainly occuppies individual housing units. This matrix with satisfactory standard can be repeated in the Plan.

Detailed regulation plan *Česma- Mađir* (Urbanistički zavod Republike Srpske, Banjaluka, 2007.)

The plan stated the situation on the ground and determined the same direction of development, by increasing the level of urbanity, by planning infrastructure and public facilities which are compatible to the dominant single-family housing. It has been 9 years since the Plan was adopted, but almost nothing of the new plan solutions were realized. The neighbourhood only continues to grow within planed regulations. Given this, it is clear that the post-war planning system kept some features of the previous system which did not follow the development of the general context, and that was finally not realistic.

Detailed Regulation Plan for the banks of Vrbas river (Projekt a.d. Banjaluka, 2010.) covers the neighborhood in just one small part, dealing with the protected river zone. As the previous one, it treats Mađirsko polje, defining it as protected natural area..

5.2.2. Urban structure

Regardless of the formal - informal debate and obviously the support towards cities that have been developed naturally in relation to artificial ones, the basis of urban structure still makes the network of streets, parcels and buildings which form the city. While in the outskirts of large cities we can see failures of megalomaniacal blocks, tall buildings, and large useless spaces, there are again appearing some constant questions about the basics of the structure of residential areas, their density and inbetween voids that reveal the problems of the physical structure of space (models and forms of land allotment, profiles and width of streets, centers and common spaces, the spaces between the buildings, the importance of fences and walls, height cornices and cliffs, horizontal and vertical control) (Sola-Morales in Unwin, 1984). Urban analysis of morphological structure needs to show urban matrix of neighborhood, as well as the way of its forming, but also to answer the above questions about whether this growth can be regarded as an example of the natural growth and how this 'self-created' model can be evaluated. The analysis, which is decomposing neighborhood into three structural units, reveals a formation matrix; modes of transformation and development; its relationship with other neighborhoods and the city as a whole. the model of PUE -parcelation, urbanization, construction will be used - (Sola-Morales 1997, Busquets, 1999), consisting of:

1. Parcelation (plot, street, block) - Streets directions, the way of parcelation, forms of plots, and regulation of blocks reveals the structure of the neighborhood matrix and its potentials, the importance of streets and plots, but also relationship towards public and private space, rationality of land usage, and in general toward the social and historical spatial context.

2. Urbanization (traffic, infrastructure and facilities) -The condition (stanje) of infrastructure, state of the quality of neighborhood supply, connectivity and communications capabilities, while different types of facilities reveal the functional relationships between the neighborhoods and city center. Elements of urban standard state about the neighborhood independency, the level of equipment in a way define its social status. The level of urbanity indirectly reveals the relationship between the city authorities towards its peripheral neighborhoods, as well as to the new demographic structure and different population categories of these neighborhoods.
3. Construction (physical structures of the house, housing) - The physical structure, made up of housing is the basic unit of the neighborhood. The analysis of these elements provides a system of responses to the research questions and strongly defines this scale of new settlements. The relationship between public and private space, the architecture and patterns of space usage are the basic elements of understanding spatial identities and their relationships.

Sennett (2012) justifies this analysis, by saying that the problem of the cities lays in details, in fissures, small scratches, transient visual sensations, in conversations at the bar. Attention is not attracted by finding the total shape, but by showing a form of confusion in details. Instead of attempts of categorization of people and cities in groups, rows, in blocks, the right attention is paid to the way in which each of them actually refuses their own categories in which it is located..

5.2.2.1. P - parcelling

Parcel

Behind of nowadays parcelling is the cadastral base which is characteristic for the villages of compacted and half-compacted type in Bosnia and Herzegovina (REF). Its logical order is the result of the peripheral position of neighborhood (with the characteristics between the urban and rural) neighborhood morphology, the long tradition of land cultivation, inherited forms of housing and culture of living. The basic elements which had impacts on the parcellation were communication directions by providing accesses to the agricultural land. In relation to this, smaller plots were formed for individual housing construction where (agricultural) households were placed. The plots are therefore ranged from approximately 350 m² for housing, up to approximately 20,000 m² for agricultural land. Although on very irregular terrain, form of parcels streamed to regular geometrical forms of elongated rectangles (Figure N).

New construction is based on the inherited structure of agricultural land, without the allotment plan, which was done on the site. Splitting the land for the market and its conversion from agricultural into construction one, became the first step of the new development. In relation between tenure, ownership and land acquisition, land emerged from the plan. In the absence of a plan, land owners (mostly Croats and Bosniaks / Muslims who left the neighborhood during and after the war) decided to sell, so they divided it into smaller building plots, which were at that time the most wanted assets on the real estate market... This kind of unplanned land allotment has a long tradition throughout the world. There are known military topographers, who made parcellation for the French colonies in Africa this way (Abrams 1967). Given the continuity of informality, the process of land powdering was always present in BiH. Referring to the *socialist city* (REF), Krstic (2010) says that planned parcelling was not recognized as a key tool in formation of new parts of cities, despite the Law of Civil Engineering (1951) and the Law on nationalization (1958). "Urban and regional planning are integrated into a system of social planning" by introducing "contractual urbanism in spatial planning" many years later with constitutional changes in 1975. (2010: 159).

Social and cultural dimension of occupying, an then buying and selling of land, referred to the inherited law, when the next-door neighbor was first asked just in case. When buying parcels, 'newcomers' of Mađir firstly asked their first cousin, bestman, friend or "countryman" who contributed to creating a more coherent social structure of the neighborhood. It was common that several families from the same previous place of residence

bought a large plot and divided it into smaller ones, or that several families bought a group of neighboring plots. This method of parceling allowed new residents to feel less like foreigners in new environments and to help them to overcome the trauma of leaving and coming. But new, large and coherent communities of 'newcomers' are often perceived as 'gaudy' and 'threatening' to the 'locals' so it has affected their integration.

On the other hand, the rapid occupation of land (on a first-come-first-serve basis), as Topalović (2012) calls it, has produced areas that seem immune to the plagues of lifestyle or income segregation. In an improbable proximity and high density, farms can be found next to redbrick houses or marble mansions. Although they were all in more or less similar situation at the beginning of the construction, social stratification gradually happened in the meantime so nowadays different structures of population live next to each other in a relaxed configuration that makes informal urbanism look like a successful social project. But as seen on the scale of the city, a neighborhood still represents a more spatial and a less socially isolated ghetto.

In addition to the ownership structure of land and opportunities to access each individual plot, New parcellation is defined as economic power, the market value of the land and increased demand for construction of individual / single-family residential housing. The price of land was constantly growing, by following demands... It ranged from 10 KM(N)/m² in the beginning of expansion (2000.), than about 40 KM/m² when construction process already begun to decrease (2006), up to 60 KM/m², which was the average price in 2015. Given the limited financial resources of the new refugee and immigrant population structure, optimal size of plots for construction of single-family residential building (house) was about 500 m². At the time of greatest expansion of construction, it has cost about 15000 KM, which on average was about 1/5 up to 1/3 (or more) of money with which investors are disposed, from sales of its properties in the previous place of residence, or other sources. The rest was supposed to "cover" the construction and equipment of the house.

The budget did not consider the price of planning and technical documentation. According to, the real estate market was not equally valuable in all parts of the former Yugoslavia in which displaced population have been sold their abandoned property. For example, there was no one to buy a huge number of empty properties in Croatia, and their price was minimal. Prices were determined by the market, which existed or not, depending on the demand - relations between those who left and those who came. Kuvač family says that they "managed to sell their big family house on the plot of 1500 m² in Visoko near Sarajevo (REF) for 70.000 KM," and for that money in Banja Luka "they managed to construct just half of the new house of similar size to a previous one, but two or three times, smaller plot. Our parcel in Česma- Mađir, which is about 450 m² was quite expensive, but it is on flat terrain and close to the bus line, which was important criteria for us".

On the other hand, Bjeličić family paid its large plot, of over 1000 m² size, a bit cheaper, but it was on the hill, on the neighborhood border. Despite these "relatively" high costs of construction land on the outskirts, the initial investment was still more favorable in comparison to the central parts of cities. This was one of the main reasons why the refugee population settled in the periphery. In the study 'Housing' for Urban plan of Banjaluka (1975) Finci recognizes the price of land and labor construction requirements as the main reasons for the intense individual construction at the border areas of the city.

Since the way and possibilities of the relatively rational allotment process, plot size is approximate to the standards for individual housing in the urban area of the city, required by planning documents and decisions on the regulation of urban land (City of Banja Luka). According to size, allotment is categorized into three groups: (a) <500 m² - 33.33%; (B) 500- 1000 m² - 57.78% and (c) > 1000 m² - 8.89%, as a relatively large ones, which are the remains of inherited structure of the old agricultural parts of neighborhood.

Form of the land is determined by inherited or adopted traditional pattern of using the plot. The shape and size of the land enables the construction of a traditional single-family house, outbuilding and landscaping the front and backyard. The shape of the plot has directly influenced the urban form, because the requirements for the construction of their respective owners and investors is always limited by the associated land, due to rigid regulations in the field of property relations. Given these conditions, there was a constant tendency of fragmentation. If constructed plots remained larger, there was a trend of converting outbuildings into future

housing. Thus, the land remains fragmented which provides conditions for forming units with dense structure of randomly constructed buildings. Previously traditional agriculture parcels of an approximate 2.500-5.000 m² were transformed into smaller ones, but this fragmentation neither was systematic nor comprehensive. Although this is just one of many unfinished and discontinuous processes the land powdering has influenced decrease in size and the number of agricultural parcels, low density of built structure, and vast empty spaces. This significantly affects the ability of future planning.

Following the logic of context of spontaneous development, socio-cultural preferences, spatial and other conditions, forms of land occupation are not always based on continuously built structures. On the contrary, they are often discontinuous, intermittent, heterogeneous, and permeated with voids, which is traditional character of B-H city. This is also applicable for Banja Luka (Finci 1967) which has had ambient values of "green" (Došenović 2013) and landscape city (Simonović 2010) through all development periods. It was marked by rarely built structure and presence of rural elements- garden and orchard on urban plots (Simonović 2010, Kirjakov 1951), habit of small agricultural production, custom of staying along the river or the nearby resorts. Thus the nature was continuous environment for dispersed urban functions, and the open regulatory model was facilitating adaptation to changes (Simonović 2010). 20 years of non-systematic post-war period of development is characterized by degradation of natural landscape in the city (Došenović 2013, Milojević 2009). Former, extremely agricultural land where field crops were cultivated and domestic animals were bred; with open fields and wide free space filled with greenery, long views, natural landscape, between fragmented rural structure of objects which represented gradual and finely porous transition from the village – has suddenly become different, in a very short period of time. Previous diluted structure of the city has significantly consolidated, while the discontinuity of the system of emptiness was moving to the periphery.

As the land occupation was on a 'first-come-first-serve' basis (Meili 2012), the plan emerged from land in relation between tenure, ownership and land acquisition in a direct 'in situ' process.

Street

The streets network relies on the inherited structure of rural character, which has not changed since the time when it was used by a small number of people, horse-drawn vehicles and low intensity motor traffic. The main street communication is a part of the historical direction of south – north where the city grew over the centuries, gradually conquering Banja Luka valley. The only such road on the right side of the Vrbas river, was the closest connection of Mala čaršija (Little bazaar) and Delibašino selo - Trapisti (Delibašino village - Trappist) formerly and was used for commercial purposes also. Česma and Mađir enveloped longitudinally around this road, only occasionally pulling in deeply in the agricultural land (Traditionally - house next to the road). Огњевић (2012), according to Cvijić, repeats tradition of houses along the road or the house on the road, which was the base for a number of villages, especially in the lowlands. The road is more - less uniform rectilinear direction with a slight shimmy. All others, minor and mostly blind, streets, branched from it. There is only few circular connections from out of which the other minor streets have branched. Streets directions were adapted to the terrain configuration and parcelling mode of land, so the form is completely irregular, organic and poorly developed.

By new, unplanned parcelling, there were formed many other streets connecting this parcellation with the main road. However, the new urban development has not contributed to building of new communication directions. It is reduced to the access, residential streets in the service of the new accesses to parcels. Except the utilitarian, they have no other function, they do not improve communications, have no aesthetic, artistic, compositional, structural or other values. "Shortcuts" are a special kind of "street" in the neighborhood that facilitate the daily life. They use "advantages" of informality and unfinishedness, allowing a certain freedom of action, without strict rules of operation and a number of restrictions that exist in the central parts of the city. Opposite to this Sitte (2011) reminds on the plans of medieval towns that are in addition to the basic utilitarian traffic requires resulted with artistic principles that guided the beauty of these cities. There was not any interest for even the basic traffic requirements, not to mention the artistic principles. Due to the speed of meeting the basic needs of large, they were absent in formal urban fabrics also. For this kind of large-scale public works, there was lacking a systematic approach, which was not possible in specific context of BiH.

However, a new network of streets is significant and highlights the immense growth of the city in all directions. There was 466 streets in Banjaluka in 2006, with 135 new ones that were defined in the past 10 years. Nowadays Their number is 601, not counting many unnamed streets or their branches, which should also become streets[N]. More than the growth of the city, new / changed names of the streets are witnesses of the new change of the city, its perception and new experiences.. Risojević (1997) writes that the Banja Luka authorities have changed the names of 240 streets, as well as many schools, industries, neighborhoods, even hills after the first multiparty elections in 1990. "These changes were accompanied and preceded by changes in the population."

Block

Martin (1975) is talking about parcellation as a generator of development and its big influence on the form. A form of that matrix can be limiting, the same as it can open up new possibilities for the form that we choose to live in. He also adds that "the configuration of the daily network of a city represents a kind of social game with certain rules. The rules establishes type of the game, but players should also have the opportunity to fully use their everyday habits while playing." Previous can be adopted as a good rule of functioning of urban planning. Thus the theoretical understanding of mutual relations between the matrix and the built form is the basis for the consideration of developing cities.

In Česma-Mađir neighborhood there is missing regulated field for the game in the neighborhood, as a set of rules, therefore it develops spontaneously. Individual groups of single-family houses which form the old part of the neighborhood are rarely arranged in all directions. Relatively away from each other, they are oriented towards the narrow curving streets, following the configuration of the terrain. The new matrix is formed as a result of the structure of land allotment and street directions, terrain configuration, maximum integration into the existing structure of land allotment and mandatory public access to all plots. Thus the present matrix of the neighborhood is rather simple, natural and adapted to conditions, which are generally inherited (Figure N). In addition to urban planimetric matrix, it is made by: communications, infrastructure, facilities and other influences.

5.2.2.2. U - urbanization

Communications / Traffic

Due to its eccentric position in the city and the fact that most urban facilities are placed at the left side of Vrbas river, the neighborhood which is placed on the right bank of the rivers has an unenviable position. The main problem is a very bad connection with other parts of the city, especially over the bridges on two rivers. Two bridges with distance of 5 km between them, without any other possibility to cross the river, do not meet the needs. Despite relative nearness to the city center, the neighborhood remains isolated.

The communication / traffic network is underdeveloped. Streets are classified as approachable and residential partly having the role of collector roads. The streets form an internal road network that relies on the main, central road (St. of Peter the Great). The Communication with the wider area and with the central part of the City is achieved through St. Peter the Great and the road through the Trapistka šuma / Trappist wood). The closest connection to the city is through The street of Youth's work brigades (Omladinskih radnih brigada) was broken when the bridge "at Vitaminka" was destroyed during the floods in May 2014. In addition to access to individual houses, internal streets also provide access to agricultural land. Street profiles are minimal, do not exceed 4.5 m so they do not even allow the normal two-way traffic.

Public transport is provided by two bus lines, Line 1M and Line 9B, but because of insufficient width of the main street, bus lines don't even go through the entire neighborhood.. Part of the central axis (Ul Petra Velikog) in a distance of approx. 1,200 m, in the northern part of the neighborhood (Mađir) is not accessible for public transport. Due to the schedule of Line 1M, line with a relatively small number of departures (working days - 19,

Saturdays - 16, Sundays and festives - 12), residents of Mađir are forced to use the default Line 1 (departs approx. every 20 min), or departure station in Trappists, at approx. 1,500 meters from the departure station Line 1M in Mađir. Another aggravating factor in the operation of public transport is that a monthly ticket, purchased for one carrier can not be used with any other carrier. Due to the indirect, long connections, bus travel between the neighborhood and the city center takes on average 30 minutes, depending on traffic, weather conditions, etc.

There is not even a meter of sidewalk in the neighborhood. Infrastructural equipping of new streets happens sporadically after the construction of physical structures. Residents, aware of the neighborhood's position in the city, expressed dissatisfaction with this situation and the efforts that local authorities invest in adapting to the new conditions of the neighborhood life. This relationship as evaluated by the lowest score of 1 in the vast majority - 60%, and grade of only 1.51 on average (questionnaire).

Locals testify [6] that the projects of street constructions usually occur on their initiative during election campaigns. This depends on the "power" of individuals living there while others have remained unjustly neglected. An example is the branch of Zdravka Dejanovica st. in the far north-western part of the neighborhood, which remains completely ignored in one of the projects of equipping. Frustrated residents therefore called it "No Man's street", which became a metaphor for the relationship between the neighborhood and the city.

The subject of "no-man's street" can be found in most of similar neighborhoods. Among them is a village Kuljani, where a total of 27 streets were named by numbers. Residents of other neighborhoods have launched initiatives for naming the streets, as it was done in Priječani. However, it is interesting that domestic population still uses the old names to which they are accustomed, for the orientation towards some places in the neighborhood. For example, after the families who lived there before, so we say "at Rajkovića corner" (although they left the place 20 years ago and although someone else's family lives in that place now) [1].

Viewing cities in relation to traffic, it can be noticed that most of them, actually were formed as a collection of traffic accessible location, which Martin (1975) defines as the ambiantal units. These are areas in which facilities were distributed together with housing, business, education etc, forming "rooms of cities". During spontaneous development and construction of the Česma - Mađir, there was no awareness of the traffic needs, nor was any space left for an optimal future development. Typology of facilities is reduced to a minimum, but still exists, and "city rooms" are actually neighborhood rooms which are distinguished on the blocks level. They are functionally uniformed and homogeneous, but due to their organic origin, each one is specific in a way.

Infrastructure

The neighborhood lacks many infrastructure elements, but the basic ones still exist and operates. There is electricity network and local water supply, while the sewage is reduced to unconditional septic tanks. This contributes to the very poor evaluation of the village. The connection with the city was awarded a 1 (lowest) for 64.44%, 2 for 20% while the score od 3 and 4 was presented in only 6.67% and 8.89%. According to this, the general assessment of functioning, appearance and equipment of the settlements is quite low, only 1.97 on average. 33.33% - 1; 26.67% - 2; 31.11% - 3 and 4.44% - 4, without the highest rating.

In addition to being a part of the spatial identity, Vrbas and Vrbanja rivers are greatest enemies of neighborhood. Near some parts next to the rivers, that were exposed to flooding, a protective embankment against flood was built, due to the highest water level, centenar.. But that level was exceeded in the floods of 2014, embankments were damaged in several places, so the space is threatened again. The neighborhood also abounds with streams of high density, with occasional torrential character; also with slopes, stream valleys and troughs that flow towards Vrbas and Vrbanja in the east-west direction (Regulacioni plan 2007).

In terms of water supply, the neighborhood is only conditionally favorable, because existing instalations do not meet the needs of the current number of facilities in several elevation zones. Therefore, there is a multi-year project of building a new secondary water system, and reconstruction of the main installation, as well as the construction of new ones. Drainage of waters is carried out by gravity. There are no built public sewage collectors. Disposition of waste water is carried out in individual septic tanks, rivers and streams, without being filtered. Surface water can infiltrate into the ground and swell to riverbeds. The whole area belongs to the catchment area of the planned sewage collectors "Česma - Mađir", that are not built (Regulacioni plan 2007).

The route of 110 kV transmission line passes through the area: TS "Everywhere 1" - TS "Banjaluka 2" and TS "Banjaluka 1" - TS "Kotor Varos," 35 kV transmission line TS "Banjaluka 1" - TS "Sitari" and TS "Banjaluka 1" - TS "Inzell" and 10 (20) kV transmission line. Electricity is distributed by medium 10 (20) kV overground network which is powered with several substations 110/10 (20) kV and switching stations. Electrical power supply is conditionally good, but there is also a necessity to increase the capacity in parallel with the development (Detailed regulation plan, 2007).

The city's termo-technic installations do not exist. Existing facilities are heated from individual sources (boilers). Although the city administration predicts that all objects of the urban area should be connected to central heating systems, given the condition of the city installation system this is not possible, nor is expected in the near future (Regulacioni plan 2007).

The state of infrastructure is generally unsatisfactory. While certain elements are improving (water and electricity) other are stagnating or aggravating (sewage) or worsen (traffic). Nevertheless some progress can be noticed with the time. According to residents, only 4.44% of the parcels were infrastructurally equipped in the course of settlement, 51.11% were partially equipped, while 40% were not. Given the context of their arrival, newcomers in the majority of 73.33% were not aware of the pros and cons of constructing in neighborhood (landslides, Vacant Land, a protected area, flooded area, pollution, infrastructure, equipment), while the remaining 26.67% of the respondents belong to the natives who know the place as their own pocket and newly arrived residents who were familiar with the condition of the infrastructure before arriving.

The absence of the basic elements of infrastructure was greatly contributed to the ways of construction, the appearance and a way of life. They are directly correlated. Open, free space was inspiring on the archetypal construction of a home and life with the elements that were not given nor available. It referred to the far-traditional models, first, the mental image of home from an early age with elements such as the fireplace (chimney), the well, the garden ...

Facilities

Individual housing

Most of people do not think about what it means to be at home, to feel at home, protected and secure in a familiar environment. Dwelling is perceived as both intimate and ordinary, However, the term housing has transformed in 'to be' and 'to live' which overlaps and coincides (Ibelings, 2010) for the new population of Česma-Mađir. Therefore, the dominant facility is an individual single-family housing, conditioned by the context, the characteristic construction, as well as desirable and dominant traditional way of housing.

Despite of sporadic dense construction, in particularly blocks (50 inhabitants / ha), the overall density of the whole is very small with only 38 inhabitants / ha and coefficient of construction which is 0.18. The housing is organized in a free-standing homes on one or more floors, on the separate private plots.

Since the private room has a great value and significance, houses are generally closed to the public space, because the courtyards are clearly fenced and closed. However, "closed" privacy is being usurped because the mentality of the people implies "peeking into someone else's yard." Private activities in the house and yard are the subject of great interest of the neighborhood and most often are exposed to views despite physical barriers. Semi-public space is actually a public space of the street, which is the only remaining and a very confined space of social interaction (Bobic, 2004).

Public facilities

Although the construction of the neighborhood seems to be less care for environment than for a house, the more care about the private domain than the social life, Ibelings (2010) reminds that we do not live only in the house, but equally in the neighborhood. And this is not surprising in the situation in which normal everyday life should be discovered again after a traumatic wartime. New, vernacular builder does not have the need to communicate with the system and the institutions in which he had no confidence at the time of construction.

Therefore, he does not realize the relationship with the public space, nor is aware of any common interest or a future.

During the development from purely racial individuality to cultural one, strange things are happening in the small nation. The development process is seen on an entity, property and external appearance of the small nation. This process pushes back the nation as a race, and asks of it, when taking different forms and functions, primarily political and general culture. But it seems that the nation feels more comfortable as a race than as national and cultural organization. As such, it is constantly stronger than the state, although for a very long time now it turned the spotlight over to the state.

Sekulić, I. 1932.

Public facilities did not exist before, nor were later planned or constructed during the new developments. Some basics are spontaneously developed from the utilitarian needs of everyday life. They are present in very small, minuscule percentage of (...), which does not meet the needs of sustainable operation. Even can be individually listed: business (several bakeries, a few shops and bookstores); education (primary school to the 4th grade only); health care (family medicine ambulance and pharmacy); services (several cafes, hair salons, car washes); sport and recreation (sports courts: football stadium, improvised small football hall, children's playgrounds); administration (local community); economy (few little improvisational farms and storages for different types of goods) and the church. Given their intermittent presence and intensity of activities that are generated, all these features are important for the development of the central functions of the neighborhood. Unfortunately they have not yet been sufficiently or clearly expressed in order to succeed, and their spatial dispersion and incoherence also do not contribute to development. Zone of these facilities is not recognizable as a central zone. However, this new typology contributes to the sense of the new, which is continually evolving and has certain social potential.

Open spaces vs Urban voids

Except of fragmented low density built structure, the largest area of the neighborhood occupies undeveloped natural and agricultural land which spreads dispersively and pervades within urban structure. Those vast fields of open land form widespread structure of open green spaces, which were historically important in Bosnian cities, by defining structure of mahallas (Grabrijan, 1957) and spaces which were emerging 'in-between' partially realised and isolated urban units (Savić, 2013). Those "empty" and generic interstices are changed in a diversified range of solutions that allowed the incorporation of multiple urban uses, including residential function and facilities.

Although they have some characteristics of open spaces, with regard to informality of new (re)construction, their contemporary function is limited and they can not be categorized according to well-established standards. These are areas in the process of urbanization, agricultural land / plots without use, 'conditionally' abandoned private parcels, parcels in the long-term processes of urbanization and many other 'urban voids', 'bits of plot'. Definitions of these areas ranged from space 'in between', 'non-places' (Auge, 1995) 'terrain vague' (Sola-Morales, Davidson, ed., 1995), 'zone of disorder' and others. Here, they will be defined as areas 'in the process', 'incomplete', 'free' or 'occupied' and finally defined as urban voids. Although they may not represent the basic elements of the city, these areas have the durability, strength and character to influence the process of urbanization (Rossi 1982).

The structure of urban voids is a complex issue which deserves almost the same treat as urban structure. They are observed as the "negative" of built urban structure and as a morphological product. Urban voids are not inarticulate spaces, but part of specific spatial network, complementary to the built structure so the emptiness becomes fullness. We can understand them as parts of the contemporary urban morphology, which is nothing but sum of forms that we perceive from a specific perspective (Rivas Navarro 2014). The arrangement of elements, which is never casual, forms a set of dependent relationships, capable of transmitting by itself logical or foresight future. The land that used to be only property and topography became the subject of distributive

catalogue of planimetrics, where the art of composition is treated in contrary with Sola-Morales's (Unwin 1984) systematic attention.

Regardless of definition, urban voids have many different meanings. In most cases voids are just greenery complements to built structures used as agriculture land. In others they have other meanings as spontaneously occupations and transformations in a kind of provisional "public" space, which residents missed to construct previously. It was a need and natural sequence of constructing the neighborhood, so some voids have become "public" as well as extensions by street, bus stations or yards' fences. But as "conquest" of spaces can never be definite, this turns to be constantly open collective process which is important for social interaction.

Even 33.33% of inhabitants spend their free time in the house or yard - 46.67%. Only 13.33% resides in the open spaces, and just 4.44% in the yards of public buildings. Children are the ones who expand it the most. When playing there, they win disordered land in a natural environment or (non) building parcels in the area. Considering that the neighborhood is located on the edge of the town, on the border between urban and rural area, "public space is very close to natural surroundings. Even though in some cases it represents private property, this space is used as public in non-formal way. It consists of nearby hills, forests, fields, river banks, and rarely agricultural surfaces and orchards. Important feature is that the usage of this space begins spontaneously, from desire to explore, meet, and "conquest" the place where they live but also from the necessity for fresh air, recreation and interaction.

Since they are not marked or equipped, space usage is reduced only to a casual meeting, and depending on personality, to a later conversation happening mainly between people of the same age (retired people and children engage in contact easily, faster and immediately) or interest groups (people who are walking their dogs or their babies in the stroller. They usually exchange some experience and achieve communication unlike others who are just walking or riding a bike). The process of "conquer" and subsequent creation of a kind "public" (common) space is natural sequence of construction of neighborhood. It expresses the subsequent need for interaction in public spaces, which residents become aware of after basic needs are met and when "the main problems are resolved".

High level of freedom is detected in usurpation of the right of using space that doesn't have public function as with the construction of neighborhood and usurpation of privacy. However, given that they are not adapted to public use, these spaces have numerous limitations, and in many cases they bring the final purpose on their own, after some time they become occupied with other purposes. In that case, residents are left without important parts of the space which marks that little common public life of the neighborhood. Then they are forced to find alternative spaces or they give up because they are tired from searching. These leads to the problem of indoor and outdoor public spaces since the neighborhood land is largely occupied and most of the land is privately owned. Therefore, it should be observed from different, atypical, non-standard, alternative angles.

Since the settlement realizes direct views to the countryside and on the other side of the city limits, the rural character on the border between the city and the village allows visible sense of time passing that can not be felt in dense urban areas of the city. It is more clearly possible to see, to smell, to hear, to breathe the change of seasons there... The uniqueness of intensive experience of time and provoked senses enhances the experience of the village and further emphasizes its rural characteristics. In the definition of the place, Zardini (2012) stands out factors of direct connection with the life in the natural environment, the atmosphere, character and emotional quality as the key ones. In its consideration of the city according emotional urbanism, experience he prefers feel human in space and matter in front of the dominant visual. From the architectural perspective Pallasmaa (2015) calls for reflection of space whose practical and mental consequences go beyond Vitruvius 'trinity' "utilitas, firmitas, venustas."

Large plots of agricultural land, open fields and wide spaces full of greenery, long vistas and natural landscape between fragmented urban structures make a gradual transition from rural towards urban structure, so peripheral neighbourhood becomes porous border of the city. Cities sometimes have very clear and visible boundaries of the city "empire", but this limit becomes invisible, and the whole is perceived as a wide border

strip. In the exclusive domain of family houses with gardens the neighborhood is becoming sparsely from the center to the edges. It is gradually permeating the agricultural land and completely converts to the village and the nature by defining a new landscape.

Symbolic space

The process of conquering and creating new public spaces is important because it has rich symbolic meanings for the image of the city with a great importance and potential for the place identity. However symbolic values of particular public space, which enclose social identities and energies, are creating resistance towards the changes in functional and architectural sense (Mišetić & Ursić 2010). Some elements of the neighborhood, that seemed recognizable before, have become in the meantime partially degraded and suppressed from the collective image of the city. Therefore, the natives of Banja Luka treat this area as something that is occupied by others, something where they do not belong and what they want to suppress from memories, as something that lost every value.

Although the neighborhood irretrievably lost its recognizable image of the urban landscape in the form of "green waving wall" on the eastern boundary of Banja Luka valley, some of its values still exist. The Česma - Mađir and its immediate surroundings, as well as rare that a village is rich areas that are important for the whole town. These are primarily the flow of the Vrbanja into the Vrbas river, with its valuable open green space; shores of two rivers with beaches; The industrial complex "Incel", which is part of the collective memory and socialist cultural heritage; Trapistka šuma (Trappist forest- protected forest park); Gently sloping wooded foothills of Krčmarice village (traditional weekend village); The complex of Delibašino selo - Trapisti (Delibaša's village - Trappists) with Banja Luka's Brewery and protected national monuments of BiH - hydroelectric power plants on the Vrbas and the Trappist Monastery Mary Star. In addition to these very valuable spaces, which are surrounding the neighbourhood there are also some valuable townscapes within the neighborhood. First of all Mađirsko polje (Mađir's field - protected and reserved zone) and a few more characteristic points and walking / bike routes that provide unique views of the city and have the potential of belonging to a network of sports and recreational zones. Stadium Dr Nele Karajlić (former Sindelić) with FC Recreativo, enjoys cult status and is part of the popular culture of the region. The neighborhood still contains a number of valuable objects of architectural heritage - individual family houses characteristic for the periods of the early and mid-twentieth century. Catholic cemetery and two small chapels are also rare townscapes of the city.

The church as a symbol

Religious institutions of Croatian and Muslim minority groups have been heavily damaged in Banja Luka during the war, although city was not subjected to direct war battles. All objects of Islamic religious community have been mined, damaged or completely destroyed (Husedžinović, 2005), among them were also the ones from the Ottoman period. At the same time construction of Orthodox temples including the construction of the church of Christ the Savior in the city center (in the same place and in the same dimensions as the church that was destroyed during World War II) has begun (Milojević 2015).

Cultural and religious component of inhabitants has become among the dominant ones in the process of shaping the cities of BiH and Banja Luka, during and immediately after the war (Milojević 2015). The newly built Orthodox Church of St. apostle Luke is one of the new symbols, which undoubtedly indicates a new identity tendencies... It forms a part of a network of new Orthodox churches in accordance with the policy of the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Diocese of Banja Luka, that was built in the urban area of Banja Luka, after the war (1992 -1995). Compared to only 2 pre-war Orthodox churches in Banja Luka, there are 17 of them today, with a tendency to get every urban neighborhood to have its own church in the near future. Urban development of the city has, among other things, been based on revalorization of national and religious identity of majority Serb population (Milojević 2015), and Foucault (1986) points out that identity construction based on systems of symbols has the power to guide individuals into one particular mold.

This intensified construction of religious buildings seeks to bring believers and their daily lives to the church community, and to become a tool in the function of rebuilding and strengthening national identity (Mahmutćehajić and Seligman, 2005)^[7]. With regard to territorial losses, the connection with the imaginary community, such as the Church becomes stronger (Anderson, 1991). The border position that BiH had for centuries, between the blocks of great powers and religions of East and West, favored the constant conflict of religions, ethnicity and mentality. Sennett (2014) says that religion and nationalism are similar and that historically have become the weapon of revenge, so this is one of the reasons why they have emerged as an important factor in the events during the 1990s. Highlighting one over another is still strongly visible in the space, because it represents the strongest attribute of ethnic identity (Благојевић 2011). However due to the denial of collective memory (Boyer, 2001), there are "desirable" and "undesirable" national symbols, which lead to 'war memory' (Moll, 2013). Regarding territorial losses, the connection with the imaginary community, such as the Church becomes stronger (Anderson, 1991). Rechnicer (1996) says that today's issue of identity of the majority of citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina directly connects through religious affiliation or ethnic group.

Therefore, after the war religion is beyond the domain of the private, it returned to the areas of political and cultural life and actively participates in social changes. For the first time after almost 70 years of stagnation, churches are being built, as well as mosques, and theological faculties, which take on the role of the central motif of many settlements again (Jadrić in Ibelings, 2010: 26). The importance of the church is great in terms of the image of the city (Lynch, 1960), as a symbol, which by its characteristics is defined somewhere between node and landmark in the Česma - Mađir neighborhood. The church is a reference point, which stands out from the rest of the physical structure of the neighborhood with its architecture, sense of identity, function, activities that generate and the elements of a sense of sound and smell. However it is not visible from many parts, it does not occupy an important position, its volume, proportions and appearance does not produce sufficient contrast relative to the background.. On the other hand it has some elements of node, as a meeting place, assembly and with specific activities, which are recognizable and may affect the further development.

However, regardless of the desirable national symbol, which is reflected in the local Church, it does not cause the same feelings for all residents and leads to conflicts of identity in the ethnically homogenized village. For many inhabitants, the church is a completely new element of the living space. Same for the local population, which were used to religious symbols in space, but also for new population mainly moved from the areas where they were a minority and did not live in close with the Church life. The Bosnian-Herzegovinian cities, except the largest ones, mostly did not have more than a single-Orthodox or Catholic Church, and they were especially not distributed in individual neighborhoods. Religion was not prohibited, but it was not desirable in socialist Yugoslavia (SR BiH). This was especially true for members of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) and classes of society who are expecting progress in public and social life. It was respected as part of the tradition, of diversity of all nations and nationalities, but a whole generation was brought up, raised and educated on the idea of brotherhood and unity, without teaching religion. Accordingly, the generation that built the neighborhood had no relationship with the church as part of it. Only the generation of their children have lived, grew up and were educated with the strong presence of religion during and after the war. Therefore, a certain intensity of conflict between religious identity is very complex. It is present at the family level inside the house, and then it depends from house to house and from group to group of people according to their geographical origins - different traditions and customs of practicing Orthodoxy in different parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Yugoslavia.

On the other hand presence of the church in cultural landscape and everyday life has a symbolic meaning in a confirmation of orientation, safety, feeling of belonging and construction of national and religious identity. Jadrić (Ibelings, 2010) says that the presence of churches has been, in most cases, limited to symbolic character and traditional concept of religious space, but also so that contemporary need for spirituality could use potential of sacral spaces for the dialog with wider community.

The facilities development of the neighborhood, in a certain way shows the essence of its spontaneous organic development, which is gradual and slow. But that can have long-term positive effects over time, as it happens in a bottom-up system, according to the needs of life construction. By the initial completely monofunctional zones of exclusively individual single-family residence (dormitory), there gradually develop other facilities, recognize the other possibilities of land use and construction. Regardless of the general failure, such a course has contributed to the valid regulation plan, which defined many other needs and opportunities for development.

5.2.2.3. "E - edificación" / C - onstruction

Unwin (1984) criticizes the excessive construction that has nothing to do with the general interests of the community, the place, the context, traditional construction, the status quo ante, the method of use and design of space that was effective and worked centuries ago. He adds that new urbanization networks covered all this with their proper orthogonal matrix and a huge density, without character and beauty. In addition, invasion of construction did not leave any space for any more common, public urban activities, fully denying the idea about the city and its public purposes.

On the other hand, new construction in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina is inconsistent with this assessment. It officially did not have a general character, but on the other hand it constitutes an essential national interest of housing for the population, which in the years of construction estimated about half of the entire population. In this sense it is absolutely suited for the current context. It was its direct result that could not be otherwise in the circumstances. If tradition is set in the framework of inherited forms of life and construction existed in the minds of the builder of the house, then we can conclude that traditional model was just repeated and continued to live in accordance with the possibilities. Only conditionally non-compliance of the current situation and the lack of public space can be a point that new post-war construction in BiH shared with the urbanization of modern and postmodern West, compared to Unwin's criticism.

on the other hand, Unwin (1984) points out examples such as plans of Huard's satellite landscape works (Tomorrow, 1898) which completely and rationally fulfill all demands of one community. Also there are examples of Garden City Association or "The example of Germany" (Hersfall, 1904) which he uses to point out the missed opportunities of the research and acceptance of successful European models. These and many others utopian examples of spatial planning and life planning, unfortunately, were not applied in the planning of the reconstruction of post-war Bosnia. Spatial results and the situation that millions of citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina have met immediately after the war, and even more in the years that followed, testify that authorities, who lead the country into war, did not have any plan for "the day after".

Housing

After belonging

Of all the things that man raises and builds in life instinct, there's nothing in my eyes better and more valuable than bridges. They are more important than houses, more sacred, more general than the temples. Everyone and equally to all, useful, always raised deliberately, at the point where the largest number of human needs intersects, they are more durable than other buildings and do not serve to anything secret or evil.

Ivo Andrić, The bridge on the Drina.

Andric wrote, that only the bridges are more important than houses, but construction of houses and a warm family life in the post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina was the first step and a symbolic "bridge" toward construction a new life. In a society where the certainty of trust was deleted by the war, but instead eradication occurred, being at home has a special meaning, and the house is the first point at which confidence can take roots again. (Ibelings 2010: 27).

Abrams (1967) points out that land and house over and over again have a new importance in the struggle for survival and continuously create new urban scenarios. The house is therefore an essential element of the new which has become, as a marketing symbol, a synonym for comfort and quality of life in the eighties. It was first pushed out of urban thinking, to be returned to the center of interest again, by expanding cities and the construction of new suburbs. However, according to Rykwert (2000) house has never been the subject of great interest of architects, and most of the new houses were built on private initiatives in the chaotic growth of cities.

Bachelard (1965/2000) says that sense of home means stable aspects of the notion of residence: "The house is a collection of images that gives you the basics or the illusions of stability. The man constantly re-invents its reality: to determine what would all these pictures mean to express the soul of the house: it would mean the right to

develop the psychology of the house." "The process of transition of spatial identity is primarily meant by moving from one "home" to another. The one from the previous place of residence had not wheels and could not be transferred, while some other house elsewhere did not exist. It had to be constructed from nothing. After that all has been lost. The homeland, childhood, youth, history, family, friends, work... The house truly had to be constructed from nothing so that process meant symbolic new beginning.

Given the nature of the conflict, Skotte (2004) considers that the dwelling or the house is a symbol in the conflict; houses were not destroyed, they were killed. Therefore rebuilt housing stands as a symbol of 'fighting back', not symbol of reconciliation. According to this, Skotte (2004) defines three chief attributes of housing: "1) that of physical object with its technical determinants and functional responsiveness, 2) that of object of meaning, i.e. symbol, which allows for, or even determines human action, and 3) that of vehicle of development, both by its backward linkages. i.e. creating demand and employment, but also with forward linkages."

The losing is terrible just so long as you do not lose everything, because to lose a little brings sorrow and tears, and as long as we can measure the size of the lost on the remaining, it is difficult for us, but once we lose everything, then we feel the ease with no name, because it is the ease of too much pain.

Ivo Andrić

Mosaic of patterns

The house is the basic unit of the neighborhood and its proportions, measure the size of all spatial relations, of all spatial levels of space and relations within it and reflection of the way of life. Therefore it could be concluded that the housing typology is completely uniformed and that it represents absolute equality in a social context. But that is not the case.

Unwin (1984) considers that the comparison of plans of different cities from different periods, increases the diversity and individuality of each of them. But he also warns that the each classification is rough and artificial, and that often masks the specific characteristics of cities. Therefore, the setting up of housing typology is a very complex task, but it also confirms some of the basic research hypothesis.

Given Unwin's reflection on the neighborhood as a potentially open field for the game (1984), in relation to Alexandar's huge number of different elements of the space (1977) (models in a series of previous places of residences); its using patterns (a series of spatial identity); and the absence of the game rules (the Plan), as well as instruments that coordinate the play (combining all these elements), the neighborhood is regarded as a mosaic in which everything is possible, especially given the energy of new life creation. However, several important factors are still recognized as generators of energy, which directed construction into its present form.

Despite of all the possibilities, based on a variety of different elements only few basic ones are recognized which determined the unwritten rules of the game. These are cultural influences, social, physical and economic conditions of construction, as well as the urgency of solving the problem. From here the mosaic of neighborhood construction was reduced to only a few recognized patterns out of which two levels of housing typology developed. The first is defined by period of construction, and the second level of vernacular typology is developed according to the physical characteristics (superficial, built, visible layer of new matrix) and ethnic characteristics (method of construction, lifestyle and space usage) (Topalović in Meili et al. 2012). Kapetanovic (2015) recognizes certain ethnic characteristics in the visual sense, but that is artfully camouflaged in urban or rural. On the other hand, he points out that most of the features are still focused on the other and that regional characteristics have more significant meaning on typological differences.

Old part of neighborhood

In the period of major expansion of new construction, the neighborhood was not a blank white sheet of paper, Because according to the definition of the periphery it is indexical space and the space of tracks. (Christiansen 1992), the identity of the place was clearly expressed. Ethnic element of typology was the Yugoslav socialist culture (Ref.), which celebrated coexistence and brotherhood and unity of the three nations. Therefore, the type of housing was not determined by ethnicity, but by the ethnos of a mutual cultural space. Finci (1967) notes

that "the current population of Banja Luka belongs to different ethnic groups." (...) These groups have their own customs, but they are mixed among themselves and live a new way of life. (...) The cultural and economic conditions of these groups are the same.

The physical structure of the "pre-war" neighborhood formed individual groups of single-family houses which form the old part of the neighborhood and are rarely arranged in all directions. Relatively away from each other, they were oriented towards the narrow curving streets, following the configuration of the terrain. Traditional vernacular architecture is modest but meets high standards of the housing quality, with respect to dimensions, function, construction, and form. Average surface area of the foundation is about 80 m², with approximate dimensions of 10/8 m, and they are mostly ground-floor houses, possibly with loft and always with pitched roof i.e. gable or hip roof. Auxiliary facilities are mostly within the same plot. They are arranged in series and as a rule there is more of them next to the same object.

In the absence of better way to spend my free time in front of purple house in Goražde, I begun to examine the neighborhood and realized that there are two types of houses in Bosnia. There were old and more beautiful Bosnian houses in symmetrical shapes and natural colors next to the new objects that all looked the same, as though owners had ordered them by mail from the catalogs of the store that held cheap chinese merchandise. But older houses were falling apart, their roofs and their facades were barely standing. Bosnian world was truly irretrievably divided. Feeling for esthetics of the ruling elite revealed where those people want to take this misserable country

Vojnović, 2013: 84.

New part of the neighborhood

On the other hand, new residents brought a very complex range of different individual and collective identities with themselves. In addition to the basics in the Yugoslav culture, the ethnic elements are heavily influenced by large and sudden changes of Yugoslavia disintegration - the war, re-birth of national consciousness, post-socialist transition of cultures, and feelings about the homeland. However, similarly to the old inhabitants, during the new construction they have been expressing one different right for the identity – the right to remember the city, the city which disappeared when its inhabitants were exiled or murdered (Štiks 2006). The inspiration for the construction was everywhere, wherever the constructor left, passed by and arrived, but at the end there was no other choice (Šehić 2013). Although being aware that things will never be the same, and that past can never be erased completely (Ibelings 2010), this neighborhood has grown from the dreams and shredded memories of the past.

Residents have told ^[6] that in 44.44% they had no role models to build a house, and that house building was guided by their own intuition; 35.56% of models were found in the neighboring buildings; 15.56% were inspired by the construction from the previous place of residence and only 4.44% by modern ways of construction. These data show that ideological duality occurred in the immediate postwar period, between the reform of the urban area and social matrix, as well as anti-urban nationalism. Certain degree of censorship is displayed (Aguirre Rodríguez, 2015:49).

These data demonstrate a specific feeling of a new builder in the neighborhood, which was a completely new, unknown and unfamiliar for him. As 'no man's land', according to which still have not had any feeling of belonging, and where he must re-start a new life by constructing the house. They also point to the complexity of the profile in a sea of big changes, which have been intensely occurring for a long time, on almost daily basis.. " in such circumstances of the daily struggle for survival, a man could not even stop for the moment to look back, to think and act rationally. "A roof over a head" should have been provided as soon as possible, without too much complications or administrative procedures, and with minimum of the resources. The problem was urgent, existential, question of the day, life and death, so it caused a kind of an animal instinct for survival." Therefore, the builder is irrational, enthralled and engrossed with himself, unrestrained, acting instinctively and stops at nothing.

We never had enough time to develop our culture in peace. Wars, fleeing, drifting, destructions, reconstruction of the ruins, this is our history. Even when we were creative, everything was going at a breakneck speed, breaking people

Sekulić, I. 1932.

New house construction only continues the struggle for survival in the war which is lavishly illustrated by Šehić (2013)...

There is no need to live a lie: It was cold and we were on the edge of the world, in the loneliness which crawled our pupils (ibid. 83). [...] It was necessary to find a life's purpose, each time, all over again because the nearness of death was so delicious and irresistible. If you wanted to live, it was forbidden to look back. There was no time to cry over the pre-war life... Even our subconsciousness wasn't functioning. We didn't need it (119). I enjoyed most when I followed my instinct. (137). [...] If somebody asks you to explain the war, in short, you can freely tell them: "It's like extended end of the world, with whipped cream, only much better." It was invasion of snakes that have colors of sun and the moon, and who are there to make love with us the whole night, under the open sky. (129). [...] Those were seconds when you are thinking hundred miles an hour, and everything that was outside of your goal is in somekind of trance, daily nightmare (190). I was dealing with my own life, my objective was narrowed, I couldn't see the fresco, only pieces of it. [...] All thoughtfull actions were subjected to one autosuggestion: I will stay alive, I will stay alive, I will stay alive (185)...

On the other hand, there is a desire for integration into a new context, but also to reference elements from its past and life in the homeland. Thus the image of homeland is a significant source of inspiration for new construction. A national builder always has the homeland in a mirror in front of him. However, given that in BiH has always mixed different influences in traditional and vernacular architecture, the typical model of the homeland does not the result of a single tradition usually.

I often think what it would be like if a man starts a life all over again, consciously. If one life, already lived by a man, would only be like a first essay, and the other one - is clearly copied! I believe that everyone of us would than try really hard not to repeat oneself, arrange life opportunities differently, organise particular apartmant with flowers and lots of light for oneself... I have a wife, two girls, moreover my wife is sickly lady, and so on, and so on; but if I could start my life all over again I wouldn't get married... no, I wouldn't!

Veršinj in „Three sisters“ A.P. Čehov

In addition, new builder takes a critical attitude to this figure and often wants to be pushed or completely forgotten, or be kept in distant memory as an idyllic image. Meanwhile, a typical model has also received numerous influences of context and experienced new transformations. Due to a large expansion in a very short period of time and with a very high concentration in the specific area, all of these models are in some way tied and transformed into almost only one general type of the house of the post-war neighborhoods.

Jovan Cvijić emphasizes the continuity of the influence of different styles, a synthesis of East and West, North and South, which is most obvious in the art, and most interesting in architecture. Especially when it comes to anonymous, local builders who do not acquire their knowledge at prestigious European universities or travel through the countries of rich architectural tradition. Vuk Karadzic writes about "every peasant and mason" and that "the peasants mostly build houses and other buildings in the cities." Hence, based on the long tradition of building chalet so-called "Dinaryc" type of the house is established which produces that produces many variants of a rural house in the nineteenth century (Ognjević, 2012). This is deeply rooted "archetype" of the house, that national builder carries in its subconscious.

The house is the basic building unit of a new construction of neighborhood, the most common and almost the only type of physical structure and housing. It is an individual single house at one, a separate plot. Average dimensions of the house are around 8/10 m, P + 1 + Pk, and around 200 m². The house usually has a simple ground plan, reduced cubic form and gabled roof. According to the general context of building it could be concluded that "occupied space transcends geometric one" (Bachelard 1965/2000).

"Roof over head"

Ibelings (2010) states "It is a myth that after war there can be Stunde null or zero hour. A genuinely new beginning is an illusion. However new beginning was the only option for Bosnia and Herzegovina. An act of new construction represented an act of recovery for the inhabitants who were lost on charred remnants of former homes, and the process was developing in the atmosphere of devoted automatic operations which were based on "organizing destroyed city" (Šehić, 2013: 216).

Although an act of construction was extracted, it is nevertheless a sign of certain faith in the future.

"Architecture is inconceivable without such optimism, without the conviction that the world will, however slightly, be better for it (Ibelings, 2010)." Thereby recovery, reconciliation, and reconstruction are not abstract social characteristics but individual and social enterprise which contribute to the formation of hope (Skotte 2014: 107). Function of residence is especially important, it is used as strategy that positively affects hope for the future, identity, and motivation in insensitive situations (Lappegrad, 2009).

New construction has taken place according to three different criteria (reflexivity, temporality, and complexity), somewhere between recovery and development which haven't been clearly separated here. Although recovery deals with future perspectives, they are different from development, but at the same time development forms one of four phases of post-catastrophe which also include urgency, rehabilitation and reconstruction (Davis 1978). This confusion has arisen because challenge of development is primarily progress which is aimed at actions and politics that make world a better place, particularly for those reduced to poverty (Chambers 1997), while recovery is guided and led under the influence of pre-war perception whether re-establishment or new formation is in question (Mazover 1998: 228).

Duality of the concept in Bosnia and Herzegovina is in the fact that the process of new construction represents neither full recovery, nor development. In theoretical concept, recovery and reconciliation represent the result of social capital, which is crucial when dealing with issues of efficiency, management and space. This is why the process has been defined according to participants of the process. Some wanted to go back, others tried to reach their pre-war dream, and the rare ones saw some new opportunities. In any case, the process is trying to establish normal life all over again (recovery), but with its new construction. International community had large role in this process, through basic assumptions of sustainable development (knowledge, capabilities and will of people) it helped to activate activities from the past and potential future capacities through processes of reconstruction (Skotte 2004). Although the process has meant more than simple efforts for recovery, it has not been completed, and it is achieved only on the pre-war level, so we can not really discuss development (ibid.).

Re-construction

The Interest for building was represented by large group of small "private" initiatives (groups of agents) with the objective of urgently settling the basic issues of life. Individual housing construction was the main form of solving the housing problem for the vast majority of 64.44% of the respondents. Only 11.11% of the housing stock has been inherited from earlier, and other types of problem-solving "homelessness" were replacing and buying in at 8.89%, and about 4.44% of the respondents live in rented facilities^[6]. Construction is going on without intermediaries at a kind of direct bottom-up system, in informal urban factory, by building on their own way. Each individual builder uses its own resources, experience and knowledge.

Although the informal urban factory, residents declare that the houses were built according to a specific architectural project in 57.78%; other 26.67% were built in part by the project (sketch, preliminary or catalog project), while only 15.56% was not built according to project. At the same time the residents are aware of the importance of professional design and construction, because the vast majority of 97.77% think that it is completely or 24.44% partly necessary (for particular phases). On the physical construction, the percentage passes much more outside of formal framework. Most of the houses were built by one's own efforts - 28.89% and with support of relatives and friends 17.78%. In part, construction companies were involved in these jobs, in 22.22% or a combination of all these ways has been used, in 31.11%.

This method of construction is also part of a strong tradition of the people of this region, its mentality and identity, which has lasted continuously and maintained without interruption even during expansion of socialist industrialization and prefabricated construction. One of the specific customs of the mobs - traditional institutions sharing the work and helping each other was present in all nations and in all areas of a "common space". It is defined as custom of association or the rational allocation of human labor in rural communities which has had specific economic organization. Mobs had a wider social role. Although people had gathered primarily due to labor under such circumstances they were hung out, had fun singing and dancing, they could meet the guy and the girl, and participate in various competitions. The obligation of the organizers was to provide food and water, and sometimes to invoke musicians also. The main meal was served at the place of work - field or the construction site, but also in the home of the host. Moba was very important during the house construction. Since the 50s of the last century, when the construction of the house implied involvement of trained master-mason, mobs are still organized for the purpose of carrying out preparatory and other activities.

Considering tradition and other characteristics, building is also the result of great experience of the builder. For most of the 60% of families, the house in Česma - Mađir was not the first one that family has built. For the 24.44% of builders this is the second or third house they built, and for the 6.67% even the third.

The construction is running gradually, spontaneously and slowly, in a longer period of time. Bjeličić family [2], explains that "The process is actually still going on. All this time we are subtenants. Like many other families we have not resolved our housing issue permanently. The house is built gradually in parallel with economic opportunities and with the help of a loan. First, we have raised a loan for land and bought it. The same was for the basement and the ground floor. We still need to finish the upper floor to by equipment and to move in." Kuvač family [4], has also taken a long time to build their house: "Construction of the house began in early 2006. Depending on financial resources it took place in three phases. The first included the construction of brick and concrete structure, the second was for the roof, and finally the third has meant partial equipment. The house is only half finished now and there is still a lot of work to do before completing it. But for now, there is no idea when or if this will ever happen. After 20 years of leaving our family home in Visoko, years of temporariness, removals and uncertainty, living in other people's houses and renting, we finally moved in our half-finished house in the spring of 2011, and since then we live here."

According to the data from the questionnaire, as well as observation on the field and urban-architectural analysis, the typology of housing has been defined according to following criteria: size of the house; number of families who are living in the house; level of completeness.

Oversized dimensions

Redundancy and unfinishedness is the basic feature of informal housing. By absurd of the urgency of the situation, the specific conditions and complex context, new builders have planned and built relatively large houses. Only 4.44% of the houses have (a) just the Ground floor; 37.78% have a (b) Ground Floor + Attic and most of 57,78% have more floors (c) Ground + 1 floor + Attic or more. The area of the house is also significant, ranging from (a) <100 m² - 15.56%; (B) 100 - 200 m² - 68,89%; up to (c)> 200 m² in 15.56%. Following, there are 22.22% of the houses with (a) 1 apartment in; (B) 68.89% with 2 apartments and (c) 8.89% with 3 or more apartments. But regardless of the size of the house and the number of apartments, they have separate entrances, and staircases in only 51.11%, while others do not.

Irrational size of the house is a direct result of an irrational thinking rooted in the mentality, because, the rationality has never been the priority in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Kapetanović 2015). Regardless of the uncertainty of the general socio - political and economic situation and very limited resources, they still have the need to build a lot. On the other hand, the builder used the opportunity to build momentum, to make up all that previously lost and the previous one stroke solve the housing problem and the problem of "homeless" and the generation of their children. Subconsciously there is a certain fear of the future in which the second generation may not have the opportunity to build. It is also connected with the fear of separation from children and wishes to keep them close within the built family home. Size of the house is also a result of the desire of builders to regain the life they had before, without awareness that he was building in a completely new system that was changed suddenly and overnight. New house in a completely new context is also an opportunity in which builder

can show, present and impose everything he carries, what he has and what he is. Even with what has not or has a desire to change. Kapetanović (2015) justifies this redundancy which materializes hope about imagined idyllic life as well as the sense of destruction and construction.

"My house has no roof"

Participants of the questionnaire also confirmed that the construction of the house is a long-term, lifelong project which obligates generations to come. In only 13,33% they have stated that their houses have been built at once, in 31,11% the construction lasted in phases or is still continuing, in 20% of cases the house was constructed and settled but only partially equipped. In only 15,56% the construction took up to 1 year, and in 35,56% it takes longer than one year, in 13,33% longer than 5 years, and in no less than 28,8% the house is in the process of building which is longer than 10 years. No less than 60,00% of participants believe that they will finish the house construction by the end of their work expectancy, 35,56% is unsure, while 4,44% of the participants believe that will not be possible^[6].

Given the economic activities in the process of building and general economic conditions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, houses provide only the minimum requirements necessary for life, because there are years and decades, even generations in the construction phase. The houses are mostly unfinished, with varying degrees. This is most obvious on the facades, but also on a number of other shortcomings. These houses are often built to the "first plate" only, on which a makeshift roof is mounted; if they turn walled and covered, the upper floors are completely open, without windows and doors, mortars, etc. Many houses are missing tinker, fences on the terraces, the curtains on the windows, finishing, fences yard, garden landscaping and so on. The interiors also have varying degrees of completion. Although on the first sight, houses look great and comfortable, they are often completely opposite. Lack of thermal insulation, lack of heating and cooling, insulation loft, lack of processing floors and ceilings and many other conveniences of life may be very low. Although walled as huge, there is often only one floor partially furnished, and only a few rooms are adapted for the improvised usage of a large family of several generations.

Being permanently unfinished and continuously under construction are aesthetic keys to the informal dwelling, and key features in its economic success. Mass production eagerly meets a do it yourself mentality in the housing market, developers deliver apartments in a "grey stage" and housing standards remain open for negotiation (Meili et al, 2012). Instead of grass, there are permanent materials of installed constructions in the garden, which transform themselves, temporal construction context to the primary and crucial principle of life. Building is a spare-time work for many, it represents "quality time" or leisure. It is therefore no surprise that informal neighborhoods look and feel like weekday during weekends - like huge construction sites. With its latent anarchic energy, ceaseless construction is a culture, a social space, and a way of life (Meili et al, 2012). On the other hand, however, this is not a 'preferred lifestyle. It is so developed due to circumstances, and residents become aware of it only after years spent 'on-site'. Builders of the houses often say that the 'house is a bottomless barrel' or 'closed vicious circle'. With regard to the financial resources, time and energy that it requires a constant process of construction, homeowners remain permanently attached to the house...

As a visual entity caused by a vague crash of the "desired" and the "possible one", these visual signs have become deeply embedded in the Balkan family identity. According to Bundalo (2010 -) these characteristics of the house represent set of rules or signs that are enjoyable in certain societies, without visible or collective self-reflexivity. They are totems of simulacrum, silent social contracts that can be techno-poetically or biopolitically imposed, as well as an accepted ritual-archetype. Lower-end housing is closest to the classic understanding of informalism, i.e. dusk-till-down housing construction on sites adjacent to the city, with a significant proportion based on migrant flows.

"House for all"

From two previous characteristics of the house, size and unfinishedness it can be concluded that the third characteristic in this group, outcomes from the first ones - size and unfinishedness. The house is usually intended

for two to three generations of a single family, or two (more) families, depending on the internal organization of the household. Only 22.22% of houses is intended for one generation, so it does not have more separate apartments. Even 64.44% of the housing is designed for two generations (family and the family of one or more children. The case of houses for three or more generations (family, family of parents and the child's family) is present in 6.67%, having on mind there are cases of multi-family houses for more relatives, up to 4.44%.

According to the previous, national builder expresses optimism about the future, so 62,22% of the participants believe that more generations will use their family house in the future; 33,33% express insecurity when asked this question, while smallest percent of only 4,44% don't feel this way and admit that they were irrational when it comes to the building of the house and excessive square meters of it. On the one hand this attitude logically justifies entire process of the recovery and reconstruction, but on the other hand it is surprising considering that these areas share turbulent history as well as its repetition in almost regular rhythm.

Defined type of housing opens numerous spatial, sociological and psychological issues. Given their causal relationship, different aspects of life directly reflect each other. Collective dwelling of several generations of a family, or multiple families under the same roof opens up numerous social and psychological problems in a situation of economic uncertainty, mutual dependence and post-war traumatic psychological states (Перић Ромић 2013, Marić 2013).

Mladen Bundalo, the contemporary artist (Subliminal family architecture, 2010-) deals with subliminal entities within the "family of architecture" and the cause-effect relation between them within the various demographic contexts. Within "family architecture", in addition of architecture that enjoys, what could be called nowadays family, Bundalo tries to "explain cultural structure that determines relationships among participants in the family, its constellation of power, semantic, and symbolic behavior. It would be, more precisely, the morphology of the family contract and its life through the ancillary facilities and rituals."

The dominant principle includes plans of a house of big dimensions, which is being upgraded through a longer period (now through the decade) due to a lack of finances. Entire towns with tens of thousands of family houses of the population that had immigrated from different provinces conceptualized the houses' constructions in an identical or very similar manner. This conceptualization happened with "no visible social agreement" (ibid.).

Why should they opt for such large houses, in which spaces are often predicted in advance for the future as seen in the example of future brides of male children? Why not building a smaller house to let your children create their own conditions to have a family within the current context? Is the reason based on the very expensive price of a piece of land? Should we consider that in the next 15 years, the economic situation in the country is going to be unfavorable, and that children will not be able to afford new living spaces? Also, if your children are men who are still very young, are they going to accept such a family contract? All of these concerns, gaffs produced by behaviors imposed from "above" and behaviors motivated from "below", result in architectural family formations that rise up as totems of powerlessness. How to balance biopolitical terms of family (now-days) with its "internal con-tracts" which are, still, in the spirit of the patriarchal ambition? Would that sort of ambition have generated super-stratum "family language" of the Balkan's family landscape?

Bundalo, 2010.

However, although the phenomenon of multiple family units under the same roof is rather present, the results of the questionnaire showed a relatively small number of household members in relation to the size of the house. In most of the houses there are 3-4 family members - 48.89%, there is 42.22% with more than 4 members and also a determined significant percentage of the 1-2 family member - 8.89%. This shows that the second generation is not yet old enough to form a family, or this form of housing is gradually being overcome. It can be a result of numerous factors, such as the inability to complete and furnish the house for another family or general conflict of generations, lifestyle changes and general depopulation of the country. (Census 1991, Census 2013). Despite initial intentions, a significant number of apartments intended for the second or third generation remains unfinished and empty.

Patterns of space usage

The forms of construction, creation and use of space emerges from the atlas of elements (components of the new life), which form it. These are all the elements listed above: construction models; the past in the previous places / heritage from other areas; ways of construction; housing characteristics (size, unfinishedness, usage); lifestyles (number of households, rural and urban forms of life); and finally usage of considered private and semi-private space. Using patterns, as obvious, are analyzed at the housing level - of a typical unit of neighborhood - an individual plot with privately built single-family house and a garden. The housing is seen as the relationship between the house and the land on which it is located, the ratio of (closed) private, semi-open (yard-semi-private) and open public space.

This type of housing is the most common type of housing organization in a wide area of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the former Yugoslavia (4.4. Perception of new towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina). Type of housing and the type of neighborhood that it generates are present as part of the urban identity of Banja Luka. Anatol Kirjakov (General Urban Plan of Banja Luka, the proposed plan, 1952), says that Banjaluka "has some of its specifics and its individual face" as most other cities. He further distinguishes some of them and says that "by its vastness Banja Luka is one of the largest cities in the country, and the suburbs covers an area of almost 30 km²." (...) "Because of the large space, city is a very rarely built. Almost every house has its own vegetable garden, flower garden or orchard, and thanks to that Banjaluka has the characteristics of the green city and gives the visitor the impression of a resort or spa place."

Finci (1967) also points out the characteristics and says that "the distance periphery of Banja Luka is very sparsely populated, and poorly built with small houses ". Due to this, the city has a density of "only 22 people per hectare", territory is three times larger, which makes it very dilute. One of the reasons is the large building in the private sector. With regards to the ownership, it has 48, 8% of houses in the social sector, and 51.6% in private one. Although Finci recognizes the problem of low density, he also recognizes it as a part of the urban identity. He proposed that the new plan "takes into account the high percentage of individual free-standing buildings and habits of the population, particularly the need for a garden, a vegetable garden and so on." (...) "It should be taken into account that these users want to have a garden that should serve as an additional source of food and income. (...) "We should not liquidate Banja Luka as a 'flower city' which makes it well known. (...) It should endeavor to certain existing complexes that remain as green space and a free-standing individual buildings built with front yards.

The new post-war construction of peripheral neighborhoods in Banja Luka has just followed this concept. Although Milojević (2015), Došenović (2013), Simonović (2010), Ševo (1996) and some other authors speak about the loss of identity of the city, according to Simonovic (2010, 2015) it still has an identity of the landscape city (See Chapter 5.2.2.2. Open spaces vs Urban voids). Ibelings (2010) speaks of a similar kind of loss of a "garden city" identity, which occurs as a result of continuous process of density creating in old residential areas (for example in the Sarajevo neighborhoods of the Ottoman period). In this modern deconstruction of unique examples of "ambient" architecture (Bosnian house, which everyone is talking about and nobody is protecting it) many traditional family houses of high value were sacrificed.

On the basis of urban morphology analysis will be defined as one 'conditionally' new category or typology of a rur-urban neighborhood that could be an important element in future definitions of the city's identity. Considering their vernacularism houses are mostly prescribed to rural forms or to something that came from the countryside, but Kapetanovic (2015) believes it is an issue of a broader social context.

As a cultural concept, the 'urban' extends everywhere, on the radio urban music is playing, as well as urban broadcast shows, leisure places are divided into urban and "non-urban" etc. But in BiH there are no large cities, only two of them have considerably more than one hundred thousand inhabitants. The concept of 'urban' is attributed to many values, for example progressiveness, modernity, to Europe, which by the same context also include civility, multiculturalism, and respect for culture. In contrast, 'rural' is attributed to everything we do not like in our environment. Origins, hobbies and political views often come in a variety of combinations and again speak only about the taste of those who judge.

Here's how to use elements of housing and what their basic characteristics are, with respect to rural or urban patterns and numerous individual identities forming the neighborhood..

The population^[6] uses free space of parcels to (a) socialize - 20%; (B) to leisure - 26.67%; (C) for the work - 4.44%; (D) for a hobby - 4.44% or (e) combined - 40%.

At the same time, residents point out that they mostly use (a) a front yard (front of the house, facing the street) - 20%; (B) the back yard (behind the house, according to the interior of the block) - 33.33%; (C) both equally - 37.78%; (D) while only 8.89% do not use the yard.

The facilities that residents have in the yard are (a) the orchard and vegetables garden - 26.67%; (B) a part for a sitting and talking - 40%; (C) barn with farm animals - 8.89 and (d) a combination of the above - 20%.

When these data are compared with the use of free time that residents spend in the yard, vast majority of 46.67% show the importance of the yard in daily life and certainly specific character of the neighborhood which both generates and builds.

"On my own"

With regard to how it has developed, the first question is whether its physical structure in general can be called architecture or just vernacular architecture (Stanković 2003, 2007), which is except of traditional related to contemporary and generally / ordinary (Oliver 2007, Kapetanović 2015, Savić, 2014).

Kapetanović (2015) says that construction of private houses in Bosnia and Herzegovina after the war is characterized by more free form and spatial distribution, and often overlapping functions, as is the case in other post-socialist societies. However, this phenomenon is not only the result of the transition of illegal construction, because it is present at global level, but is also the question of who decides about the construction. He adds that there are more differences in the perception of aesthetics in places where the state loses the control of the construction. In this particular plan of individual construction, houses are a clear sign that the institutions of the old state completely collapsed in the post-socialism, and that the new state is too weak and corrupted to restrict the construction in any way.

Given that architecture was not matter of experts, and that the appearance of the house, neighborhood, and finally the city was the subject of action of each individual builder, his experience, knowledge, feelings, aesthetics and architecture should not be evaluated by classical architectural standard.

Forced taste and aesthetics are formed in one specific context, which was not the result of normal life, and they can not be easily judged. Aesthetic values of time when neighborhood was developed and of generations who built the neighborhood is characterized by nationalistic media propaganda as well as cultural occupation. Informative programs and turbo-folk, as well as selected theatrical and literal headlines were a trap of the political conformism propaganda which created value of this aesthetic.

Jandric (Ibelings, 2010) states that "No ruling definition of 'good' or 'nice' nor a dominant style, which could simplify the description of the complex Bosnian architectural present", and discussion about 'ugliness' or 'beauty' Norberg-Schulz (1979) characterized as a criticism of superficial perceptions. Kapetanović (2015) relativizes universal measure which is linked to personal choice of people who have been building for themselves and with their own money. The question should therefore be adressed to the culture of living and the system of spatial design. Informal architecture is authentic, it is , populist, supremely bad and therefore likeable- in fact, it occupies a cultural, rather than an architectural domain. It serves almost exclusively to satisfy individual needs. Values of both architectural design and craftsmanship have been subverted by a dependence on a limited range of industrial building elements and widely available "typical plans." Unskilled labor and improvisational construction techniques have produced personalized outcomes regardless of the scale of project. The aesthetic values of heterogeneous construction are seductive contrast to other European city-architectural phenomenon, which is completely liberated. (Topalović u Meili et al., 2012).

Although there are no dominant cultural themes in many illegally built neighborhoods, nor there is a wish to build one's own "domestic" identity (ibid), this shouldn't be relevant for post-war neighborhoods of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Identity is generically modified, so even individualized expressions can be fast and easily consolidated towards recognizable and mostly predicted forms in which themes of local traditions of turbo-folk and soap operas dominate – but as such it is also justified.

When we take into account the rating of satisfaction of inhabitants with themselves and the owners of private houses, which are, indeed biased and unobjective, discussion of aesthetics can be relativized. Respondents evaluated the satisfaction of a function, design and appearance of the house quite highly. Even 44.44% rated their houses with 5 (the highest grade), very good (4) or good (3) are rated in 26.67% and 22.22%, while the lowest score (2 and 1) allocated in only 4.44% and 2.22%.

5.2.3. Reconstruction of life

Fizička izgradnja nije jedini element izgradnje novog doma, naselja i grada. Vernakularni graditelj je uporedo nesvjesno izgrađivao samog sebe i jedan potpuno novi život u odnosu prema naselju. Kroz spontan i složen proces, izgradnja novog života je praćena izgradnjom identiteta. Prvi period je praćen jedinstvenim osjećajem zajedništva, optimizmom i nadom u izgradnju boljeg života u koji je izbjegličko stanovništvo zaista vjerovalo. S obzirom na razmjeru procesa, stanovnici su osjećali jedinstvenu pokretačku energiju uz izražen osjećaj solidarnosti^[6]. Izgradnja je tekla manje-više zajednički i prema istoj matrici.

Vrijeme poslije rata je bilo jako teško, naselje je bilo neizgrađeno, zaudaralo je na nesreću, siromaštvo, bijedu, zapuštenost, prazninu... Međutim ljudi su u čudnom poslijeratnom poletu osjetili volju da grade svoj novi život. A to nije bilo nimalo lako jer su nakon četiri godine rata već bili izmoreni u psihičkom, fizičkom, moralnom, finansijskom, i svakom drugom smislu. I oni što su imali ušteđevinu, potrošili su je tokom rata, prethodna imovina je oštećena ili uništena, prodana u bescijenje ili je potpuno napuštena i tako izgubila svaku vrijednost^[2].

Ljudi su prema tome bili prinuđeni da se snalaze i da pomažu jedni drugima onoliko koliko su mogli, ako ništa u lijepoj riječi, razmjeni alata, iskustava^[1]. S obzirom da djeluje izvan sistema planiranja i ne posjeduje informacije o mogućnostima izgradnje života u novim uslovima, vernakularni graditelj je bio upućen na neposredne kontakte sa lokalnim stanovništvom. Od njih je dobijao potrebne informacije o mikro klimi, istoriji, načinu života, pogodnosti za izgradnju, cijenama, demografskoj strukturi stanovništva, običajima, navikama i kulturi života... U dugačkom procesu izgradnje kuće (od nekoliko mjeseci, pa do nekoliko godina) sarađivao je sa komšijama, koje mu posuđuju alat, materijal, vodu i struju, fizički pomažu, prinose kafu, piće i hranu (osvježjenje), upoznaju se sa radnicima (koje uglavnom čine rođaci i prijatelji vlasnika), razmjenjuju iskustva...

Po Abramsu (1967) ovakav način izgradnje definiše dobrovoljni ghetto, koji grupi omogućuje da se osjeća ugodno u zajednici sa ljudima svoje vrste, rase ili jezika. U tom smislu se, apsurdno, insistira na obaveznoj asimilaciji u odnosu na prisilnu segregaciju. Jačanje kapaciteta društva znači jačanje njihove sposobnosti da djeluju. Tok njihovih interakcija generiše kostituisanje promjena i smanjenje ranjivosti ka pozitivnom društvenom razvoju (Anderson & Woodrow).

Osim ove vrste slučajnog zajedništva, koje je stvoreno u specifičnim uslovima, izgradnju karakteriše skup različitih identiteta novog stanovništva i njihov sukob sa starim. Pitanje se ogleda na nivou "malog urbanizma" kroz način života u odnosu na prošlo i novo mjesto prebivališta, te odnose između "novih i starih" identiteta. "Veliki" nacionalni, pa i prostorni identitet se svodi na lične identitete (njihove stalne promjene), te se "veliki" na neki način relativizuje u odnosu na "mali".

Njegovanje specifičnog identiteta područja sa kojeg dolaze i drugih koji su tokom godina oblikovali taj identitet, stanovništvo iskazuje različito. "Prednjače oni kojih ima najviše, ali i svi ostali teže da očuvaju svoje običaje. Većina je ponosna na rodni kraj, veliča ga kao najbolji, najvrijedniji i najbogatiji, te umanjuje vrijednost drugih^[2]." Najviše se uočava kroz elemente nematerijalnog nasljeđa ili materijalne tragove u prostoru. "Svi ti ljudi su sa sobom iz svojih mjesta ponijeli svoju tradiciju, običaje, kulturu, koji se osjete u svakodnevnom načinu života, izgradnji, odnosima^[2]..."

Bez obzira kako i gdje je došao, čovjek ne može promijeniti mjesto odakle dolazi i ne može pobjeći od svojih korijena. Međutim da bi preživjeli, pored korijena je bilo potrebno još mnogo drugih elemenata, koji čine jedno drvo života. S obzirom na porijeklo iz ruralnih ili urbanih, multietničkih ili manjinskih sredina, između određenih grupa se prepoznaju razlike^[2]. One se uočavaju po načinu izgradnje kuća, uređenja i održavanja naselja, odnosu prema naselju i gradu i njihovoj uzajamnoj vezi, pa sve do obrazaca ponašanja i načina korišćenja prostora^[3]. Pri tom se najviše uočavaju karakteristike identiteta koje nisu uobičajene za način života u gradu. Jedna od njih je dominantan ruralni karakter naselja koji je prenaglašen s obzirom na blizinu centra grada i bogatu kulturnu matricu naselja.

Posebno su izražene karakteristike ljudi iz manjih, ruralnih sredina i zabačenih planinskih krajeva. Taj planinjak iz Glamoča na primjer. Pa njega čovjek gdje god da baci, on bi se dočekao na noge. To je čovjek bistar- šišarika, koji se na da prevariti. On nikom ne ostaje dužan. Ove razlike se najbolje uočavaju kroz običaje vjerskih obreda: krštenja, vjenčanja, sahrane, osvećenja, pomene, slave, pri čemu se potvrđuje narodna poslovice 'sto sela- sto običaja'[2].

Mi smo dolaskom iz Siska (malog grada u središnjoj Hrvatskoj), iz takođe prigradskog, ali planski uređenog naselja, bili šokirani nivoom urbaniteta naselja Česma-Madžir. Jer smo od jednog velikog grada očekivali određene funkcije koje se podrazumijevaju. Međutim, ovdje smo, na periferiji velikog grada zatekli određene obrasce ponašanja koji za nas nisu bili uobičajeni. To su, na primjer, upotreba konjskih kola za obradu poljoprivrednog zemljišta i prevoz, običaj držanja domaćih životinja u dvorištima itd. a da ne govorimo o infrastrukturnim nedostacima, nepostojanju kanalizacije, trotoara, veze sa gradom[3].

Razlike u fizičkoj strukturi na prvi pogled nisu uočljive jer je izgradnja, pored specifične kulture, zavisila od brojnih faktora. Od specifičnih prirodnih i stvorenih uslova, prostornih potencijala, lokalnog načina izgradnje, znanja majstora, finansija. Pa i puno usput primljenih uticaja, pređenih kilometara, promijenjenih kuća i mjesta u procesu izbjeglištva... One se najviše uočavaju u detaljima i različitim sadržajima u dvorištu oko kuće. "Ljudi često kažu, napravio sam pečenjaru kao kod mene u Glamoču, ili trijem kao kod mene u Dalmaciji ili posadio sam voćnjak kao u... "^[2].

Prema tome je izvjesno da izgradnja identiteta grada zavisi od pravljenja ustupaka. Međutim, pregovaranje o identiteima nije blisko svima, te prelaženje pragova tolerancije prema drugim izaziva agresiju ili nervozu (Neill, 2004). Mit da jedan grad predstavlja samo jednu zajedničku ideju je opasan. Gradovi žive od sukoba, a razlike koje ih prouzrokuju predstavljaju pozitivne vrijednosti, jer energija sukoba različitosti zapravo čini grad (Thrift, 2005). Zato svi gradovi odražavaju dilemu o balansiraju između kulturnih razlika i građanskih osjećanja za zajedničko (Neill, 2004). Izvjesni sukob različitih identiteta koji postoji u naselju, dešava se na liniji između starog i novog, a ne između različitih kulturnih karaktera novopridošlog stanovništva. One su na određeni način asimilovane i homogenizovane kao nove, nasuprot onih starih, koje oduvijek žive u naselju.

Novo stanovništvo je uticalo na unapređenje naselja i njegovo obogaćivanje. Pokazuje se kao otvorenije, brže, aktivnije, predanije, neposrednije u želji za izgradnjom novog života. Sa druge strane, starosjedioci nisu imali potrebu da prave iskorake u odnosu na prošlost u kojoj su ostali, te svojim nesvjesnim i pasivnim vrstama opstruizma, otežavaju razvoj[2]. Ipak, određene međusobne kulturne razlike su vremenom asimilovane, te se o novom stanovništvu više ne govori pežorativno kao izbjeglicama ili raseljenim licima[1] [5]. Prošlo je već dovoljno vremena tako da se obe kategorije stanovništva u istom položaju u odnosu na prostor i vrijeme dolaska u naselje[5].

Starosjedioci su prihvatili novo stanovništvo shvativši da nisu došli da bi nekom nešto otimali, nego zato što su morali i da to nije bila njihova slobodna volja^[1]. Nakon toliko godina, jedne potpuno nove generacije koja je stasala na istom mjestu, razlike između stanovništva su danas najuočljivije između različitih generacija, što je i prirodno. Kod mlađih generacija se primjećuje veća aktivnost, angažman, interesovanje i entuzijazam, što predstavlja veliki potencijal, koji je uz odgovarajuće planove, koordinaciju i projekte moguće usmjeriti ka daljoj izgradnji života u naselju[3].

Odnos starog i novog dijela naselja govori o odnosu prema tradiciji, njenom očuvanju i zaštiti. Na taj način se uočava i sam odnos prema identitetu, s obzirom da je definisan kroz ono što jedan narod ima (Sekulić, 1932), odnos prema kontekstu (Simonović, 2013; Karan, 2014, Murphy, 2011), stalnom procesu izgradnje (Majstorović, 1979), "neopipljivim" aspektima mjesta (Norberg-Shulz, 1976) i kolektivnoj memoriji (Gillis, 1994, Karan, 2014). Interes za druge, na svom sopstvenom terenu takođe predstavlja rezultat brige za ono što već postoji ili može da se postigne (Sennet 2012).

Baš kao što se identitet vezuje za sličnost i razliku, dijeli i ujedinjuje, tako i prostor, koji proizvodi taj identitet i koji je sam njime proizveden, predstavlja vezu sa. i odvajanje od onog što je bilo, te onog što će tek doći (Ibelings 2010). Bez obzira na bogatstvo različitih identiteta, koji su se pojavili i naselili jedan prostor kojeg čine, oni su svedeni na samo jedan oblik fizičke strukture. Uprkos pojedinačnim razlikama, slika urbanog (kulturnog) pejzaža naselja je ujednačena - usitnjena fizička struktura (jednoporodičnih kuća) prožetih dominantnom zelenom strukturom (praznina i okućnica) čini elemente njegovog prostornog identiteta.

S obzirom na različito porijeklo stanovništva, u naselju se (ne) prepoznaje identitet, koji dominira u odnosu na ostale^[2]. Uprkos homogenizaciji prostora, tranzicija kulturnih i prostornih identiteta je donijela novo bogatstvo različitosti unutar jedne etničke grupe. Iako ovi različiti identiteti prirodno teže očuvanju, takođe se prilagođavaju zajedničkom, koji se vremenom formira kao hibrid. Ovaj fenomen sukoba identiteta (kulture, mentalitet, običaji, narječja, tradicije, obrazovanje, način življenja) ukazuje na apsurd podjela, jer na malom prostoru (naselje Česma-Mađir), sa izuzetkom religije, ponovo koegzistiraju različitosti širokog jugoslovenskog prostora. Kao u vrijeme kada je svakodnevni život socijalističke Bosne i Hercegovine odlikovala kultura suživota. Osim uslovno većeg osjećaja sigurnosti i slobode, etnički i religiozno homogenizovano naselje ne predstavlja bitan element svakodnevnog života ni identiteta.

5.2.3.1. New perception

Ideja o transformaciji sebe implicira snagu prevazilaženja prošlog života i ljudi, koji ostaju iza.

Sennet 2003.

S obzirom na brojne promjene koje su se desile u životima stanovnika, da dolaze iz različitih krajeva i da većinu fizičke strukture čine novi objekti, 48,89% stanovništva tvrdi da sadašnji način života u naselju nema veze sa njihovim životima u prethodnom mjestu prebivališta, od prije dvadeset godina. Djelimičnu vezu sa prošlošću osjeća njih 40,00%, dok samo 4,44% ne uviđa promjenu, odnosno 2,22% koji ovo pitanje uopšte ne smatraju relevantnim. Prema tome se naselje Česma-Mađir definitivno može posmatrati kao novo naselje.

O percepciji novog, govore i stanovništvo koji cijeli život živi u naselju. "To je nevjerojatna promjena. Ponekad više ništa ne prepoznajem i često pomislim da živim na nekom skroz drugom mjestu. Ljudi, navike, način ponašanja, kultura, način komunikacije, kuće, ulice - sve je drugačije. Jedno mirno, udaljeno i pomalo izolovano mjesto u kojem su se svi međusobno poznavali potpuno je promijenjeno." [1]

Sa druge strane, način života bi se svakako prirodno promijenio, jedno što bi se to dešavalo na malo drugačiji način[5]. Sadašnji život u naselju predstavlja nastavak života koji je već postojao, ali sa druge strane se ne može govoriti o sličnostima sa prethodnim životom. Nekada se nije znalo ni gdje počinje ni gdje završava, a danas je to jedna zaokružena cjelina [5].

Identifikacija sa novim, ponovljenim ili prenesenim je više od istorijske iliosjećajne povezanosti sa elementima identiteta, značila odlučnost za identifikacijom. Želju za novim životom, koji je moguće iznova izgraditi na osnovu žrtava koje su već podnesene i zbog kojih povratak na staro više nije moguć. Ovo osjećanje se pronalazi u mentalitetu stanovništva (inatu, ponosu, odlučnosti), koji je naviknut na promjene, izgradio sposobnost snalaženja u različitim situacijama i sredinama (Sekulić 1932, Erdeljanović 1928, Cvijić 1922.).

5.2.3.2. Neither here nor there

O osjećaju novog takođe svjedoče iskustva izbjeglica koji su se vratili u prethodna mjesta prebivališta. Oni govore o potresnom emocionalnom doživljaju pri susretu sa mjestom u kojem su nekad živjeli i radili, u kojem su nekad nešto značili, a iz kojeg su prisilno otišli i u kojem su ostavili sve što su imali[4]. On izaziva sukob različitih osjećanja nepripadnosti, koje svi proživljavaju na svoj način, a koji su istovremeno univerzalni.

Za svih mojih povratka, uvijek me prožimao isti tjeskobni osjećaj, da me [...] niko ne čeka, da u tom gradu nikome ne nedostajem [...] Ponekad sam se nadao da ću možda jednom, nakon mnogo godina, pri povratku osjetiti da se vraćam kući, ali to se nikad nije dogodilo. Sada više nemam svoj dom, jer sam jednom u svom životu ostao u tuđini iz koje se ne mogu vratiti. Znao sam da još mogu samo prelaziti iz jedne tuđine u drugu i da neću osjetiti ništa.

Ova osjećanja se takođe odražavaju prema prostoru, koja nakon traumatičnog ratnog iskustva i godina potiskivanja izlaze na površinu. Stanovnici imaju utisak o nekom novom, drugačijem prostoru u kojem se ne snalaze i kojem ne pripadaju. Sve izgleda ružno, staro, oronulo, malo i tijesno. Osjećanja nesigurnosti, straha i stida, pomiješana su sa ljutnjom, nepravdom, tugom, sjetom... Pred očima prolaze slike jednog finog, davno prošlog i srećnog života, koji je odjednom naglo prekinut i koji više nikad nije moguće povratiti[4].

Ne znaš ni sam što te više boli: sjećanje ili istina. [...] Sjećanju ne vjerujem, a istinu ne mogu podnijeti. [...] Nešto nije bilo u redu. Ili ovo nije taj sokak ili možda to više nisam ja. Gledao sam prema kući u kojoj sam rastao. Nisam je prepoznao. [...] To jednostavno više nije taj sokak, niti je to ta kuća. Niti sam ja - ja. [...] A opet sve je bilo isto.

Sejranović, 2010: 43-72.

Međutim, izbjeglice više ne prepoznaju svoj dom ni tamo ni ovdje[6]. Kada jednom silom prilika mora da ode i da napusti svoj kraj, čovjek zapravo nikad u potpunosti ne može prihvatiti život u tuđini kao poptuno svoj i uvijek se vraća korijenima[4]. Iako 75,56% stanovnika misli da su (re)izgradnjom kuće riješili svoje stambeno pitanje (20,00% izražava nesigurnost, a samo 4,44% ne misli tako), sa druge strane samo 51,11% stanovnika prihvata naselje kao svoju kuću (djelimično 37,78% i ne 4,44%). "Iako ovdje žive već 15-ak godina, manje - više su se fino snašli, mnogi i dalje govore da su oni od nekud drugo. Komšija iz Bihaća je skoro izjavio da nije emocionalno vezan za naselje i grad u kojem živi i da ga jednostavno ne osjeća kao svoje, bez obzira na sve što je ovdje izgradio"[1].

Sa druge strane, svoj dom u naselju osjećaju svi oni stanovnici koji nisu imali nijedan drugi. Međutim, osjećaj doma se jednako percipira za prošlost i ovu drugačiju sadašnjost, te u dvije različite razmjere. U odnosu na grad, dom je nesumnjivo u naselju, obilježen elementima geografije, istorije, kulture, prirodnih karakteristika, itd. Sa druge strane, unutar naselja, osjećaj kuće je sveden na mnogo manju mjeru porodičnog doma, malog poznatog radijusa kretanja i skrovitih mjesta. Svi drugi, novi i naglo izgrađeni elementi, brojni novi ljudi i drugi uticaji čine mjesto nepoznatim i manje prihvatljivim.

5.2.3.3. Wild construction vs wild people

Osim komponenata životnog pristupa kojeg čine ljudski, prostorni i fizički kapital, za razvoj je takođe važna dinamika procesa (Skotte, 2004). Iako su izgradnja fizičke strukture i identiteta na početku činili jedinstven proces, oni su u međuvremenu razdvojeni. Suprotno prvim fazama fizičke izgradnje, izgradnja života se odvija u drugačijim uslovima.

Bili smo svjesni da će izgradnja novog života biti teška, ali sada smo pomireni sa tom činjenicom[5]. Osjeti se gubitak optimizma, jer se stvari nikako ili vrlo sporo pomjeraju sa mrtve tačke[3]. U tome su prošle najljepše godine, mladost i snaga, a sad se pokazuje da nismo ni dokle stigli[2]. Ljudi su otuđeni, žive u svojim malim zatvorenim krugovima i svakodnevnim problemima preživljavanja. Poslije svih promjena, stradanja, izbjeglištva, prilagođavanja i teškog života, ljudi su iscrpljeni[3]. Čini se da je nakon poleta prvih poslijeratnih godina, sada zavlдалo osjećanje razočarenja, i nostalgije[2].

Mi ovdje nikad ne možemo biti potpuno srećni, jer bez obzira kako smo se snašli, patimo za svojim rodnim krajem. Bilo bi drugačije da smo otišli svojom voljom i da smo zaista željeli početi sve ispočetka na nekom drugom mjestu. Međutim, to nije tako. Iako postoje ljudi koji su ovdje postigli puno više od onog što su imali tamo odakle su došli, to nije dovoljno. Tamo je osim materijalnog ostalo puno više. Ostali su korijeni, sjećanja, grobovi predaka, članovi porodica, prijatelji, posao, vezanost za mjesto, za kuću, drvo, rijeku, šumu... I to nije zato što nekom ovdje jeste ili nije lijepo, nego zato što taj proces nije bio prirodan. Zato što smo mi otrgnuti i prognani, a to je grozan osjećaj, pred kojim čovjek ostaje nemoćan i koji se ne može potisnuti. On sa jedne strane budi bijes zbog učinjene nepravde, a sa druge strane sramotu zbog nemogućnosti otpora.

Na osnovu ovih osjećanja proizlazi niz drugih koji na neki način opravdavaju način života i izgradnje naselja. Međutim, negativna osjećanja poput uljuljanosti, melanholije, depresije i drugih, Sennett (2006) naziva "razmaženošću" te poziva na samokritičnost kao način suprotstavljanja. Kritika je sadržana u izrazu *divlje naselje-divlji ljudi*, koji proces izgradnje poistovjećuje sa načinom života u naselju. Stav je formiran prema reakcijama ispitanika[1-6] prilikom slučajnih susreta u javnom prostoru ulice, uz ogradu privatnog posjeda (dvorišta) ili na

kućnom pragu, gdje su se razgovori uglavnom održavali. Reakcije su pri tom bile različite, od onih koje su odbacivale mogućnost saradnje, pa do onih koje su je sa zadovoljstvom prihvatale i usput pozivale na kafu i rakiju/kolač.

Osim ličnog utiska, ocjena je zasnovana na svjedočenjima istaknutih agenata izgradnje naselja i drugim elementima[6]. Među njima su razmatrani ekonomski uslovi nastanjivanja (života); socio-ekonomski uslovi (kultura siromaštva - Lewis 1966) i vremenski kontekst (sukob generacija). U komentarima na teme iz svakodnevnih susreta sa ljudima, utiscima o dominantnom osjećanju, te na pitanja o vjeri u budućnost, agenti izgradnje su izrazili veliki stepen saglasnosti i potvrdili ovu postavku[1-6]. S obzirom da samo u kontaktu sa divljinom, možemo prepoznati stvarne vrijednosti kulture civilizovanog života, ovo iskustvo pomaže u prisvajanju znanja o uslovima kulture i njenom razumijevanju. Preovlađujući utisak otkriva niz drugih pitanja, tema i osjećanja u vezi sa životom u naselju, pripadanjem i identitetom, te otkriva specifičnu psihologiju naselja.

Čak i bez dublje analize, očigledno je jasno da su stavovi o karakteru naselju u skladu sa stanjem društva i kulturnim pejzažom koji je drugačiji od starog koji je obilježen nostalgijom. Prema tome novi kulturni pejzaž postoji u jednom novom kulturnom i fizičkom međuprostoru, kao što se u ostalom i samo naselje nalazi negdje između sela i grada, između civilizacije i divljine, kulture i prirode. Međutim, upravo ta, još nedefinisana međupozicija otvara brojne otvorene neformalne mogućnosti za usmjeravanje u različitim pravcima.

Za sada je to dominantna kultura siromaštva periferije koju karakterišu: zbližavanje uslijed neimaštine; decentralizacija poslovnih aktivnosti; mješovite namjene; neposrednost pristupa lokalnim sadržajima; široki raspon eksperimenata tako da manje obrazovani i manje produktivni nalaze više mogućnosti za privremeni posao i neslužbenu zanimaciju. Sve ovo govori da su ovakva urbana područja pogodna za integraciju marginalizovanih grupa stanovništva (nezaposlenih i imigranata) što bez obzira na brojne probleme, naselje promovise kao poligon kako-tako uspješnog društvenog eksperimenta.

Many studies have been done to evaluate resettlement schemes, and many scholars acknowledge that livelihoods are broken in the situations in which people are moved away from their homes, but also from their jobs (Aranya & Ulset, 2015). Izgradnja uslova za život se odvijala bez ikakve ekonomske sigurnosti. Oslanjala se samo na prethodno iskustvo i ono što je svaki pojedinac nosio sa sobom. Bez podrške sredine, lokalnih vlasti, porodice, bez istorije i tradicije. Odvijala se individualno, ističući vještinu snalaženja pojedinca. Prema tome su pojedinci u borbi za preživljavanje prirodno gledali samo na sopstvene interese. Nije postojao pojam o zajedničkom dobru, niti veća ideja o socijalnoj mobilizaciji.

U uslovima "napuštanja posla", i nemogućnosti "pronaska novog" ekonomski uslovi za život su bili jako teški. Tokom rata, život porodice je obezbjeđivan od plate vojnika[4.1]. U trenutku kad su "sistem" i "država" bili srušeni, i dok obični ljudi nisu ni bili svjesni dešavanja, prihvatanje vojne obaveze i ulaska u rat je, apsurdno, bio gotovo jedini način za preživljavanje. Drugi, koji iz istog razloga nisu morali da ratuju, postali su ratni dezerteri ili ratni profiteri. Ovaj težak život je nastavljen i nakon rata. Cijele generacije ljudi koje su ratovala i gotovo četiri godine provele u rovovima i podrumima, poslije su označeni kao oni koji se nisu snašli. Oni često više nisu uspijevali da se snađu u svijetu koji su zatekli "na površini". Cijele generacije, posebno sa srednjoškolskim obrazovanjem, koji su u rat ušli u tridesetim, a izašli u četrdesetim, više nikad nisu uspjeli pronaći "pravi" posao, imali normalan, "pravi" život, niti ostvariti pravo na punu penziju ili druge vidove socijalne zaštite[4].

Ovakve ekonomske prilike opravdavaju strukturu, izgled i funkciju naselja, te dominantna osjećanja njegovih stanovnika. S obzirom da se ovi uslovi sporo ili gotovo nikako ne mijenjaju, mnogi su skloni ocjeni da postoji opasnost da se siromaštvo u Bosni i Hercegovini pretvori u stanje duha, jer prema Lewisu (1966), ljudi u kulturi siromaštva imaju snažan osjećaj marginalnosti, bespomoćnosti, zavisnost i nepripadanja. "Oni su stranci u vlastitoj zemlji, uvjereni da institucije ne služe njihovim potrebama. Uz osjećaj nemoći je raširen osjećaj inferiornosti i ličnih nedostojnosti". Možda zapravo tek sad težimo da dosegne nivo života prije dvadeset godina^[3].

Osim toga, postoje čitave populacije koji su odrasle još siromašnije poslije 2000. godine, i koje su doslovno orijentisane samo na svakodnevni opstanak, a nikako na suočavanja s prošlošću. Prema tome se pored svih drugih identitetskih sukoba u naselju, ovdje po različitim aspektima, dešava sukob identiteta između različitih

generacija. On se ogleda u emocionalnoj borbi između drugačijih pristupa sukobu i pomirenju, te ideologiji i politici. Ali je takođe vidljiv u različitim socio-ekonomskim usmjerenjima između članova porodice.

Sva zlatna doba su bila nekad i nikad nijedna generacija nije osjećala da živi u zlatnom dobu. A prošlost je nemoguće vratiti, pa time ni bilo koje "zlatno" doba, jer ono postoji samo u načinu na koji pamtimo, a nikada u stvarnosti (Arsenijević, 2016). Prema tome se psihologija naselja danas nalazi između dvije utopije, one retroaktivne iz prošlosti i one iz nevjerojatne budućnosti, a njeni rezultati su negativni (Lepenes 2008, Magris 2001, Freud 1917). Ipak, agenti izgradnje vjeruju da još uvijek ima snage da se krene naprijed, da se započeta izgradnja života i naselja nastavi i dovrši^[2]. Iako se glas populacije izbjeglica i raseljenih osoba slabo čuje, a njihov broj se računa samo tokom izbornog procesa, upravo su oni nosioci promjena. Oni naselje čine novim i trude se da izgrade njegov novi život^[2]. Stanovnici ističu da se izvjesna doza optimizma ipak osjeti kod pojediniaca, te da je kroz nekoliko takvih ljudi, političkih ideja i projekata ipak moguće očekivati razvoj^[5].

5.3. Matrix of transition

Matrica tranzicije naselja pokazuje kompleksan sistem brojnih isprepletenih aktivnosti, uticaja i agenata, koji su odredili ovaj proces. Prisilna tranzicija je odredila prisilnu novu izgradnju naselja, koja se u specifičnim uslovima odvijala slijedeći određena nepisana pravila, koja su se tokom procesa sama stvarala. Osim fizičke izgradnje, tranziciju je pratila (re) izgradnja novog doma, života i identiteta. Međutim, s obzirom na kontekst, način izgradnje i obim tranzicije, ovaj proces nije mogao biti završen. Spontanost i haotičnost procesa, nepostojanje dugoročnog plana, izostanak ideje o sistemskoj izgradnji, doveli su do rezultata koji nisu zadovoljavajući. Ipak iskustvo procesa pokazuje brojne pozitivne karakteristike, koje mogu biti korisne u različitim procesima izgradnje. Matricu karakteriše proces izgradnje identiteta, nedovršenost procesa i izvesni sukob na granici između starog i novog, jednako u identiteskom i prostornom smislu. Prikazuje se kroz samo nekoliko elemenata koji su prema Lefebvre (1974) and Seamon (2012) kategorisani u tri grupe (See chapters 1.3.1. and 2.1.).

5.3.1. Perceived space

Construction of spatial identity mostly goes on according to the urban patterns of the existing identity of place in particular context. Existing urban pattern is only being repeated, i.e. moved from place to place with a certain form of transformation. A method of literal repetition is applied, so new urban pattern follows existing rural structure of the neighborhood by repeating local context and fitting into existing urban frame. Since the vernacular self-builder intuitively respects traditional qualities of construction, this way has positive effects on spatial identity. However it is not aware of the scale of transformation, leading to clumsy urban structure, degradation of the ambience and the traditional model as an example. Urban evolution is denied, and "urbanization" means "ruralization" of the neighborhood and the city.

The positive is that both, old and new, achieve certain coherence and have some positive results on the continuity of urban identity (Figures N). In general, the lack of diversity is felt - new urban structure without additional values is predominant so it takes on a monotonous character. This shows that informal ways of new construction did not improve the quality of the place. The old part of neighborhood keeps characteristics of spatial identity, which is at the same time minimized.

In order to get the new part to follow existing qualities of the place, old and new units should have better connections and achieve a kind of integration by respecting scales of transformation. It turns out that construction of spatial identity is much more complex than just repetition of existing urban pattern, and that creative approach with combination applied way with the formal one might be satisfactory. The real integration of existing values with the new parts of the neighborhood can contribute to a stronger place attachment, having a special sensibility towards protection and improvement of urban identity.

5.3.2. Conceived space

Lappegard Hauge (2009) states that people may be divided into three groups when it comes to awareness of the dwelling as communicating identity: 1) people who do not think much about it; 2) people who think little about the issue; and 3) people who discuss the issue spontaneously and are concerned about the matter.

Unfortunately, neither of those groups are inspired to direct action, and analysis shows undeveloped relationship towards the ongoing processes in the neighborhood, that does not contribute to the place identity. Guided by the motto "I do not care about anything until it is happening in my backyard" the residents do not participate in the process of urban planning. Ipak, vođeni željom za novim početkom i rješavanjem "krova nad glavnog" kao osnovnog životnog pitanja, iako bez plana, stanovnici direktno učestvuju u zajedničkoj izgradnji po bottom-up sistemu.

People "took matters into their own hands and acted outside of the planning system, which at the same time did not work. While they have self-constructed their homes, they did not construct the public space, which they now lack. Taking over the initiative to construct it afterwards and to keep the energy of community from the period of construction of private houses do not show satisfactory results. The (un)planned system of construction as well as other factors are obvious in terms of (un)efficiency of identity construction of a neighborhood. Twenty years after construction has begun, apart from built but unfinished houses, everything else is missing in Mađir. The number of unresolved spatial problems causing growing discontent and the social interaction is declining because self-construction of the house was not enough for satisfying their quality of life.

Construction of the neighborhood was recognized as exclusively small "personal" interest of vernacular builder, reduced to satisfying basic. Disadvantages of such approach show that creating a living space shouldn't be a subject of interest of only of "one small vernacular builder". As a common right of all citizens, urban space should be a subject of broader social debate and a large number of participants, led by experts and responsible institutions in all phases of development. Interest of both residents and the public towards urban space can be directed through creative participation in urban spatial planning and the design of new activities, as Bratina Jurkovič (2014) suggests.

5.3.3. Lived space

Spatial identity is (not) being constructed in the interaction of three elements that make place according to Seamon (2012). The broader social interaction during construction was not enough, therefore the construction of identity was not complete. A "free man" in Mađir lives without trusting the institutions and without awareness for the need to build confidence in them. Residents^[1-6] think that their self-constructed houses expresses their newly self-constructed identity but unfortunately it is not complete and it does not reflect on the scale of neighborhood as a whole. There is not enough awareness for the construction of identities as an important part of the space. Achieved form of urban space do not lead to adequate relationship towards the community nor do they stimulate actions in place. Mutual influences of social and spatial identity are left aside so the cohesion between them is not really achieved.

Although the spatial identity should be one of the priorities in new constructions, it is relativized and suppressed in comparison to other aspects of the urban environment. It always exists in a certain form but there is a question about its influence and its essential meaning. Identity construction that meets the standards of high quality life in the neighborhood should mean relations in every phase of planning, construction and using of the space. Only through the real integration of different needs for urban activities it would be possible to construct valuable spatial identity. We must consider that historical and essential relationship between people and place, new urbanizations should have the appropriate attitudes to the meaning of spatial identity, which is undoubtedly affected whether by denying it, changing it or upgrading it.

Ali je zabrinjavajuće opadanje nivoa socijalne interakcije koja se primjećuje u naselju, a koja je tokom izgradnje bila izrazito prisutna.

5.3.4. Concept of the new city of Banja Luka

Iako je nova izgradnja doprinjela novom periodu urbane evolucije, ova faza razvoja još nije završena. Značenje naselja i grada se stalno redefinišu kao urbana forma u procesu. Opisani prostor karakteriše stalno iniciranje novih tema i otvorenih procesa transformacija, koje je potrebno nastaviti, te je njegova definicija vrlo složeno pitanje (Ramoneda 1992). Međutim i u takvom obliku, ovakvi primjeri naselja predstavljaju najzastupljeniji oblik "urbanog razvoja", koja je rasprostranjena širom teritorije poslijeratne Bosne i Hercegovine, ali se u različitim varijantama i razvojnim fazama takođe pojavljuje u različitim istorijskim periodima.

Osim u Banjaluci, tip je prisutan u drugim gradovima Bosne i Hercegovine i regiona (Srbija, Hrvatska, Kosovo), koji su pretrpjeli promjenu etničke strukture stanovništva, velike izbjegličke talase i primili veliki broj izbjeglica (interno raseljenih lica) koji su se stalno nastanili u novim mjestima prebivališta. S obzirom na razmjere procesa, grupi pripada većina gradova u Bosni i Hercegovini, ali posebno veliki gradovi. Pored Sarajeva, Banjaluke i Mostara, ovdje spadaju Prijedor, Bihać, Bijeljina, Tuzla, Zvornik, Široki Brijeg, Livno, Trebinje, Zenica, Vitez, Travnik, ... I pored svih njih, gotovo da ne postoji grad ili mjesto u Bosni i Hercegovini koje po nekoj kategoriji ne pripada ovoj tipologiji.

Kao polazište za definisanje novog rur-urbanog tipa naselja, koriste se karakteristike naselja Česma-Mađir u Banjaluci, koje se prepoznaju u formi cijele grupe naselja na granici urbanog područja: Zalužani, Kuljani, Vujinovići, Priječani, Šargovac, Drakulić, Motike, Lauš, Ada, Medeno polje. Skup ovih naselja danas zauzimaju površinu od približno 2.500 ha, što je oko 50% ukupne površine užeg urbanog područja; i broje preko 60.000 stanovnika, što je oko 40% ukupnog broja stanovnika grada Banja Luka. Neformalna naselja – stvarni odraz grada i njegova neminovnost – lokalna administracija pokušava da formalizuje, ali su ovi pokušaji više usmjereni ka ispunjavanju zakonskih okvira, nego ka stvarnom unapređenju svakodnevnog života naselja. S druge strane, formalna urbana fabrika ne funkcioniše i planska rješenja ostaju samo na papiru. Zbog svega toga je potrebno razmišljati o novim načinima postupanja sa ovom grupom naselja.

Characteristics

Naselje se razvija u perifernom pojasu grada, na samoj granici urbanih područja, zauzimajući nekadašnje poljoprivredno zemljište, uglavnom na mjestima gdje je već postojao začetak naselja, dominantno ruralnog karaktera. Uglavnom se nalaze na blago zatalasanim terenima ruralne pozadine grada, mada se zavisno od mjesta javljaju u svim područjima bez obzira na morfologiju terena. Nekad i na potpuno nepovoljnim, nepristupačnim graničnim terenima koji u "normalnim" uslovima nisu pogodni za urbanizaciju (Sandercock, 1998).

Naselje se razvija spontano i prirodno prateći morfologiju terena, pravac pružanja poljoprivrednih parcela i logiku organskog rasta. Usitnjena fizička struktura se prožima sa prirodnom stvarajući ujednačenu cjelinu gdje urbana struktura u potpunosti prati morfologiju terena. Strukturu karakteriše teritorijalna segregacija i ograničenost, udaljenost i izolovanost u odnosu na cjelinu gradskog tkiva. Naselje je ograničeno prema brojnim kategorijama udobnosti svakodnevnog normalnog života.

Dominantna funkcija je stanovanje individualnog tipa, koja je istorijski i tradicionalno karakteristična za gradove Bosne i Hercegovine. Dominantan tip objekta je slobodnostojeća individualna, jednoporična kuća, prosječnih dimenzija i spratnosti. Predominantnost jednog tipa doprinosi unutrašnjoj povezanosti matrice bez odstupanja. Često prevelike i nedovršene kuće, ne sadrže ono što se smatra estetskim kvalitetima, ali način stanovanja u njima i odnos ka okruženju posjeduje kvalitete koji su proizvod tradicije. Gustina izgrađenosti je niska, neekonomična i neefikasna sa stanovništa poznatih urbanih modela i energetske efikasnosti i generalne održivosti.

S obzirom na opšti kontekst i socijalnu morfologiju, izgradnja je uslovljena velikim finansijskim ograničenjima. Pri tom se obrazac izgradnje savršeno uklapa u postojeće okvire funkcionisanja i spekulativnog rasta periferije, te je vrlo teško stvoriti bilo kakav red. Fragmenti više nisu slojevi, oni stoje sami i stvaraju urbanost bez grada (Smets 1992), odnosno rur-urbanost.

Naselju nedostaju osnovna infrastruktura, saobraćajne komunikacije i javni sadržaji. Naselja su prostorno, funkcionalno, saobraćajno i infrastrukturno zavisna od originalnog grada te se grad prema tome često definiše kao parazitski. Nedefinisani milje milieu heterogene strukture uglavnom čini izbjeglo interno raseljeno stanovništvo, uključujući određeni procenat starosjedilaca i imigranata druge vrste.

Naselje je element gradske strukture koja se posmatra u odnosu prema urbanoj sredini grada sa jedne strane, i prema ruralnom sa druge strane. Prema tome se definiše kao međuprostor, jedinica srednje veličine na granici između sela i grada, te ostavlja utisak

rur-urbanog karaktera. Ostvaruje specifičan odnos sa drugim naseljima u gradu, ali isto tako sa drugim (ne)gradskim prostorima (prigradskim i seoskim naseljima, te konurbacijama i slobodnim poljoprivrednim, šumskim i drugim predjelima). S obzirom na strukturu, položaj i karakter prostor između naselja i grada ima potencijal uspostavljanja jednog novog odnosa između starih i novih dijelova grada, te između različitih kulturnih i prostornih identiteta.

S obzirom na njihovu važnost i razmjeru zastupljenosti, te zajedničku temu cijelog grada kojeg određuju (Solà-Morales 2008), postavlja se ideja koncepta novog grada, koji se razumijeva kao savremeni i budući dio njegovog historijskog razvoja (See chapter 3.5.). Iako prema Ramoneda (1992) centar predstavlja osnovu za svaku vrstu obnove grada, ipak preovladava Lefebvrov stav (1976) koji kaže da periferija također može predstavljati prostor za inovacije. Kao novi koncept nije moguće zamisliti obnovu starog grada; nego samo izgradnju novog, na drugim temeljima, na različitim nivoima, u različitim uslovima, te u drugačijem društvu. Međutim, iako potpuni povratak tradicionalnom gradu više nije moguć, sa druge strane nema ni bijega previše daleko, prema divovskim i bezobličnim urbanim aglomeracijama (Ibid.). Zato je potrebno pronaći pravu razmjeru projekta koji se može ogledati u uspostavljanju odnosa između centra i periferije koja ima toliko mnogo značenja na različitim nivoima.

Koncept prije svega polazi od nove percepcije grada, koja se nalazi u promijenjenom sistemu vrijednosti, kulturnom, političkom, društvenom, ekonomskom sistemu, te novoj etničkoj i urbanoj strukturi stanovništva. U fizičkom smislu se percipira kao niz novih dijelova stambenih naselja koji su formirali gotovo zatvoreni prsten oko postojećeg grada. Međutim upravo ovaj prsten koji izgleda kao porozna granica grada kao sistem "ne-mjesta" predstavlja veliki potencijal novog grada (Prix 1992). Sve ovo opravdava koncept koji u prvi plan ističe rur-urbanu strukturu niza neformalnih naselja.

Zasniva se na pet postavci da se planerski urbanizam pretvara u apstrakciju (Ibelings in Solà-Morales, 2008), a da planovi sve više postaju distancirani od potreba ljudi, ne obuhvataju aspekte realnosti i ne realizuju se do kraja. Prema tome postoji potreba da se urbana forma i gradski život razumiju kroz nove metafore i kroz nade u reorganizaciju novih mogućnosti društvenih vrijednosti, i ljepote pejzaža (Ingersoll 2006). Jedna od mogućnosti jeste (ne)planski grad, koji redefiniše pristupe planiranja i odgovara na stvarne uslove razvoja grada. U prvi plan se postavljaju svakodnevne potrebe ljudi, koji imaju sposobnost da planirani prostor približe stvarnom životu i daju mu prepoznatljiv karakter. Međutim također je potrebno razmišljati o obrnutim procesima, te Sola-Morales (in Unwin, 1984) insistira na mješovitom opredjeljenju različitih "škola", na jednom "širokom putu", koji uključuje najbolja rješenja svih poznatih pristupa.

Na osnovu prethodnih iskustava i signala vidljive budućnosti (Secchi 2004), novi fleksibilni pristup bi trebalo da ponudi model daljeg razvoja neformalnih rur-urbanih naselja, ali i grada u cjelini. Modeli bi na osnovu razumijevanja prostora i u njegovog konteksta trebalo da razmotre različite aspekte transformacija urbanog prostora i da odgovore na niz različitih pitanja: (1) Kako veliki broj malih "privatnih" inicijativa preformulisati u organizovani bottom-up sistem izgradnje, te pokrenuti socijalni potencijal naselja i usmjeriti ga ka njegovom unapređenju u (ne)formalnim okvirima? (2) Kako premostiti razliku (uspostaviti odnos povjerenja) između formalnog-neformalnog, planera-korisnika, prošlosti-budućnosti, odnosno, kako izvršiti reorganizaciju neformalne urbane fabrike tako da se njeni potencijali koriste na način koji neće poništiti njenu suštinu? (3) Do koje mjere je moguće podržavati (ne)formalnost i gdje je njena granica?

Koncept se zasniva na nekoliko teza, ideja ili mogućih modela koji se mogu posmatrati odvojeno ili integralno, i koji će biti predmet budućih istraživanja. To su: "Grad bez grada", "Grad gradova", "Granični grad", "Prirodni grad", "(Ne) formalni grad", "Spontani grad", "Grad teritorija", "Rur-urbani grad", ...

Figures

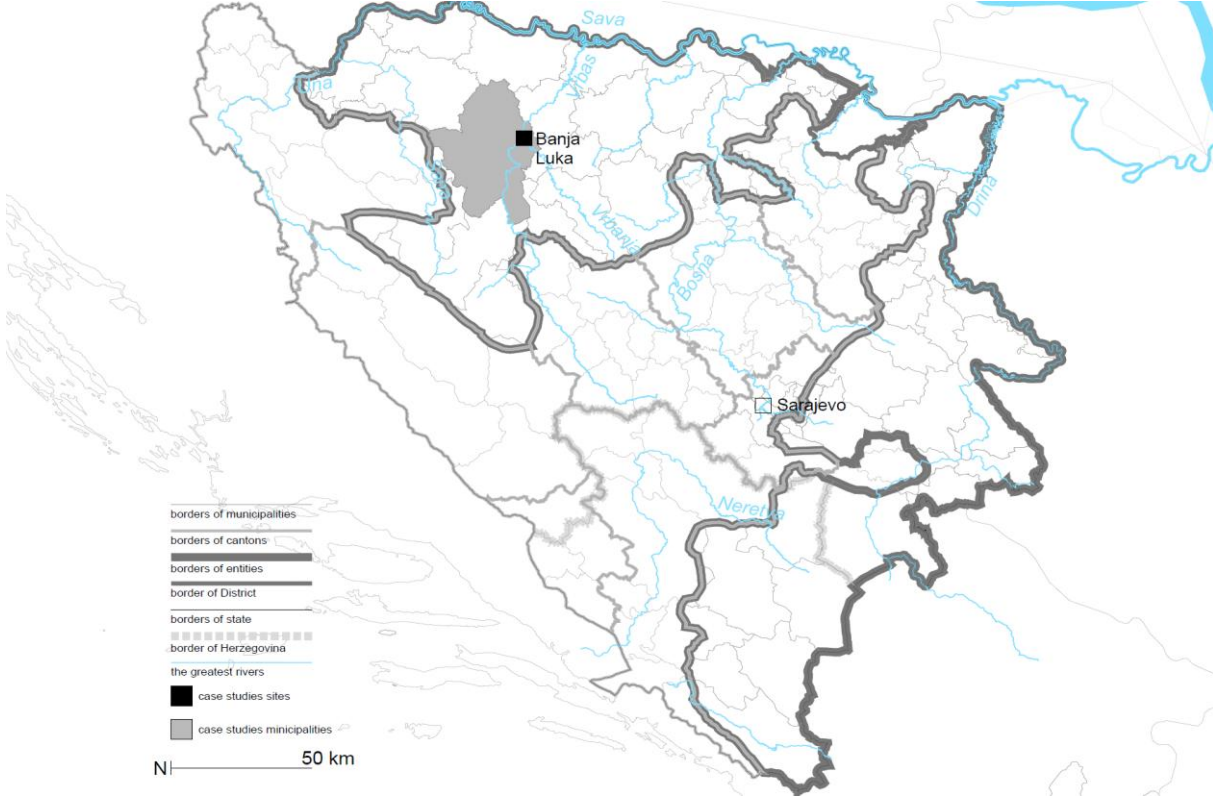


Fig. 5.1. Position of the city of Banja Luka in nowadays Bosnia and Herzegovina. Map redrawn by the Author.



Fig. 5.2. Panorama of Banja Luka. Photo by the Author.



Fig. 5.3. Panorama of Banja Luka. Photo by the Author.



Fig. 5.4. Panorama of Banja Luka. Photo by the Author.



Fig. 5.5. Panorama of Banja Luka. Photo by the Author.



Fig. 5.6. Panorama of Banja Luka. Photo by the Author.



Fig. 5.7. Panorama of Banja Luka. Photo by the Author.



Fig. 5.8. Panorama of Banja Luka. Photo by the Author.

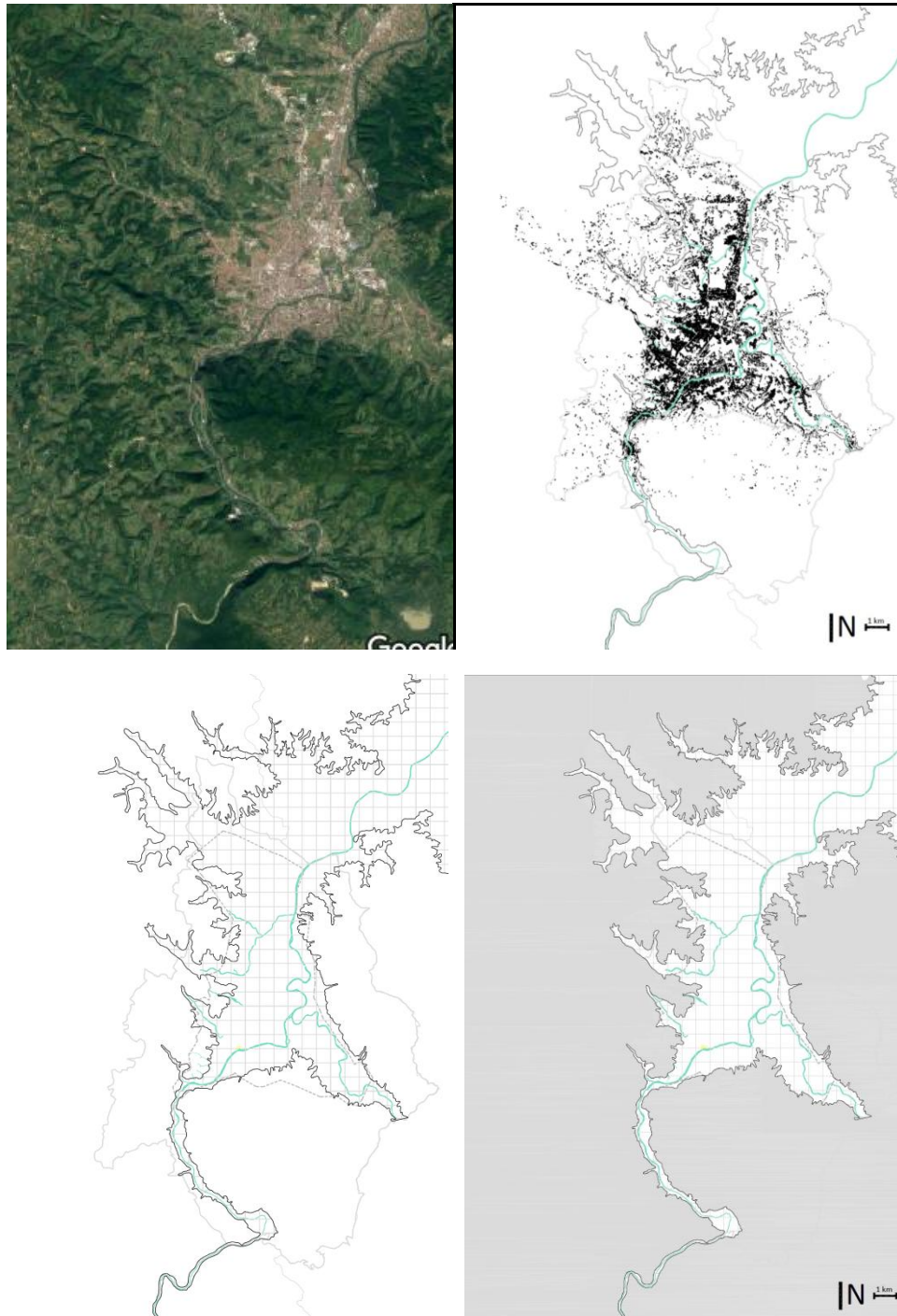


Fig. 5.10. a) Satellite image of Banja Luka. Source: Google earth; b) built structure of Banja Luka; c) d) topography of Banja Luka field. Maps redrawn by the Author.



Fig. 5.11. Historical developemnt of Banja Luka city with expansions towards periphery. Illustration: by Author.
Fig. 5.12. I Position of neighborhood in the City. (1) Česma-Madžir; (2) Center. Map redrawn by the Author.

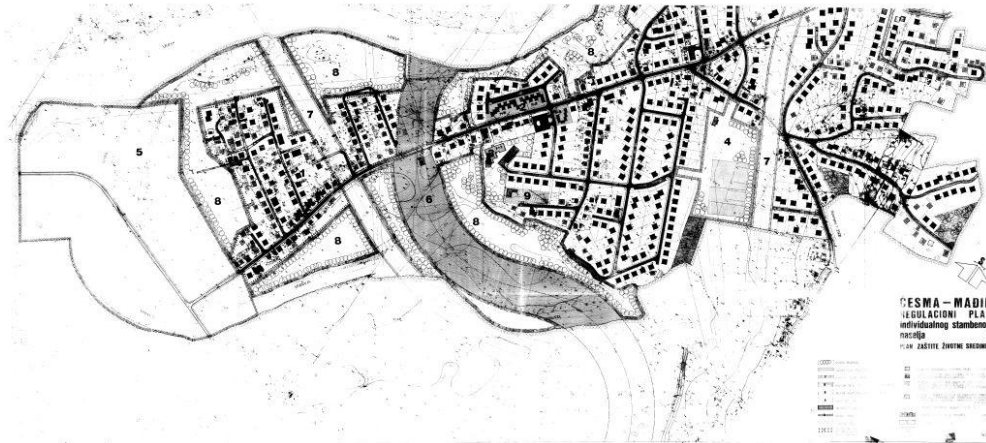


Fig. 5.13. Detailed Regulation Plan for Česma neighborhood.
 Source: The Institute of Urbanism of Banja Luka, Banja Luka, 2007.

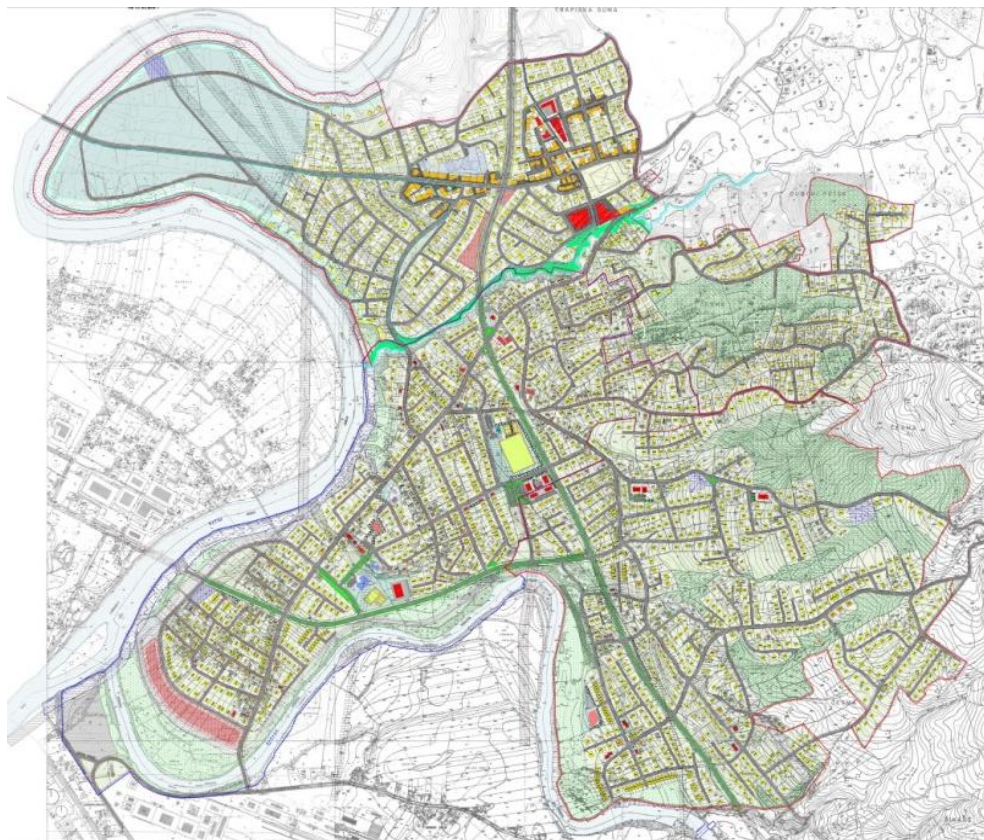


Fig. 5.14. Detailed Regulation Plan for Česma-Madžir neighborhood.
 Source: The Institute of Urbanism of Republic of Srpska, Banja Luka, 2007.

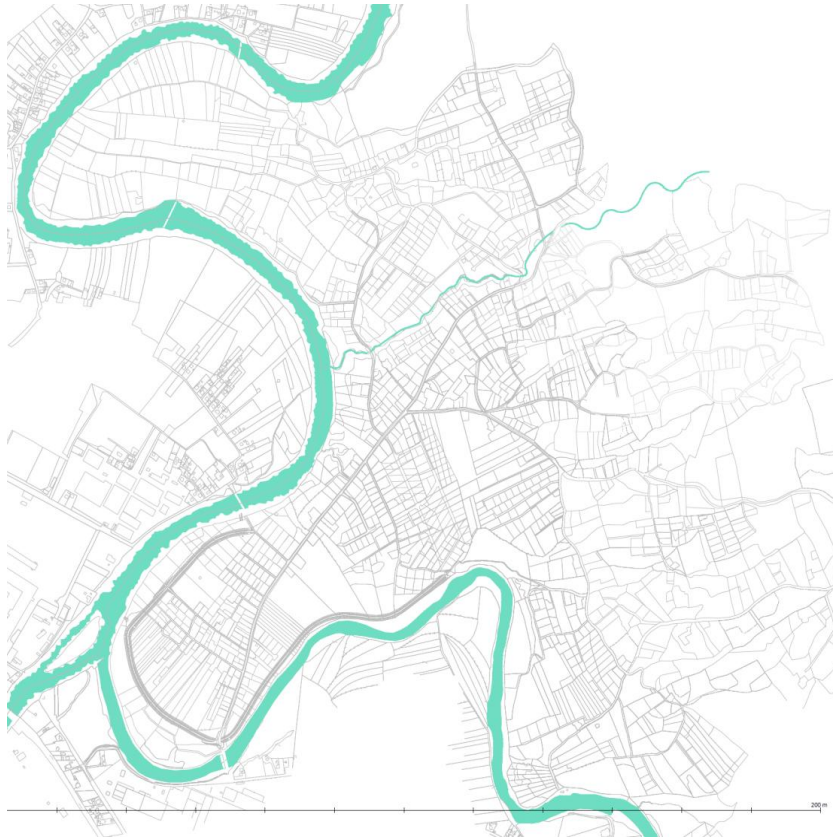


Fig. 5.15. P – Parcelation. Map redrawn by the Author.

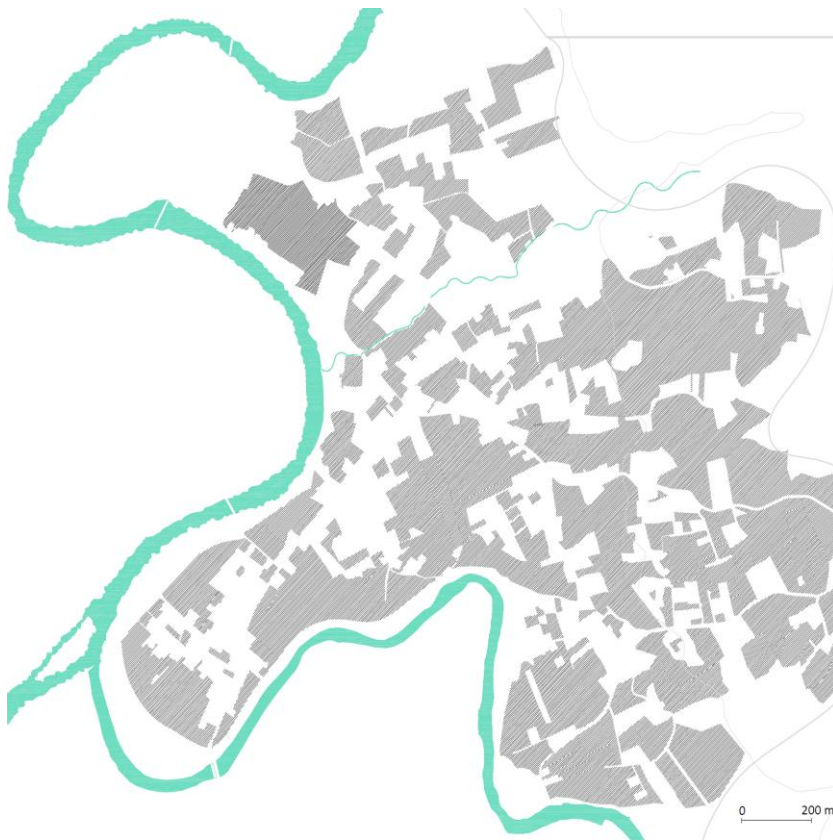


Fig. 5.16. Map of urban voids in Česma-Mađir neighborhood. Map redrawn by the Author.

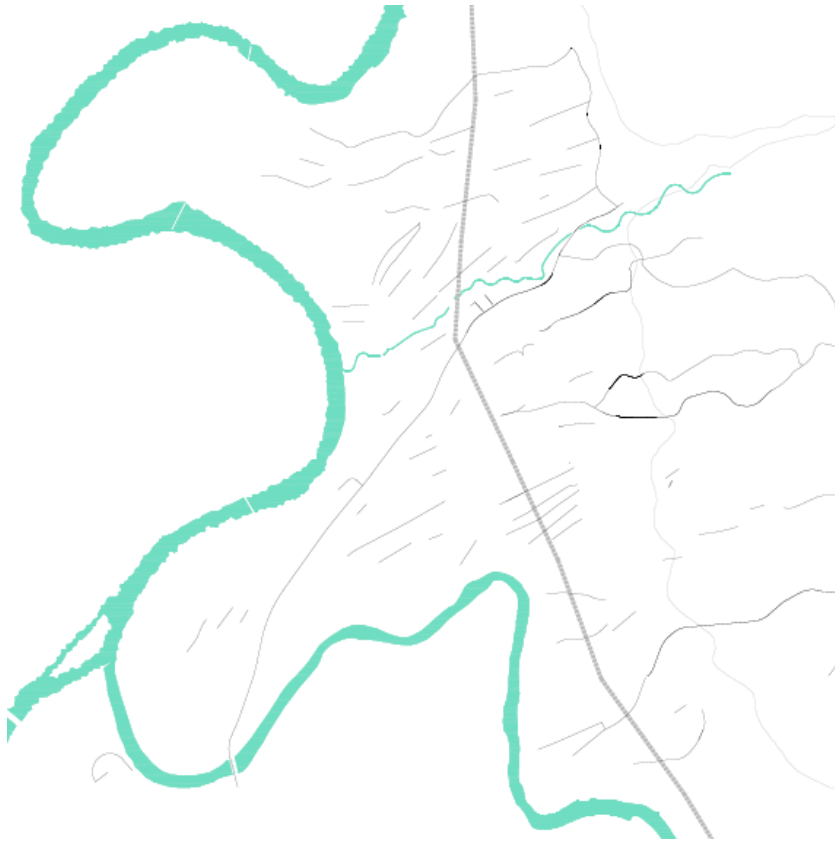


Fig. 5.17. U - Infrastructure. Map redrawn by the Author.

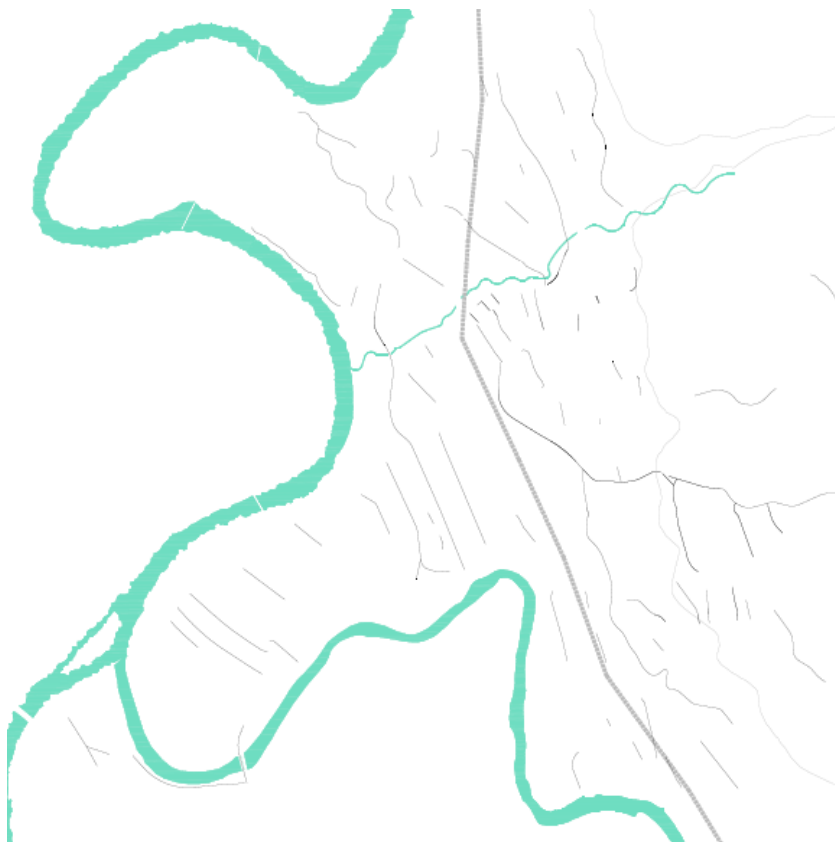


Fig. 5.18. U - Infrastructure. Map redrawn by the Author.



Fig. 5.19. U - Infrastructure. Illustration: Map redrawn by the Author.

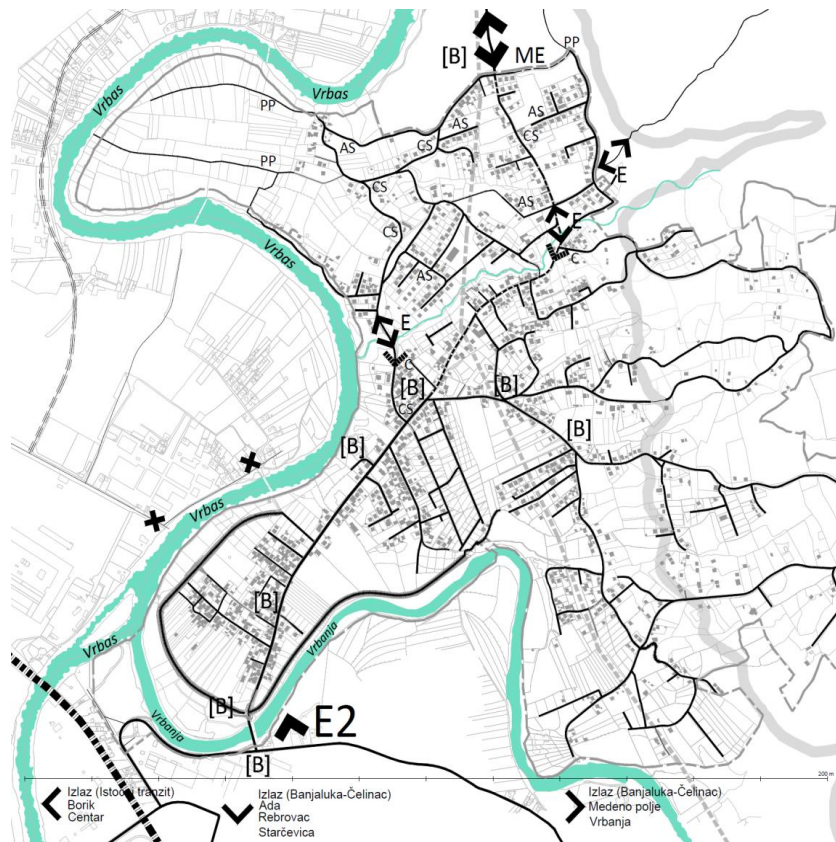


Fig. 5.20. U – Communications. Entrances analysis. Map redrawn by the Author.

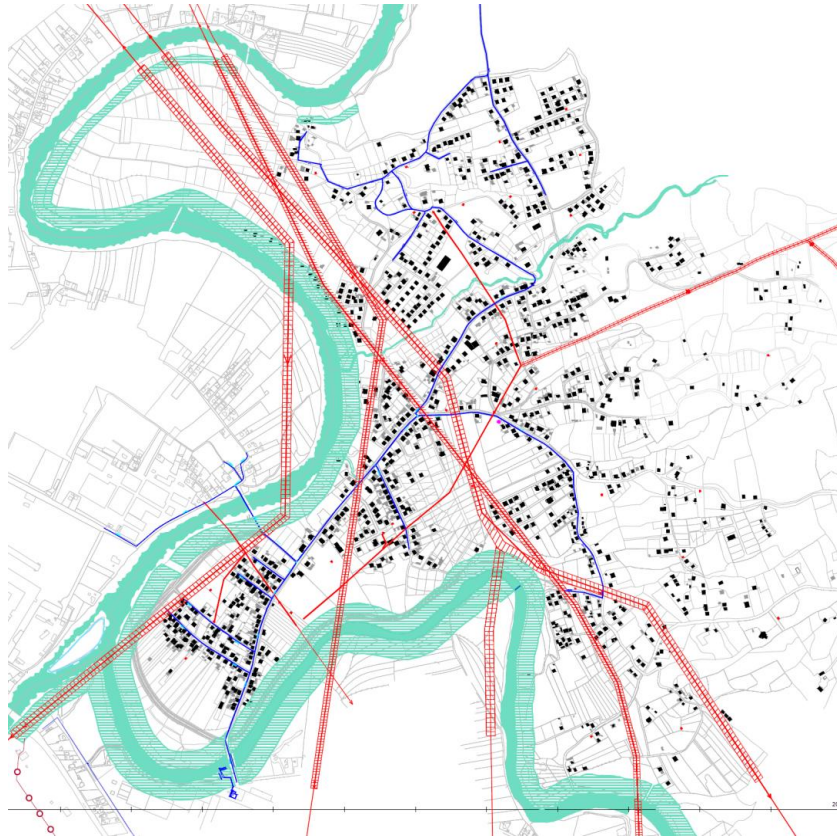


Fig. 5.21. U - Infrastructure. Map redrawn by the Author.



Fig. 5.22. Emergence of (potential) public spaces near urban voids in Česma-Madir neighborhood. Map redrawn by the Author.



Fig. 5.23. Peripheral system of urban voids forming borderspace of Česma-Madžir neighborhood. Map redrawn by the Author.

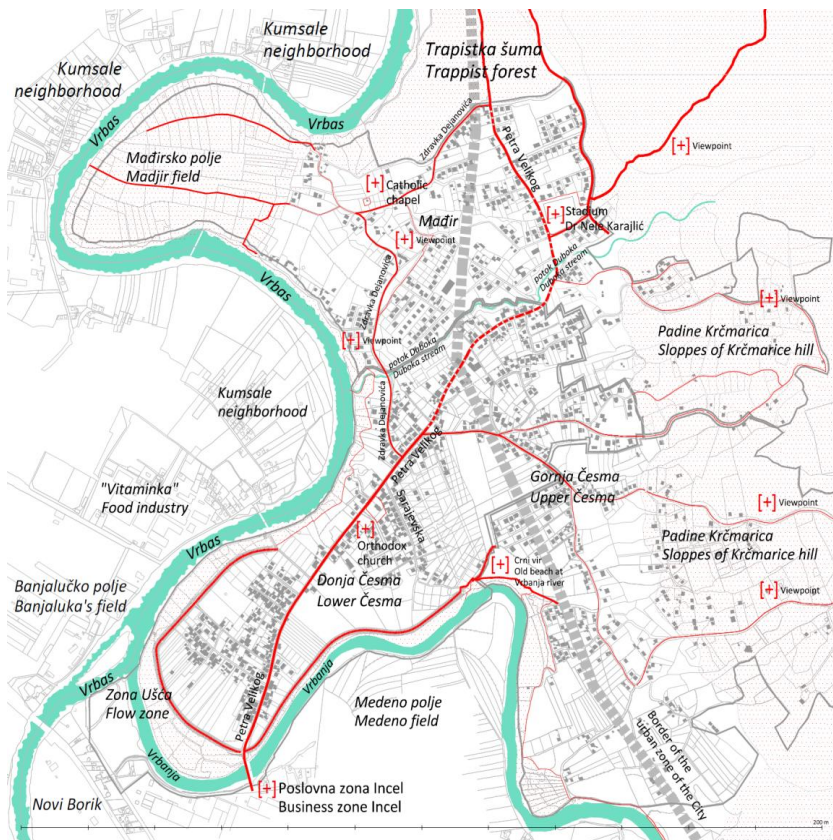


Fig. 5.24. Urban voids in Česma-Madžir neighborhood as city's valuable symbolic spaces. Map redrawn by the Author.



Fig. 5.25. E – Neighborhood situation in 2002. Source: Google earth.



Fig. 5.26. E – Neighborhood situation in 2014. Source: Google earth.



Fig. 5.27. Built structure in Česma-Mađir neighborhood. Map redrawn by the Author.

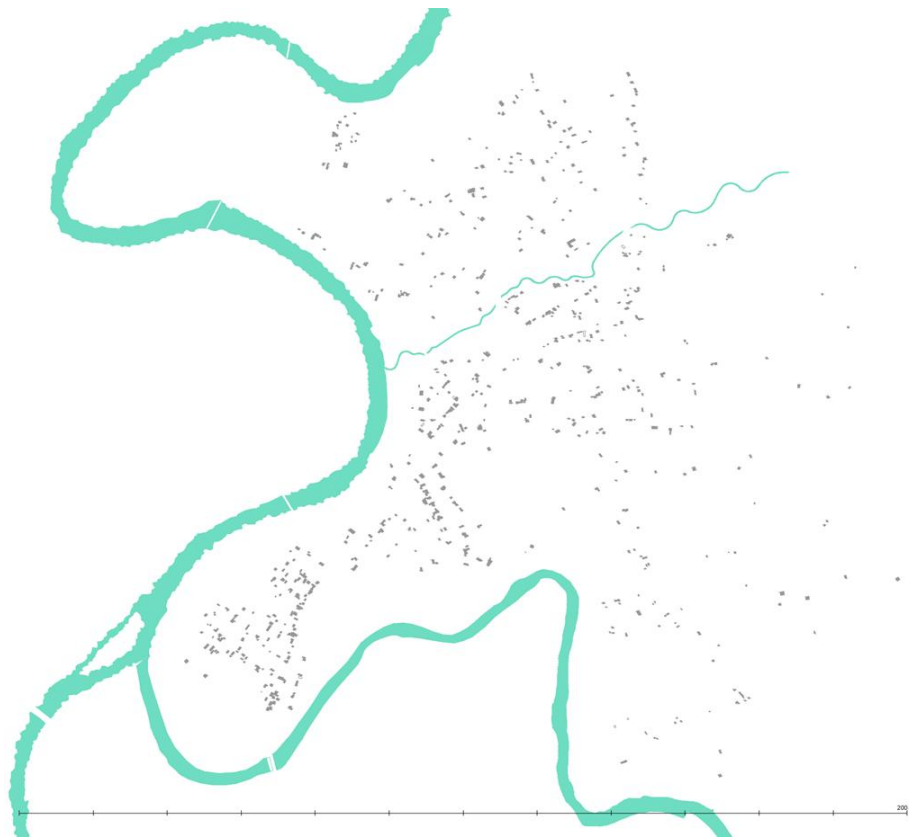


Fig. 5.28. E – Physical structure. Map redrawn by the Author.



Fig. 5.29. Panorama view of Česma-Madir neighborhood, Banja Luka. Photo: by the Author.



Fig. 5.30. Panorama view of Česma-Madir neighborhood, Banja Luka. Photo: by the Author.



Fig. 5.31. Panorama view of Česma-Madir neighborhood, Banja Luka. Photo: by the Author.



Fig. 5.32. Panorama view of Česma-Madir neighborhood, Banja Luka. Photo: by the Author.



Fig 5.33. Panorama of Banja Luka. Photo by the Author.



Fig. 5.34. Photo: by the Author.



Fig. 5.35. Panorama of Banja Luka. Photo by the Author.



Fig. 5.36. Česma-Madir neighborhood, Banja Luka. Photo: by the Author.



Fig. 5.37. Česma-Madir neighborhood, Banja Luka. Photo: by the Author.



Fig. 5.38. Česma-Madir neighborhood, Banja Luka. Photo: by the Author.



Fig. 5.39. Missing “urban things” in Česma-Madir neighborhood. Photo: by the Author.



Fig. 5.40. Česma-Madir neighborhood, Banja Luka. Photo: by the Author.



Fig. 5.41. Česma-Madžir neighborhood, Banja Luka. Photo by the Author.



Fig. 5.42. Česma-Madžir neighborhood, Banja Luka. Photo by the Author.



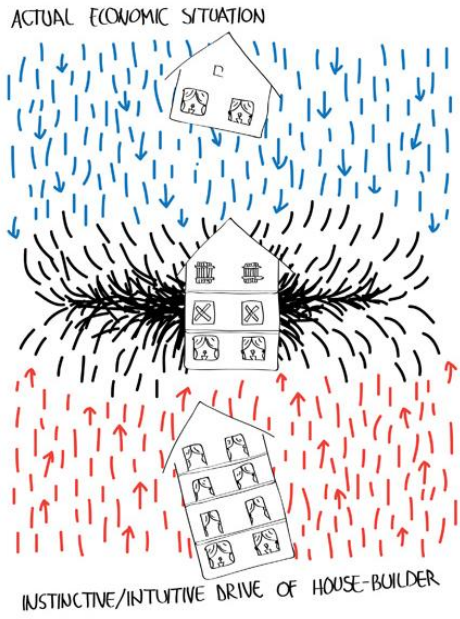
Fig. 5.43. Česma-Mađir neighborhood, Banja Luka. Photo by the Author.



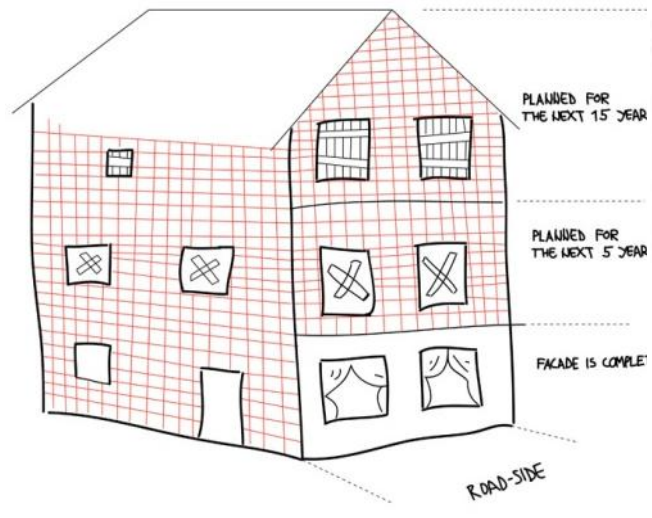
Fig. 5.44. Česma-Mađir neighborhood, Banja Luka. Photo by the Author.



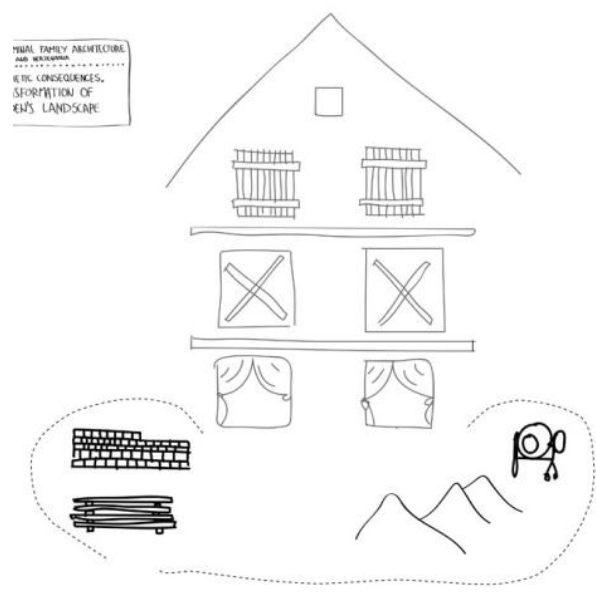
Fig 5.45. Urban voids as sensational elements of place. Photo: by the Author.



SUBLIMINAL FAMILY ARCHITECTURE
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
.....
AESTHETIC CONSEQUENCES.
FORCES THAT SHAPE CERTAIN
STYLE OF ARCHITECTURE OF
FAMILY'S HOUSES

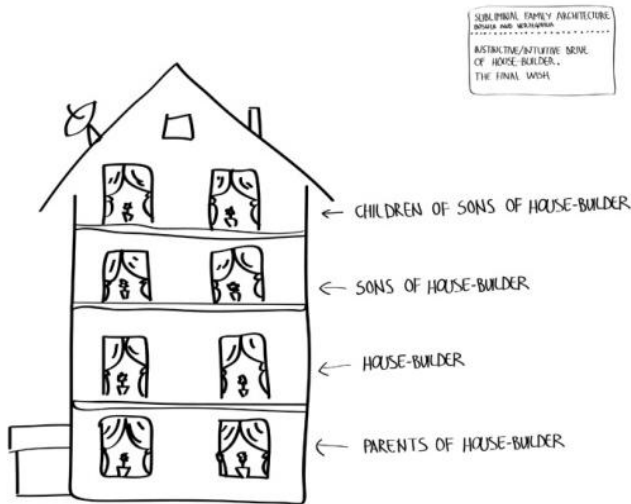


SUBLIMINAL FAMILY ARCHITECTURE
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
.....
AESTHETIC CONSEQUENCES.
PLAN OF INSTALLING FACADE

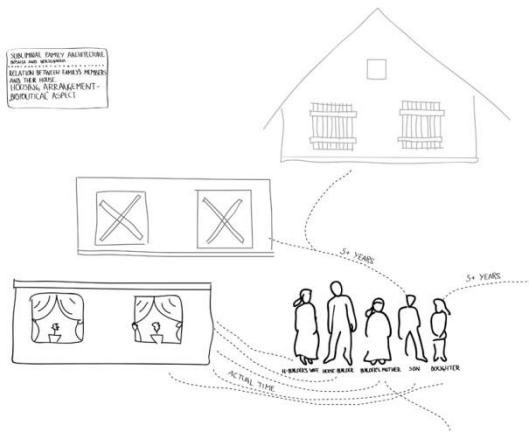


SUBLIMINAL FAMILY ARCHITECTURE
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
.....
AESTHETIC CONSEQUENCES.
TRANSFORMATION OF
GARDEN'S LANDSCAPE

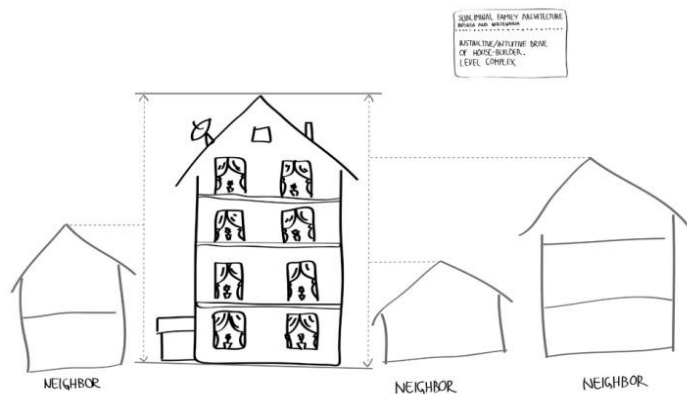
Fig 5.46. Mladen Bundalo, Subliminal Family Architecture, long term mixed-media research, 2010-
Source: [online] Available at: <<http://www.mladenbundalo.com/>> [Accessed: Oct. 13, 2014]



SUBLIMINAL FAMILY ARCHITECTURE
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
.....
INSTRUCTIVE/INTUITIVE DRIVE
OF HOUSE-BUILDER.
THE FINAL WISH



SUBLIMINAL FAMILY ARCHITECTURE
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
.....
RELATION BETWEEN FAMILY MEMBERS
AND THEIR HOUSE.
HOUSING ARRANGEMENT-
"BIOPOITICAL" ASPECT



SUBLIMINAL FAMILY ARCHITECTURE
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
.....
INSTRUCTIVE/INTUITIVE DRIVE
OF HOUSE-BUILDER.
LEVEL COMPLEX

Fig 5.46. Mladen Bundalo, Subliminal Family Architecture, long term mixed-media research, 2010-
Source: [online] Available at: <<http://www.mladenbundalo.com/>> [Accessed: Oct. 13, 2014]



Fig 5.47. Mladen Bundalo, Subliminal Family Architecture, long term mixed-media research, 2010-
 Source: [online] Available at: <<http://www.mladenbundalo.com/>> [Accessed: Oct. 13, 2014]



Fig 5.48. Idea of the new city of Banja Luka
Map redrawn by the Author.

6. TRANSITION OF THE CITY

Istočno Sarajevo (East Sarajevo)

Sarajevo is the most beautiful and the most saddest city in the world (Čengić 2003). It is very specific place and therefore it is very difficult to write about it, especially in order not to be subjective or to be too objective. It is like walking on a knife edge - every word can slip into an infinite abyss and to hurt its sensitive feelings. Because Sarajevo hurts on both sides. Thousands of pages are written and photos published, hundreds of songs sung and films recorded, but all of this is not enough to describe this city. There is no city in the world like Sarajevo, which has experienced so many changes in the last 150 years of history. Sarajevo means to witness the greatest sorrow and success of modern civilization.

Whoever lies awake at night in Sarajevo hears the voices of the Sarajevo night. The clock on the Catholic cathedral strikes the hour with weighty confidence: 2 AM. More than a minute passes (to be exact, seventy-five seconds - I counted) and only then with a rather weaker, but piercing sound does the Orthodox church mark the hour, and chime its own 2 AM. A moment later the tower clock on the Beys' mosque strikes the hour in a hoarse, faraway voice, and that marks 11 O'clock, the ghostly Turkish hour, according to strange calculation from distant and alien parts of the world. The Jews have no clock to sound their hour, so God alone knows what time it is for them according to the Sephardic reckoning or the Ashkenazy. Thus at night, while everyone is sleeping, division keeps vigil in the counting of the late, small hours, and separates these sleeping people who, awake, rejoice and mourn, feast and fast by four different and antagonistic calendars, and send all their prayers and wishes to one heaven in four different ecclesiastical languages. And this difference, sometimes visible and open, sometimes invisible and hidden, is always similar to hatred, and often completely identical with it.

Ivo Andrić, Letter from 1920.

Andrić (1975) adds that "When you take a look at Sarajevo from any hill, at any time of the day, you always think the same. It is the city. The city that wears out and dies, but at the same time is born and transformed. Karajlić (2013) describes it as fatal, mesmerizing appeal, saying that he was standing at the window of the grandmother's apartment for hours observing Sarajevo. Štikis (2006) shows that it is impossible not to write about Sarajevo, to which the man just lets go, adding him and involving him into its own criteria becoming an inseparable part of being, so that the private histories interfering with thousands of others write a common tragic fate. Hemon (2013) speaks of its unique qualities regardless of the independence of its spirit, duplication and increase of its urban mythology full of hard understandable and arrogant local lingo.

He adds that Sarajevo was, and still is, a small town, "palgada" of anecdotes and histories, which is full of people who knew it and loved it. But although a small town, for many people in Sarajevo, many settlements along the hills or those far away from the city will remain a permanent mystery, mystical or offensive place (Mraović 2015). The uniqueness and complexity of the socio-cultural identity of the capital of B-H is a result of its geographical position, on the threshold between the eastern and western civilizations (Samić & Zagora 2014). "If you are really trying to look through [...] a star from all sides of synagogue [...], it is possible to catch some parts of madrasas, or minaret, [...] to feel the closeness, the presence and identity of Orthodox people behind back, Catholics at hand, but not only in a passive co-existence, but in mixing of all of those in new forms, in Sarajevians - the people of Sarajevo" (Štikis, 2006).

Sarajevo has lived with typical manifestations of everyday life and mentality, depending on its specific humor, a certain view of the world that grows only in this valley, at the same time with parochialism, flaring cosmopolitanism and the importance of small differences, trying to harmonize them (Štikis, 2013). But this character of Sarajevo was its biggest obstacle, threat, danger and its final tragedy. Štikis narrates about the history of the city "which all praise as the golden age before disaster (Olympics, literature, rock and roll, new primitives ...). Everything around was painfully known to me in Sarajevo, but it still seemed sinister and far away (Hemon, 2013: 118). The city was fully alive, it was the same in there and out of there (the beautiful and immortal, indestructible Republic of urban spirit), but dimension of its spirit and its actual appearance

represented abstraction of war. It was easy to imagine the death in Sarajevo, which has already been continuously and undeniably present.

The phenomenon is analyzed in response to the question "Is Sarajevo where it used to be" one of the hundreds of songs about Sarajevo [N]. More than a simple answer, the study tries to explain the forms in which Sarajevo exists today and all the places where it can be found, except that it is or it is not where it used to be

6.1. Map of transition

6.1.1. Sarajevo as it used to be

It is a city. In every sense of the word. But a city that belongs to the highly placed major cities of Europe. Its altitude is over five hundred meters. It is, as has been said, at the opening of the narrow fortified canyon; the walls of this gorge, composed of black high mountains, start to divide at this place and become more wide; by spreading they gradually descend to the final cascade of all lower hills and mounds which are getting lost in the fertile plain of the Sarajevo valley. The whole Sarajevo lies trapped between these mountains and hills that surround it by three sides, but leave the free view to the south. Its houses, public buildings and streets spread forth only to a lesser extent in the plain, but mostly they climb up to the slopes of hills.

Ivo Andrić, 1975.

Sarajevo's urban growth until 1992 had followed the procedures of the various empires, kingdoms and states which had governed the region one after another. Sarajevo's urban territory developed gradually, starting from this small, early Ottoman nucleus, then it was booming and was called "hearth of wars and flower among cities", "city of fighters and winners" or "to the God pleasant place". All foreign travelers, spoke about Sarajevo as a populous, rich and beautiful town, an important place between the East and the West (Andrić, 1975). Later administrative and political authorities continued development by adding new parts to the city according to the needs of specific historical moments. The city experienced a linear expansion on east-west axis in the valley of the Miljacka River. Situated in the middle of this valley, Sarajevo is surrounded by hills and mountains, which are developed mostly in their lowest elevations for residential purposes.

Over time, the city became the main urban area in the central part of Bosnia, thanks to the periods of intense urbanization, during the first stages of industrialization, and extremely rapid expansion during the socialist period (Andželić, 2003) when the change in the production model led to an unprecedented migrations from rural areas to the city, quadrupling its size – in 1948, 72% of the population of Bosnia lived in rural communities, but by 1971 this number was reduced to 36.6% (Donia, 2006). Prior to 1995, the urban region of Sarajevo was formed of 10 municipalities, while 6 of them have formed the city of Sarajevo (Stari Grad, Centar, Novo Sarajevo, Novi Grad, Vogošća i Ilidža). A whole urban region had 527.049 inhabitants (Donia, 2006).

It is said for Sarajevo that it has too much history since it was Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, socialist and Olympic city. Sarajevo, after all – and for all its exceptionalism – remains an exemplary version of what a city is: a motley put together (one hesitates to call it an 'arrangement', 'puzzle', 'mosaic' or collection of cities although many different actors have tried to order it to their design) of parts, things, people and processes connected and disconnected over space and time. The fabric of Sarajevo is disjointed by its history and divided in its present. Yet the city *holds* and continuously reconstructs all over again (Viganò 1999). On the other hand, the concept of the city of mosaics is also a metaphor for the coexistence of different nations, cultures and religions, without creating ghettos, which gave a special cultural identity to the city and why To Bollens says(2001:170) "Sarajevo is a special, transcendent place."

6.1.2. Process of transition

6.1.2.1. Report from the city under the siege

Lawrence Durrell, "Sarajevo"

*And down at last into this lap of stone
Between four cataracts of rock: a town
Peopled by sleepy eagles...
Where minarets have twisted up like sugar
And a river, curdled with blond ice, drives on
Tinkling among the mule - teams and the mountaineers
Under the bridges and the wooden trellises
Which tame the air and promise us a peace
Harmless with nightingales. None are singing now.
No history much? Perhaps. Only this ominous
Dark beauty flowering under veils,
Trapped in the spectrum of a dying style:
A village like an instinct left to rust,
Composed around the echo of a pistol-shot.*

The optimists believed that the area of Sarajevo is the most cosmopolitan part of the Balkans, "in which the centuries-long culture of living together will resist to all challenges". Unfortunately, wars that have created Sarajevo (Andric 1975) have also been the cause of its collapse. In the epicenter of the war (from April 1992 to December 1995 / March 1996), Sarajevo has suffered some of the biggest horrors of Bosnian war: the longest siege of one capital European city in modern history, state of emergency lasted 1,425 days and it cost 11,541 lives and terrible destruction (number of projectiles) marked as urbid and culturecide. Although it resisted for a long time, Štiks (2013) writes that Sarajevo was one of the last (multicultural) cities, whose demolition seemed unstoppable.

It was in its nature to receive, from the Turkish times. Since creation of the city, it was common, it was Muslim, Catholic, Orthodox, and Jewish, but also it was for Slavs, Turks, Armenians, Arabs, Albanians [...] And then with the Second World War decimation began, curse had began to take effect. But the city recovered again, continuing to live, receiving and mixing, producing Sarajevians, from the ones born there, to those who arrived in the city. With this war and the siege, the city is caught in a trap from which everyone want to escape, no matter who they are. Because, not only are Serbs, Jews, Muslims, Croats, former Yugoslavs fleeing [...], but Sarajevians are fleeing as well, taking part of the City with them. Because the ones from the hill who are bombing us, they just carry the curse without knowing its origin [...].

Štiks, 2006: 134

Sehic (2013: 134) says that histories repeat during which cities get a bad deal. The history rudely joked with Sarajevo again. In every war, the city is a litmus paper which determines a degree of human rage and destruction (Sehic 2013: 155), and Sarajevo was "a place where the heaven and hell felt in love". With the cannon fire "only the bells of Sarajevo's churches were missing for complete experience of a small Balkan Jerusalem. It was the fact that the people of Sarajevo were proud by pointing out the history of the city, as a kind of consolation, while the self-image was breaking into pieces every day because the beats of those days have been developed to leave a lasting impression and to change the nature of the City forever" (Štiks, 2006: 125).

People disappear, only empty buildings remain and chroniclers write about the enemies that are exchanging, about the siege that seems eternal, about defense, about ruins, about the last one who will take the city by himself following the roads of refugees, and the ones who will be the City, about suffering hunger, fire and death - [...] - about the dreams that only remain un-humiliated (Štiks, 2006: 156). It was not easy to understand how the siege transformed the city, because transformation did not just mean turning one thing into another. Everything was fantastically different from what was known but everything was also fantastically the same (Hemon, 2013: 116-117). Sehic (2013) writes that the city in the war is a kind of a second-class waiting room of death, unbearable surrealistic image and a phantom. It remains only in memories with no faith in the joy of life and its fruits.

[...] history of our century (the twentieth century, author's note.), was wiping the cities of the world, the modern Babylons, haven of nations where even fools were born with the knowledge of several languages. The cities of which only names remained, but the soul [...] disappeared, were taken to the graves with the people, in exile. Let's start from Alexandria without the Greeks, Jews and Europeans, through divided and exhausted Jerusalem and Nicosia, from Ladies and Aleppo, from Beirut diseased within itself, to Istanbul without the Greeks and Armenians, to Thessaloniki without its Turkish and Sephardic Jews, [...] ... But disease was mostly limited only to the former Ottoman empire - tell me what is left of cities like Trieste, Vilnius, Königsberg, Warsaw, lions, Odessa and Czenovitza ... Sarajevo is, I am afraid at the end of the series. Cities are disappearing, memories remain, empty houses, occasional witness [...]. "

Štiks, 2006: 134.

"It is a kind of curse, in which 'those from above' are only his executors, and at the end are 'these down' Sarajevians who believe that they defend the City as it really is, mutual, collective, mixed.... they are just naive fighters against the fate intended to them. How to defend yourself from a curse when you have to fight against the attacker who has a clear plan to change the City, and even if its completely destroyed and when this fratricidal infection is also preparing a trap for weakening defense of the City from the inside. Because the success of the attacker is exactly in a successful spreading of the virus in defensive ranks, the virus that will eat away the city. Then, Sarajevo will disappear as such, it will join the dead cities [...] regardless of some reminder on the old days. "

Štiks, 2006: 137

But City somehow survives [...] no matter what warlords, politicians and leaders of different people claimed here, at least in Sarajevo war is not led 'between Serbs and Muslims', this is not about ethnic conflict, but the conflict of those who defend Sarajevo [...] and those who want the fate of the town [...]. And it seems they have not chose a bad tactic, so the siege, crime and a dirty war is the best way to destroy it, [...] the tissue of the city, the spirit, the soul, or something else that held and still holds all these people together, or at least those who remained [...] even if it is fake. [...] I think that the aggressor will win the day, when defenders reduce defense of the City to a single national or religious denominator. Then the battle for the city will be lost, regardless of the outcome on the battlefield.

Štiks, 2006: 136.

Even in such conditions Štiks (2006) believes in a city, "because if city disappears as it is, what will happen to others." Šehić (2013: 156) warns that the city and the man who survive the war could not be the same ever again. But he also shows hope, saying that such beautiful ruins can not be found anywhere else, ever again, because in the place of burnt life fertile ground is found, ready for a new birth. The city can not be destroyed, it is untouchable and the man will take all his power to renew it and to strengthen his dismembered soul over the ruins. Although this attempt is doomed already at the beginning because nothing can be as before, though people justifiably believe in their own future and prosperity of the city after every war. For ten years, the external traces of the war will be visible only in black and white photographs. And volumes can be written about the internal traces.

6.1.2.2. Division of the city

Politics, even urban one has an affect on the factor of hatred and disagreements in the cities. Politics is often only superficial and misleading element used for reconciliation which does not exist in reality. (Thrift, 2005). Serbian Sarajevo have been planned since the beginning of the conflict in B-H and formation of Serbian autonomous areas in 1991. It was supposed to counterbalance to what was called "the Muslim part." From the beginning of the war Serbs controlled areas of the city where they were the majority. (Donia 2006, Silber and Little 1997). It was mostly the periphery of the city, including most of the territories of ten municipalities that composed the city in 1990. Many Serbs who fled from the part of Sarajevo controlled by the government have created new homes for themselves in the territory controlled by the Serbs.

The area included urban ensembles of close environs of the city, which formed the ring of siege during the war, together with the hills and mountains [N]. According to all characteristics, this was the urban periphery of Sarajevo with individual, single-family housings, agriculture and industry facilities. Scattered settlements (Lukavica, Vojkovići and Kasindo) had some degree of organization of independent settlements, due to the distance from the center. The space was engaged by fragmented physical structure of several settlements with accents on industrial complexes, which dominated, but they were not urban. Urban structures tended informal character within irregular form, which is usual for settlements with single-family housing in urban peripheries in B-H. It is partly

broken up by proper structures of industrial complexes interpolated into existing matrix, which is quite rare and dispersed (Milojevic, 2009).

The first civil authorities of East Sarajevo were formed in late summer (August 28) of 1992. The first name of the municipality was the Serbian municipality of Novo Sarajevo, and the name of the city- Srpsko Sarajevo. In addition to the present / nowadays parts, there were: suburban and rural areas of central municipalities of Sarajevo (Novi Grad, Novo Sarajevo, Old Town), Pale, as well as large, sparsely populated and passive territory of of Sokolac and Trnovo. Ilidza, Hadzici, Ilijas and Vogosca also belonged to Serbian territory. During the war, Pale was a temporary capital of RS . There were also political institutions: the government and other institutions, the Parliament and others such as news agencies, TV station, etc.

Radovan Karadžić[NK] has seen Serbian Sarajevo as a strategic economic and dynamic center of post-war Serbian state. From parts of his interviews (Donia 2006), he states that " most realistic chance for Sarajevo is division and creation of two cities..." Karadzic added, "We will build a polycentric development and for such development, Srpsko Sarajevo has incalculable importance so we will not give it away."

Given that its policy advocated revision borders by application of ethnic approach, he was proposing a special solution for Sarajevo, which would be extraterritorial (N RK). He argued that "Srpsko Sarajevo, Serbian part of Sarajevo has its continuity and that it is the seat of Serbian Autonomous Region of Romanija and Birac" (Donia, 2006). However most of international peace negotiations advocated an integral solution for Sarajevo, predicting demilitary zone or type of District of B-H. Fearing that the Srpsko Sarajevo will become a peripheral suburb of the city center, even then plans were made for expected mass exodus of Serbs from parts, which were not under Serbian control.

Severe consequence of DPA and the end of the armed conflict (1995) led to the division of the national territory and the city of Sarajevo. Big part of Sarajevo, which was under Serbian control was returned to the Federation of B-H, and the Karadzic's aspirations for achieving dynamic Srpsko Sarajevo, was lost in force. (Donia 2006). The pre-war city region was divided into two independent administrative units so 61% of the territory was organized as one of the ten cantons of the Federation of B-H (Bosniak - Muslim population majority). It encompasses the municipalities of Hadžići, Vogošća, Novi Grad i Centar and parts of five municipalities, Ilidža, Ilijaš, Novo Sarajevo, Stari Grad, Trnovo, minus one municipality (Pale). On the other side of entity lines, in RS (with Serbian Orthodox Christians majority) on the remaining 39% percent of the territory a new city of East Sarajevo was formed, which in addition to parts of five divided municipalities includes the municipalities of Pale, Sokolac and Rogatica. Restoring the territory, which were part of Serbian Sarajevo during the war, was marked as peaceful reintegration of Sarajevo and took place in still unrevealed (gradual / chaotic) process that took place during several months. "Srpsko Sarajevo" [N] was promoted as an alternative to mono-ethnic city of Sarajevo, the idea of which was to reassure Sarajevo Serbs, to raise optimism and to generate the energy of a new, better, stronger, superior.

About the events regarding the process of forming Serbian Sarajevo, immediately after DPA, Čosić (2012: 220) [1] writes that *Slobodan Milošević* [2] was blackmailed by Croatian winning of *Krajina* [3], and he capitulated in the name of peace. He handed Sarajevo... [...] We lost Mostar and Sarajevo, two cultural centers of Serbian people across Drina..." Silber and Little (1996) said: *Bosnian Serbs were resolved to divide Sarajevo, but Izetbegović* [5] resolutely opposed. *Christopher and Holbrooke* [6] were stunned when *Tuđman* [7] and *Milošević* announced they had resolved the problem: almost entire Sarajevo went to the Federation B-H. *Krajisnik* decisively rejected the agreement, after which *Milosevic* suspended representatives of RS from delegation."

Cosic also writes about meeting with *Koljević* [10], who was in Paris [11], as Vice President of the RS , instead of Karadzic, where he signed the Peace Agreement and he informs him about it now. Addressing to the Čosić's wife, *Koljevic* says: " I would be lucky if I died as a warrior. The war took more than three yearRS . There was plenty of opportunity not to live to see meetings in Dobanovci, Dayton, London, Paris, and not to come to Pale tomorrow. It would be better to keep quiet about everything (2012: 225). [...] - most importantly, my Dobrica, we have the state of RS , but we remained in Bosnia without Sarajevo ... [...] - With pain and anger, *Nikola* talked about the loss of Sarajevo that once was the second largest Serbian city. [...] In a referendum held a few days ago in Sarajevo, 77.000 out of 85.000 Serbs, voted against affiliation of Sarajevo to the Muslim-Croat Federation. To compensate the loss of Sarajevo, *Karadzic* [...] immediately proposed building of new Sarajevo on the slopes of *Romanija*, the town of

50,000 inhabitants, which would be the capital of RS, counting on the international help also which was promised to him.

Leaving

Konstantin Kavafis, "City"

*There's no new land, my friend, no
New sea; for the city will follow you,
in the same streets you'll wander endlessly,
The same mental suburbs slip from youth to age,
In the same house go with at last -
The City is a cage.
No other places, always this
Your earthly landfall, and no ship exists
To take you from yourself. Ah! don't you see
Just as you've ruined your life in this
One plot of ground you've ruined its worth
Everywhere now - over the whole earth?*

Štiks (2006) writes about Kavafis's city that is a cage, about the City form Durrell's songs and Herbert's besieged city. He adds that leaving the city meant destruction of his life both in Sarajevo, and across the globe (Štiks, 2006: 159). "There is no other country or another sea, the city will follow me wherever I went, after I left it [...] Why do I need the address in Sarajevo? That would only confuse me. Addresses are constantly changing here anyway (Štiks, 2006: 167)."

Serbs did not believe that they will be given a chance for peaceful and free life with handing over the territory, which they defend throughout the war. Driven by fear, and with a strong political campaign, they left their centuries-old homes in Sarajevo. Broz [N] reminds that "fear is most impressive feeling in B-H, wherever you are," Thrift (2005) adds that fear rests on the borderS between expectations and realizations, between hope and reality, and Neil (2004) that spatial metaphor of 'the borderlands' conjures up possibilities radical choice between staying in a landscape of fear and changing place. The choice was fear for which it was easy to look different justifications which were already there, on the border. It is estimated that in the south-west zone of Sarajevo tens of thousands inhabitants, in only a few days, had in convoys left the area of fear. The convoy was moving towards the eastern zone of the city, towards Lukavica, which is the closest part of the territory of the RS with was the first destination of the displaced. They were also directed to other parts of the newly formed Republic (Bijeljina and Banja Luka as the biggest centers), in Montenegro, Serbia or beyond.

The movie Exodus Again shows the mass exodus of Serbs from the territory of five municipalities of Sarajevo, in February and March of 1996 [N]. The dominant images are long lines of trucks, buses, private vehicles and pedestrians with bags in their hands. It contains a footage of the excavation of the remains from the cemetery in Vlakovo and their re-burial in the military memorial cemetery Small Zejtinlik Sokolac. The film shows the tragic fate of the participants of the column. The role of the director is to set up only two questions: "Where are you from?" and "Do you know where are you going?"

Responses were also reduced and hardly spoken. They mostly do not know where they are going or they say that they have found some temporary accommodation in Bijeljina or Visegrad. "There is no free moving van in Vogošća for three days." "How we will manage, people are wet, hungry..." "I left the house and 20 dunums of land!" "I learned the lessons of war, and now I know how I would do it next time." "If only I had died, it would be better if bullet shot me." "The safety they provide us is only temporary, but what will happen afterwards." "You see people go on foot, taking their cows along, and the worst part is that we do not know where we are going." "Everything is left behind, I am lost." "I can not stay, how will I stay, if I was in the war?!" "I prefer to lie here than to feel persecution there." "I am moving and burying for the second time." "This is the fifth night to bury people."

6.1.3. Agents of construction

Demographic factor is one of most important in transition and reconstruction of the identity of Sarajevo, as well as for new construction and development of East Sarajevo. Given the scale of the process, the main agent of transition becomes new DPs and refugees of two cities. The basic characteristic of demographic structure makes national and religious homogenization of Serbian Orthodox population (December 1995- January 1996). It is also determined by political and security criteria, and the will of the population to continue their lives in RS (Milojevic, 2009: 250).

Bosniaks (Muslim inhabitants) have been replacing most of new inhabitants of Sarajevo, instead of the pre-war Serbian population. Apart from a small number of previous residents, East Sarajevo is populated by former residents of Sarajevo (Refugees and DPs). It is inhabited by a majority of Serbian (Orthodox) population, pointing to the religious and national impact on development. It is estimated that since the beginning of the war in Sarajevo, a total of around 150.000 Serbs have left (about 1/3 of the pre-war population). Data from 2013 Census show that 75% of 400.000 inhabitants of Sarajevo Canton are Bosniaks, compared with about 50% of them in 1990 (Donia, 2006). Thus, Sarajevo evolved from a fine multicultural milieu into two ethnically pure entities, which again live in certain intimacy - cultural and geographical.

Nevertheless, the specificity of migration to East Sarajevo is in the fact that they are former residents of Sarajevo, what gives certain continuity to the urban development of the city region. The new city was created next to the old one, on the same front line without a single millimeter of distance. Residents were left leaning against their old town in the territory they feel it's their own in the order to be closely related to it. At the same time they stayed near the territory from which they fled, where they died and left all of their own, but because that's what they learned, because the co-existence is a part of their life, destiny and history. Because that is how they always lived, on the border between love and hate, war and peace, blood and honey, always on the brink of a conflict. Therefore, the number of population, its cultural habits, economic power, urban needs, determine approach to development of urban form (Milojevic, 2009: 235).

6.2. Matrix of construction

Milojevic (2009: 245) emphasizes political factor, which was crucial for the character and intensity of urban transformation of this area, in addition to the demographic and economic ones. Therefore, development process of East Sarajevo has different form of urban morphogenesis when compared to most towns with historical continuity. Reasons of construction of East Sarajevo were found in local and external influence, economic opportunities burdened by the war and poverty, social and cultural characteristics of the population, tradition and other elements that influenced the dynamics of development (Milojevic, 2009).

Rivers of refugees with unknown fate were flowing down to the city every day, bringing the hope and faith that victims were not in vain (Internet MŠ). However, except of the idea, there was almost nothing, there were no infrastructure or accommodation facilities in the area of today's town. Entire families were placed in military dormitories in JNA barracks, which served as temporary shelters. The atmosphere was confusing, chaotic and apocalyptic. At that time there was no clear plan, because everything happened suddenly. There was no certainty that peace will be really implemented or what territories will really remain in the framework of RS. In that situation, the most important task was to return the hope for the future and the right to retain in the area of Sarajevo. The first phase of development was characterized by: deficit of apartments and jobs, lack of traffic communications and infrastructure as well as the overall low level of equipment. The construction of Srpsko Sarajevo did not begin until the end of 1996, when forty trucks with first building materials arrived from Serbia. Only then a construction of the first apartment buildings had begun and a few years later construction of the first large settlements.

6.2.1. Planning

Interethnic conflicts are connected with the territory because the legacy of conflict and its spatial expression include involving symbolic spatial markers (Neill, 2014). On the other hand it is the issue of how identities can be given agreed and officially legitimized forms of expression, the profound link between identity and place makes this issue a spatial planning matter as well (ibid.). But within the “communicative turn” of planning theory, emotive notions such as ethnicity and homeland are disciplinary blind spots, despite the fact that in most parts of the world these realities are central to the production of space which engages with people’s actual life and meanings (ibid.). Therefore the system of planning shows a number of weaknesses when questioning cultural identity, and many of its elements are being lost (ibid.).

Transition of spatial identities at the level of the city - Sarajevo / East Sarajevo analyzes the role of the state in relation to this process. In the system of spatial planning, Sarajevo is separated from its contemporary extensions and natural peripheries, and East Sarajevo is separated from its historical and natural center on the other side. Division of the country is reflected in the functioning of the whole system and all institutions, including the system of spatial planning, which is divided but also duplicated (Aquilue, 2014). Urban activities are set in the institutional framework, in which the planning is based on a top-down system. Administrative duplication and separation of the two neighboring urban structures initiate a discussion about reconnecting two realities. This would be an opportunity to open the debate on the introduction of urban planning in the debate on the new structure of governance and sustainable urban cohesion.

The political vision of Sarajevo for Serbs entered the planning system of RS immediately after the peace agreement. Accordingly, the system of planning had great responsibility in the process of construction, and planning factor is set to an important position of all stakeholders in the beginning of the city (Milojević 2009). However, planning documentation is done in period, when political factors were changeable categories. Name of the city, the basic concept and the population have been changed.

While Sarajevo was losing its multiethnic character, on the east side of Trebević mountain the construction of the new city had been progressing. The city which was supposed to be connected with Pale, following the former positions of RS army during the siege of Sarajevo. Systematic construction of East Sarajevo was conditioned as strong political idea, by population, which believed in promises of the government of RS. Confidence in professional system of planning, design and construction is associated with the conditions of functioning of the newly established system. But also conditions of transition where the investors, without the need for personal improvisation, had the entire state apparatus at their disposal to fulfill their requirements. On the other hand, exhausted after years of warfare, the unrealized expectations, without strenght to fight "new wars" with no sources for new beginnings, people are just left with promises. They did not give up, so they committed a passive pressure to fulfill the promise for constructing another Sarajevo.

6.2.1.1. Spatial plan of RS

Spatial plan of RS 1996-2015. Concept of organization and usage of space 1996-2001.

Decision on the adoption of the first spatial plan of RS for the period of 1996 and 2015 (1996) was adopted by the Government of RS in October 1993, and confirmed by the Assembly in March 1994. However, due to the difficult working conditions in wartime, economic blockades and other problems, work has slowed down and periodically interrupted. By the middle of 1995 there were major territorial changes and movements of the population, so the work on the preparation of the plan is completely stopped until the signing of DPA in late 1995 and establishment of normal conditions, in the beginning of 1996.

The first general spatial planning document in RS was adopted in June of 1996, titled: "Spatial Plan of the RS 1996-2015 - Etapni Plan 1996-2001 ". The plan was developed in the Institute of Urbanism of RS in Banja Luka, under direction of Dr. Milan Bursać. Emergencies in difficult conditions, undeniable urgency of adopting and its

temporary nature, justifying all procedural and regulatory failures in making document meant a global framework for the upcoming reconstruction activities of RS.

The Spatial Plan establishes the basis for territorial organization of newly formed Republic. It is particularly special because it occurs just few months after the armed conflict, which exerted influence and determined its character. In this context, RS is viewed as one, almost independent, sovereign, territorially inviolable and a single entity which could be organized as functioning independently of B-H. The plan is basically presented as a problem and development oriented by providing regional strategy, of uniform and dispersed development. Given geography of Republic, which consists of two divided unities - East and north-western part, this approach was only justified and sustainable.

Srpsko Sarajevo receives substantial, strategic position in the Spatial Plan of the RS 1996-2001, it was mentioned as one of the main centers and is treated as such in all elements. According to the basic data on RS in 1996, total area of Srpsko Sarajevo is 1,809.40 km², total number of settlements is 265, total number of households is 23,931, of which 12,213 are refugees or 51%, and total population of the area is 81,365, of which 41,496 are refugees. Following this data, 70.000 inhabitants should have lived there in 2001.

The global concept of spatial organization, strategic objectives, as well as faster development of RS focuses on a relatively narrow zones. Existing and new zones of Srpsko Sarajevo are pointed out, emphasizing connections that whole area should have with the east, northeast and southeast... There are no mentioned connections with any part on the west (that would mean connection with Sarajevo). In terms of development and interests of both parts of the territory of RS and its borderdscapes, areas of Banja Luka and Srpsko Sarajevo are viewed in a special way. They were seen as the main drivers of development of both parts of RS and without without of them all development would be substantially impeded, or even disabled. In this context, planning ideas of harmonious relationship of Banja Luka and Srpsko Sarajevo are very important. They must be effective to the entire territory of Republic, so the appropriate policy and measures, as well as consistent implementation should be continuing process.

Srpsko Sarajevo is defined as a political and administrative center. "Although it is not territorially developed in that time / period, it has strong necessity to maintain continuity of the capital of RS. There are many reasons, from the functional to the political and strategic..." However, the issue of the capital of the RS is not specifically analyzed by this Plan. Taking into account the comparative advantages, functional facilities and geopolitical demands, only two urban centers can meet the needs of a capital. It is, Banja Luka that can be the capital even now and, based on planned expansion, Srpsko Sarajevo as well. As one of three major macro-regional centers, Srpsko Sarajevo should have become the major one. With new construction and functions of the regional center, Srpsko Sarajevo participates in construction of a rational development network, together with Bijeljina and Trebinje.

At the same time the plan has been very critical of the urban centers of Republic at that time, and states that almost no city (Srpsko Sarajevo is not clearly defined) is able to "promote development of the wider area, as well as activation of potentials and rapid urbanization process. There are areas that are very widespread and under-developed, with a strong emigration of population, with small number of cities, which are not able to encourage development (most cities in Eastern and Old Herzegovina, in the Romanija region). "In a way, the Plan notes that main urban centers (with exception of Banja Luka) of former Federal Republic of B-H belonged to the Muslim-Croat federation: Sarajevo, Tuzla, Mostar, Zenica.

Given that the focus of the plan is on the future balanced development, most attention is paid to distribution of population, acceptance and accommodation of refugees and returnees, and of course, the (re)construction of housing.

According to the census of households and refugees held in March of 1996, there is 130,860 households that had to move from their original place of residence in RS (480,000 or one-third of total population). Observed by major spatial units, most refugees and DPs are in Banja Luka - 35,889 or 27.4%, followed by the Sarajevo-Romanija-Birač region- 30,776, or 23.5% ...

Area of Srpsko Sarajevo, from Lukavica and Vojkovići to Pale and Mokro is also a priority in terms of finding accommodation for refugees and DPs, for organization and construction of housing as well. In this sense, it intends to continue expansion of many cities and their suburbs. Although it does not mention the city of Sarajevo, the Plan says that "in many twin cities", separated by rivers and borders, it should be expected to strengthen the functional relationships". In addition to housing and employment for refugees and DPs, this area should gradually provide conditions for returners from Serbia and Montenegro, or other countries. In planning period of reconstruction, the focus of development is on the greater involvement in agriculture, forestry, certain (preserved) industries, tourism, trade.

Finally, the exclusion of RS from the context of B-H, which the plan applies, was completely irrational from all points of view, but given the time and conditions of adoption, it could be conditionally accepted as natural. However, the manner of presentation and beyond contextual observation of RS has imposed as legitimate in many other discourses, which is definitely indicative for consideration of identity problems. RS even today appears as a separated island in many official representations.

Spatial Plan of RS, until 2015.

Next Spatial Plan of RS, until 2015 was also made by the The institute for Urbanism of RS, Banja Luka (2008). This plan brings the very first change of discourse, so RS is already treated as part of the total area of B-H in the general settings.

[...] East Sarajevo (with the center in the Sarajevo basin, Lukavica and Srpska Ilidza) was planned as a macro-regional center of the eastern part of the RS. But development in period 1996 - 2004 showed that such demographic, infrastructural and economic growth did not occur. The ambitious project of construction of Srpsko Sarajevo did not lead to the intended results, for over 100,000 people, construction of tens of thousands of housing units, infrastructure, economy, etc. The previous period showed that East Sarajevo is a core of central part of the Eastern RS (from Han Pijesak to Foca) and that certain effects are spread even wider (Birač and Herzegovina regions), and that Pale and Sarajevo agglomeration (East Ilidza) - Lukavica are urban centers of this mezoregions (27).

Unfortunately, the Plan did not treat onnection between RS and Federation of B-H and IEBL was considered as "closed border". However, reality has shown that in the meantime this border got different function. The flow of people and goods was made to start with common inter-entity projects. The creation of economic regions in BiH crossing IEBL can be understood as a way of economic integration of B-H (27). Some solutions were certainly too optimistic and unrealistic, so they were not found in new Spatial Plan until 2015. This is primarily related to the planned network of settlements and new concept of regionalization. In this regard, the concept of East Sarajevo as a macro-regional center, that would be the engine of growth of eastern part of the RS, was abandoned.

The plan tried to find solutions for rational, functionally connected, dynamic and harmonious development of all parts of RS, or "common" achieving of optimal effects in terms of economic development and standard of living for period until 2015 and distant future. This plan still deals with some key issues of the last Plan, so it revises them on the basis of 12 years of experience and dynamic changes. Srpsko Sarajevo was replaced by East Sarajevo. It is defined within double mezoregional center of Pale - Sarajevo (East Ilidza) agglomeration - Lukavica as the second mezoregional center in RS, on its second axis of development, with underdeveloped function. Although it was completely built as a new city, which had enormous population growth due to the war migration growth (80% Pale, Sokolac, agglomeration in Sarajevo valley- Sarajevo (East Ilidza) - Lukavica - demographic growth of over 100%), it stopped somewhere during the half of its development.

Amendments to the Spatial Plan of the RS up to 2025.

The last Spatial Plan of RS was adopted in February 2015 ("Official Gazette of the RS " No. 15/15) for the period up to 2025. It is based on the principle of the planning, which simultaneously considers up-down and bottom-up principles and integrates them. Unlike the previous ones, this plan sets RS in its specific regional context, so regionalization is dominant in external and internal context of future development. Great attention has been paid to strengthening regional capacity and the capacity of local communities that are expected to have active participation in development, through regional projects. As general development guidelines are allocated

internal resources, interdependence, territorial capital zoning, grouping of powers, strengthening complementary functions, decentralization and de-concentration...

Also for the first time in a Spatial Plan of Republika Srpska, identity as principal factor of spatial development has been defined. Four principal elements have defined territorial identity: (1) legal identity, (2) natural identity, (3) cultural identity, and (4) economic identity.

The cultural identity of the RS is characterized by Serbian culture, their history, traditions and customs, food, crafts and art as well as contemporary cultural tendencies and characteristics. These elements have significant impact on the identity of some of the local territorial units. This pervasive identity and parts of cultural identity of Bosniaks and Croats, which some individual local governments use to receive advantages (properties) of multicultural environment recognized for its architecture, cultural and religious events, food, etc. (58) ... the cultural identity of the populated areas should be a synergy of cultural system, ways of work and life, art, tradition, food, ways of building and relationship with nature. By harmonization of these identity elements at levels of individual territorial units of RS, their stronger position within the whole of the RS, B-H and Europe can be expected, strengthening of their attractiveness and, consequently, and growth of their competitiveness, ie. faster and better (sustainable) development in competition with the other (59).

East Sarajevo is seen as primary regional center along with Bijeljina, Dobož, Prijedor and Trebinje. It is a part of the east development direction, which extends through the corridor of Bijeljina- Zvornik- Vlasenica - Han Pijesak - Sokolac - East Sarajevo. Although eccentrically positioned towards its sphere of influence and largely isolated from other parts of the RS, it is the center for Forestry-industrial region of East Sarajevo - Visegrad (about 101,000 inhabitants). With time it is going to constitute as a stronger administrative, educational, cultural and health center, longitudinally positioned from Pale to Ilidza, with problems of divided city. For the first time East Sarajevo is defined as divided city with Federation of B-H, together with municipalities of East Drvar, East Mostar and similar places. This is especially prominent in general guidelines of spatial development.

6.2.1.2. Spatial plan of East Sarajevo

Spatial plan of East Sarajevo until 2015 is adopted on the basis of the Spatial plan for Sarajevo for the period 1986-2000 (1986) which included the area of the previous city of Sarajevo. Since then to the time of preparation of this plan a number of important changes have taken place [...], causing new patterns of behaviors based on principles of sustainable development, causing revision of the concept of the system of settlements, organization, planning and using of land. The plan promotes territorial cohesion through the balanced socio - economic development of the region and improving economic competitiveness. Given dispersion and polycentricism of territory, development is generated by urban functions and improving relationship between urban and rural environments (3).

Banja Luka is the main entity center, while Bijeljina, Dobož, Prijedor, Trebinje and Pale - Sarajevo agglomeration (East Ilidza) - Lukavica were defined as mezoregionalni centers. Spatial development of them is primarily caused by a polycentric model that has resulted from the concept of a future network of settlements, as well as a projection of population, households and apartments. The area has occupied a large territory - 2066.5 km² so it was set as one of the main directions for spatial development. East Sarajevo is defined as urban center of Sarajevo (East Ilidza) - Lukavica, which in 2004 counted a number of 17,627 inhabitants and was formed by settlements: Sarajevo Part - Ilidza, Sarajevo Part - Novi Grad in municipality of East Ilidza and Lukavica settlement and Sarajevo Part - Novo Sarajevo in municipality of East New Sarajevo.

Given that it is adopted after the large spatial changes have already taken place, it mainly finds the current situation, defines certain phenomena and provides only expected changes. Considering trend of urbanization and deruralization, it predicts reducing the number of settlements so that in six urban areas 50,768 inhabitants would reside or 62.47% of total population. This urban population would live in 55.11 km², or only 2.67% of the total urban area. Due to the characteristic of spatial conglomeration, this plan defines suburb, as a special category of the urban center. Suburb is characterized by a larger number of residents, the existence of certain public services and economic capacities, including the proximity of the center. Finally, as some of the main

objectives, it predicts setting of new housing policy, as an urgent need; (re)creating pre-war ambient of urban settlements, so the elements of the city could be reinforced.

6.2.1.3. Urban Plan of East Sarajevo

Urban plan of the parts of territories of municipalities of Srpsko Novo Sarajevo (Srpsko New Sarajevo) and Srpska Ilidza (Istočno Sarajevo- East Sarajevo)

At the time when the first Spatial Plan of RS (1996) was adopting, The European Urban Charter with the European Declaration on the rights of citizens in the cities has become available to us. It was adopted by the European Council at the time (March 1992) when we began to lose those rights one by one, progressively worrying more about our own lives, in part, due to lack of understanding and Europe. But now, after five years of living in peace, we are obliged to "normal" reasoning and talking with the Charter, advocating some of the universal values of human life, such as right to employment, health care, safe life, healthy environment, cultural and creative activities, leisure and sports, etc.

Urban plan is based on the fact that the area is "territorially broken" (Spatial Plan of RS, 1996), which is dominant spatial impression. Based on the situation in the field, number of inhabitants, projections and trends of population growth and urbanization, various political and other visions, this plan was trying to meet the expectations of Spatial Plan (1996) and to practically define this so much wanted new city. Planner looks back on very difficult and complex conditions in which this plan was formed, and boldly states some free data, without which this plan would not be clear. Planner recognizes that only in part it fulfills its function and regulates the space in a way that it can be operating at a lower level at least, while in fact it remains only as vision, on some higher level.

There were too large tasks (to organize life, start business, establish policies and measures in the field of spatial planning) to be solved in a short time, when population of Srpska Ilidža increased almost fourteen times, and for six times in Srpsko Novo Sarajevo. The indirect consequences of the war, and primarily stop of production, loss of market and especially technological backwardness of the large industry, have caused greater damage than direct ones.

The commitment of the author to set Srpsko Sarajevo as macro-regional center, in the hierarchy of cities, is expressed in the needs of the residents of eastern and southeastern part of RS, which in this area should be around 290,000. This commitment is expressed in the needs and interests of RS in terms of nation-building in order of better organization and management of activities relevant to the entity. This means that Srpsko Sarajevo should be the center of administrative, economic, educational, scientific, medical, cultural and other activities.

Srpsko Sarajevo is planned as a macro regional center for the territory of Bratunac and Vlasenica as well as for Gacko and Bileca, where about 235.000 inhabitants lived at those times. Compared to the period before the war, it was reduction of approx. 7.3%. But, the planned number of 95,000 new inhabitants in the future city of Srpsko Sarajevo, represents about 40% of the total population of the wider area. From these data it is concluded that the city could not be "charged" naturally, because of the small core base, but that also mechanical, controlled growth of population should be taken into consideration relying on the larger area. This was understood as attractive for new residents if the city really would be constructed as concentration of resources.

In a specific sense the role of Srpsko Sarajevo, as a regional center, was defined by the Decision to make the Spatial plan of the City of Srpsko Sarajevo. This Decision proposed that the space of the region of the City of Srpsko Sarajevo is constituted of four municipalities: Pale, Rogatica, Sokolac, Srpski stari grad, Srpsko novo Sarajevo, Srpska Ilidža i Trnovo. Thus preconditions were set up to make the future City of Srpsko Sarajevo political and administrative center of the region where, at the time, 87.700 inhabitants lived and worked.

If one accepts conclusion from Spatial Plan of RS that region is territorially broken, and that city does not exist, then it is clear that cohesive role of the center will be able to achieve only in terms of political and administrative level. But the Author of the Plan is well aware that times are difficult, discouraging, material base is largely destroyed, and a new one is hard to achieve. There are also serious human destinies involved. But decision to make any Plan in these conditions was a result of personal and common courage. The plan was supposed to justify the courage, to

wake up and to encourage optimism and restore order. Optimism, which is necessary for generations that are to begin implementation of the Plan, as well as those who will accept new challenges and teach them following the upgrade.

On basis of its functional characteristics, existing urban areas that bear the stamp of fragmentation, without cohesive forces are divided into several groups: (1) housing; (2) mixed function, (3) military; (4) industrial complex with scientific and educational functions; (5) heterogeneous functions and (6) religious ones. The total area was 2,534 ha with 14 settlements. Together with the structure of the population, this structure was the basic starting point of the Plan. In municipalities of Serbian Novo Sarajevo and Srpska Ilidza there were following data: the total number of households- 7,368 (64.5% refugees); total population is 25,051 (64.5% refugees). These are indicative data on a large population growth of Srpsko Novo Sarajevo (6.8 times) and Serbian Ilidza (14.8 times), which confirms participation of DPs in total population.

Finally, the central urban area included remaining, unconstructed part of Dobrinja, part of Bijelo polje and areas of the former barracks "Slavisa Weiner - CICA" and "Slobodan Princip - Seljo". It is an area of approximately 300 hectares, of which 170 hectares donated the Army of RS. Dominant functions are: administration; tourism; trade; commercial activities as such; culture and art; sport. The fact that 50% of the inner urban area included military facilities warns that planning and implementation process will be based mostly on reconstructions. The plan provides: multi-family housing for 61.317 inhabitants; single-family housing for 33.931 inhabitants; total of 95.248 inhabitants in the inner urban area, and a total of 120.579 inhabitants in wider area. This implies that Plan meets human community that may be optimal but also "big enough to accept and implement demanding urban ventures, but also to keep a human scale".

Authors found their indirect base in spatial potentials of Sarajevo, which were very narrowed within its federal limit. At one hand the plan disclaims its megalomaniacal vision with this emphasis on Sarajevo. On the other hand, five years after the adoption of the Spatial Plan of RS, the discourse is still trying to be changed and the attention drawn to the necessity of achieving direct and cohesive connections with Sarajevo.

In the former Yugoslavia, Sarajevo was in a group of cities with the most intensive mechanical population growth and the most extensive illegal construction. The problem of insufficient number of flats and urban spaces was immanent. The last major "extension" of the new space, happened in 1986, in the area of Dobrinja, on over 260 hectares, with about 15,000 housing units. The construction of over 2,000 km of high-quality roads reduced the pressure on the city, but demand for new housing remained. In the early 90s the only areas in which Sarajevo would continue to expand were: Butmir, Hrasnica, Vojković, Kotorac, Bijelo Polje, Mladic Kasindol, Lukavica, Miljevic and the remaining, undeveloped part of Dobrinja. This area was the subject of the study which was interrupted by the war. By territorial divisions within the Dayton framework, almost entire area went to the Serbian entity.

6.2.1.4. Detailed regulation plans

Detailed Regulation Plan of the part of area of Srpsko (East) Novo Sarajevo and Srpska (East) Ilidza.

The first Detailed Regulation Plan for East Sarajevo treated the central urban areas of the municipalities of East Ilidza and East New Sarajevo, which formed the basis for new urban structure. It was made in the Institute for Urbanism of the RS, Banja Luka, directed by Arch. Milan Medic, in 2001.

Milojevic (2009: 109) writes that the city began to develop in the area of industrial zone and scattered settlements with single-family housing, directly bearing on the physical structure from the west side of IEBL. Below the existing urban structure, in new political, administrative, and cultural context a development of new city began, which had a population and political status of the capital of RS. But there were no physical structures that would follow established functions, as well as the needs of the population, mainly DPs from the territory of Sarajevo. The existence of urban system achieved a great impact on development of a new urban form, which began to form on the basis of political vision, articulated by urban plans.

The importance and the responsibilities of making this plan were invaluable, but it still remained incomplete and contradictory. In the first place, its adoption was a necessary choice, with a goal to prevent wild and unplanned construction (Lilic, 2007). It also imposed very ambitious requirements, which were beyond possibilities of the time and opportunity to which it referred. It could not fully respond to demands. However, the inconsistency of the idea of this plan, especially the idea of the political center intrigues (Lefebvre 1974), which shows confusion between ideology and economy, as well as the theory and practice (Vukic, 2015). Unlike many other historical examples of planning new capital cities, the first Detailed Regulation Plan of East Sarajevo does not correspond to objectives and does not show the importance of the image of this city.

But on the other side, while official policy and Spatial plan of RS completely ignored connections with Sarajevo, this plan somehow performed the inversion of these settings. Here is an interesting relationship between the plan and policy decisions, which are in conflict and do not support each other. Plan completely reserves existing infrastructure of Sarajevo and continues on it. "The territory of present-day East Sarajevo was part of the infrastructure system of the city of Sarajevo until 1992. One of the objectives of planning and developing East Sarajevo was the creation of an independent urban system, despite the fact that there are physically present components of the infrastructure systems of Sarajevo." It is the same with typology of urban form, which develops "under the influence of urban structures of Dobrinja, that had the character of blocks, with properly organized physical elements (Milojevic 2015)."

They have determined the concept of development in a way that implied the continuity of the physical structure, form and function of Sarajevo. According to Medic, the concept represented counterpart of the physical structure of Dobrinja. Housing is placed through multiplication of facilities organized around pedestrian axis (extension of existing one in Dobrinja), in addition to residential and commercial blocks, providing the space for central facilities, sport and recreation.

On the other hand, existing physical structure is almost completely ignored, as the new city is formed on a blank white paper. However what was expected did not occur. Although the composition is very detailed, urban structure remains heterogeneous and scattered, poorly connected, with the impression that it is squeezed between existing infrastructure networks and boundaries of different types. At the same time it gives impression of full completion without any possibility for change. Finally, given the many connections that were achieved in Dobrinja, Plan is a kind of image of extensions of Sarajevo and its new growing demands. This duality approach to the plan, its inconsistency and contradiction in some way are speaking about the Planner, as conscious participant of the events, who balances between number of different influences and who does not draw big moves.

Detailed Regulation Plan for the center area.

Detailed Regulation Plan for the Center area represents amendments to the previous Plan carried out in the period from 2004 to 2007, reflecting expansion of construction in the period from 1997 to 2002. Given that lack of planning documents which could lead to "urban chaos" that would be hardly repaired, the plan supports previous planning solutions, using them as the basis.

The entire area was defined as "territorially broken" as dominant impression. Only some spatial units had urban character, so they were promoted as central points of development of the future urban structure. In a broader context, it was supposed to be the central area of the future city, with all facilities which should be present.

Lilic, 2007.

The plan is based on a very low economic potential, where even the smallest investment in the construction is welcome. The aim was to create more realistic base for the needs of population, to use existing and to direct new ones by using minimal interventions. The task was to interpolate all existing structures in the new city center and to make the factor of cohesion between different planned functions. The plan articulated real needs of citizens and created possibilities to preserve significant portion of inherited building stock, which was reconstructed.

The primary considerations were to create realistic basis that would make this area alive. A space can be revived only if the people come there and people will come if they can be assured that their values will be permanent in that space. This plan was released from megalomaniac procedures that do not have roots. The plan goes back to those small people, giving them the opportunity to become great.

Lilic, 2007: unnumbered.

Amendment of Detailed Regulated Plan for the Center I area

After the first concept of the city, all other plans just followed original idea, attempting to improve it. Anyway, the frequent changes and amendments of the plans were happening, as consequence of dynamic changes, due to market conditions, investor pressure and so on. They usually occur within the small scale and on personal initiative of one or more investors. Plans are mostly produced by private authorized companies, which are selected through tender procedure, based on the most favorable offer. Given the high rate of corruption and the usual abuse of official position, it often happens that these jobs are "agreed in advance" / already negotiated. The underlying idea is the profit of investors, so it is very common custom of "investor's urbanism" which implies that dimensions of buildings, number of floors, and building coefficients are determined by a single investor.

Plans are made in unrealistically short deadlines, so the plans are adapted to these conditions. Given that planned areas are minimal, including just one plot in some cases, they do not address bigger picture of the city. New urbanizations, new settlements, and even entire new cities (as is the case with East Sarajevo) paradoxically do not meet expected standards, although they occur in the planning system. Therefore, Milojevic (2009) points out the economic factor, which contributes to the development of urban form of East Sarajevo. Although the Plan of new city is one of the biggest planning challenges, there is no these essence subjects in the discourse of planning in RS. Nowadays plans do not consider important issues such as relationship of identities, relations between two Sarajevos and planning in general.

Anyway, Milojevic (2009: 109) concludes that the system of urban planning is still basis for development and that implementation of plans led to dynamic transformation of the space, which was largely undeveloped. New residential and housing areas have intensively developed with private capital for the market where apartments were highly demanded, and with developing of infrastructural network space is continuously developing and rising to the next urban standard.

6.2.2. Urban structure

East Sarajevo is the largest city in RS (by its area). It is in fifth place by number of population (Census 2013). It is the only city in the entity, which includes several municipalities. It is economic, academic, cultural, and sports center of the eastern part of RS. The municipalities of Istočno Sarajevo are: (1) East Ilidža (Istočna Ilidža) (pop. 20,000.) (as of 2004.)^[6] (2) New East Sarajevo (Istočno Novo Sarajevo) (pop. 20,000.) (estimated 2004.)^[7] (3) East Old Town (Istočni Stari Grad) (pop. 3,185) (4) Pale (pop. 30,000) (5) Sokolac (pop. 15,500) and (6) Trnovo (pop. 3,895)^[8]. East Sarajevo is a specific city according to location, the structure of population and economic aspects, as well as by the fact that it forms part of the other city. It is constantly evolving and strives toward that goal. From the previous uncultivated meadows, it is gradually getting contours of the real city, so the idea of its construction is becoming justified. Thus the urban structure of East Sarajevo is also specific.

6.2.2.1. Parcelation

Regarding the process and place of new city, its urban matrix follows the matrix of Sarajevo and neighboring settlements of Dobrinja. It was drawn (traced) according to planning policy, and it depends on few factors. That is the matrix of the existing structure of industrial and military complexes, the main directions of traffic communication, natural morphology and planning vision. East Sarajevo emerges in large blocks with a number of components which are defined by directions of main roads, the flow of Tilava river, the borders cape (border belt) towards Dobrinja neighborhood, position of the central park, and morphological characteristics on the

north and south-east. Existing large block of parcellation is just occasionally powdered according to certain demands of the real estate market.

Street network is developed based on the old, orthogonally modernist urban matrix of Dobrinja neighborhood. It just continued to freely evolve towards a sparsely populated periphery, following configuration of the terrain, and the logic of existing communications. Transverse network in direction of north-west - south-east is formed by Ivo Andric, Karađorđeva, Nikola Tesla, Stefan Nemanja, Dabrobosanka, Serbian rulers, Kasindolskog battalion and Ravnogorska or Mesa Selimovic streets. In longitudinal southwest northeast direction Duke Radomir Putnik, Spasovdanska, Hilandarska, Cara Lazara and Cara Dušana streets spread. All streets are called by famous people from Serbian history mostly rulers and warriors from periods of Medieval Serbia and later from the World War I and WW II. Some streets are called by the most appreciated Bosnian writers with some Serbian origins as Andrić and Selimović are, but also by the scientist as Nikola Tesla is, with mixed Croatian and Serbian origin.

Urban block of East Sarajevo reflects continuity of the existing urban structure of Dobrinja - residential and commercial blocks, which were multiplied in the new city (Milojevic 2009: 130). They represent a kind of continuation of Dobrinja neighborhood, which was also built on a completely empty space (as the Olympic Village to accommodate athletes at the XIV Winter Olympic Games, Sarajevo '84). However, despite the terms of the almost complete emptiness of the white paper on which it was created, the new block of the city is not thematically developed like the one in Dobrinja, which is already listed as a critique to the Detail Regulatory Plan (2001). It is a quite powdered in the post-modern manner, but it is also more complex and fragmented. Despite the efforts it does not (contribute) to the new heterogeneity, higher diversity or richness of different experiences in urban space. In addition its unfinishedness reinforces the impression of crudity and minorizes (disminuite) (umanjuje) the initial idea of a dense structure of series of closed urban blocks, inspired by models from remote past and not the ones which exist in the modernist socialist layers of Sarajevo. In addition to the dominant type of closed and semi-closed block, there is also an open block with individual objects of very large structures.

6.2.2.2. Urbanization

Traffic function was compromised and ineffective during and immediately after the war (1992-1995). Until the establishment of complete freedom of movement East Sarajevo was kind of appendix of RS. The most important route led to Pale and further over Romanija plateau to the rest of Republic, while the city was cut off from the main communication routes of B-H (Bublin 1986, Aganović1977). Those run through the river valleys of Bosnia, Lasva, Vrbas and Neretva (the territory of Federation of B-H) and represented the closest connections with the western and northern parts of the country (Milojevic, 2009).

Today, the main traffic road that runs through East Sarajevo - Duke Radomir Putnik Street represents an important factor for the image and character of the city. This transit route is a part of the magistral Sarajevo - Trnovo - Foca, connects this part of Bosnia with Herzegovina, but at the same time strongly divides the city by the long axis which can be both advantage and disadvantage. Spasovdanska Street is the central street, around which (on the former meadow) grew a town that is the center of city life today, with service facilities.. Hilandarska street is another central street, but has a quite residential character with the wide meadow across, planned for the expansion of the urban area. These streets connect, into the urban network, several major facilities and institutions that are already there, that have started to be constructed, or are unfinished.

6.2.2.3. Construction

The first buildings of the new city were formed on the almost entirely empty space, without significant existing structures. One of the first was the bus station, built four years after the peaceful reintegration of Sarajevo. It is located near the turnaround station of the trolley bus (in the public transportation system of the city of Sarajevo) as the only facility in the middle of a large meadow. Second important, symbolic object is Church of St. Basil od

Ostrog started in 1990, and finished in 2001. It occupies one of the central places on the small hill above the territory which is strongly marked according to the new politics of memories and construction of identity.

These two objects initiated formation of housing neighborhood with dozen of buildings in immediate vicinity. In parallel with housing, the first phases of development of the city have been followed by construction of buildings for the city administration (military barracks and prison, service utilities, cemetery), university center, primary and secondary school, sports hall, stadium, a cultural center and shopping centers as one of the main features of East Sarajevo.

Construction of East Sarajevo has followed the model of Sarajevo, but at the same time evokes some ancient models, trying to form the bridge with desirable national history and strengthening connections with Republic of Serbia. Architecture and urban structures represent replicas of the structures from Dobrinja neighborhood at one hand, while on the other, they are inspired by intimate parts of nostalgia for Sarajevo, the image that inhabitants brought with them in the refugee process, but which has already slightly blurred in new space and adapted to the new context (Štikš, 2006).

If considering the structure, form and image of East Sarajevo, then the way of its construction can be equated with the way of the planning. Although it declaratively denies relationship with Sarajevo, the urban growth of the new city shows a direct relationship to the old one nearby. In contrary to the initial attitude of construction of completely independent new city, East Sarajevo uses the model of repetition and fits into the structure of Sarajevo. This way it is (un)consciously expressing their inseparability and natural connection. On the other hand, repeating patterns testify about the context of planning and construction of the city. It also shows the lack of inventiveness, new studies and models which would improve that previous patterns and would adapt them to the new context.

Although it conditionally reflects urban structure from the other side of IEBL, East Sarajevo does not become part of Sarajevo, nor does it fully become an independent city. East Sarajevo is widely spread in the valley without the end and without visible boundaries. But its real nature of undefined, porous and slow city is actually found in that widespreadness, initiation and incompleteness, in vastness and voids. Without this assumption (without previous knowledge about its connection to Sarajevo and spatial potentials) by observing it as isolated from the context, East Sarajevo could be confused with any small city in B-H. However, its significance and power is in symbolism, youth and the idea that is still holds together. Mirko Sarovic, the first mayor of East Sarajevo (Interview for Novosti, Internet NS) believes that the idea came to life. From fragments of the former Sarajevo the city has been made where Serbs who fled from Sarajevo will settle. "Five or even ten years is not enough to create a city on the meadow, it is an ongoing process and the job for generations to come and will not end for many more years."

Despite many debates and illusions about importance, size and construction of the new city, which would be a counterpart to Sarajevo in the new division between poles and ethnic centers of power, this idea was not realized. The Government of RS has never allocated promised funds for the construction of planned major new facilities while major institutions of the Republic are located in Banja Luka. Center of urban life of the region of Sarajevo remained in the Federation (Donia, 2006). Planned development, which predicted formation of the city of 100.000 inhabitants, takes place in slower dynamics, but it does not stop (Milojevic 2009: 177).

The city is characterized by territorial range, large number of population and development opportunities with many challenges, which shows the need for a planned development. At the other hand, East Sarajevo can be observed as one in a series of settlements on the outskirts of Sarajevo, as its modern extension or exceptional periphery with attributes of the city. Since long time ago Sarajevo has been formed by a number of satellite cities, operating as a metropolitan area. East Sarajevo has joined to this group of satellites forming contemporary city-region of Sarajevo. Although it has grown on fallow and enthusiasm, East Sarajevo exists, it is the fact and it is not at the end of the world. Construction sites of the new modern city can be seen anywhere on the horizon, they provide decent life to its residents, and restores the faith that sacrifices were not in vain.

6.3. Matrix of transition

Analysis of the planning and construction of East Sarajevo, the chronology of plans and inconsistent hierarchy of the process illustrate the complex post-war context in B-H. The evolution of megalomaniac, irrational, and unsustainable political idea is illustrated as well which has stopped halfway. Given the exception of observing the city as ethnically isolated category, evolution was moved up to almost complete disappearance of this attitude. From the first Spatial Plan (1996), through a series of plans at all levels, to the actual Spatial Plan of RS (2015), it is possible to observe complete change of discourse on the character of East Sarajevo. It has evolved from a purely ethnic and fully independent position to the attitude that discusses the importance of multi-ethnic, multicultural and interdependent relations between the two cities, next to each other. With hope that the evolution of discourse also follows development of people's minds, this change gives hope in the possibility of a common and peaceful future life of the two cities.

Analysis shows that the political will, the vision and the plan may be sufficient elements of the physical construction of the city, but not for construction of its identity. Such artificial top-down system with the state as the main agent, lacks construction of urban way of life, art of living in the city, construction of the sense of belonging to the place, and many others. This is a long-term continuous process that goes beyond temporality of a political idea.

Thus transition on the scale of the city, reveals the conscious absence of relationship to the spatial identity in relation to which it is constituted. At the same time, the natural identity is completely ignored despite relation to the origin of the new city: construction site and its social structure. It is also characterized by the absence of the conflict between the old and the new. The new place of construction is not the holder of specific identity and there are no representatives of that identity. On the other hand, there arises a conflict in relation to the new and new place. The conflict is somewhere behind, in the past, but still survives in both directions, back and forth.

6.3.1. Lost Sarajevo

Memories to the conflict in urban culture and public space can be an important element for strengthening the links between society and space. This attitude constitutes a social awareness as part of the identity and history, and sensitivity which can also be incorporated into urban environment of the city of Sarajevo (Aquilue, 2014). But it is suppressed and it is not promoted. Memories are divided and strongly opposed, so they become the subject for manipulation in purpose of tightening ethnic tensions. Thus the former and current Sarajevans keep very sentimental relationship towards urban space before and after the conflict (Cipollini, 2006). They agree on one thing together, that Sarajevo has been lost, with all its previous attributes.

On the one hand they do not want to remember the city in which they lived and worked, and which they created. But they can not escape from that feeling of place attachment, the spirit and mentality of place. They truly hate and love Sarajevo in the strongest way. Jergović (2015) says that those who were born in Sarajevo can say the scariest words about Sarajevo, those who know the essence of the city map, who know all of its sentimental addresses and legends. However, he adds that hatred does not distort Sarajevo. Although hated in such manner, it remains recognizable, beautiful place and nostalgic postcard.

Andric said that all lands and seas, faces and words, impressions and insights that arise in front of him have the color and shape of the past, with one exception, namely Sarajevo and Bosnia, "I do not remember them, because I have never forgotten them, they are permanent and real, in front of me unchanged and alive, because they are not subject of oblivion or magic of memories, because I have always had them with myself, because I have never stopped to live in them." Many other authors have built Sarajevo between the covers of their books and dedicated to it the most beautiful pages that have ever been written about it.

Momo Kapor was often saying that Sarajevo he loved, lives in his novels, and Isidora Bjelica that Sarajevo rises "difficult emotions" for her. On the other hand, despite of the fact that he does not live in Sarajevo for two

decades, Štiks (2006) considers himself a Sarajevian. With amazement he thinks about the place of his own origin, where somehow he belongs, because it seems like 'it is popping out from everywhere'. "My address often changed in the past 20 years, but [...] the address in Sarajevo is permanent and I am constantly going back. [...] The war has not broken a link between us and Sarajevo

Borderline

Nowadays Sarajevo is the post-war city, physically fragmented city, culturally and administratively divided city. As a result of this division there are two cities of Sarajevo - side by side and both on the border. Sarajevo is almost ethnically cleansed of Serbs, who live in an ethnically pure Serbian periphery in the city of East Sarajevo, which has been built in the meantime. Thus Sarajevo belongs to the end of a series of curses, which was slightly destroying its cosmopolitan microcosm, from the periods of the Ottomans, then there were Austrians, and Yugoslavia at the end (Štiks, 2006).

The special character to the area provides administrative IEBL passing through the midst of Dobrinja neighborhood, through houses, apartments, land, residential blocks, streets, open public and green spaces, dividing them into two parts. Given that the division used map in the scale 1: 600,000 (Pilav 2012, Auquile 2016), it is clear generalized level at which politicians were thinking about the future of the territory, the city and the people who live there. It shows the absurd of divisions in B-H, the absence of any sense, knowledge, expertise and a complete lack of interest of politicians, who "on our behalf" had started, run and finished the war without the compassion for destiny of millions of people whom they were deciding about. It shows manipulation by political and ethnic geographic areas in politically disputed territories.

However, this internal border is not marked on the territory. It does not contain border crossings even visible signs of differentiation, except of the blue or green color of boards with house numbers, or use of Cyrillic or Latin alphabets at different sides (Bollens, 2001). But although it has no physical character, it is perceived on both sides of the territory. At the time of division, it meant the highest wall, which separated the city from its inhabitants forever. Although invisible, today it is present in the air, in awareness, in memory, in autosuggestion, in being, and in fear, which is its best guard

Sarajevo has become a border city - urban interstices (Foucault 1969) - between opposing political territories. Division is observed in all social, urban and architectural aspects, where pulsating political elements are repeatedly renewed. But except of division borders generate ideas for new urban scenarios. Ethnic circumscription in Sarajevo creates a new externalized sectarian urban node and territorial hardening of competing identity groups, but urban space remains handicapped by the characteristics of pluralism and interaction in this way. However, "in contrast to the restrictions, indicating the importance of finality, the borders exist to be negotiated. They both include and exclude. They mark a transformation between sanity and insanity, health and sickness, life and death, between acquaintances and friendships, friendship and love" (Bollens 2013).

Bollens (2013) also warns that bounding cities represent means of managing conflict, leaving the urban area handicapped as a place of pluralism and interaction, and limit potential for ethnic peace, but also represents the search for stability between different groups, and reducing the violence. There are several forms - municipal boundary drawing, sectarian power-sharing and physical wall building – with each accepting ethno-national group differences and reinforcing them geographically. Whether undertaken by international negotiators, through local elite agreements, or through unilateral fiat, they are consequential in terms of urban peace building. On the other hand, according to Stavrides (2016) the city of enclaves represents a concrete tendency of partitioning urban space in terms of culture, race or ethnicity that are regulated and spatially imposed, but also in income and status. However, he adds that space can not simply express these differentiations, and that they actually shared products providing the basis for new experiences. Therefore this calls for a new understanding of the common space, which can be open to all, but which expresses, encourages and exemplifies new forms of social relations and shared experiences.

Regardless of the interpretation of border, segmentation of Sarajevo has become a new factor in the evolution of the city, it changed its urban structure, causing reorganization of the system of urban planning, architecture and ethnography of new spatial practices of the inhabitants on both sides of the IEBL (Aquila 2014). The post-war city answered to extraordinary conditions in physical and cultural sense that have arisen during the war, and continued to live even so fragmented, dangerous, and different. The imagined peace of its inhabitants has become a reality, but the question remained how far the human imagination can reach in such divided and destroyed city in the same kind of country, and the presence of the international community to monitor the implementation of peace, ensuring stabilization and reconstruction assistance (Pilav, 2012).

6.3.2. Others Sarajevos

Bigger force, such as war, revolution or state policy, usually changes cultural identity of cities. Štiks (2013) says that the history of multi-cultural city is the same as the history of "Yugoslav civilization". The identity of Sarajevo was lost in 1995 and in 1992, as it had previously changed many times, in 1945, 1918 and 1878 [...] always in great historical upheavals. Sarajevo lost its identity as well as the state and its society. Although the city is located on the same place, it was changed due to the people who made the city and who Sarajevo misses. Urban spirit of Sarajevo is scattered around the world in 300.000 pieces, while its place names, houses, heroes, songs, legends and cafes live only in books. (Karajlić, NP).

The post-war development neglects basic principles upon which continuity of its historical development has existed. It was based on unity of opposites and the positive achievements of multiculturalism. They were reflected in the interpenetration of national, religious and cultural differences as result of the position at the crossroads of world civilizations (Eastern Orthodox, Catholic west, and south - Islamic and Jewish) (Milojevic, 2009). However, the policy of ethnic cleansing and "humane relocation" of the population completely changed the ethnic structure of the capital that lost epithets of multiethnic and multicultural city. Serbian, Bosnian and Croatian nationalist policies were together in this job so the cities throughout B-H operate on a national model of development.

Except from Sarajevo remaining where it used to be, another Sarajevo was built next to it. New Sarajevo identifies itself with new population, which come from small rural and peripheral areas (previous places of residence of new sarajevians). By bringing new demographic, traditions, customs, national and religious characteristics, habits and needs, behavior patterns, the way of life, and the content of the cultural and spiritual construction, they affect place identity in completely different way. Thus New city of Sarajevo still attempts to be a city with dominant character of the suburbs of Sarajevo. In some ways it represents a natural extension of Sarajevo, which would certainly occur in the future, but in a slightly different way.

6.3.3. Third Sarajevo

Regardless of identity character of city, everyday life in both Sarajevos runs its normal course. People are preoccupied with the real needs, problems and tasks, so the life goes on the same on both sides of the Sarajevo border. It is only threaded by the events related to divided identities that are carefully raised in the last twenty years. These are mainly political, cultural and sports events charged with emotions, due to the still living war scars. On the other side identity differences always existed, but they signified wealth of coexistence once, rather than today's constant tension and fear of the conflict outbreak. Sarajevo lived with them respecting them mutually, without having one to stand in front of another. As a symbolic capital of Yugoslavia Sarajevo indeed was a multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-cultural city, but always knowing and respecting "who is who" in Sarajevo.

Futures of the city are uncertain, given that, despite the political tendency to ratify the division, the economic and geographic reality in both Sarajevos seems complex (Aquilue & Roca, 2016). Common cooperation of two cities and their connection impose needs of citizens, their everyday life and common projects. Regardless of the division, many do not have the perception of two cities and have greater needs than those imposed by the Entity

policy. A large number of residents of East Sarajevo travel to Sarajevo to work every day, and those who do not work have other motives, such as spending free time, socializing with friends, arts and culture, shopping, nightlife, and many other different situations, which make dividing line invisible.

Despite ethnic and religious antagonisms burdened by war, the process of getting two cities closer is becoming inevitable. Thereby, the degree of integration will depend on the political climate and deteriorated confidence (Milojevic, 2009) which is necessary to be built again. As well as people, cities are naturally changing over time so it should be accepted as the usual process. As we could see throughout the history, Sarajevo was often the protagonist of this process. According to this, Kapor (1996) highlights Sarajevo as a very important city, which can not be killed, but it will have to go through a long way of its own redemption to recover again. Also East Sarajevo will have to accept the changes which have occurred. In this sense of the existence of two parallel cities in one and in parallel lives of their old and new residents, Cipollini (2006) appeals for collective oblivion, which would allow free choice about the character of the future city.

Responding to the question from the song from the beginning, it can be concluded both Yes and No. It would be wrong to say that Sarajevo is not what it is. Because Sarajevo continues to live - not once, but twice! But at the same time, this is a new Sarajevo in comparison to what it was before. One Sarajevo remained where it used to be, and the second one was built right next to it. However there are also many other Sarajevos in some other sense. In addition to the two existing cities, old and new, first and second, east and west, a special, third, nonphysical Sarajevo is still rising, the one, which is perceived as a specific urban spirit of Sarajevo, scattered throughout the world.

It is one temporal Sarajevo, which is neither the first, nor the second, but a little bit everywhere. First of all in the memory of a time, people, events, experiences. It was created and built up as the city of youth, culture, sport and art in the specific atmosphere of the socialist ideology of brotherhood and unity. Beyond the physical one there is spirit of Sarajevo, that is neither here nor there, it is nobody's and everybody's, which belongs to all - the ones who stayed, those who left and those who came. But mostly to those who can feel, live and celebrate the spirit, regardless of different identities, nationalities, religions and borders. Therefore Sarajevo exists where the culture of Sarajevo exists. Far beyond both physical cities and all former Sarajevians, because the people with different places love music, film, sports and that special mythical spirit of Sarajevo. This Sarajevo from exile, diaspora or exile was witnessed by numerous artists, who no longer live in Sarajevo as Štikl, Hemon, Jergović, Kapor, Karajlić, Kecmanović, Kusturica, Bregovic, Colic, Ukraden, Džinović, to mention only few. And from the Sarajevo itself Imamović sings about different, difficult and forbidden Sarajevo, which has to deal with its own past and mentality to be able to continue on.

Figures

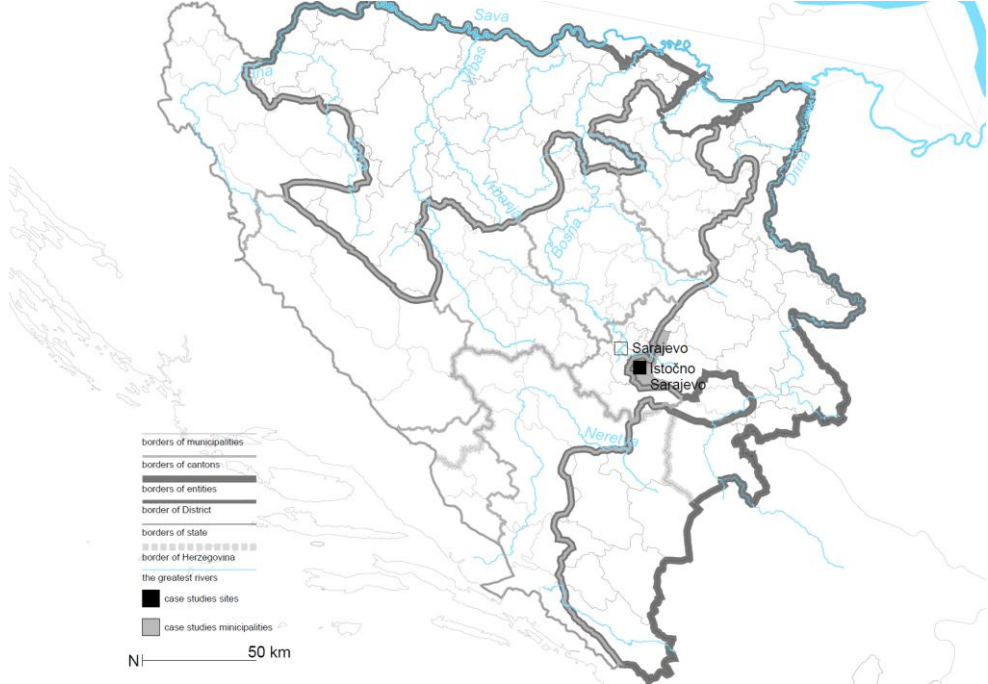


Fig 6.1. Istočno Sarajevo in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Map redrawn by the Author.



Oct. 2015.

Fig 6.2. Sarajevo. A view to the East. Photo by the Author.



Oct. 2015.

Fig 6.3. Sarajevo. A view to the West. Photo by the Author.

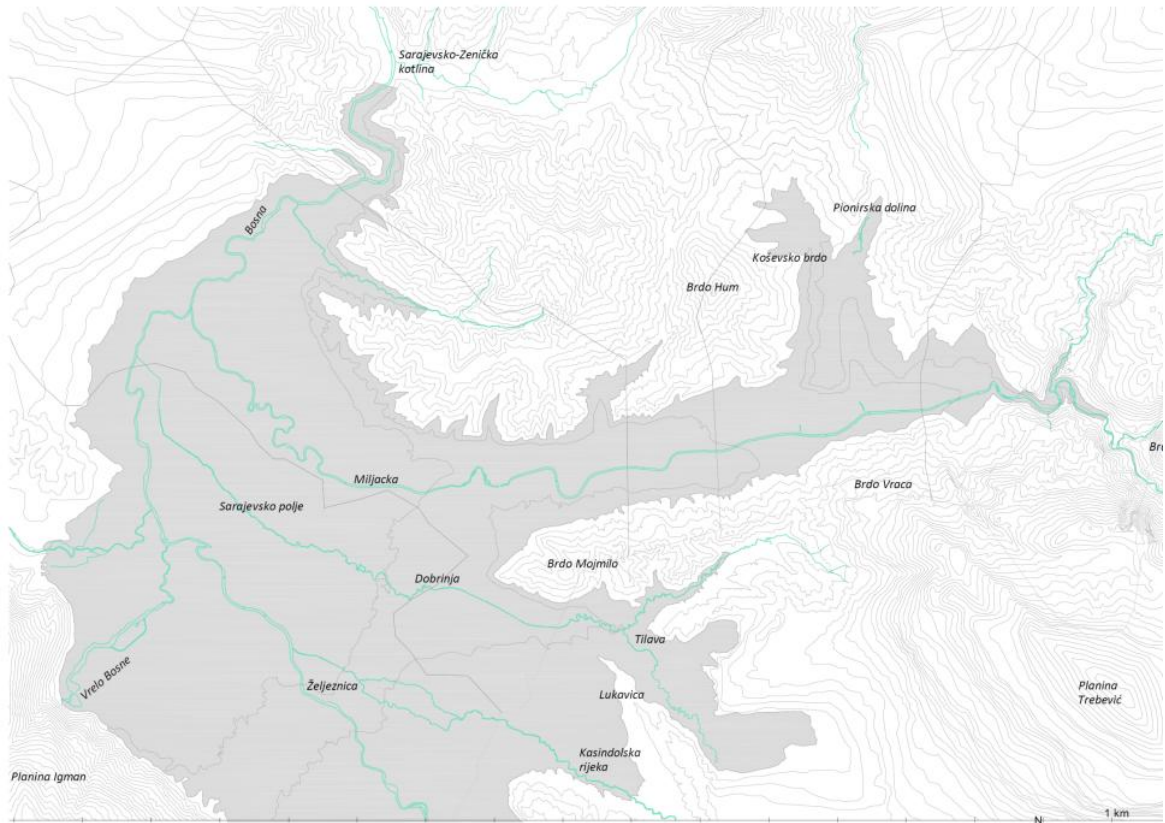


Fig 6.4. Sarajevo Valley. Map redrawn by the Author.

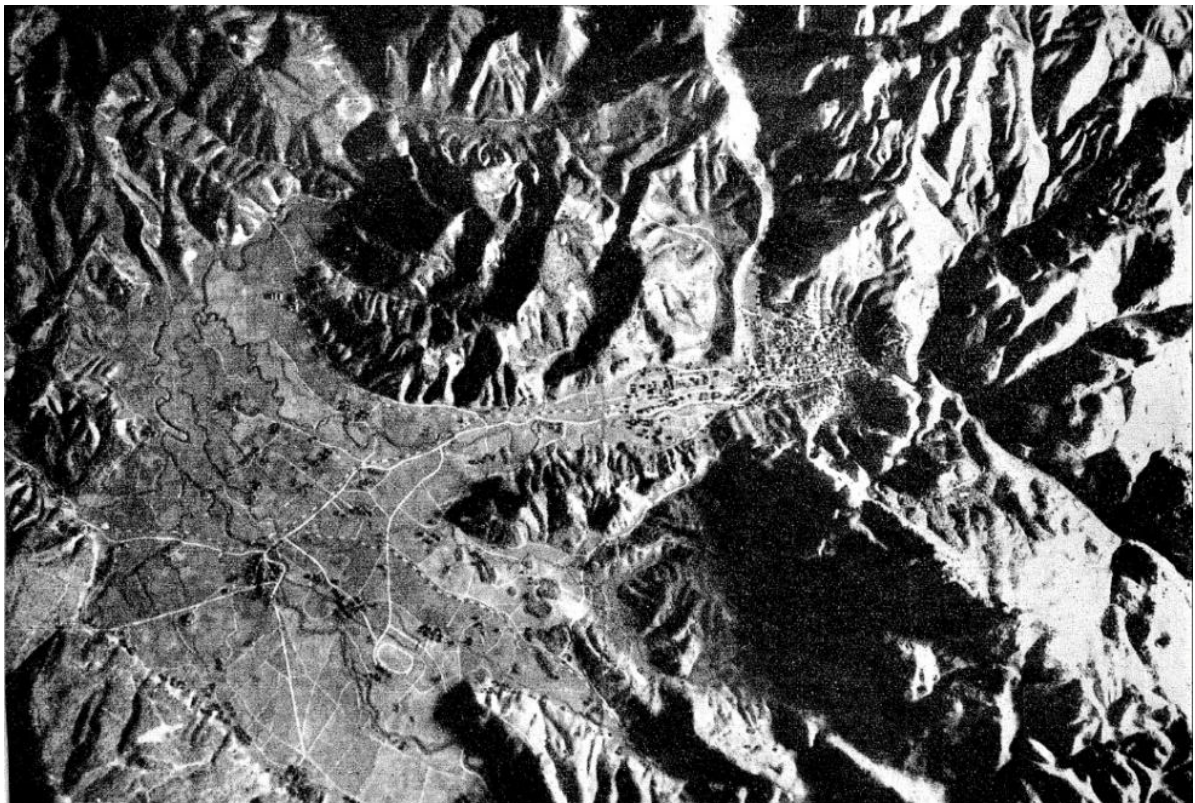


Fig 6.5. 3d map of Sarajevo Valley.

Source: Grabrijan, D., Neidhart, J. 1957. *Arhitektura Bosne i put u suvremeno*. Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

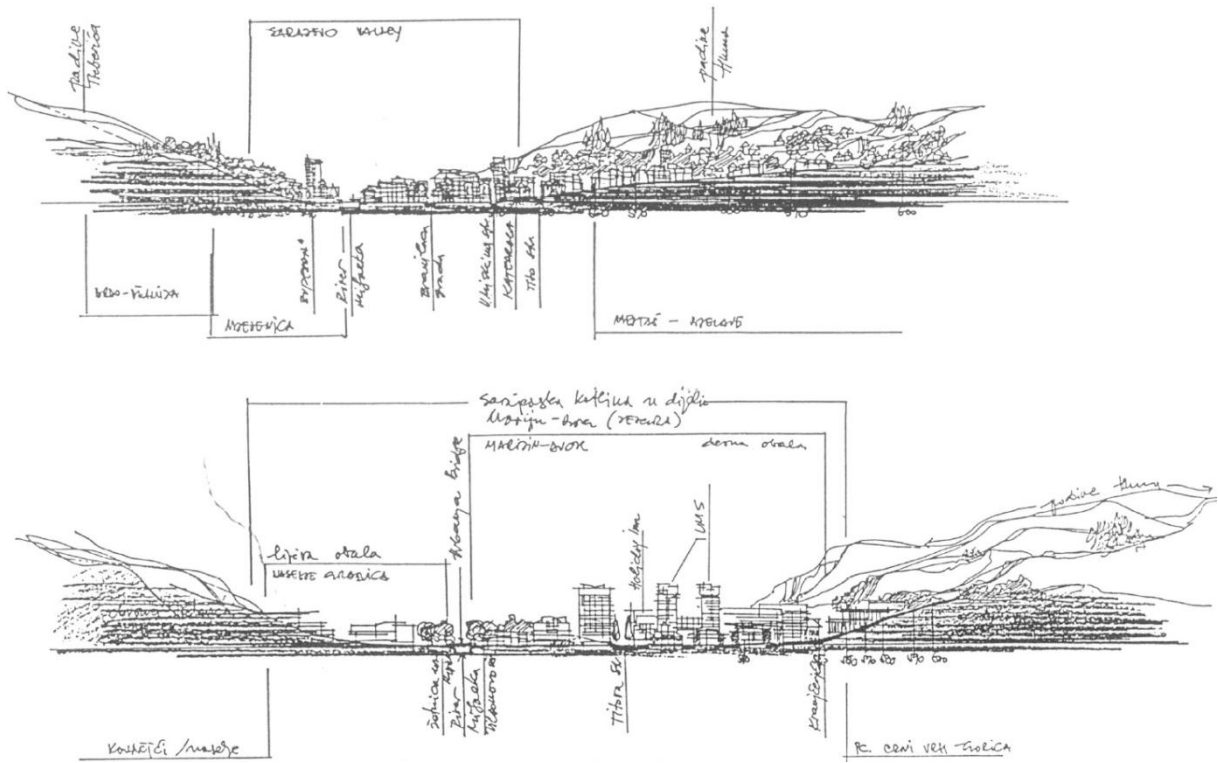


Fig 6.6. Cross sections of the city of Sarajevo. Author: Vesna Hercegovac-Pašić.

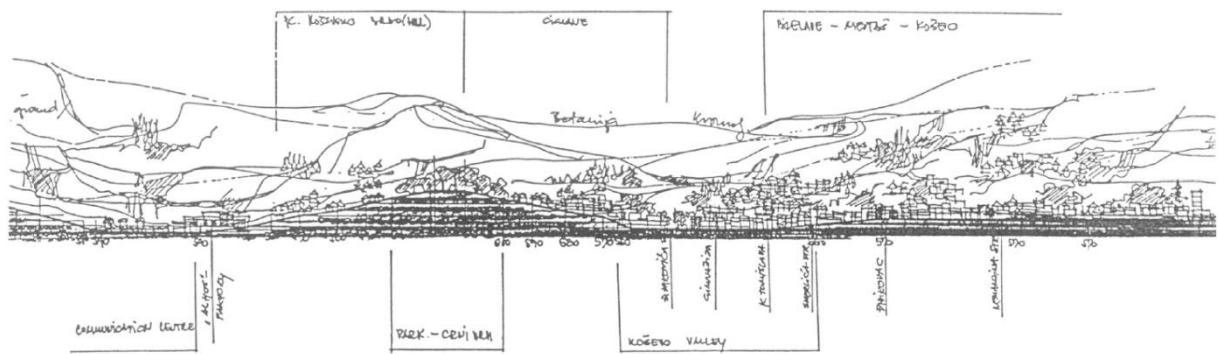


Fig 6.7. Longitudinal section of the city of Sarajevo. Author: Vesna Hercegovac-Pašić.

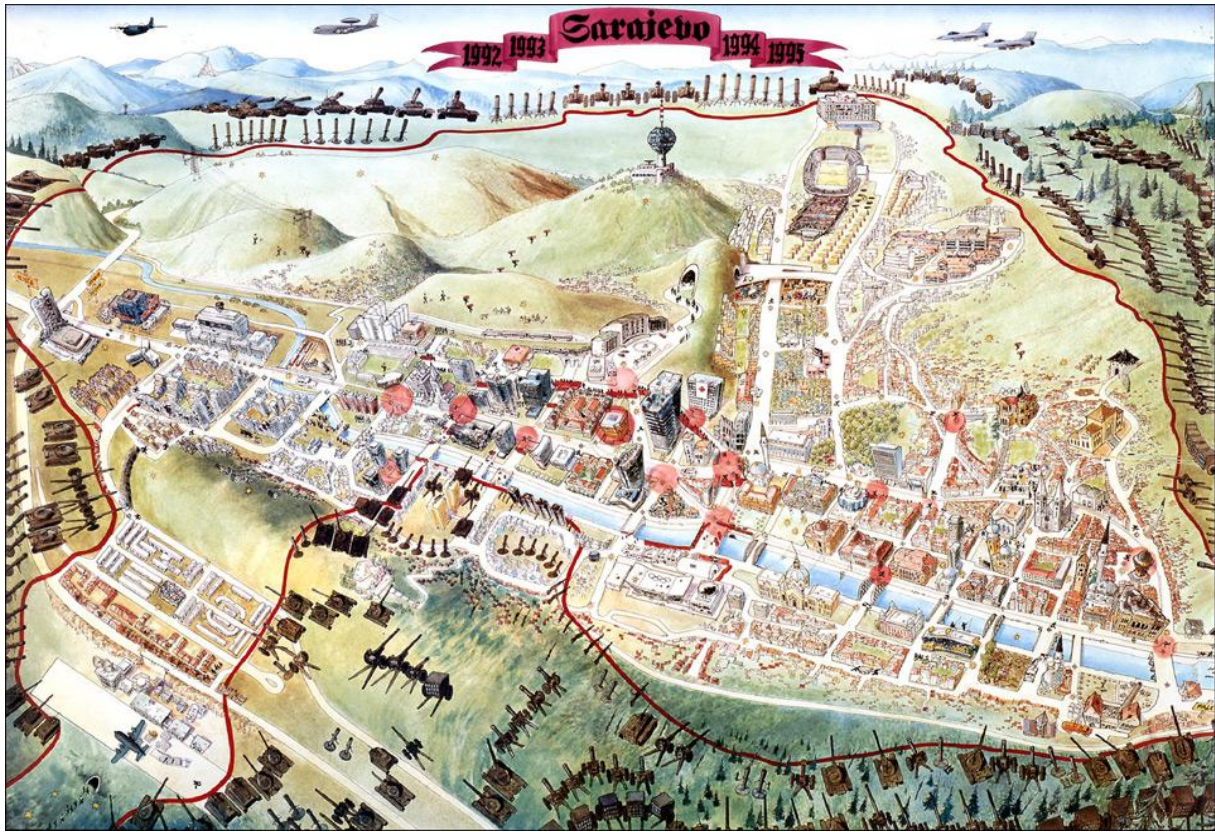


Fig 6.8. Survival map of Sarajevo, 1992–1996 Source: FAMA Collection.

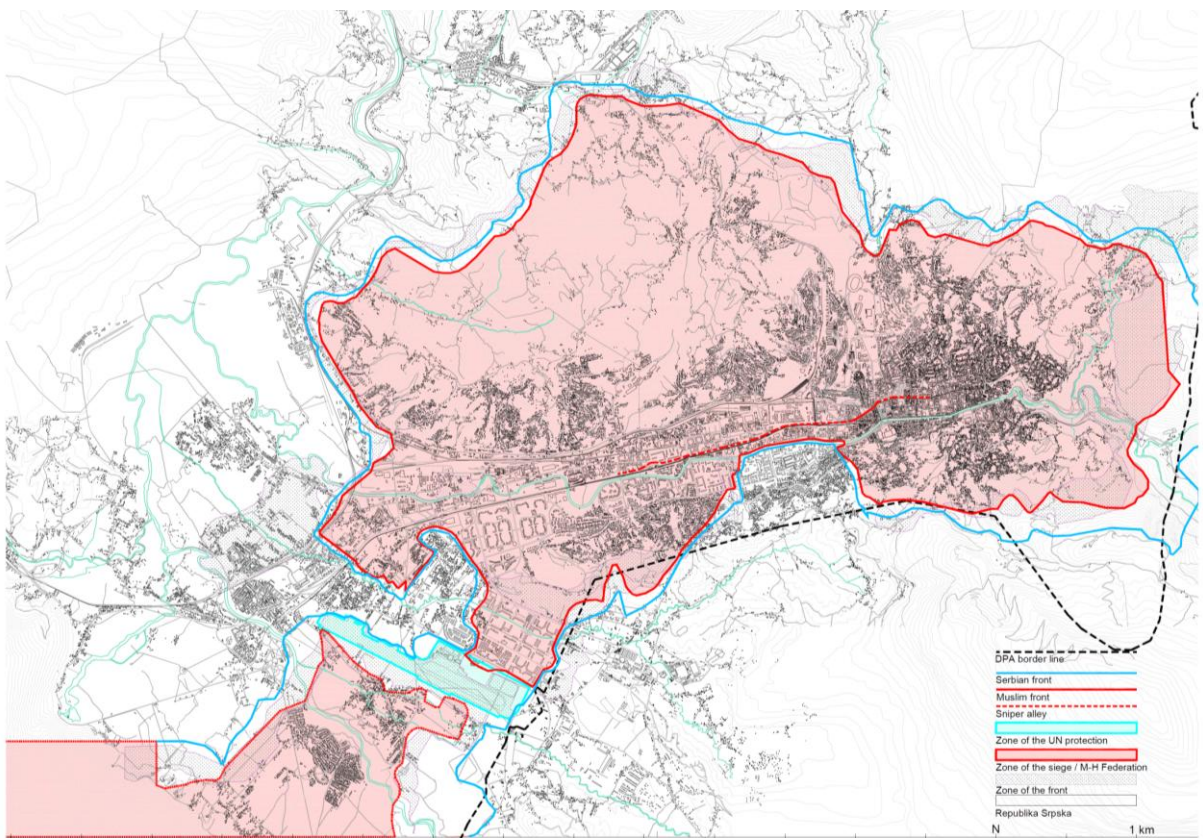


Fig 6.9. The map of siege of Sarajevo (1992–1995). Map redrawn by the Author.



Fig 6.10. The map of division of Sarajevo according DPA. Source: "Oslobodjenje" Sarajevo, Dec. 5, 1995



Fig 6.11. Zone of the division in Sarajevo showing various drawn lines from different types of (planning and administrative) documents. Map redrawn by the Author.



Fig 6.12. Municipalities which formed the city of Sarajevo until 1992. Inner urban zone - dark gray; Light gray - peripheral zone. Map redrawn by the Author.

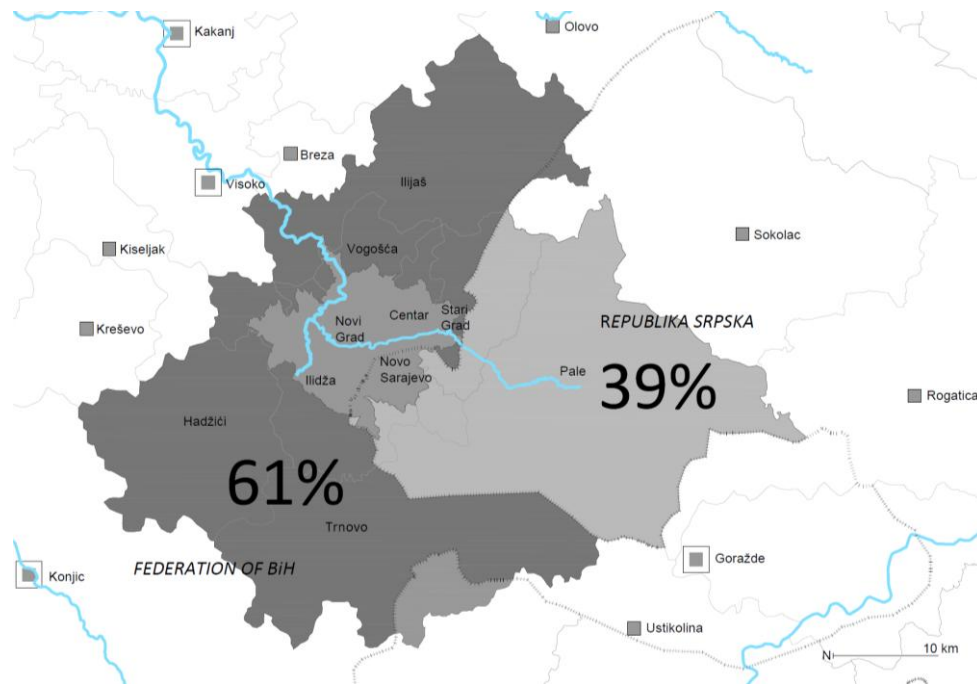


Fig 6.13. Division of Sarajevo by DPA in 1995. Map redrawn by the Author.



Fig 6.14. Two cities of Sarajevo. Kanton Sarajevo on the left side of IEBL and the city of Istočno Sarajevo on the right side of the IEBL. Dark gray - inner urban zones, Light gray - Peripheral zones. Map redrawn by the Author.

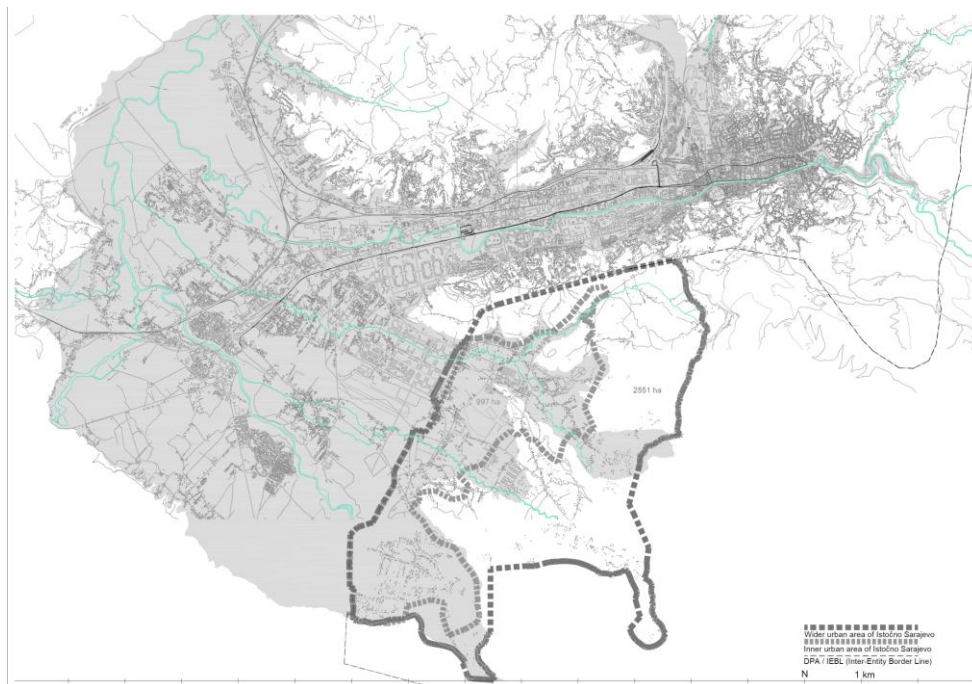


Fig 6.15. Newly formed inner urban zone of the city of Istočno Sarajevo in relation with Sarajevo. Map redrawn by the Author.

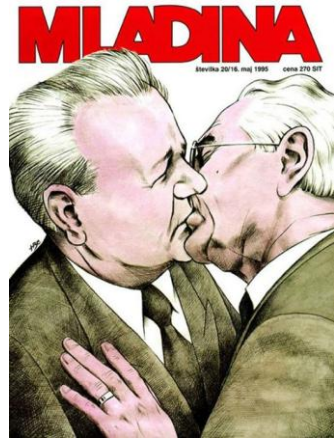


Fig 6.16. The main politicians involved in Bosnian war (1992-1995)
Sources: novosti.rs, mladina.si



Fig 6.17. Migrations from Sarajevo valey, January and February, 1996. Screenshot of the film scene.
Source: Lalović, S. (Director, Writer) 1996. Egzodus ponovo. [Film]. In F. SRT (Producer). Bosnia and Herzegovina: SRT

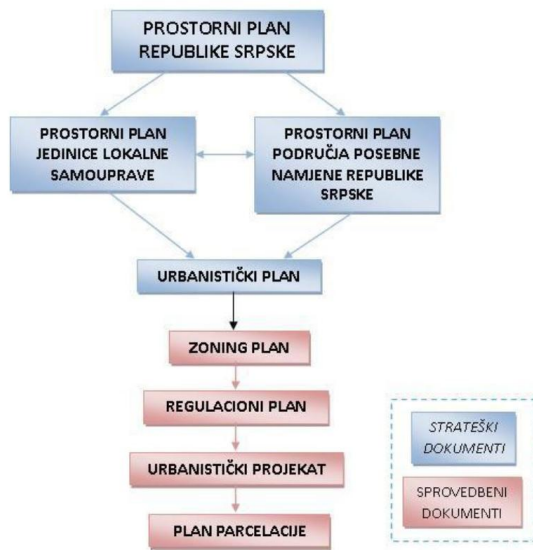


Fig 6.18. Scheme- Hierarchy of plans. (Source: available on-line pdf. <http://nasprostor.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Sistem-planiranja.pdf> [Accessed: June 15, 2015])



Fig 6.19. First Spatial Plan of the Republic of Srpska. [Prostorni plan Republike Srpske] 1996-2015, Konceptija organizacije i korišćenja prostora 1996-2001. Urbanistički zavod Republike Srpske, Banja Luka, 1996. (analogno)

ОСОВИНЕ РАЗВОЈА РЕПУБЛИКЕ СРПСКЕ ДО 2015. ГОД.

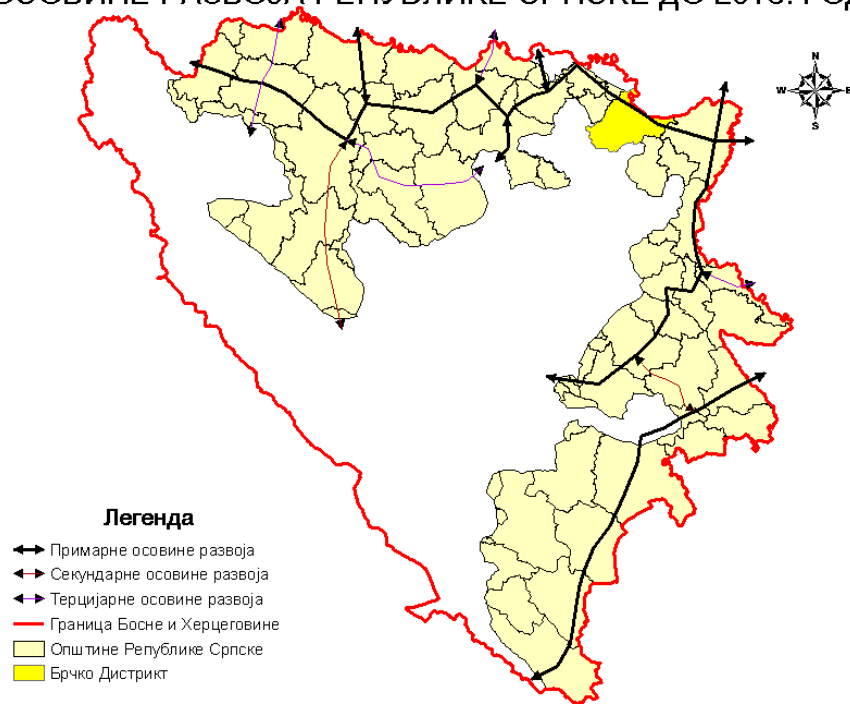


Fig 6.20. Prostorni plan Republike Srpske do 2015.
Urbanistički zavod Republike Srpske, Banja Luka, 2008. (digitalno)

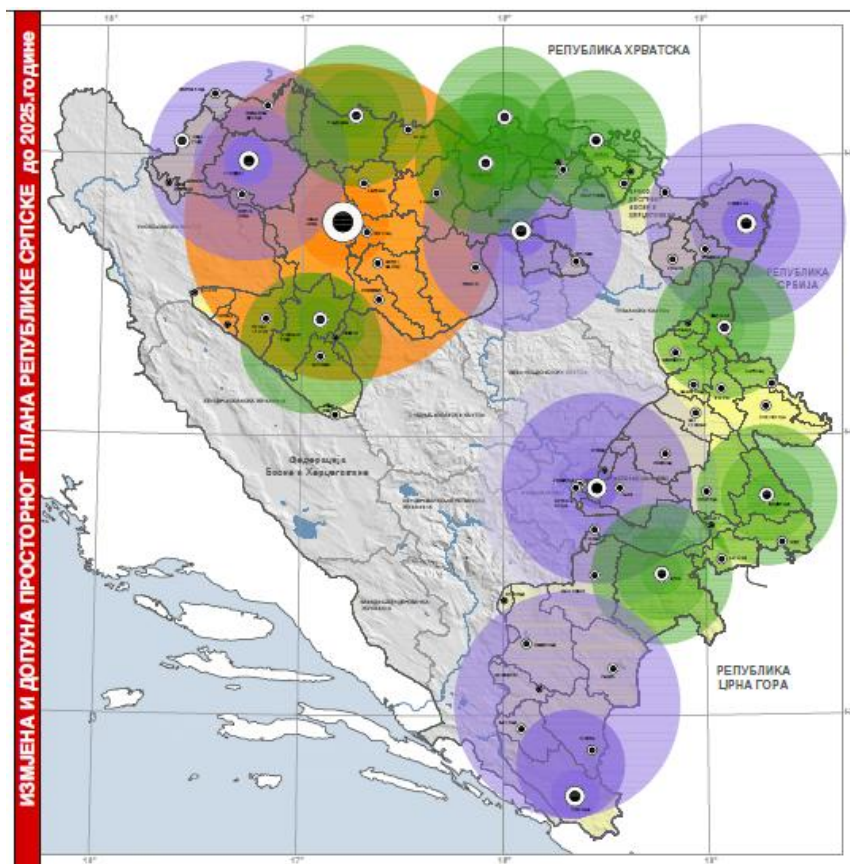
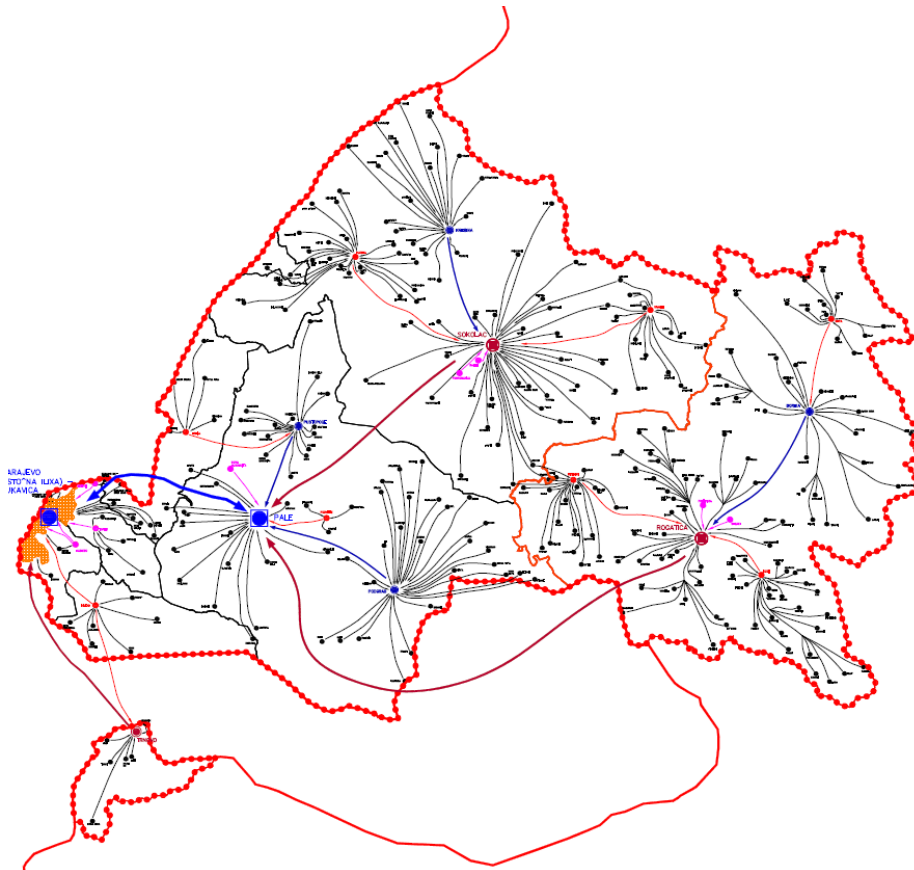


Fig 6.21. Izmjene i dopune Prostornog plana Republike Srpske do 2025. godine - nacrt.
Novi urbanistički zavod Republike Srpske, Banja Luka, 2013.



ПРАВЦИ РАЗВОЈА ПОДРУЧЈА ОБУХВАТА ПЛАНА ДО 2030. ГОДИНЕ

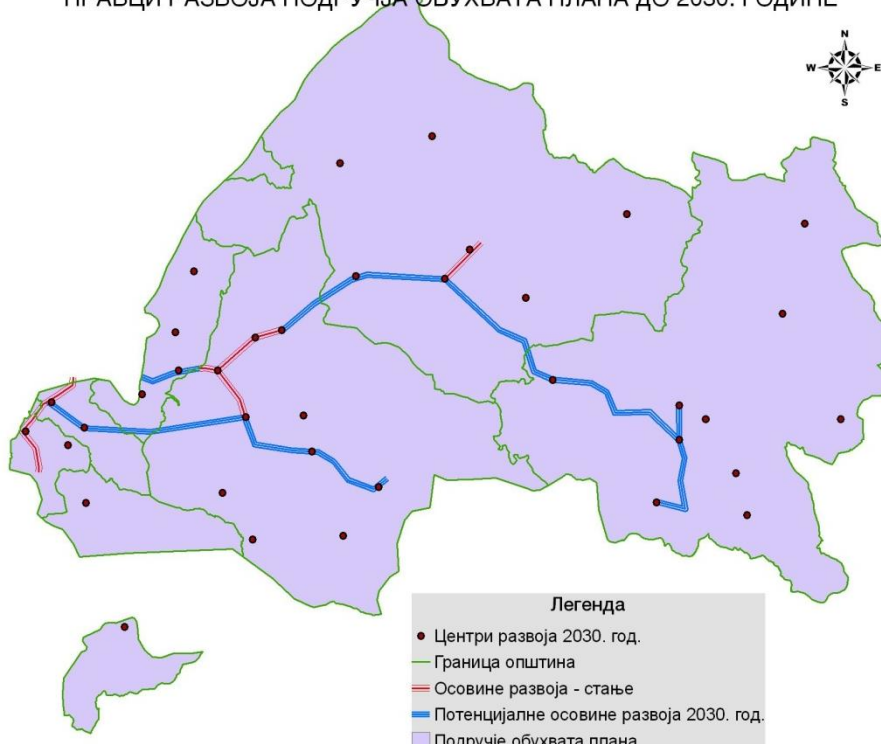


Fig 6.22. Prostorni plan Grada Istočno Sarajevo do 2015 godine, Urbanistički zavod Republike Srpske Banja Luka, 2008. (digitalno)

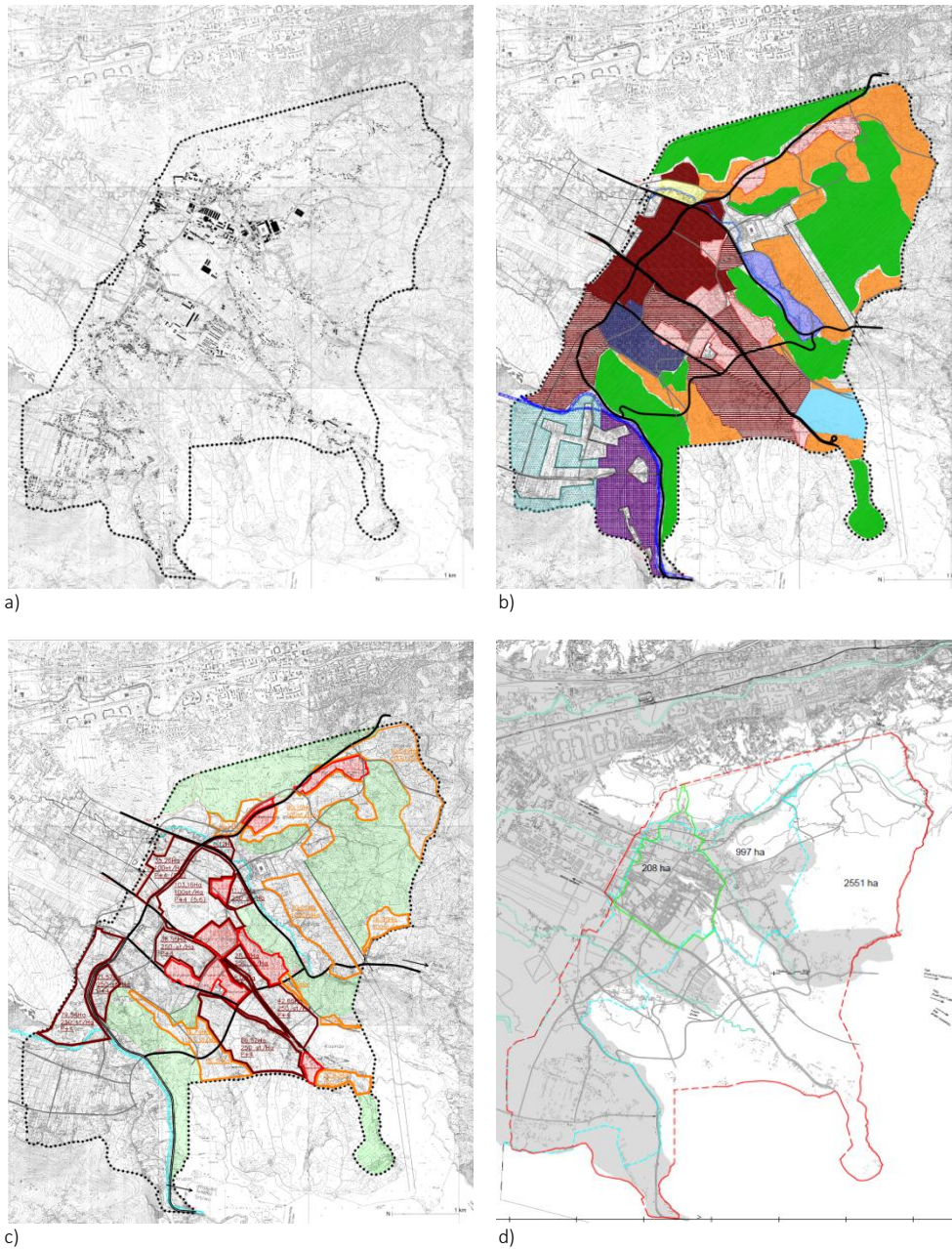


Fig 6.23. a) b) 'Urbanistički plan dijela teritorija opština Srpsko Novo Sarajevo i Srpska Ilidža' (Istočno Sarajevo), Urbanistički zavod Republike Srpske Banja Luka, 2001. (digitalno).
 c) Zones of different detailed regulation plans in the framework of Urban Plan.
 Maps redrawn by the Author.

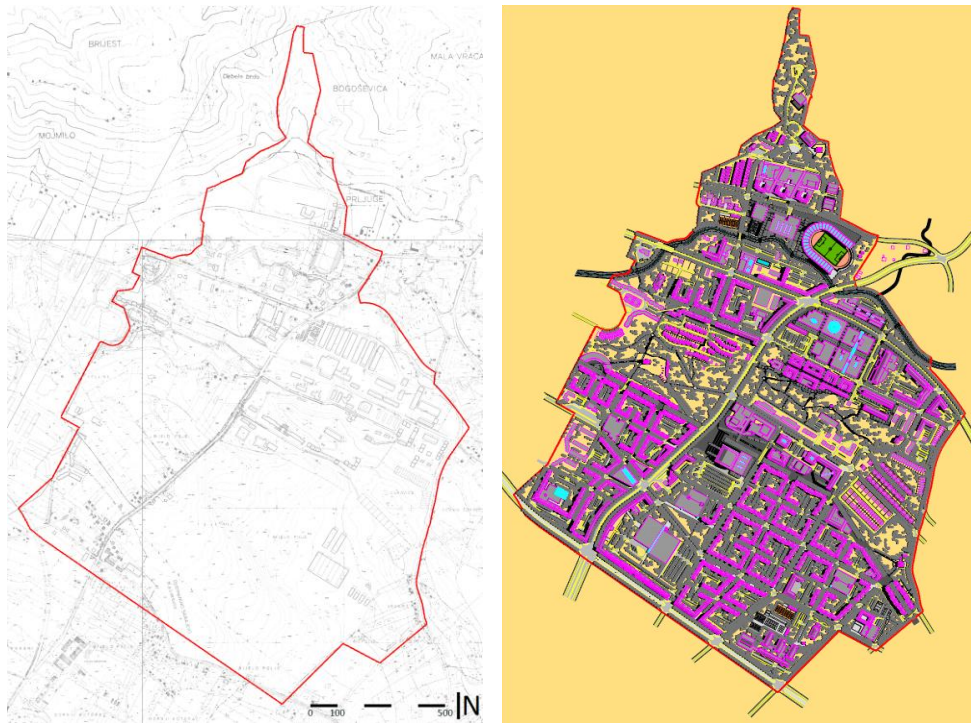


Fig 6.24. Regulacioni plan dijela područja opštine Srpsko (Istočno) Novo Sarajevo i Srpska (Istočna) Ilidža. Urbanistički zavod Republike Srpske, Banja Luka, 2001. (digitalno)

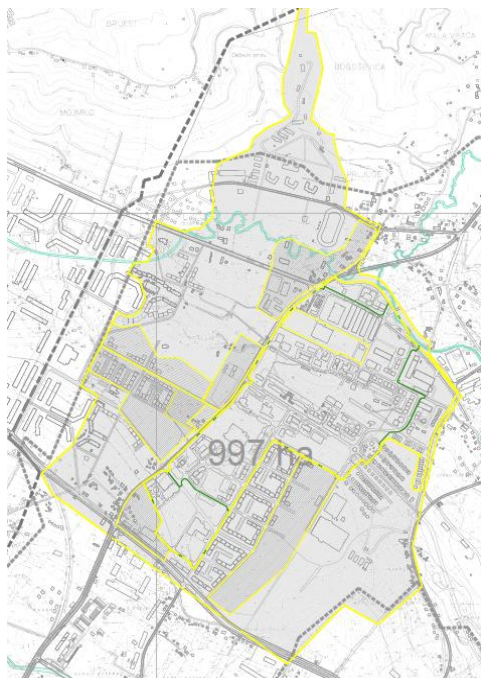


Fig 6.25. Zones of different detailed regulation plans in the framework of First Plan. Map redrawn by the Author.

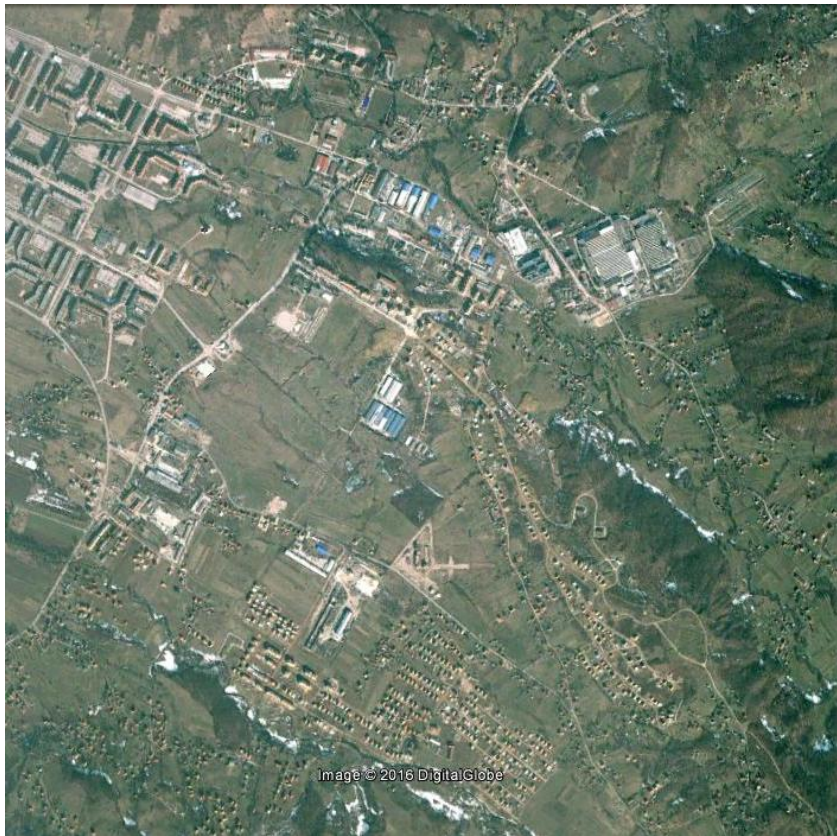


Fig 6.26. Satellite image of Istocno Sarajevo, 2001. (Source: Google earth)



Fig 6.27. Satellite image of Istočno Sarajevo, 2015. (Source: Google earth)



Fig 6.28. Istočno Sarajevo. Photo by the Author.



Fig 6.29. Istočno Sarajevo. Photo by the Author.



Fig 6.30. Istočno Sarajevo. Photo by the Author.



Fig 6.31. Istočno Sarajevo. Photo by the Author.

7. TRANSITION OF THE VILLAGE

Stanišići

Nedjeljko Bilkić - A bridge to my homeland [1]

*All my friends have gathered
around me and the bed
they ask me in a foreign land
what my heart desires*

*Everyone is giving offers
offering different dainties
One glass of cold water
from the spring of Bosnia, hej, is all I need*

*They bandage a cold compress
so that my wound can heal faster
ah all I need is a handful of snow
from Mount of Jahorina*

*Chorus:
I don't need no drugs or doctors
call me builders
build a bridge with no end
A bridge to my homeland*

The case study in ethno-village Stanišići (Bijeljina) examines the impact that an individual has on the process of transition of spatial identities. Through the way of the formation of ethno-village, the study analyses cultural identities that form it as well as relations between spatial identities. Ethno-village Stanišići emerges in the process of literally moving the physical structure elements from one (Brgule village, Vareš, Central Bosnia and Herzegovina) to another context (Novo Selo, Bijeljina, Northeast Bosnia and Herzegovina) on the basis of personal initiative of just one person- Boris Stanišić, which is the founder, owner and director of the village, who wanted to have a piece of his homeland, in his new place of residence. The case study shows possibilities, values and strengthness of the impact that an individual exercises in the specific spatial context. It reveals the circumstances that lead to this kind of process manifestation, what its basic elements are (of which it is composed), how it developed, what consequences it has on an individual as a direct participant in the process), or for spaces directly involved, and finally what the impact is on the wider area in which it operates (city and region).

The process is seen in a very big scale, in a very small area, with a small number of participants and a small number of other variables elements. It is based on personal initiative of one man as the main agent and representative of all members of the process. He represents a possible model (pattern of behaviour) for an entire type of people which would act in a similar way in similar circumstances. Or, as they already acted in the given circumstances. With only one difference, they were limited and conditioned by a much larger number of other factors. On the other hand, this study examines the complexity of position of an individual as a main agent in the process. This position also hints a popular song in the spirit of folklore music, which in the popular manner speaks about painful feelings of nostalgia towards homeland. It refers to the geographical terms, fountainhead Bosnia and Jahorina mountain, parts of central Bosnia, from which the builder of Stanišići himself comes. Finally, the song calls for construction of the bridge to the homeland, as the only remedy and the only way for healing the sick, nostalgic soul. Many newly composed folk songs sing about nostalgia for the homeland, which were particularly popular during the war and post-war period, especially for people whose lives were set outside of the former Yugoslavia.

7.1 Map of transition

Although it emerges / occurs in a relatively small area of about only 200 kilometers distance, this transition is a very long way in reality. It represents distances at several levels and between number of different borders. 200 kilometers are short on the European, or broader scale, but in the small territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina this is a very long distance with a lot of diversities, which can be measured by thousands of kilometers. Personal sense of distance has also often been reinforced by long roads that have passed in the process of displacement between the old (previous) and new (current) places of residences. In many cases this process has lasted for years and in major cases it was not rectilinear path. Between the previous place of residence and the final destination, where they made their homes again, people passed through process of refugees golgotha and through other, new places, unknown experiences, etc.

Moving means crossing of many, different types of borders: semantic, symbolic, mental, then physical, natural, geographical, ethnic, and finally the entity, statal, systemic... Identity transition of the village Brgule towards Stanišić has meant transition from one region on the border of Vrh-Bosnia (Top of Bosnia) and Central Bosnia, over the region of Usora and Salt, to Semberija, from the mountains to the plains (crossing the Majevisa mountain as a natural border), from the Bosna river basin in the basin of the Drina and Sava, from the (old) center to the periphery (new center), from the industrial (now abandoned) to the agricultural area, "from Sarajevo to Tuzla," ... But Kajmaković (1974) reminds that this is nothing new. "The colonization from the southern mountain areas, which began combined with the Turkish conquest, was present throughout the whole period of Turkish rule. At the same time, temporary emigrations were also occurring, and especially during the wars." He adds that "the movement of the population has always been present throughout the history, even in relatively calm / periods of peace, when individuals move for personal reasons and need to be moved even to the neighboring village on the land of other owners."

7.1.1. Personal atlas

Because of this, Kajmaković (1974: 16) observed that "The hardest part of the field research in Semberija is the origin of the population. It is because the weakening and lossing of tradition is a problem in all of contemporary ethnological studies. This problem is particularly acute since every family has its own specific tradition, and if they do not know it, is unlikely that anyone else will know about it." This is the reason why personal atlas of Mr. Boris Stanišić (the founder, owner and director of ethno-village Stanišići) is so important. It is linked to Brgule village near Vareš, where the origin of his family comes from, and to which he was very connected. It is also connected to Sarajevo, the city where he studied, lived and worked before the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995). He was a technician by profession, but over the time he started to be interested in business, construction, landscaping, marketing, tourism. Boris describes the process of personal and family transition (the time between leaving the previous place of residence and final settlement in Bijeljina), as a series of images of personal, but universal refugee experience.

I started to work when I was 21. I was employed in the "Pretis" in Vogošća. During the Olympics [2], I was head of the bars in hotels of Winter Olympics. After that, I worked as a croupier in a casino, but in parallel I always worked something private. By 30 I built a house with two shops. Unfortunately, then the war started and we had to start again from scratch. After several movings, I came to Bijeljina with my wife Sanja and our two kids. I felt there is a job for us and decided to make a new home near Bijeljina [3].

It was a very hard time. I was 31 when the war started. Traumatic stay at the Sarajevo front, in the center of the terrible armed conflict, encouraged me to leave this space after the the end of the war. Wishing that neither me nor my children will ever feel the war again. That is one of the reasons, why we finally took refuge here, in Semberija, between Sava and Drina rivers, where open conflict was already finished and where we could start a new life in peace. Finally, we came to the riverside of Drina river (border) from where it was close and easy to cross in Serbia, in case of a new conflict in Bosnia. Nevertheless, we remained in Bosnia and not in Serbia. But ironically, regardless of the whole background of my story, one of my sons finally entered the Millitary Academy, so I guess, it is probably destiny[3].

During the first wave of refugee we could not take a lot with us. In fact, Almost nothing. Much later, in other circumstances, we could move some things that were not destroyed. But more important is the immense love for homeland that we carried with us, which has grown even more in the refugee process, which we preserve and celebrate around the world. Besides, we brought a rich intangible heritage in the culture of housing, construction, living ... Living culture of a typical Serb village of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, that many people feel like a part of their tradition, so that is the reason why they love our ethno-village, where they often return[3].

7.1.2. Bijeljina in Semberija

Bijeljina is the main center of the fertile lowland region in (the) north-eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina, called Semberija (Figure N). It is located in a valley bounded by mountain Majevisa in the south (where plains stop and hilly parts begin); Sava river (Croatian border) in the north and Drina river (border with Serbia) in the east. It is surrounded by geographical areas of Posavina, Drina valley, Srem, Mačva and the slopes of the mountain Majevisa. The land, where the Pannonian Sea used to be, is very fertile, the climate is temperate continental with a population of mainly Serbian. Besides Bijeljina, the other two cities in Semberija are Lopare and Ugljevik (Filipović 1969, Aganović 1977, Bublin 1986). It was mentioned in 1533, for the first time during the rule of Ottoman empire. The name is originally Hungarian and it is believed that it comes from the period between 12th and 16th century when this area was under the rule of Hungarian kingdom (Cvijić 1966, Kajmaković 1974, Trbić 2012).

Before 1992, Semberija and Bijeljina as its center were perceived as agricultural areas, located in the peripheral border of the country, out of major flows of communication. People went in Bijeljina in late summer and early autumn to buy cabbage for the winter and plums to make rakija (typically brandy distillation) [3]. The closest larger town is Brčko (westwards), which represented the point of gravity as a sub-regional and industrial center. The whole region gravitated to the city of Tuzla, which was economic, educational, cultural and administrative center of the North-western Bosnia and Herzegovina until 1992 (Aganović 1977, Bublin 1986). However, the war caused great changes in geography of the country, which resulted in a significant change of macro-geographical, regional, territorial and spatial organization of the network of settlements and regions. At the time of the breakup of Yugoslavia, the Serbian Autonomous Region of Northeastern Bosnia (SAO Northeastern Bosnia) was proclaimed in September 1991, with Bijeljina becoming its capital. In November of the same year the area was renamed as SAO Semberija, and in December as SAO Semberija and Majevisa. In 1992, the area had become part of the Serbs Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, later called Republika Srpska (Malcolm 1996, Donia 2002, Silber 2007, Антић 2015).

With this turn of events, thanks to its favorable geographical position, in the middle of the free territory without direct war conflicts, near the border with Serbia and Croatia, and position on the main war communication and traffic hub through the newly established Republika Srpska, Bijeljina has become one of the major economic centers and it started to attract a large number of people, refugees and displaced persons who were seeking their refuge there. Kajmaković (1974: 34) highlights the tradition of migration in Semberija, particularly through the entire eighteenth century when, as a border area, it was the battle ground and went from hand to hand which did not favor the creation and development of more solid habitats in this area. The high concentration of people and capital in the free territory enabled development of a favorable business environment. From that time the development of trade, transport, construction, and finally agriculture is recorded, which still remained dominant. From a small, peripheral place, during and after the war, Bijeljina became one of the main urban centers in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is estimated that about 240,000 inhabitants nowadays live in Semberija. According to estimates from 2005, the municipality has a population of 150,000 inhabitants, while Census of 2013 says that in the urban area of the city of Bijeljina live 114 663 inhabitants, in 34 651 households and 48 280 dwellings.

7.2.1.1 Stanišići in Dijelovi

Urban character of Bijeljina is mostly determined by flat terrain and concentric radial development of the main lines of communication. Among them there is a tiny filigree structure of the rich Ottoman heritage, a number of significant units from Austro-Hungarian period, and finally parts of the modern socialist city, which are squeezed between dominant mahala structures, intertwined with narrow sokak (Tur. streets) alleys. The new, post-war development was marked by interpolations within the existing urban fabric and suburban expansions that take place along the main roads in all directions. They gradually take up a green ring of the agricultural land between the city and the concentric circles of the villages, so the town and villages become closer then ever. At the same time, certain villages are beginning to urbanize, and this convergence is taking place in both directions, until they completely emerge at some points.

Ethno-village Stanišići administratively belongs to Dijelovi village, which is defined as a settlement in 2012 [N]. By then, it was part of Novo Selo and Dvorovi villages, which have a long tradition and turbulent history, with accumulated layers of different cultures, activities and identities. German colonists started to build Novo selo in 1886. There were about 1500 of them living in the village by the year of 1942. (Preindlsberger 1900, Hoffmann 1963, Janjetović 1991, Von Horstenau 1998, Renner 2015). Novo selo village (Franz Josefsfeld) is a national monument of Bosnia and Herzegovina nowadays [N]. According to the 1991 census it had a population of 122, and now it has 1.229 inhabitants (in 384 households and 419 dwellings), while in Dijelovi 705 inhabitants live (in 218 households and 285 dwellings) (Census, 2013).

7.1.3. Vareš in Central Bosnia

Vareš is a town located 42 kilometers northern of Sarajevo, trapped among the picturesque hills of central Bosnia, where Bosnian-Herzegovinian kings once ruled (Cvijić 1922, Erdeljanović 1928, Cvijić 1966, Filipović 1928/2002). Before 1992, it was an important industrial center, with mine of iron ore and a number of other factories, it belonged to developed industrial region of the Sarajevo-Zenica basin (Aganović 1977, Bublin 1986). It gravitated to Sarajevo and belonged to a group of small, developed cities in which "people lived nice" there were more than two thousand employees in the iron mine and steel mill). Vareš is one of the few municipalities where the national parties have not won on the first democratic elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1990), but as such it did not survive the war nor the later period of transition. There is no more steel mills, or a mine in Vareš today, as left of it was privatized, which meant the sale of machines, raw materials, and devastation. Chroniclers of Vareš write about it as the physically and mentally broken city (Figure N).

The entrance to the city looks like the entrance to the mausoleum. Hundreds of meters on either side of the curved road, there are just ruins, eerily empty half-destroyed houses, windows without glass behind which only occasionally peeked tatters blackened curtains, while ruined buildings of the former industry buildings, rusted and overgrown with weeds, appear as backdrops for shooting apocalyptic scene. On the left side of the road is a sign of "welcome" - rotten and rusted panel lurking in the bushes. Only after a few hundred meters, houses emerge as well as buildings with windows that have glass and clean curtains, a fresh facade or the roof. But then there is again a destroyed house or a building where only wind and darkness live. After that, the life emerges again, the school in front of which children are running around, nuns who plant flowers, and then there is a wreck again...

Residents of the city, which by the 1991 census had a population of 22,203, are constantly moving out. There are only 9.556 of them nowadays and even if the coal mines would be opened again, Vareš would not have the manpower for that, so they should be imported. Residents point out that Vareš fed Belgrade and Sarajevo once, but even then, no one has invested in this town. "They took everything they could from Vareš, no one thought about us. From the war onwards maybe just two or three objects have been restored in Vareš. Everything is crashing here - the city and the people."

The fact is that the unjust war in Bosnia and Herzegovina had a (re)territorialisation as the result. This led to the fact that, thanks to its new geo-strategic position, power relations and changing the social structure, some places lost their importance. This is the case with Vareš and Bijeljina. While Vareš slowly veins, Bijeljina is plumbing. Vareš looks poorer and smaller than it has ever been. People who have made it, worked and created

are no longer there. The villages have been abandoned, as they are physically and literally disappearing. Abandoned, old and ruined houses where no one lives and which are not maintained are just disappearing under the ravages of time and weather conditions.

7.1.3.1. Brgule in Vareš

Brgule is the village of Vareš municipality, situated below the slopes of the Zvijezda mountain, about 5 km by air or about 20 km of road line, away from the city in the east direction. Ivankovic says, Brgule was mentioned for the first time in 1631, when Friar Martin Brgulejanin became the provincial of Bosnia, or in 1632 when John Stražemanac became the head of the Bosnian Franciscans who held this position until 1633 or 1635. Father Ignatius Raven, editor of Lašvanin's "Chronicles" notes that Brgule village is just two hours walk away from Vareš, and "today it is (1981) without Catholics". Following is written in the Turkish sources recently published "Comprehensive list of the Bosnian Sanjak of 1604." (Sarajevo, 2000): "The village javra, another name Brgulea", is situated in Visoko nahija in the Bosnian Sandžak, noting that the first name is not held to date, and that there is Brgule village, southeast of Vareš. When Brgule entered the historiographical relevant literature again, it was already settled by Orthodox population, which moved in the aftermath of the Vienna War (after 1699) from the territory of eastern Herzegovina and Montenegro. In modern times, Brgule became interesting because of findings of stelae. In 1961 a prehistoric finding has been discovered there, a "hoard of bronze objects" (900 BC). National Museum in Sarajevo has bought out this valuable archaeological finding from Bosko Stanišić.

7.2. Matrix of construction

After years of refugee life, wanderings and movings, Stanišić family has decided to start a new life in Bijeljina. Ethno-village "Stanišić" emerged in 2003, 3 kilometers away from Bijeljina and only 3 kilometers away from the Pavlovic Bridge, near Drina River, about 135 kilometers away from Belgrade, on the road of Bijeljina- Belgrade.

At one point I wanted to get my new home in Bijeljina enriched with the spirit of my homeland, so spontaneously I conceived the idea of construction. All started from one house which soon became an attraction. People passing stopped and wondered where it came from and what a typical traditional chalet of Dinara type is doing in the middle of Semberia's plains. That attracted them to my new restaurant, a new business which I started to deal with and so it all started [3].

Kajmaković (1974) has been saying about the memories of immigration in the desolate area and the founding of "village", which could, among "our" people, mean only one house. That one house, restaurant in ethno-style, was also striking because it was called "Konoba" (a tavern). People from Bijeljina considered it unsuitable for their territory, but today there are already several other taverns in the city. From there an idea of building an entire village developed, by moving an authentic ambient of homeland, along with authentic architecture to Bijeljina. But, already at the very beginning it started to develop a certain conflict between the physical identity of typical Semberija villages, their culture, mentality, customs and traditions and new identities that have started to arrive with new residents from other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, mainly from Central Bosnia.

Simultaneously with the identity transition, ethno-village has become a commercial venture, in which identity is placed in the form of finished product. Čiča and Mlinar point out (2010) that a "traditional cultural heritage is exploited only as terminological and scenographic cellophane, in which a commercial motivation has actually been packed, with no real authentic, representative performance". Ethno villages in Bosnia are a kind of mixed collage, created by replication, interpretation and simulation of historical objects and spaces, setting accumulated historicistic and false historicistic elements as decorative trim on the contemporary buildings. Ethno village usually legitimizes selected ethnic / confessional identity by setting up a religious building or a religious symbol - the Orthodox Church, the Catholic chapel, cross or mosque - which are just labels and decoration, empty of content (Hadžimuhamedović, 2013: 234).

A small mountainous village from central Bosnia was supposed to be placed in the heart of Semberija plain, as well as a piece of lost homeland and identity, which had to be transferred from the village Brgule near Vareš to Stanišići (Nova Selo- Dijelovi) near Bijeljina. My inspiration was a village where I was born, where I spent the best days of

childhood and to which I am bound with all my heart and soul. I accepted everything that has followed a certain village and I tried to bring with me a part of the atmosphere from my abandoned, distant homeland, and in some way, to save it from oblivion of that way of life and image of the village [3].

However, here was a wasteland and everywhere around were just plains. I was supposed to build a whole village, so there are the hills, streams and lakes to setting it back more possibly closer to the mountain ambient, with bridges, vegetation and curved paths which connected it all. All of this represent an imitation of a space under the Zvijezda mountain where I played as a kid. I have failed to move the mountain, but I did move the village. Whole one homeland, the one from the heart of Bosnia, around of Sarajevo, was moved to Semberija plains [3].

Over several years, Boris has traveled through villages of central Bosnia searching for old houses and objects that would keep alive one passed time and living culture of the end of the 19th and early 20th century.

I did not have any models. It is all a figment of my imagination, memories, but also opportunities. The complex has been created and developed spontaneously, depending on available resources, land, and buildings, but also on inspiration and ideas. I did not even want to watch, to visit or to see other similar complexes, such as Drvengrad (Wooden Town)[1] on Mokra gora or Staro selo Sirogojno (Old village Sirogojno)[2] - open museum, so I would have any influences. Thus it is all unique, original and authentic [3].

However, Boris adds that he has not invented anything new, because others did it earlier.

No architect has entered in the complex with some of his ideas. Construction flowed spontaneously, without big plans. Only once I had to determine the position of certain objects in advance, it was when Bijeljina municipality insisted that it had to be done in order to obtain the necessary permits, and now I am not satisfied with that part[3].

The construction of the village was a very complex task, due to the specific process of moving the original objects. The process was time-consuming, expensive and demanding in every aspect - organizational, technological, strategic. First I had to find all these objects, through a kind of series of study trips and fieldwork, then I had to find their owners, scattered around the world and to buy them out. Many buildings were completely abandoned. All of this required time and money, and therefore could not be done at once. Besides, all other necessary materials were delivered on the site: huge amount of cubic meters of earth for artificial hills, stone and shingles that were not existing anywhere in the vicinity of Bijeljina. The only domestic thing was groundwater, but it had to be drawn on the surface.

We previously had to prepare the land and place of assembly for all objects in Stanišići. This turned out as the most demanding part of the enterprise because the land has become increasingly costly due to the success of the village, and the need for expansion. So the land was not purchased at once, but piece by piece, depending on the need and only in rare cases, depending on strategy, such as the last purchased piece of about several dunums, which cost about 200,000 KM. That is a parking area now. The main purpose of this land was to actually prevent the competition from building something there which could minorise the value of ethno-village. Although high costs of the land, all sorts of games, nipping and other problems were making most practical obstructions in construction, we were lucky that all of the owners wanted to sell the land in which we were interested[3].

Truth to be told, buildings weren't too expensive. The most expensive cost of a building was about 4000 KM (1KM = 0,45 €) but its price was increased by the process of marking, dismantling, transportation in parts and then assembling it on the site with the old, manual techniques of working with wood, stone and shingle as basic materials from which they were made [3]. The coverings of buildings have additionally increased the cost of building construction, because the coverings (shingles) generally had to be replaced. At the time of construction, a piece of shingle cost about 1,20 KM and 3,500 pieces were necessary for one building. To illustrate, it now costs 0,50 to 0,80 KM. There is one more very big problem. Shingles are commonly used to cover the objects in mountain areas (their natural habitat) and there they have a shelf life of about 50 to 70 years. On the other hand their lifespan, here in the valley, is decreased for almost 10 times because of the lower altitude and greater humidity[3]!

Most of the houses that were purchased are transferred literally... They are unfolded piece by piece, parts were marked by numbers and orientation, and are assembled on the site to look exactly like they looked a hundred years ago. A dozen of the original house-mountain lodges have been purchased and transferred for two years.

This village is original, all the houses are original, because it was being created manually, beam by beam, plank by plank. The authentic appearance of the village is the result of love and good energy of those who participated in its construction. The permanent team of craftsmen who have been working on the complex from the beginning has been made up of people from the same homeland they loved, from Zenica, Vareš, Visoko. They have always worked with a lot of nostalgia and love, so they managed to transfer it in the space they worked on which can be felt[3].

Deroko (1968) writes that the custom of moving objects has a long tradition. It is characteristic of the people of the Bosnian Dinarids but also occurs in many cultures and civilizations. It is particularly important building technique so the building can fold and unfold easy and simple, in the shortest possible time. "In this way, the farmer could almost alone (with maybe a few more people) move the building to another location for any reason. Movings, buyings houses, donated objects, objects brought to the dowry were thus transmitted. Depending on the size of the object, moving could make the "handful" of people, or the complete machine consists of 20-40 ox carts with people in other extreme. This would be the case that the object is moved in its entirety, without disassembly. In all other cases, the object would be dismantled first, than loaded on wagons and finally made again after moving.

On the other hand, Hadžimuhamedović (2013: 233) points out that the relocation of facilities that have made Stanišići was done "without the approval of the local authority and without the implementation of legal procedure of their valorisation, and that historic landscapes were devastated and ethnic cleansing of culture was carried out. The facilities are transferred to the part of the country that is ethnically homogenized - from the homeland in which they witnessed the Bosnian Cultural diversity in the new constructed artificial homeland which witnessed fundamental Serbian identity ". But the same process of "cleaning" was carried out on the other side as well which actually caused this move, and considering the very clearly stated origin, it still testifies Bosnian identity.

7.2.1. Structure of the village

7.2.1.1. Parcelation

The village was originally built as part of a parcel of approximate area of 15.000 m², and has twice expanded the surface by approx. 20.000 m² and 56.000 m². In doing so, all three parts were created in irregular strokes, and in a form of irregular rectangles. According to these moves, functions of the village have been developed. The structure of communication was getting more regular and rational, to enable communication between all parts of the growing complexity of the complex. The setting order of facilities followed functional organization and three stages of development have become clearly visible and separated units. The development followed the expansion of the land, the logic of inherited form and direction of the former agricultural plots. According to this, it is concluded that process of transition of spatial identities stopped in the first stage of development and the first original unit of the village. It is the only part which really tried to imitate original context, while development of the other two units focused on conditional adaptation of available space and increasing functional requirements.

In addition to original ambience of the village and the old secular life, several other facility units can be singled out today in the village: spiritual, tourist, sport, and recreational. Deroko (1968) points out that the structure of Bosnia's mountainous villages shows the logical connection of natural foci through several more complex compositions to the village ensemble.

fireplace in the village house, as the center around which the family gathers, represents the beginning of the social organism of the village;

dwelling houses is the first higher degree in the village complex, with the function of the living framework of a village family, the basic element in the village organism;

housing with yard and garden is the next higher level in the village complex, the surface element with a more complicated structure in which to organize various functions of rural households: housing, accommodation and processing of the earth fruits, keeping and breeding of domestic animals, etc.

settlement. Housings are the basic units in the complex, but with them, as essential elements, appear institutions of social and economic character which necessarily complete the settlement, addressing the needs of the village as a social and economic community. Finally, the highest level in a composed complex of the village is

atar. The territory that village exploited in the work and that the most tightly defines village as a community in relation to neighboring units, other villages.

Layout of structures formed around the central part - the house are exactly prescribed and respected. The orientation (Figure N) is derived from a purely practical terms and conditions, and transformed into a characteristic belief that occurs in many nations of the Balkan Peninsula and Small Asia. There is a belief in the cult of the East as a special and significant part of the world, which is why the place in the east is given to special structures and elements. Thus, for example, there are "clean" buildings in the East (lodge, milkman, cellar, guest outbuilding ...) but also the big door of the house, while the small door on the house are facing west, toward the 'unclean' buildings.

Findrik, 1994.

7.2.1.2. Urbanization

Traffic is one of the most important functions of the village, the reason for its specific placement position and contribution to its business success. The favorable traffic position on the main road provides the visibility, immediate availability and easy accessibility. Inner traffic is reduced to vehicular and pedestrian access, economic access and parking. However, this direct exposure (extroversion) and direct entrance from the main road at the same time represent disadvantages of village, reducing its identity values. Such position equally denies the traffic character of Brgule as well as Dijelovi villages, which are oriented to the inner communication. Unlike the original Brgule village from the end of the last century or even before, infrastructural equipment is much different, adapted to the modern customer and a new way of use. It is also adapted to existing and available infrastructure network of Bjelina and Semberije, which, in certain segments (sewage, flood protection), is not inferior to those one existed 100 years ago.

The original and authentic part of the Bosnian hilly village in Stanišići is represented by a typical household in central Bosnia, from the areas of Vareš municipality, and with everything that every successful host had to have - a house, a barn, a water mill, perhaps a workshop as a blacksmith shop, barn for wheat, and so on. Other houses are used for lodging and form apartment resort with authentic architecture. Wooden houses, with furniture that has belonged to them for centuries are linked by stone paths, and there are two lakes in the center of the village.

On the other hand, the natural, physical and cultural context of the place in which the ethno-village was built, is completely different. Kajmaković (1974: 18) points out that, "traditions of a total emigration and settlement to the completely empty ground, can not be accepted". In terms of physiognomy, Semberija village belongs to the type of lowland - Pannonian villages (villages in Posavina and Semberija), and differs in terms of social structure. In the north, plain areas, rural households have more members, more favorable age structure, while in the mountainous areas, average household is smaller, often age-related, single-person and with weaker economies (Radović et al. 2013). Kajmaković (1974) writes the following: "Today's Semberija villages are very large, most of them have more than 300, some as many as 1,000 houses. Very large villages of scattered type were about 7 to 10 kilometers away from one another." (ibid: 32) "In its present appearance Semberija villages are closest to the type of Mačva (according to the classification of villages types by Cvijić). It was a village of scattered type originally which has been gradually turned into a village by the road, due to population growth in the low and fertile fields according to tradition of Srem and Banat villages" (ibid: 33).

Links with other, spiritual part of the village is made by the large stone bridge over the lake, which is a replica of the Kozija ćuprija bridge (Goat Bridge) in Sarajevo (3). Amphitheater for cultural events is at the lake under the open sky, and on a small hill a small copy of the railway station in Podlugovi is raised (4). "As a high school pupil, during the times when I travelled to school, I used to spend nights at the station, when the 'fast' from Belgrade, escaped to me. This replica of the station is not real, I took only the name, and I did it on the basis of the toy" [2]. The second section goes deeper into the past, presented by the medieval architecture built in stone, as well as a collection of replicas of historical and religious significance marked by Orthodoxy. At the heart of the whole complex are Fonts, which is inspired by the small church that exists in Alaska and the Monastery of the Holy

Father Nicholas, a replica of the monastery Kumanica, of Nemanjići endowments. Next to the monastery is the monastery house, which is also built in the spirit of medieval construction.

Unlike the first part, the spiritual and tourist units of the village belong to another concept, which according to Hadžimuhamedović (2013: 224), "is reaching for the fragmented and selectively evaluated testimonies of cultural heritage and their sticking to the modern, totally opposed template". This kind of architecture of ethnosimulacrum is significant, given the fact that it completely comes out of an attempt to have cultural heritage substituted, not only in physical space, but also in sociological and mental scope of its efficiency. In general, it is the reduction of items and ideas in easily acceptable forms, which Felluga (2012) defines as kitsch. Hadžimuhamedović (2013) adds that behind this form of ethnosimulacrum in Bosnia an entire academic machine stands, which accounts on the volatility of the cultural memory and willingness of the war intoxicated people to accept the ready-made fundamentalist models of their own identity.

7.2.1.3. Built structure

Small wooden houses with a shingle of maple and spruce, from area that, predominantly, closes the triangle of Vareš - Olovo - Ilijaš (Nišić plateau) belong to Dynarian style. Those houses were made of wood and with a high roof. Type of Bosnian chalets was also widespread in the neighboring regions, from Lika and Banija to the Šumadija and Stari Vlah. Since its center (core) is in Bosnia, ethnographers have named it "Dinara log cabin" (Kojić, 1973). The particular characteristic for Bosnia's chalet is the filling of the walls with vertical columns, which has not been seen in any other region of Yugoslavia.

Vernacular architect, respects certain unwritten rules (canons) while builds. Mountain House is always placed perpendicular to the slope with its longer side, and almost without exception, except in cases in which the terrain does not allow. Minimal slope or bumps are also used to place the house. In this way the slope determines the composition of the house and is made possible to exploit the space under the house, either underpinning, construction of gear, or cellar. The house is set on the edge of arable land. This is done for several reasons, but the two of them are most justified. The shortage of arable area in the mountainous regions and flooding in spring and autumn, during heavy rains periods. Mountain house or Dinara log cabin is almost always placed along the north-south because its shape gives the least resistance to the cold north wind that can be very uncomfortable, especially in the mountains. Although there are often no windows on that side, house or fireplace (as the rooms) faces south. In spatial sense it is one piece room with an open fireplace in the center, which later received another room with a roof-beam and the oven, resulting in a two-part typical house. Form is characterized by very high steep roof covered with straw or plank.

House/ cottage from Brgule is a scholar example of the ground or half-floor chalet (wooden house), covered with shingles (what could be seen elsewhere in Vareš). Story house with a basement or storehouse under one part (which is usually a barn, storage, but often a dormitory for young couple). The ground floor is divided among two parts: a room with an open fireplace (hearth), so called house and bedroom. On the fireplace are accessories and container for fireplace, and in the room are bed, bladder, stroller, chest, Vareš rugs, blankets... ethnologists would say: a typical example of the so-called low cultural horizon, which means the behavior habits of tenants who sit, sleep, eat and perform the tasks at floor level or a level only slightly higher than the floor. Another example is the house of Šikulja (Orthodox village) from 1946, i.e. house blockhouse with the room in the attic. This means one step higher in the living culture. House from Visnjici (Catholic village), represents the living culture an extra step further: the stone-walled ground floor, wooden floor and roof always covered with shingles.

The mill was built in 1937, and is still in use as well as a water mill from 1917. Interior has everything what miller needed to stay in it during the season of milling wheat. *Mljekarnik* dates from 1948. It is a small building for making and storing milk products, with the wooden containers. *Mljekarnik* was well ventilated, clean, and only women who were doing that job could enter. With all the necessary processing and some minor changes, the houses is placed on an artificial hill and appears as in the authentic ambience. All these scenery represent

valuable ethnographic contributions to the history of living culture in forested mountain areas of Bosnia, practically a museum in vivo in Semberija plain, what is so far and above all exotic.

On the other hand, type of houses in Semberija plain was developed in completely different conditions (with regard to climate, terrain configuration and available materials) and in many ways is different, especially in terms of organization and structure of households and villages, as well as the position of objects, relation to the street and so on. The structure of the house is also different because timbered construction was used in the lowlands, compared to wood-plank, or straw in relation to the board used as a covering material. The houses are next to public and rural roads. The "fair place", "molitvište" (place for praying) or "meraja" is in the center of the village. It is a large empty space in the group property,, sometimes with a well in whose vicinity are shops, schools, bars, and sometimes church. This space brings the youth together on Sundays or on the village festivities, and is used for meetings of households to discuss common concerns. *Molitvište* (place for praying) is a place where village prayer once was held. In some villages, *molitvište* was in the *gaj* (grove, bosquet) or forest, indicating the origin of this practice in the Old Slavic forest sanctuaries. (Kajmaković, 1974: 32)

Yards in Semberija villages are spacious and consist of a courtyard, tor (sector) and savze. Yard was built as a whole, and the individual parts are separated by fences. Avlija (The courtyard) is by the road, public or rural, and corral and savza are behind it. The house is always pulled into the courtyard and usually by wider side facing the road. The village house was changing the material of which it was built, the shape and type, but it was always developed only in horizontal directio; It was, and still is, on the ground, without basement and first floor (ibid: 33). Since it is pronouncedly imitating contemporary town house, this house has been given a new quality, it is being built according to the plan of experts, and a break with the traditional rural architecture has been made (ibid: 42). In all its variations, Semberija house is very simple and poor in architectural and decorative design, because it experienced several variants in the relatively short period without longer evolutionary period (ibid: 44).

7.2.2.4. Influences

Ethno-village "Stanišići" has grown into a tourist attraction in recent years, it is visited by guests from the left and right banks of the Drina and Sava, from Bosnia, Serbia and other neighboring countries, as well as passers-by who travel through this region. It can be treated in many different ways: as an attraction, as a sensation or as well placed nostalgia, but undoubtedly has a great importance for the preservation of ethnic heritage. Witty spatial and constructive solution as well as a design of white walls and wooden board-style blanket leaves unaffected and scenic impression (Kojić, 1973), Through which visitors return to better times that are gone.

About half a million of people are visiting Ethno-village Stanišići per a year. They say that they feel nice there, they feel love, comfort of home and good energy. This is what they carry out from here and report back to their relatives, friends. And than they come back again and they return all the time. Ethno-village gives the impression of one culture, tradition, hospitality and management of old family values. It shows the value of authentic traditional household, construction, craftsmanship, hospitality [3]...

Following the example of Stanišići, a number of ethno-villages have been created throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina (Figure N), as well as in the region, which more or less succeeded in their intentions to preserve the tradition of the village. They all have a similar concept of a theme park with entertainment, restaurants, cultural and sports facilities. The construction of "ethnic space" is a direct consequence of the concept of ethnographic segment formation within the permanent collections of the museum in complex local and Heritage Museums (Gavrilović, 2008: 135).

Yet the most politically significant and ideologically strongest is Andrićgrad in Visegrad (Figure N), which most vividly reflects the the structure of turbo-folk subculture and her butt in the standardized culture institutions, official political and ruling circles (Hadžimuhamedović, 2013: 234). Andrićgrad is the largest ethnosimulacrum so far in Bosnia; currently under construction on the land next to the protective zone of the Visegrad bridge, which was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2007. In numerous interviews Emir Kusturica explains his

project as follows: My intention is to make Visegrad more similar to its presentation in Andric's novel, than it's real history." "We'll make a city that looks like it was built four centuries ago." (Hadžimuhamedović, 2013:235)

7.2.2.5. Models

The idea and the project of ethno-village is nothing new. In various countries of Europe, in North and South America, in the late nineteenth century, with the advent of neo-romantic movement, the interest in evaluation of the characteristic folk architecture is enhanced. Museums in the open, experimental and interpretive archaeological parks are created primarily in the north of Europe, as part of the prevailing concept of passive protection of cultural heritage (Hadžimuhamedović 2013). The first open-air museum was created in Sweden in 1891. The idea for the establishment of the museum occurred as a result of the increased popularity of traditional rural architecture and way of life. Soon after a number of related cultural centers for preservation and presentation of traditions throughout Scandinavia and Western Europe appeared. In the second half of the 20th century related museums were formed in Eastern European countries, but also in other continents (Čiča i Mlinar, 2010).

Appearance of ethnovillages stems directly from the concept of ethnographic segments of the museum's permanent collections in complex local and Heritage Museums (Gavrilovic, 2008). Museums in the open air are composed of the original (mostly wooden) houses, and their simulated garden - that are being transferred or replicated on a particular area of their presentation and interpretation. The formation and maintenance of open-air museum is a project that involves museologists, ethnologists and different profiles of experts in the protection and interpretation of heritage. Their main goal is preservation, presentation and interpretation of cultural heritage (Hadžimuhamedović 2013).

The expansion of ethnic ideas and construction of ethno-space shows relations to the globalization. It is a response to the real existing demand, and thus part of the general economic processes, politically correct, because it fits into the idea of preserving local culture as their material and immaterial traces. "Ethno" mania is just one of many possible responses to the contemporary situation in which, on the one hand, increase the pressure of equalization of the world at all levels is increasing. On the other hand tendencies to locate it all are strengthening, from a way of life, through economy, to culture. Thus the entire modern system works in constant tension between the general and the particular. This is the situation in which entirely new quality is created, "[g]lobalization and localization fully incorporate spatial scales" (Gavrilovic, 2008).

Outside of Bosnia and Herzegovina characteristic examples are Old village Sirogojno on the mountain of Zlatibor, in Serbia and Spanish village on the hill of Montijuc in Barcelona. Old village Sirogojno is showing building skills and interior facilitation, as well as the way of organizing business and family life of people in the hilly - mountainous areas of Dinara region, where 55 buildings are presented, which are relocated from mt Zlatibor's villages. There is also over 1500 exhibits, That are showing culture of everyday living of Dinara region from 19th and early 20th century. The process of transfer, setting-up and reconstruction of Zlatibor log cabins in the "Old Village" was initiated by architect Ranko Findrik and the Republic Institute for Protection of Cultural Heritage in 1980. By the year 1992, it works as part of the institution of Open air Museum. Memorial complex of the Church of Holy Apostles Peter and Paul from the eighteenth century and the open-air museum has been legally protected as cultural heritage - cultural monument of exceptional importance [N].

On the other side of Europe, a thematic park (an architectural open-air museum), "El Pueblo Español" was built in 1929 for the purpose of international exhibitions, with the idea of being a collection of objects of popular Spanish architecture which will be united in a kind of collage [N]. Architects Francesc Folguera and Ramon Reventós and artists Xavier Nogués and Miquel Utrillo- tried to make a village that consists of reproductions of typical buildings from different regions of Spain. It consists of 117 buildings in the real scale, which make up a hybrid Iberian village. The village does not represent a collection of masterpieces of Spanish architecture, but the synthesis of folk architecture and way of architecture and architectural skills of the whole of Spain is present in Catalonia, which is in a sense a political idea of "the unity of the homeland"[N].

7.3.5. The Plan

The Department of Planning Municipality of Bijeljina has no data regarding the spatial-planning and technical documentation for Ethno-village Stanišići (according to information from December 2014). Spatial planning as well as technical documentation are not available for review. "There is absolutely nothing about it, they have not even legalized objects yet, so they were not even drawn to geodetic maps. The owner (in the private initiative with his personal assistants) defines the concept, measures the land and builds, generally without the project, just with few professional consultings, structural engineers and architects (hired as his personal assistants)." On the other hand Skote et al. (2015) points out that, for example in the case of new illegal settlements around Sarajevo, authorities have acknowledged the situation and were in a way helping the settler - by not intervening.

On a larger spatial scale, Stanišići represent the fraction of Bijeljinas' suburbs that are star-developing along the main lines of communication/ roads. It is evident that the village is located on an important traffic axis direction and a significant development axis, which itself was the initiator and driving force. In the middle of the axis, Stanišići make its center. The background is a network of villages, that form a ring of extensive farming, as the main activity and source of wealth of the region, around the inner urban area of the city of Bijeljina. Axis of development between them is provided radially in all directions to other centers of narrow and wider region. Except of the ethno-village on the axis of Bijeljina- Pavlovic bridge, there are many other facilities as business centre Intergaj, Semberija farm, University of Bijeljina, the city of Slobomir and Slobomir P university. Since commercial, university and cultural functions are located farther along in the direction to the city center, on the same axle, it can be assumed that the further development of this axe will have the same character.

Spatial Plan of Municipality (Fig. Gl. Bijeljina municipality no., 5 / 03.27 / 07.14 / 09) at the end of the axis, in the area of the new city Slobomir, provides new municipal center of the first hierarchical order. Development strategy of the city of Bijeljina provides further development and growth. Thus there are real expectations of further development of ethno-village, although Boris Stanišić [3] points out that there are no plans.

Although still unplanned and uncertain, the future of the village is predictable given the trend of building and a central position on the axle development. With the dominant central (tertiary) functions (facilities) as tourism, services, sports and recreation, It is rising as a multiplex hotel-tourist complex. And it can be developed in several directions: (1) as a totally self-contained, isolated and closed complex; (2) as an exclusive theme park of the city of Bijeljina; (3) Center of Dijelovi village and as part of the new center of the entire Novo selo.

The Tourism Development Strategy of the Republica Srpska from 2010 to 2020, represents ethno-village Stanišići as the most successful example, as a famous tourist destination of rural tourism. Through this Strategy, its further development has been planned in terms of defining tourist ethno-village, and through the strategy for the development of tourism in Bijeljina incentives are planned for the projects of ethno tourism. Given the specificity of urban and architectural structure, it is necessary to define relationship to its authenticity in each variant and therefore determine the method or level of protection. Authentic and valuable buildings of architectural traditions deserve the attention of experts and the appropriate treatment, likewise the second part of the village deserves criticism and adequate attitude towards to it.

Gavrilovic (2008) defines turistic ethnic areas as combination of what is considered "traditional" - and modern understanding of good tourist offer. The question is further made, in what ratio are these areas connected to the tradition and what kind of tradition they offer. Experts should enter this process of "globalization from below" allowing the public to understand local responses of globalization. The public would need to somehow realize that the process of forming of new identities should be based on active participation in contemporary life, regardless of the national myths of the past. Unlike personal ethno spaces (which are kept by individual families) they are fully public - designed to communicate with the "other", whether the others are domestic or foreign tourists. Appropriate access to these areas would enable that boundaries to be more permeable and to establish

a certain kind of understanding between "us" and "others". Touristic "ethno" spaces define "us" and "our" as opposed to everything else, they talk about open local identity, which connects past and present, "our" and "foreign" and is ready for change.

7.2.3. Identities

It is better that a village dies, than a custom.

Folk saying.

When asked, whether the identity of Brgule village is depleted or enriched by relocation or construction of ethno village Stanišići and vice versa, Boris Stanišić [3] responds that "this is a difficult question because it is fortunately and unfortunately true in both directions." He added that "nothing is the same and it will never be as it was." Ivankovic (2015) writes that Vareš is scattered in all directions with the last war. Part of the old Vareš disappeared forever when blast furnaces were shut down and when oldest Vareš villages, including a number of their customs, were devastated. Although scattered around the world, Varešans kept their customs in their meetings, in memories, but also in material evidence. An interesting phenomenon of detached relation to memory and heritage is present, as well as to traditions and roots, and the feelings for the homeland are stronger with the people who have left it. Those who have left Vareš show greater concern for preservation of cultural heritage than the ones who have stayed there.

Former residents of Brgule and Vareš, scattered throughout the world, witness to past times and values with their memories, a lot of love and nostalgia. They keep their old homes from oblivion through their lives in new environments, for example here in Bijeljina[3].

Boris Stanišić is an Orthodox Serb from Bosnia by his birth. As such he lived all his life, and then during the war he had to take only one side and to decide between being a Serb or a Bosnian. Partially he did so, he gave up of his territorial identity and moved to the other part of the country. In order to save the life of his family, as a participant in the war, and refugees, from his native land, Stanišić comes in a flat Semberija, to the border with Serbia, where he had to build a brand new life. However, despite of the painful memories, he did not give up on parts of his personal identity that he grew up with and that have made him the man he is now. Nostalgia for the space from which he originated, and that he had to leave, has been reactivated in the form of (re)constructed environment of native village, after years of distancing of life...

In the war-torn country, in one of the ethnically homogenized entity, which is the Republic of Srpska (with Serbian majority) Boris builds authentic Bosnian village, and not a Serb one. Boris Stanišić from Vareš holds on *Memories to the roots* (Bugarski, 2001), in a specific way. Although Brgule were Orthodox (Serb) village, Boris [2] notes that he moved to Stanišići houses and facilities that were not exclusively Orthodox (Serb). In addition to the houses of his family, he also moved houses of Muslim and Catholic architectural tradition whose diversity is only recognized by experts in traditional architecture. Kojić (1973) says that different religious affiliation of the Bosnian villagers to the Orthodox, Catholic or Muslim faith is left no particular characteristics in the village architecture. As a basic, Boris points out the number and size of windows [2]. Muslim houses in these areas were mostly closed to the interior, with a very small size and a small number of windows, while the Catholic ones were completely opposite. Orthodox were somewhere in between, although this division has also varied depending on the location. In the places where, for example, Muslims were majority, houses were more open to the outside and vice versa.

Although the village received a number of other elements, which in a new context, enhances the identity of the Orthodox and Serbian, Bosnian authentic elements remain dominant and they are its greatest value. It is not necessary to highlight, on any of these houses, where they are transferred from to make them intriguing to visitors. Boris has clearly wanted to emphasize his identity and relationship to the homeland, so he reveals that the roots of the ethno-village are in Vareš, without any complexes. Hence the village Stanišići could be considered as specific open air ethno-museum of Vareš, although it was not its primary purpose, especially since it converted to agglomeration by adding other objects.

So, regardless of personal identity awareness, this opens up the subject of desirable identity that was, during past 20 years, created in contrary with the continuity of coexistence, mutual respect and appreciation. It also opens a big question of the possibilities of reconciliation and coexistence in the community. On the other hand, the introduction of new elements of identity, enhancement relative to each other and the transition from one place to another represents a kind of a new enrichment of cultural diversity and its redistribution in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is happening on many other levels, In addition to the physical sense of architectural and urban form, it is reflected in language, accent, dialect, customs, way of life, traditions, behavior patterns... These different identities, which suddenly stand opposite one another are conditionally conflicting. However the conflict can, at the same time, have both negative and positive meaning which will depend on the relationship that the whole community, on all sides, has towards the conflict.

Without a doubt, ethno villages are putting in one place everything that belongs to the past, and what is today more or less unknown or forgotten, defining the boundaries of identity, or *oneself*. *We* or *me*, in this context today, is not defined by what is everyday, realistic and well known, but what is strange- things that belong to the time-remote areas. These time's boundaries, show sensible effort to build or acknowledge the identity in every space, as well as the expression of local understandings in the frame of one's own identity. Their emergence in the last decades of the 20th century clearly corresponds to the process of (re) building of national identities. Transition of cultural and spatial identity, on the Stanišići example, very clearly shows that the identity of the mountainous areas of central Bosnia is transferred to the completely different time and place. In ethnic homogenized territory, in the middle of the Semberija plain, mountain village appears. with traditional Bosnian mountain house of Dinara type, as well as elements of all three ethnic groups, different living cultures, specific tradition of building, behavior patterns, customs and ways of life.

As in many cases, at every step in Bosnia, elements of identity of Stanišić reveal all the complexity, interconnectedness and the weight of the identity of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Regardless of its tragic past wars, deep divisions, ethnic, religious, social and political homogenization in two opposing entities, it appears that the spatial identity has survived. In spatial terms, the ethno-village Stanišići shows that this complex identity lives very deeply in people and their genes, and that as such will be transferred to the next generation. Due to a new distribution, presence in all communities, getting to know different cultures within the same ethnic group, this shows that the conflict can lead to reconciliation, as it so far led to further deepening, misunderstanding and alienation. On the other hand, there is the danger to repeat the horrors of war if the value of only one element of Bosnian identity, on individual parties is further emphasized, while claiming the right of other territories.

Regardless of national, ethnic and religious homogenisation of divided entities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, these homogeneous units also show the inner conflicts of identity. Such is the case with the city of Bijeljina as the new homeland of Stanišić family and their village. In terms of its new social and physical structure, many say that Bijeljina is a brand new city today. It undoubtedly exists, but unfortunately it is not compact enough, homogeneous or coherent, because its nature is also similar. It has been created from many different parts, with many different parties, people, culture, customs, traditions and mentalities. As such, it is not strong enough to oppose to the old Bijeljina, which has remained dominant in this division of powers between impacts of identities, despite all developments.

Ethno-village is part of new Bijeljina, but as such it is not accepted. Stanišići are nowadays more part of new Vareš, of its pieces scattered around the world. More than Bijeljina, Stanišići are accepted by people from Brčuno and Vareš, as those who left and those who stayed there. Stanišići are accepted really good and have excellent relations with both cities of Vareš, that one there, and this one here. People from Vareš like to hear about Stanišići, they like to stop by, call their guests to come here and to spread the voice about the village all over the world. On the other hand, the village has overcome both Bijeljina and Vareš, because people from all over 'our' region and all over the world found something close to them here[3].

At one side Stanišići is winning a place in which it came and where it is located, but on the other, it completely ignores it. Closed or semi-open system that constructs identity of Stanišići, thereby constructs the universe of its creators. The creator is a "closed box" who thinks that there is nothing more noteworthy except of "his" family and "his" homeland. " *Mine* stands out in relation to the *local*, and there is a strong desire to show, highlight and impose *my own* as more valuable (Gavrilovic, 2008)". That is not an identity that is possible to share with others, that communicates and builds a network of interaction with others- it is enclosed in a solid round of family or community from which it comes. Or at least he thinks so. Denial of time and space in which it is, leads to contradictions of (re) construction of identity in this way. Gavrilovic (2008) concludes that the efforts to create "ethnic" areas, undermines the identity of the people, showing them clearly that there is a serious discontinuity in their when-and-where. However, although they do not provide the real support to the identification of population, at least not as it was expected, this area still acts as the factor of a new self-respect; they say, "Watch how we, completely alone, were able to show the legacy of our forefathers (ancestors)."

Already present, existing, old identity elements are getting competition. At one point, they become secondary and shadowy, even suppressed. From the sense of vulnerability arises a conflict of identity. Therefore, Hadžimuhamedović (2015) speaks about the possibility of setting three receptions of Bosnian heritage in relation to the identity. "The first reception is a complex identity, the other - conflicted identities, and the third - the identity of the competition. All three receptions are alive, but the first is in defense, and other two are in the offensive process."

Since the construction has started, I have not had any kind of support or help from local or national authorities. Even when ethno-village was completely flooded on two occasions, in December of 2011 and May of 2014, we did not get anything other than just symbolic help. Support has always grown only declaratory, and the authorities have been inclined to say that we should not complain, because if they did not help, at least they did not hinder. This is only partly true, because the success, value and significance of Stanišići was not adequately protected, especially not against unfair competition. There, just across the street, on neighboring parcels, on the account of Stanišići, similar complexes are rising. All these obstructions have a background in our origin, in non-acceptance, in an envy because of our success and the animosity that natives cultivated to the new inhabitants - refugees and displaced persons [3].

Ethno-village Stanišići is a separate and independent entity that operates separately from Dijelovi and Bijeljina. Our football club had some proposals for a new emble, some time ago, but we have not accepted it because of the name of city of Bijeljina that was written in the bottom. It is because city of Bijeljina in fact did not deserve to have its name mentioned in the title, or any other presentations of our Club. FC Zvezda Brgule has its place in Stanišići [3].

"In addition, Stanišići have never been accepted as an integral part of neither Dijelovi nor Bijeljina. The inhabitants of Semberia have always looked upon us as the newcomers (a derogatory term for those people who came from elsewhere), who do not have their place here. It could be heard, and is still common to be heard. Should Semberija be watching and supporting them in their building and spreading around at our land?! We need to spread and promote the culture of Semberija villages..." [3].

The ethno-village Stanišići combines original houses and commercial buildings transferred from the central Bosnian villages in Dijelove near Bijeljina, with a fictional structure, the fictional master plan and landscaping, which are grafted, with replicas and fictions of Orthodox religious sites from different parts of the world, and hotels and restaurants (Hadžimuhamedović, 2013: 234). Such as they are, Stanišići deviate from the natural, physical and social context in which they are located. The village has turned back to itself, due to the fact that in the new cultural environment relations of giving and receiving, that would shape receptive and comfortable identity towards it, have not yet been achieved.

Except in its own past, identity traces are searched in the invocation of parallel forms that are constructed in new conditions, (preferred) policy, history and tradition. This often leads to copying, which somewhat justified by the specific context. In the United States, a copy emerged from the nostalgia of immigrant communities for distinctive areas of their original national identity. In a world of global migration, copying is present throughout the world with the same stimulus, and particularly recognizable in the architecture of high symbolic value. So if Bijeljina today can be seen from another angle, the new cultural context of a new city, that has being developed for 20 years, then the ethno-village Stanišići belongs right there where it stands.

Whether we see Bijeljina from the past, present or future, the analysis shows that after 20 years the transition of cultural and spatial identity has not been completed. So there is still a chance that this open issue continues to be reviewed. The problem of identity is that it constantly reinvents itself in every step of daily life, and above all in people. Despite everything that Boris Stanišić has built and achieved, he still does not accept Bijeljina as his home.

"That feeling of home in Bijeljina is really just partial. In terms of the refugee culture, it is very difficult to define the home. Everything I have is in Stanišići today, my land, family, work. I live here for twenty years. My children are born here, they grew up here, go to school and work here. I realized my builder dreams, business success and family happiness here. However, this is not my home completely. And it probably never will become, despite of everything. Because the home is much more than just a physical object. It is not enough to only have objects. I do not relate myself only to objects. I relate to the nature, to the hill, field, forest, stream, river... And this is why I could not move to Semberija".

Home consists of events, memories, traditions and living culture in one place with the family. Even all of this moved houses would not be what they are if there is no true life stories behind them, anecdotes related to each of them that make them alive. Apart from its physical appearance they are characterised by the stories they tell.

That's why I still feel my home in Brgule. There is my country, my forest, my stream... Even today I often like to go there to my own land, to breathe it, experience it and to feel it once again. It is something a little bit different in my children's case. They did not live there and do not have that place space in their memories. But they still like to go with me and they feel nice there. I guess there is something in the genes that is passed from generation to generation, something in traditions and stories.

7.3. Matrix of transition

The method of literal repetition is obvious in three spatial levels in Bosnia and Herzegovina. (2) Ethno-village Stanišići is emerging by the process of literal moving of the physical structure elements of one context (Brgule village, Vareš, Central Bosnia and Herzegovina) to another (Novo Selo, Bijeljina, Northeast Bosnia and Herzegovina) (Figure N). The artificial form of a small village near the road has rapidly evolved from the initial idea. The hilly and mountainous type of the village from Central Bosnia has grown into a kind of thematic park or a kind of tourist resort, in only 10 years. Today it is characterized by a number of different objects of large extent and density of development, so it is almost impossible to talk about the village, but of the type of some urban hybrid of transition (of turbo-folk culture). No matter what the values of authentic architecture of the village are; the idea of preserving its own identity as well as preserving the identity of one past life of the specific place; regardless of the great success of the village and its impact on millions of visitors, it is a phenomenon that also shows the tragedy of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina and it seems that its consequences will never disappear. After all that was said, including: (1) conflicts of identities that were caused by the war in Vareš, (2) spatial transition in Bijeljina, (3) mutual (non) acceptance and feelings of (non) belonging to the place, matrix of transition revealing the sad truth of one's own essential meaninglessness and one perhaps unnecessary, extreme exercise, that shows many disadvantages, contradictions and negativities.

Finally, the case of this village shows only one model of the spatial transition, which has evolved and changed from the initial idea, guided by personal feelings, under different, numerous influences of the context (time, policies, systems, trends). It also clearly shows the whole idea and the process of transition in which moved symbols, ethnical and cultural elements were used to create new forms of tourism, and a new concept of leisure. The transition of the village shows the relation of an individual towards the process and possibility of a complete freedom in space. This ethnosimulacrum (Baudrillard, 1995) was constituted on the decommissioning of the meaning of cultural memory, to its devaluation and physical destruction (Hadžimuhamedović, 2013).

A special potential in relations between the conflicting spatial identities of ethno village Stanišići and context in which it is located is the treatment of the contact zone between several spatial units. This valuable, undefined space or voids is a spatial metaphor for the conflict of identities, and thus can play a key role in resolving this conflict. Therefore, it should be observed in relation to strategic development and spatial planning documents of Bijeljina. It should include a broad spatial polygon and to realize the relationship with all areas that could be

affected directly or indirectly. Accordingly this area should be subject of a long-term research and multidisciplinary and experimental project that could become a model for typology of ethno villages throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Figures

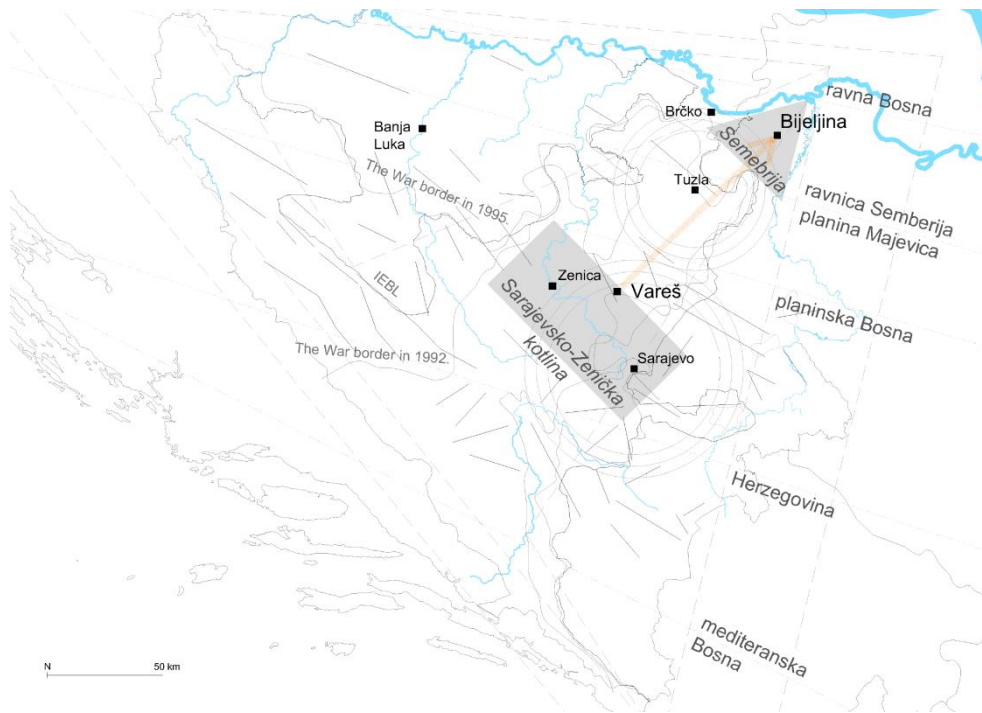


Fig. 7.1. Abstracted map of BiH, intersected of borderlines. Map redrawn by the Author.

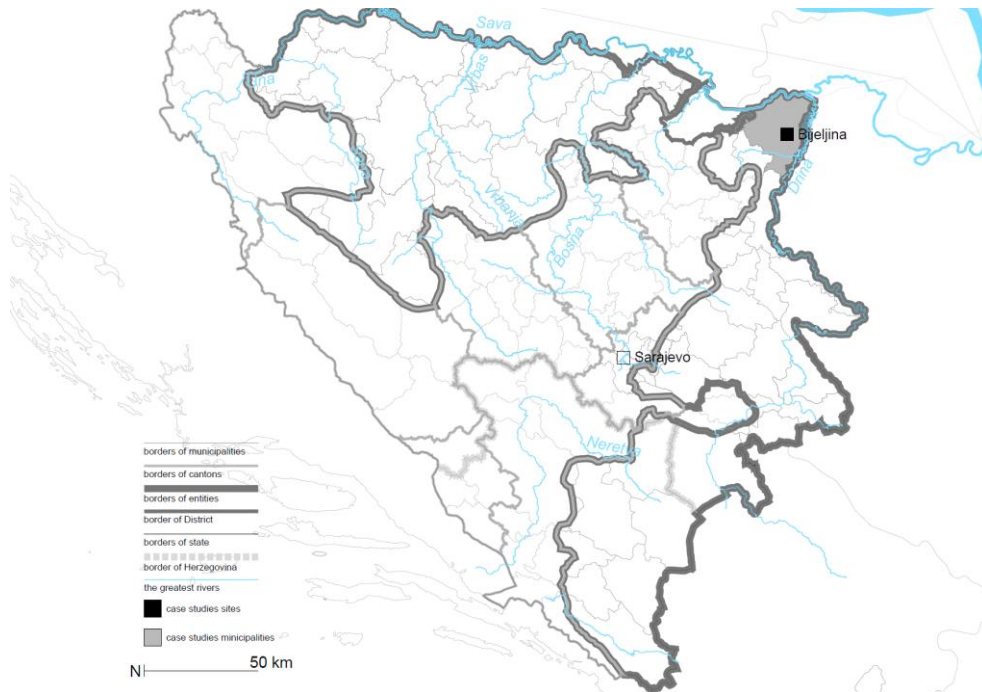


Fig 7.2. Bijeljina in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Map redrawn by the Author.



Fig 7.3. Stanišići near Bijeljina. Map redrawn by the Author.



Fig 7.4. Geodesy map of Stanišići. Map redrawn by the Author.



Fig 7.5. Map of Stanišići family transition pokazuje da je tranzicija, odnosno preseljenje, zapravo dvovijekovni proces koji evo traje i danas. Počeo je davne 1825. godine, kada se porodica iz prvog staništa u Beranama, iz Crne Gore preselila u selo Brgule preko Mojkovca, Pljevlja, Foče, Sarajeva i Vareša, gdje je obitavala punih 170 godina. Početkom rata u Bosni i Hercegovini (1992-1995) počinje i osipanje porodice Stanišići u Varešu, koja se putem preko Sokoca, Han Pijeska, Vlasenice i Zvornika, konačno nastanjuje u Bijeljini, 1995. godine.
(Source: <http://www.etno-selo.com/>)

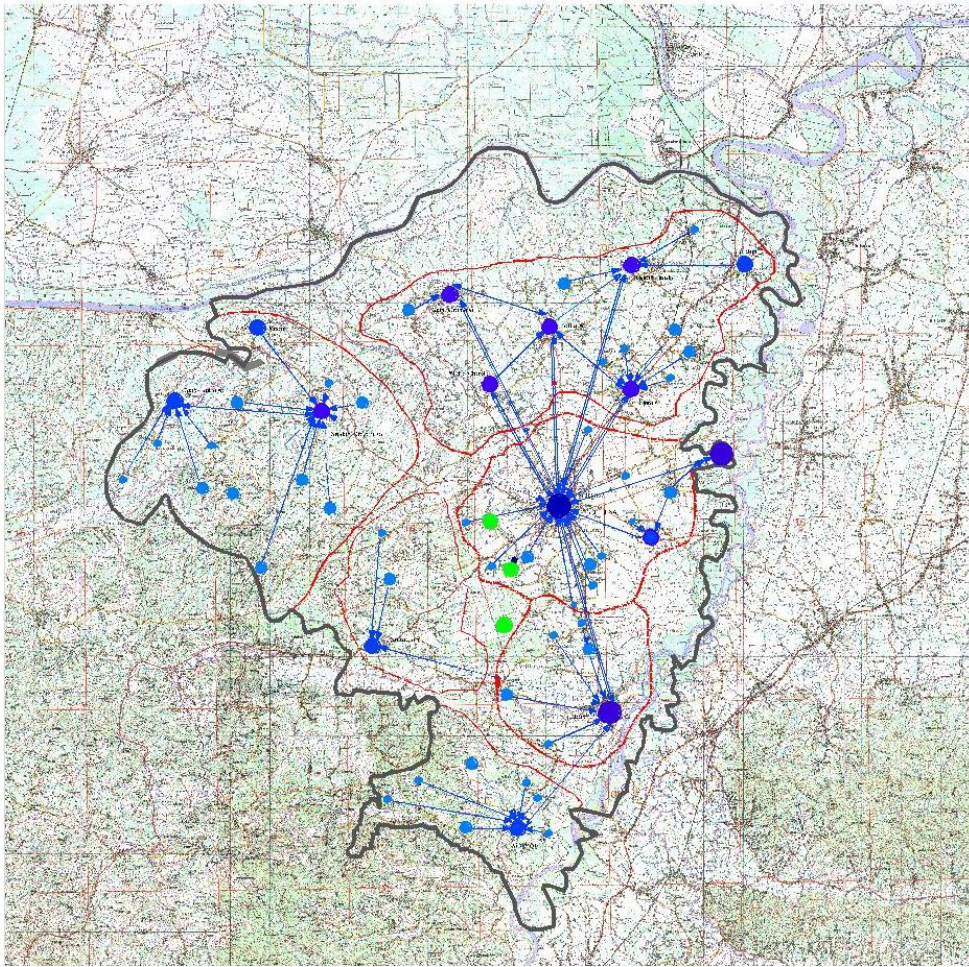


Fig 7.6. Spatial plan of Bijeljina. (Source: The institute for Urban planning and designing)

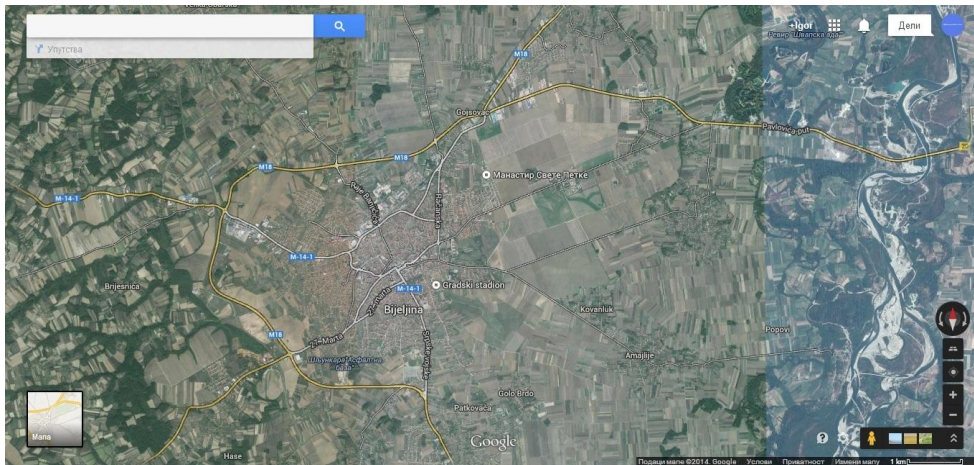


Fig 7.7. Satellite image of Bijeljina. (Source: Google maps)

Bijeljina



Fig 7.8. Areal image of Bijeljina. (Source: bijeljina.org)



Fig 7.9. Areal image of Bijeljina. (Source: balkanforum.info)



Fig 7.10. Bijeljina in Semberija (Source: Kajmaković, 1974.)

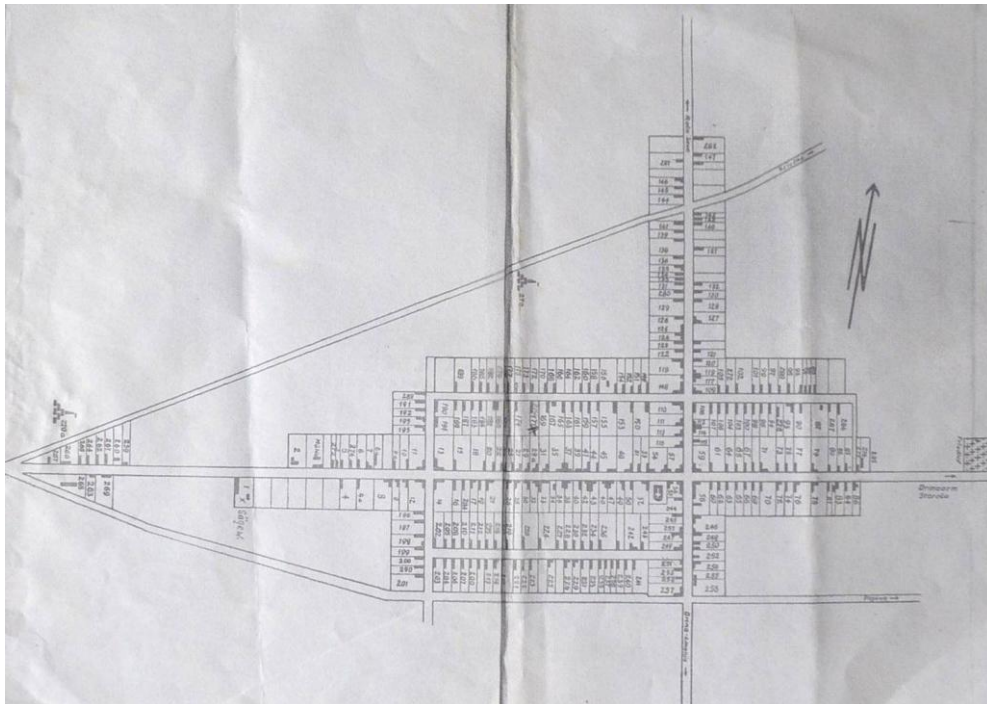


Fig 7. 11. Plan of parcelation of Novo selo.

[online] Available at: <<http://mizbijeljina.ba/vijesti/novo-selo-kod-bijeljine-nacionalni-spomennik-bosne-i-hercegovine/>> [Accessed: Aug. 14, 2015]

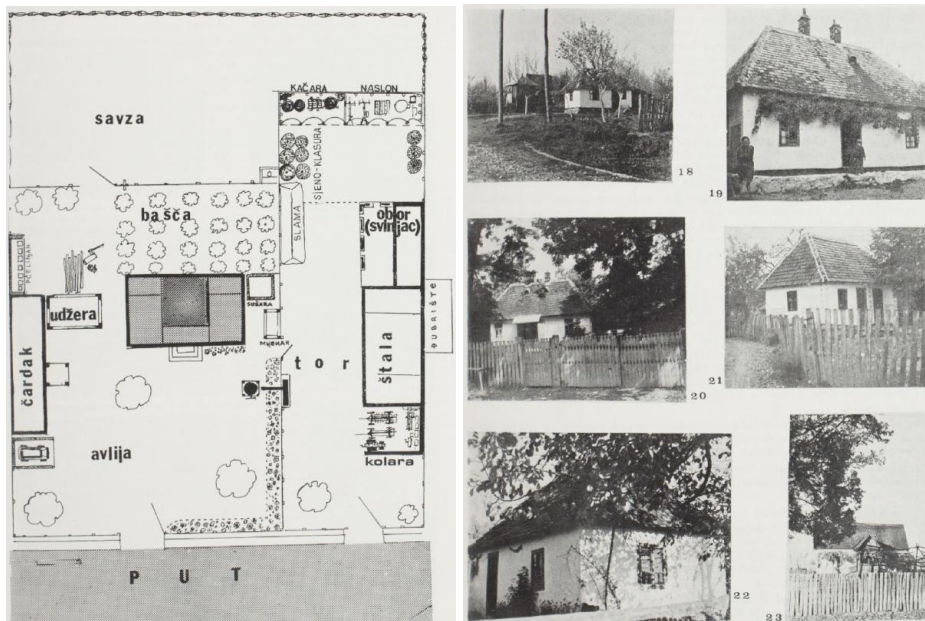


Fig 7.12. Disposition of the typical household and houses in Semberija villages. (Source: Kajmaković, 1974)

Vareš



Fig 7.13. Panoramic view of XIX century Vareš. (Source: zupavares.com)



Fig 7.14. Panoramic view of nowadays Vareš. (Source: Google maps)

Brgule



Fig 7.15. Brgule village.

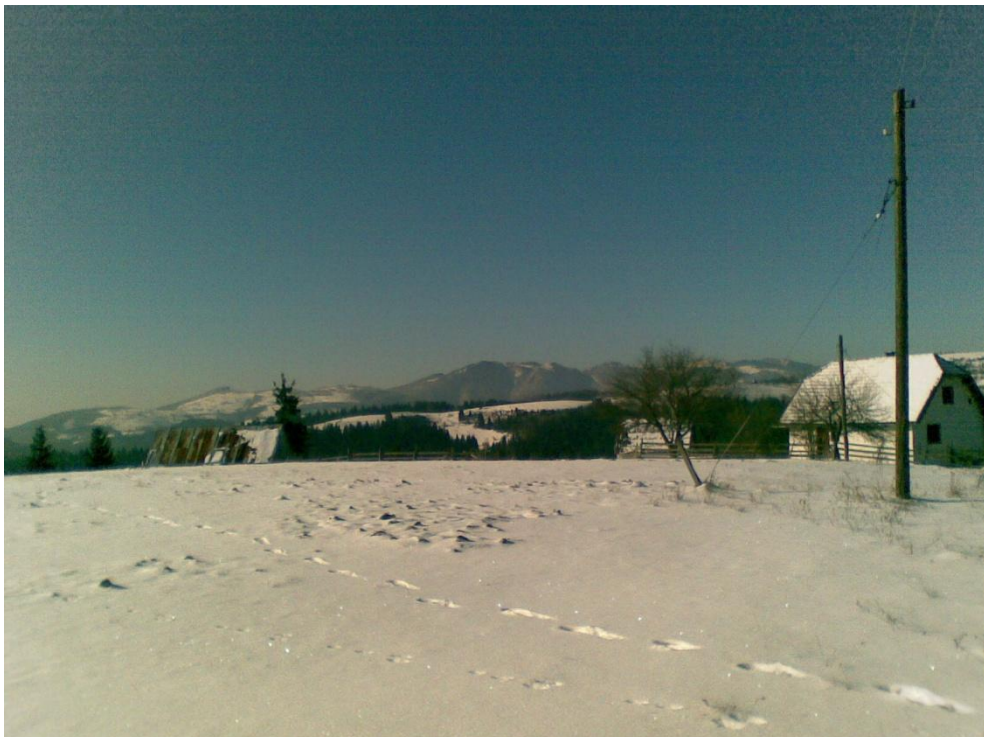


Fig 7.16. Brgule village.

Tradicija / Pomjiranje

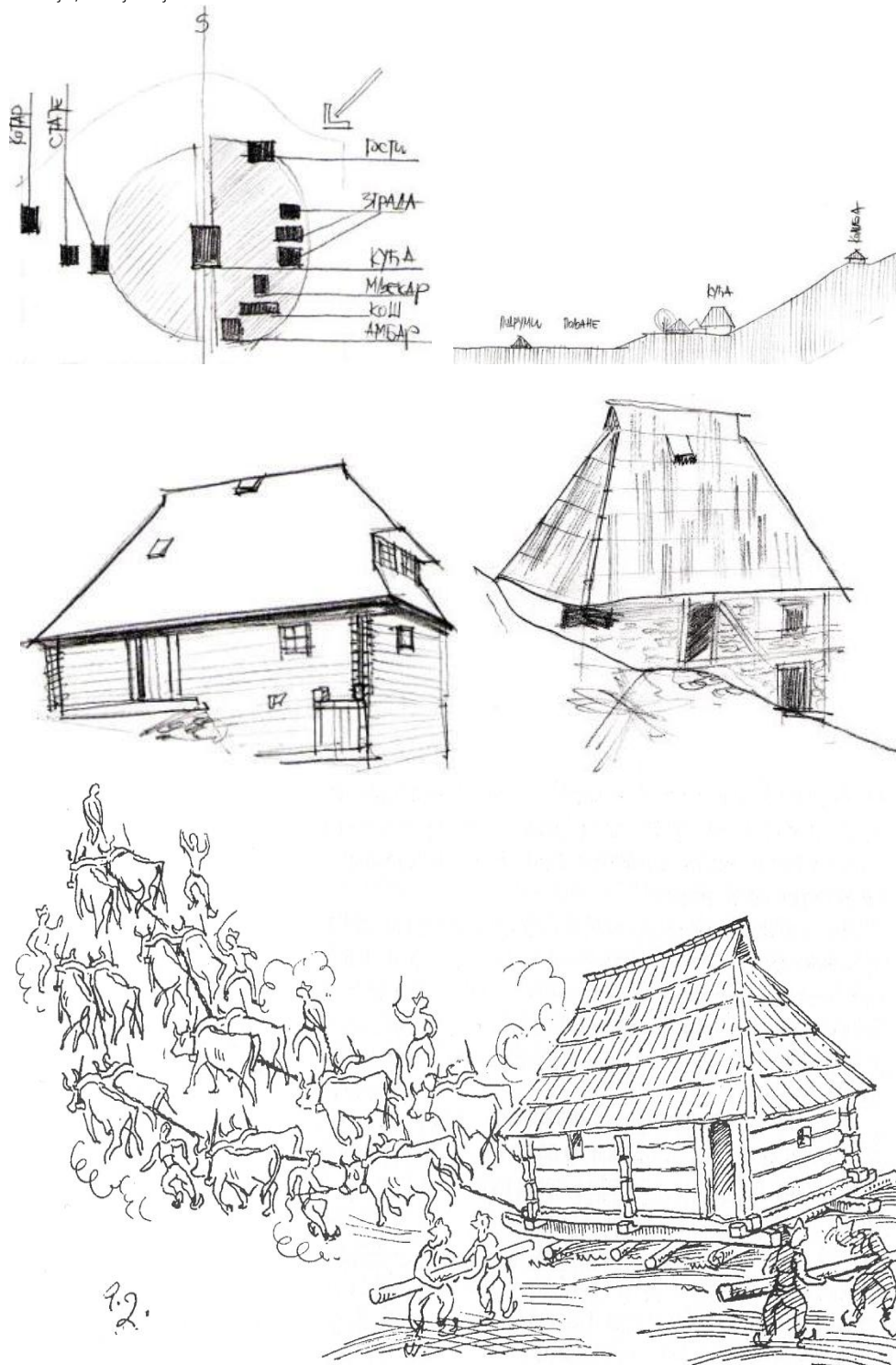


Fig 7.17. Moving of the house. Sketch of A. Deroko (Source: Deroko, 1968)

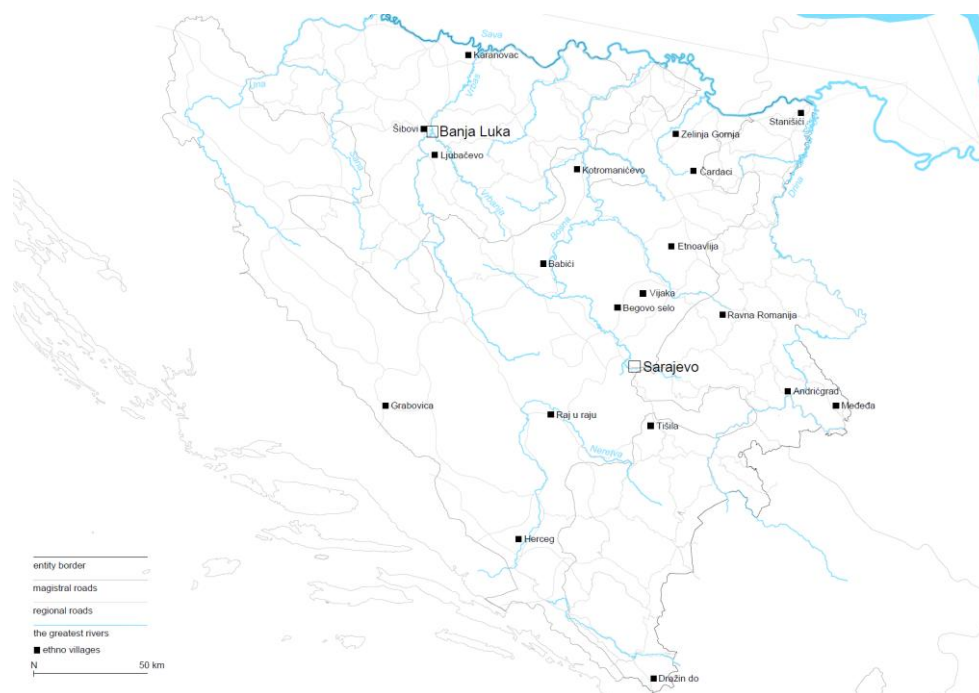


Fig 7.18. Distribution of ethno-villages in BiH. Stanišić (Bijeljina), Šibovi, Ljubačevo (Banja Luka), Herceg (Međugorje), Kotromanićevo (Doboj), Čardaci (Ustikolina), Medeđa (Višegrad), Babići (Rostovo, Travnik), Vijaka (Vareš), Čardaci (Vitez), Zelinja Gornja (Pelagićevo), Etnoavlija (Banovići), Begovo selo (Nišići, Ilijaš), Remić (Menjik, Prozor), Karanovac (Gračanica), Dražin do (Trebinje), Ravna Romanija (Han-Pijesak), Trišila (Trnovo)...
Map redrawn by the Author.

Primjeri



Fig 7.19. Andrićgrad in Višegrad (Source: andricgrad.com)



Fig. N.N. Ethno village Staro selo Sirogojno (Source: <http://www.sirogojno.rs/>)



Fig 7.20. Drvengrad (Source: <http://mecavnik.info/>)

Context



Aug. 2015

Fig 7.21. Dijelovi village. Typical Semberija landscape (Photo by the Author)



Aug. 2015

Fig 7.22. The structure of Dijelovi village. (Photo by the Author)

Context



Aug. 2015



Aug. 2015

Fig 7.23. "Semberski salaš". New facilities in the vicinity (across the street) of Stanišići. (Photo by the Author)



Aug. 2015

Fig 7.24. The magistral road Bijeljina - Pavlovića most in Dijelovi. (Photo by the Author)



Aug. 2015

Fig 7.25. Context of Dijelovi village. (Photo by the Author)

Structure



Fig 7.26. Complex of Ethno selo (Source: etno-selo.com)



Aug. 2015

Fig 7.27. Structure of the village. (Photo by the Author)



Aug. 2015, Nov. 2008.

Fig 7.28. Structure of the village. (Photo by the Author)



Nov. 2008.

Fig 7.29. Structure of the village. (Photo by the Author)



Aug. 2015

Fig 7.30. Structure of the village. (Photo by the Author)



Nov. 2008.

Fig 7.31. Structure of the village. (Photo by the Author)



Fig 7.32. Typology of architectural replicas from orthodox countries around the world constructed in Stanišići. (Photo by the Author)



Fig 7.33. Replicas and associations on some famous buildings from the owner's homeland, such as Latinska ćuprija from Sarajevo or Railway station Podlugovi near Sarajevo. (Photo by the Author)



Aug. 2015

Fig 7.34. *Turbofolk architecture* in Stanišići. (Photo: by the Author)



Nov. 2008

Fig 7.35. Unarticulated clash between completely diferent architectures, which form the village. (Photo: by the Author)

BLOCK E

CONCLUSIONS. IMPACTS OF TRANSITION.

8. Summary and future research.

8.1. RE- start

The urban space exists and evolves as a structure of interrelated and inter influential social relations. Therefore, the space is not and can not be different from the one that emerges as a reflection of the specific context which is necessary to know and to understand.

As the research shows, the main characteristic of specific context and space of B-H in the last 20 years was the war, which left long-term effects on all actors that were drawn into it willingly or unwillingly, on lives of generations of people, and the space as well. It penetrates into all pores and the very basis of society, causing a general disorder of the whole system and life, while at the same time it forms a specific system of values and a new cultural context. Unfortunately, the war does not stop at once, but becomes an integral part of the peace, as a continuous discourse around which a long-term recovery takes place.

The effects and consequences of the war, migration and population exchange, division and reorganization of the territory, transformation of cultural context, etc. were considered in this project in relation with the cultural and spatial identity, and the process of their transition. In spatial meaning, this process is described through formation and development of new settlements within a specific cultural context and through many other lenses. Special feature of the research is the focus on personal narratives of the participants, who have been in the middle of the process, and it represents a kind of documentary testimony of the process, which has not been analyzed in this way, so far.

The traumatic experience of the war, the complex process of refugee, re-constructing a new life and living space suggest that everyday life had no alternative, no matter how many different events took place during the process. Life was adapted to conditions and continued in a certain way with no turning back. People were forced to leave their homes, but also to re-start their lives again, as they only could and knew under specific conditions. This meant re-construction of a new family life, their new house, neighbourhood, city, and state. This new beginning was set in a broader cultural context, as the subject of the constructive critical attitude.

Forced transition has had several phases during the last 20 years, so even today it has not been fully completed. It has been defined by previous and a new place of residence and by a long-distance journey in-between marked by temporary places of residence and elements of transition that made a part of it. It mainly took place against the will of the participants. It was violent and chaotic, while at the same time the participants were not aware of its importance, duration or the real long-term consequences.

Conclusions were drawn as specific matrix of transition of each case studied, as well as the general matrix of the process. The matrix was set as the system of elements, which can work as a model for further studies of these particular, or some other cases.

8.2. RE- territorialisation

The forced transition was not a one-way nor straightforward process. It took place on the entire territory of B-H and wide area of former Yugoslavia. It left long-term consequences on all levels of space and in all places that were affected by this process. There were almost no exceptions, but certain differences exist only in relation to the scope and extent of the impact of the process. The process resulted in re-territorialisation of B-H, which stems from a complex set of influences. Unfortunately, they are not based on the values of historical continuity and culture of mutual life in B-H, but on the contrary. The tragic war, marked by genocide, culturicide and urbicide denied all basic values of civilization, which were reflected in space and led to its degradation. Once a valuable, multi-ethnic, multicultural and multi-religious space has been divided, in a complex system, to almost

homogeneous, ethnically clean territorial units, based on the national majorities, positions of the war's and later DPA's lines of demarcation.

This was followed by administrative and regional reorganization of the territory with a new division of power between administrative units, regions and cities. The geographic, urban and organizational structure of the territory was suddenly changed, and according to it, an overall development in the last 20 years was going in such direction. Within the new administrative organization of the territory, there have been two entities defined with their capital cities and one district, and within many regions, and/or cantons with their own seats. A number and importance of major cities have increased, with the trend of continuous and dispersed urbanizations. The big cities are in the uninterrupted process of urbanization while the number and importance of medium and small cities have declined. New main communication corridors and directions of development were formed, where new territorial typology is in the process of forming urban corridors and city regions. The context of new urban typology development is particularly described in this study.

8.3. RE- construction

The transition meant the beginning of large process of new construction which took place at different spatial levels, in different ways, and resulting in new urban and territorial typology. Observation of three characteristic cases at different spatial scales reveals certain similarities and differences as the basis for a definition of the matrix of process.

Neighbourhood

Česma- Mađir neighbourhood represents most obvious and most common form of the process, which has taken place in a similar way in the whole territory of B-H and has caused the construction of series of housing projects with individual family homes on the outskirts of major cities. The process took place in the informal urban fabric, which is conditionally (un) officially accepted as the dominant and "stable" way of construction, in transitional conditions. The matrix of construction is reduced to inherited traditional values of informal and vernacular constructing, by using methods of repetition (recycling) and slight modifications. Regardless of the urgency of resolving the „roof over head" problem, as well as general and continuous instability of the context, the construction is perceived as permanent, lifelong and fateful solution, implying irrational and long-term process. It is defined as rur-urban type of neighbourhood, which forms a peripheral ring on the periphery outskirts and is a concept idea of the 'new' city of Banja Luka.

Intensive development process has had a major impact on changing the character of big cities. Once again Banja Luka became the capital of one administrative unit for the first time after the period of Banovina government, with all consequences that implies. It lost a substantial part of the pre-war urban population, but it also significantly increased the number of inhabitants, with significative ethnic homogenization of the structure. It emerged almost physically intact from the war, but without valuable architectural and cultural heritage which is destroyed from the inside. As the second largest city in B-H it is the centre of gravity for a large number of people from all over the country, especially from the closer smaller, underdeveloped and rural areas. Residential areas of individual houses are being developed in the periphery of the city. It is constantly evolving and growing in direction of the main road communications, streaming to form the city region, including several small neighbouring towns- Čelinac, Laktaši, Gradiška.

At the neighbourhood scale i.e. at the level of a parcel, a housing and a house, the transition is reduced to a small scope. The specific identity of each one (...) is maintained internally within the yard, in the home and a family life. A certain suppression of the identity feelings is noticed in relation to expression within the family house. The spatial units of identity stream to integrate themselves into similar context and then to partially adapt to the broader context. The impact of the group can be felt there as the desire for belonging, safety, sameness, et. Given this intention of the new beginning of life without looking at previous ones - participants in the process - informal self-builders and new residents of the neighbourhood have expressed a desire to stabilize

and to consolidate the identity directed towards a peaceful future. With this intention to the reconstruction of the identity, residents show a desire for a sense of belonging to the neighbourhood and the city.

Ethno village

As a new type of "urban space" ethno-village is emerging, which is spreading over a wide territory of B-H. Ethno-village Stanišići, near the city of Bijeljina, as the first in a series, is the originator of the typology on the very small, limited space, and it represents one of the most obvious forms of identity transition process. They are very clear form of transformation of identity issues to new spatial program, because it has been formed by literally moving the physical structure from one place to another. In addition to moving, construction has also used the method of simulation, by referring to emphasized ethnic identity elements of some other, third space. Subsequent development of the "village" towards touristic resort and theme park shows the transformation of the basic life questions to the business. In order to do this, same ethnic and national elements that are the basis of the entire post-war discourse in B-H have been used. One-way process with the private initiative shows how new capitalist system of values functions, for which the society was not prepared due to a lack of continuity, tradition and democratic culture. This fragile system has been marked by the transition, in which the individual is more or less (un)officially allowed to act completely independently and according to his own will. Thus, indirectly and without any control, an individual is able to affect the formation of new system of values which is accepted as general, preferred one and official.

Caricatured and unnatural appearance of these places is metaphor of the transition, where some identities are replaced with the other ones which are strongly enhanced. Although they represent symbols of highlighted "ethnic" identities in corresponding "ethnically clean" territories, they still cause conflicts between old and new identities, and they create some new- thirds- hybrid ones. These identities in transition that are between one and the other, the old and new, still need to be defined, valorised and placed in general system of values. On a personal level, the matrix of transition is the result of strong individual sub-consciousness, and desire to create, with no conscious about connections to the new urban and natural context in which they operate. According to a relatively small scale, certain restrictedness, and a high degree of independence, one's own identity is almost completely retained and transposed into a new context. As such it doesn't need to be adapted, so it becomes even more closed, profiled and stronger towards creating conditions for potential conflicts with others. At the same time it remains isolated outside the contemporary context, and therefore is characterized as artificially constructed. It doesn't perform its full capacity, it loses strength and importance as well as relation to everyday life and it emerges as a weak element for the sustainable development of identity, whether it is personal, cultural or physical.

Apart from the small, limited space of ethno villages, significant changes are also manifested in cities near which they have emerged. This has consequences on territorial organization of entire territory of B-H, when comparing the period before and after the war. For example Bijeljina was the representative of the typology of medium sized towns of Federal Republic of B-H that have become one of the major centres of regions during the process. On the other hand, as representative of typology of small mining, industrial towns, Vareš is on the verge of extinction. The process of shrinking the small towns, and growth urbanization of large towns that is going on at the same time is geographical consequence of the process.

City

The construction of the city of East Sarajevo is one very specific case of the process. It is characteristic representative of typology of planned stately relations towards systematic addressing issues of transition for a large number of people. Due to the complex context, this project has not succeed completely, so it is transforming to other processes and forms. The specificity of the construction is the closeness between the previous and the new place of residence and their physical, urban and contextual connection.

Regardless of the original plans to eliminate this natural relationship, the matrix of formal construction of the new city repeats traits of the former and is developed in a very similar way to the contiguous city of Sarajevo. Although the general form of the two cities is quite different, the planes and constructed physical reality of East Sarajevo does not show much difference compared to the contiguous neighbourhoods on the other side of the IEBL, considering the form of urban blocks, directions of the streets, etc. The new city is repeating the urban matrix of the Sarajevo built in the 1980s and is depicting certain morphological analogies with the new East Sarajevo. The new construction depends on the existing urban structure and indirectly shows the awareness of orienting towards a common future.

Due to a radical change of ethnical and cultural structure of population, and new forms of life, which are introduced in urban life of the city, Sarajevo is now perceived as some different, and a new city, compared to the one existed 20 years ago. It misses its pre-war spirit of multiculturalism, which made it recognizable. On the other hand there is a newly constructed city - East Sarajevo, which also shows characteristics of a lack of identity. A large scale at the city level prevails there, which almost completely suppresses the specificity of individual "transferred" identity that could be expressed only within the housing units. On a larger scale, the existing urban connection with the urban blocks of Sarajevo does not have sufficient identity value. Also some highlighted ethnic identity elements in the architecture of new city do not have any relationship with urban form and physical structure.

At territorial level, a completely new spatial-administrative unit was created next to Sarajevo. It is developing as newly formed city of East Sarajevo. Nevertheless, the imagined counterpart of Sarajevo has stopped in the first half of its development. From the idea of the capital of Republic of Srpska, it reduced to the administrative seat of newly-defined region and a kind of large suburban or satellite neighbourhood of Sarajevo. On the other hand, Sarajevo has suffered a number of changes in the demographic structure, urban development and cultural identity... Although being the capital, the largest and most important city of B-H, the centre of urban and cultural life, Sarajevo streams towards isolated elitist position.

Synthesis

Although three case studies essentially differ from each other in their (in)formalities, as well as spatial scale and the agents of construction involved, based on these observations a certain general characteristics of the process can be defined - the matrix of forced transition.

- Agents of new construction are refugees and displaced persons as the main corpus of new demographic structure, which at some point settle in a new residence and begin construction of a new life.
- Construction period is very short, initial funds are small, so the new construction is reduced to satisfying current minimum needs despite of irrational plans. Due to the specific context of construction, builders have no awareness of the long-term effects of spatial interventions, which they undoubtedly cause. They focus on the problem of the "roof over the head" immediately, but at the same time cause many other problems.
- Spatial results of traversed twenty-year long way show the absurdity of the war, because in addition to the new perception they do not bring anything substantial new. Different forms of new constructions are not essentially new, because most of the cases just repeat the original matrix (patterns/models) recovered from the past and also as the form of inherited spatial organization.
- It is the same that existed before the war and in the previous places of residence of the displaced. New spatial units (entities) are parts of evolution of existing 'urban' units, which are perceived and defined as "new settlements". Architectural appearance of objects, and urban structures of neighbourhoods do not have expected, additional value. The new forms of space arise similarly in scenarios of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, so they do not justify the process of forced spatial transition. At the same time it shows that conflicted places are not fundamentally different. In spite of the forced transition, the displaced do not reject them, on the contrary, they take them or feel nostalgia for having "left" them.

- Due to a certain isolated position of "new settlements", their incompleteness and lack of connection with the spatial units to which they are continuing, it is concluded that the spatial transition is not finished. Its construction has yet to be completed with a contiguous structure.
- The transition is a continuous process constantly changing, evolving and getting more complex, due to dynamic changes of the context. At the same time, 20 years after the process has started, there is no spatial consolidation or their integration into the corresponding spatial units. Regardless of the spatial scale, there is a certain distance perceived as a boundary between existing and new units, that has many more layers and meanings beside the physical only. This "in-between (transitional) space" is one of the outstanding issues for the future and place that plays a key role in defining the future development of the process. It will lead to the integration or disintegration of the physical and cultural space, in accordance with contextual changes. Given the size of the (transitional) space "in-between" and its character, this is one of the greatest potentials of space.
- The future development of these spaces will primarily depend on their acceptance as undeniable facts. It will be necessary to break the border set between the "old" and the "new" space and to focus right in the space between them. At the same time it should be considered in a context that is broader than just an administrative, physical or identity unit. The city, its image and identity should be observed as to the purpose of its creation, and to the dynamics of its changes
- Observing the processes in the formal and informal system, as well as the development of new urban forms both in formal and informal urban fabric, it could be concluded that different approaches have not had a substantive impact on the transition process of spatial identities. Both ways of the process and urban development show certain strengths and weaknesses that need to be reduced or improved. The difference between formal and informal is more apparent than real, so formal and informal approaches should be integrated in the framework of development process. Integration should influence the entire process and forms of construction, development of urban forms and identities as well. This means that inhabitants should be involved more in formal system processes. They should be given the opportunity to shape historical events and society, as well as the urban space where they live, and both collective and spatial identities. On the other hand inhabitants as well as the authorities should be aware of consequences of their acting, which can permanently be left on the development, on urban morphology and identity.
- There is no doubt that spatial identities of B-H have changed in the last 20 years, because they are fragmented, dispersed, conflicted and opposite, at the same time new and different, complex and difficult... Also, no city is longer what it was 20 years ago, but on the other hand, it is a part of the continuous development, which is making the historical continuity of existence and life of a city. Therefore, the city in a way allows the conditions for preservation, transition, hybridization or the construction of identity. Due to this, it could be concluded that in the (urban) space of B-H, a common basis for the co-existence and co-living could still be found, as well as a kind of integration and different types of identities. This requires confrontation with the past and mentality in the process towards the future, What could also be general message of the research.

8.4. RE- identification

The general analysis of socio-cultural identity does not show significantly different results comparing the initial and final periods of the process. In regard to ethnicity, religion and national homogenization, one of the most important results of the process is re-identification of space, which is still an open question.

The events that caused the forced transition have provoked a total disruption of all kinds and levels of identity feelings, from individual, cultural and national, to physical as the most obvious. In addition to the old, existing identity, new displaced identities have emerged, but have also formed groups of some third, and hybrid identities. On the one hand the new identities try to reconnect with ethnic, religious and national identity that

became preferable ones for all parties involved in the conflict and that in the same way have been manifested on all these parties.

However, on the other hand it shows that this group of prevailing identities is not sufficient to complete sense of belonging, regardless of ethnic homogenization of space. The analysis shows that identity cannot be territorially divided, that it cannot be completely newly constructed, and that it is more complex than the only one, that was forced by war and post-war politics. The participants of the process can not simply break up the link with the identity they previously felt. There is still a certain common identity in the collective memory, and new feelings are actually based on the reconstruction of the past ones. The values of mutual cultural space still remain present, although they are reshaping in accordance with the context ...

Apart from one, not clearly defined, but very strong national, ethnic and religious identity, there are also many other identities. Accordingly, the transition of spatial identities is marked by conflicts and confrontation of different identity feelings from which a group of complex, hybrid identities emerges. This type of identity is caught between two opposing situations, as a real indicator of the transition. The nature of the process is characterized by two identities - the one that has been lost and the new one that is rebuilt. Given that this conflict is still open, it has shown that the transition has not been completed and that the process can still be directed to the complex identity of the rich diversity, as an important, recognizable characteristics of the space of B-H.

When speaking about this kind of integral approach to space and culture as entirety, there is no clear answer. Especially when speaking about spatial and cultural identities. The analysis of the identity issue in two layers shows that they can not be separated because together they make a coherent unity. Since the space and cultural context are forming a unity, the research equals cultural and spatial identity, just like the space itself is defined as complete unity of all elements that are forming it. That what is defined as the Transition of spatial identities actually indicates the complex process of constructing, consolidation and acceptance a conditionally 'new' identities. Since multiculturalism has been one of the greatest richness and advantages of Bosnia and Herzegovina, general as well as cultural and spatial context should provide conditions for their developing. The context should enable preservation and free expression of feelings of all kinds of identity, but in a way that is considerate to all other feelings and won't compromise them. In such a vulnerable context, the new constructions / identities should be required full responsibility and prudence in terms of the place as the social groups should have an agreement for coexistence.

Preoccupation with the theme, its constant presence in all segments of life as well as in space which is interwoven with him, and where he is reflected, talks about the importance and the courage to cope with it. As well as about the desire for re-conciliation, re-construction of a common space and identity that has always existed and whose reconstruction only depends on the will and efforts of all parties involved.

8.5. RE- conciliation

General matrix

Results of the research unfortunately have a universal value nowadays, considering that patterns defined can be useful to contemporary and future processes of transition. General conclusions of observation are listed in few points...

- Wartime experience and the temporalities between previous and a new place of residence (the old and the new life) significantly reduced the possibility of returning to the old and previous. This has determined direction of a permanent resolution of living and housing issues, i.e. permanent residence and the beginning of a new life in a new place of life.
- Therefore immediately after several war and post-war years, a permanent process of recovery has started, including the resolvment of the status of refugees and displaced persons and their homes.

First and temporary solutions have very often remained permanent for many years afterwards, some even until today.

- The process can not be stopped, but can be directed by using previous experiences, research results, assumptions and trends, and especially by understanding the nature of the conflict that has triggered the process.
- The migration and refugee processes have significantly affected the structure of space involved so that depending on the extent of the process, certain areas were perceived as partially or completely new.
- Although universal rules of the process can be defined, it is necessary to take into account specific conditions and to perform an analysis which is appropriate to each particular case.

Originality of the work

The study was set up so that the analysis itself is a kind of the result because the post-war space of B-H was observed for the first time and was mapped in that way. This is the first study that attempts to connect the cultural context of the specific space of the post-war B-H and the ways of its development through an integrated, multi-disciplinary approach. The study covers the last 20 years of enormous changes at all spatial levels as well as layers, it connects culture and space, describes and defines the concept transition of spatial identity. For the first time, after 20 years, the research describes the process of enormous scale which has completely changed the image of B-H, country driven by war, the refugee process and the division of the territory. The same process that still is not fully completed. The importance of the research is that it covers a wide range of approaches and thus shows the necessity of multidisciplinary approach to the issues, which would allow better understanding of this complex processes.

Emerging themes

Regarding to the approach and the complexity of the research, this thesis raises a number of unresolved issues and many other phenomena. It also points to other research directions and sets the basis for some possible future fields of thinking. Each of three case studies analyzed also open up a variety of subjects within which it is possible to consider a series of social, cultural, anthropological and finally physical, territorial and urban issues emerging from them. In addition, the research as a whole, points to a number of other unexplored phenomena and processes that can be observed isolated or integrated, at theoretical, practical, or any other level.

From the whole range of issues that are arising, several themes are highlighted that include the entire geographical area of B-H, which can be considered at different levels, scales and with different approaches. The proposed atlas of spaces and themes brings together different layers analyzed, confirming their causal relationship and opens up a wide field for future researches.

- Contextual (geopolitical, geographical, cultural, imaginary) positioning of B-H
- Temporal discontinuity as a characteristic feature of space;
- Re-territorialisation, homogenization and nationalization of space;
 - drainage / shrinking / devastation vs. urbanization
 - territorial centralization, polarization, and regionalization
 - analysis of supposed ethnically "clean" or "dirty" territories
- Border areas, limiting and defining territory divided at different scales;
 - areas of internal / external borders
 - divided / new / expanded / double cities
 - areas of connections and divisions / in-between spaces
- Redefining of the typology of urban space and territory
 - spatial/territorial forms in the process of formation or transformations (urban corridors, city regions)
 - new urban forms (newly-formed / founded cities, rur-urban neighbourhoods, neighbourhoods interpolated, urban/rural enclaves)

- new rural forms (hinterlands, landscapes, ...)
- Informal urban fabric
 - formalization of informality / transformations towards sustainable models
 - typology of informality
 - vernacularism / traditionalism / identitarianism of informal models
- War and space
 - temporariness / permanency of war /spatial state (transformations, occupations, exchanges)
 - lost and re-found / re-constructed homeland
 - mental/ cultural / identity space
 - typology of the refugee cities / neighbourhoods / housings / houses different approaches to resolving issue
 - spaces of dialogue / re conciliation / integration
- Transition of spatial identities on different scales, levels and areas (Regional / Continental / Global)
 - belonging (feeling) to space in exile / emigration / Diaspora

All of these specific issues of geographical and cultural space of B-H should be intensively discussed and studied in schools and universities, and in other scientific research institutions. Considering their contemporary, universal and actual importance on global and general level they could also be the subject of interest for a broader international scientific public. They could attract numerous international institutions, funds, research institutions, schools and practices to the research space of B-H. All of these entities, their work and the results could mean a huge and immense contribution to B-H. This way, the research points to necessity of achieving multiple different types of cooperation at various levels and in different areas, because valuable experiences, knowledge, and approaches of others are more than welcome.

Unfortunately, due to broken connections between the space and culture, and the attempt to replace them with reinvented 'traditions', the valuable integrated space of Bosnia and Herzegovina both real and mental, is now neglected, poorly studied and remains unexplored. Therefore, this work is part of a new attempt to re-establish an internal dialogue with the space of B-H and its setting in the focus of research discourse. It tries to draw attention to the need for the spatial researches within itself, through reading and understanding of the cultural context as its essence, including the formation of the same contextual, theoretical framework.

Since the human being and space are constantly interacting, renewing and producing each other, the approach relies on the existing creative energy within the space. That is where everything actually begins and without it, it is not possible to achieve the necessary exclusive, implied commitment to the specific space as part of one's own being. Due to all of these designated themes, this work is a kind of invitation for further continuous research of the inspiring but under-researched area. Bosnia and Herzegovina is still undiscovered pearl with a lot of important, great, but also everyday issues that need to be investigated.

No sacrifice is too great for the struggle against war.

Brecht,

Finally, the research proves that the war and its consequences are the tragedy with unpredictable consequences. It calls for readers to take all means fighting against the war, as one that struck B-H, and calling for actions to try to make the world a better place to live. By drawing conclusions from artistic interpretation of still present common space, of representations of the past (of historical and cultural continuity), impressions and perceptions of space today, the author expresses the belief that the terrible images of the conflict are behind us. In the same spirit he expresses optimism in the evolution of people's consciousness in healing the wounds and hope for a better tomorrow. The research shows intention to the reconciliation and desire for reconstruction of the common cultural space which will only depend on the will of the people and efforts of all parties involved.

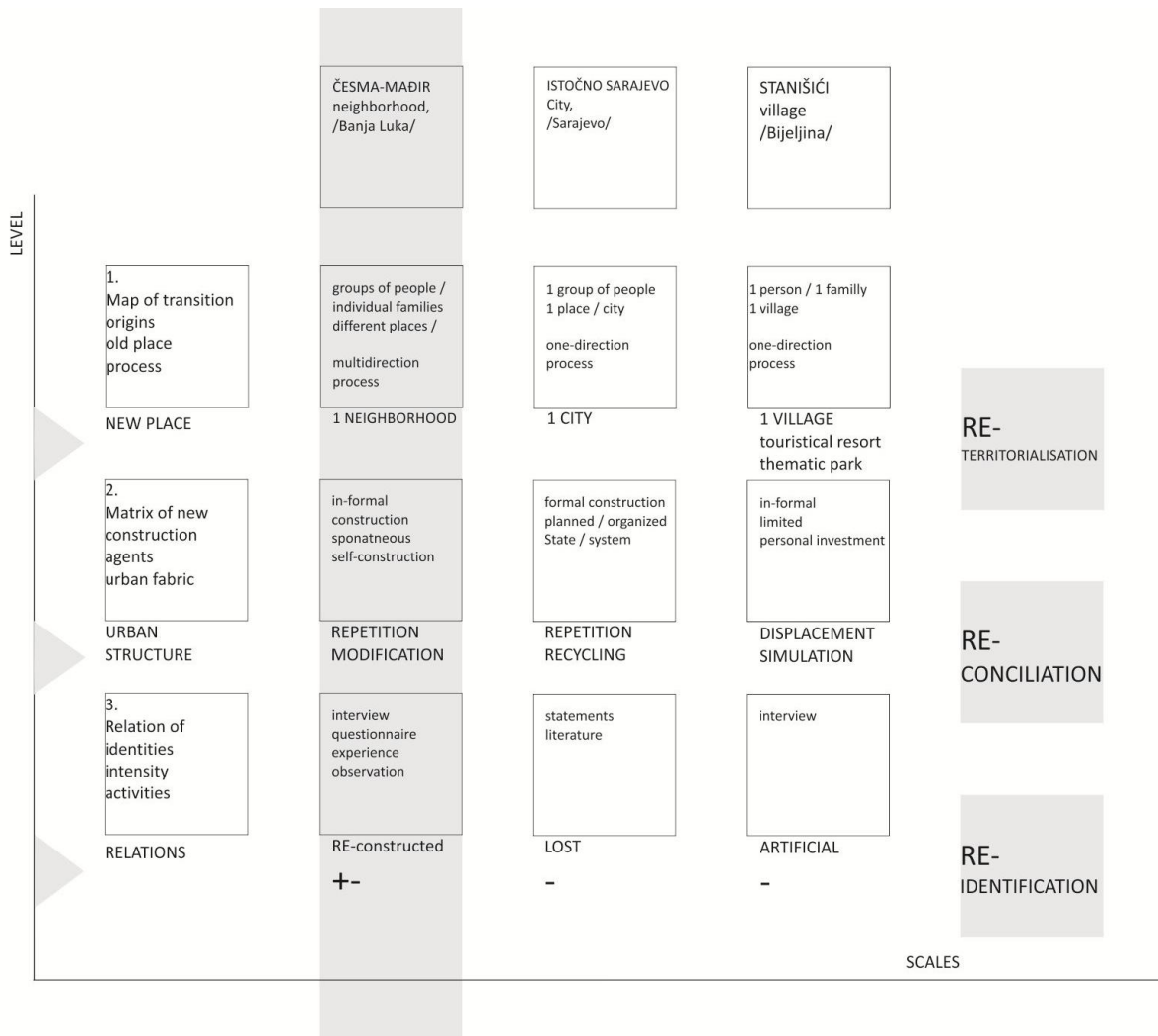


Fig. 8.1.

8. Sumario y Conclusiones. Continuidad futura de la investigación.

8.1. REinicio

El espacio físico existe y evoluciona como una estructura de relaciones sociales entrelazadas e interinfluyentes; por lo tanto, el espacio no existe y no podría ser de otra manera, sino como un reflejo del contexto específico que es necesario conocer y comprender.

Como demuestra la investigación, la principal característica del contexto y el espacio específico de Bosnia y Herzegovina en los últimos 20 años fue la guerra, que produjo efectos a largo plazo sobre todos los actores que fueron atraídos hacia ella voluntaria o involuntariamente, sobre las vidas de varias generaciones de personas y, obviamente, también sobre el espacio. La guerra penetra en todos los poros y en la misma base de la sociedad, causando un desorden total de todo el sistema, mientras que al mismo tiempo genera un sistema específico de valores y un nuevo contexto cultural. Desafortunadamente, la guerra, después del cese de los combates, sigue viva como parte integral de la paz, como un proceso discursivo permanente con el que se ha de contar para construir una recuperación a largo plazo.

Los efectos de la guerra y sus consecuencias - la migración y el intercambio de población, la división y la reorganización del territorio, la transformación del contexto cultural - fueron considerados en relación con las identidades cultural y espacial, y el proceso de su transición. Tal proceso, en su dimensión espacial, se describe a través de la formación y el desarrollo de nuevos asentamientos en un contexto cultural específico. Un rasgo especial de la investigación es su focalización en narrativas personales de sujetos que se encuentran involucrados en el proceso. Una de las lecturas posibles de la tesis es la de un cierto testimonio documental del proceso, que hasta ahora no ha sido analizado de esta manera.

Experiencias traumáticas de la guerra, el complejo proceso de los refugiados, la construcción de un nuevo espacio para vivir hacen pensar que la vida cotidiana no tenía otra alternativa, no importa cuántos eventos diferentes ocurriesen durante el proceso. La gente se vio obligada a abandonar sus hogares, y a reconstruir sus vidas, bajo condiciones específicas que sólo ellos son capaces de conocer. Esto implicó, para cada familia, la reconstrucción de su nueva vida y su nuevo hogar, así como la participación en las construcciones de un nuevo pueblo, barrio, ciudad y estado. Este nuevo comienzo es situado en un amplio contexto cultural, y desde una intencionada actitud crítica constructiva.

La transición forzada durante los últimos 20 años tuvo varias etapas, pero hasta hoy aún no se ha completado. Lo que la define son los lugares de residencia previo y nuevo, y, junto con la distancia recorrida, caracterizada por lugares temporales de residencia (temporalidad de la transición), constituyen los elementos de la transición. Subráyese que se llevó a cabo en contra de la voluntad de los participantes, fue violenta y caótica, y que raramente los participantes no eran conscientes de su importancia, de su duración y de sus consecuencias reales a largo plazo.

Analizando el proceso en varios niveles, físicos, culturales, económicos (...), el trabajo definió los patrones de las transiciones forzadas de las identidades espaciales. Las conclusiones acaban dibujando la matriz específica de la transición de cada caso estudiado, así como la matriz general del proceso. Se consideró como matriz al sistema de elementos, que podría funcionar como un modelo para estudios adicionales de estos casos particulares, o de algunos otros.

8.2. REterritorialización

La transición forzada no fue un proceso sencillo, sino un proceso complejo y multidireccional. Se llevó a cabo en todo el territorio de Bosnia y Herzegovina y en el amplio territorio de la antigua Yugoslavia. Dejó un efecto duradero en todos los niveles de espacio y en todos los lugares afectados por el proceso. Casi no se dieron excepciones, así que algunas diferencias se notan sólo en relación al alcance y la magnitud del impacto del proceso. Tal proceso tuvo como resultado una reterritorialización de Bosnia y Herzegovina, derivada de un conjunto de influencias complejo, no basada, sino muy al contrario, en los valores de la continuidad y la cultura de la convivencia histórica. El conflicto bélico, marcado por el genocidio, culturicidio y urbicidio, negó los valores básicos de la civilización. El valioso espacio, multiétnico, multicultural y multirreligioso se convirtió en un mosaico de unidades territoriales homogéneas, casi étnicamente puras, basado en la representación mayoritaria de la población, en las posiciones de guerra y más tarde en la línea de demarcación dibujada en los acuerdos de Dayton.

A esto le siguió la reorganización administrativa y regional del territorio con una nueva división del poder entre unidades administrativas, regiones y ciudades. La estructura geográfica, urbana y organizativa del territorio cambió súbitamente, y según ella, el desarrollo general en los posteriores 20 años iría en esa dirección. Dentro de la nueva organización administrativa del territorio, se han creado dos entidades definidas, con sus respectivas capitales y un distrito, y dentro de dichas entidades se han organizado varias regiones y cantones con sus propios gobiernos y administraciones. El número y la importancia de las principales ciudades han aumentado, con la tendencia de a la urbanización tanto continua como dispersa. Las ciudades principales están en un proceso de urbanización ininterumpida en el tiempo, mientras que el número y la importancia de las ciudades medianas y pequeñas han disminuido. Se formaron nuevos corredores de comunicación y direcciones de desarrollo, donde la nueva tipología territorial está en proceso de formar corredores urbanos y regiones urbanas. El contexto del desarrollo de nuevas tipologías urbanas se describe en particular en este estudio.

8.3. REconstrucción

La transición supuso el inicio de un nuevo y grande trabajo de construcción, que en los diferentes niveles espaciales se llevó a cabo de diferentes maneras siguiendo diferentes patrones, que dió como resultado una serie tipológica nueva de los espacios urbanos y territoriales. Las observaciones de tres casos característicos de escalas espaciales diferentes revelan ciertas similitudes y diferencias en base a las cuales se define la matriz del proceso.

Barrio

El barrio Česma- Mađir representa el tipo más obvio y la forma más común del proceso que se dió en todo el territorio de Bosnia y Herzegovina con un patrón similar y que supuso la construcción de una serie de proyectos de los barrios con viviendas familiares individuales en las afueras de las grandes ciudades. El proceso se llevó a cabo como fábrica urbana informal, que fué aceptada como la forma dominante y una manera de construcción "estable". La matriz de la construcción se ajusta a los valores tradicionales heredados de la construcción informal y la lengua vernácula, usando la repetición con ligeras modificaciones. A pesar de la urgencia del problema del "techo sobre la cabeza", de la general y permanente inestabilidad del contexto, la construcción se percibe como permanente, desde una actitud vital que afronta la irracionalidad y el largo plazo del proceso. Se configura como un anillo circular en la periferia y responde al concepto de "nueva ciudad" de Banja Luka.

El intenso desarrollo del proceso ha tenido un impacto importante en el cambio del carácter de las grandes ciudades. Banja Luka volvió a ser la capital de una unidad administrativa, la primera vez desde el período del gobierno de la provincia, con todas las consecuencias que esto implica. La ciudad perdió una parte sustancial de la población urbana que tuvo antes de la guerra, pero al mismo tiempo aumentó significativamente el número de residentes con la homogeneización de estructura étnica. También perdió un valioso patrimonio arquitectónico que fué destruido desde el interior, pero al mismo tiempo fué un período de construcción

intensiva enmarcado en el proceso de la transición. Como la segunda ciudad más grande en Bosnia y Herzegovina, cada día es centro de gravedad para un gran número de población, que habita especialmente zonas periféricas subdesarrolladas y rurales. La ciudad está en constante proceso de evolución y crecimiento, junto a las comunicaciones principales, en un proceso de formación de ciudad-region, integrando a varios pequeños pueblos vecinos como Celinac, Laktasi y Gradiska.

A la escala de la parcela, y la vivienda la transición se desarrolla en un recinto muy pequeño. La identidad se reconstruye en el interior del patio, de la casa y de la vida familiar. A escala, del barrio, se percibe una cierta ausencia de sentimientos de identidad en relación con la expresión dentro de la casa de la familia. Las unidades espaciales de las identidades están intentando integrarse al contexto, para luego ajustarse a un contexto más amplio. Se siente el impacto del grupo, como el deseo de pertenencia, seguridad, igualdad. Teniendo en cuenta esta intención de un nuevo comienzo de la vida dejando atrás el pasado, los participantes en el proceso, constructores informales y nuevos vecinos de la urbanización, han expresado el deseo de estabilizar y consolidar la identidad orientada hacia un futuro pacífico. Con esta decisión de volver a reconstruir sus vidas y sus identidades, los residentes muestran su deseo de alcanzar un estatus de pertenencia a los pueblos y ciudades en los que se han enraizado de nuevo.

Etno pueblo

Como uno de los tipos del nuevo espacio urbano aparece el etno-pueblo en el amplio territorio de Bosnia y Herzegovina. El etno-pueblo Stanisici, cerca de Bijeljina, ha sido ejemplo pionero de este tipo nuevo, que en un espacio limitado, representa una de las formas más evidentes de la transición de identidades. Representa de forma muy clara de los problemas de la transformación de identidades en el nuevo programa espacial, mediante el desplazamiento y reproducción literal de la estructura física de un lugar a otro. Además del movimiento, la construcción también utiliza la simulación, mimética de referencias a los elementos de identidad étnicos acentuados de algunos otros lugares. La evolución posterior del "pueblo" hacia la especie de parque temático, muestra la transformación de las cuestiones culturales básicas que subyacen en el origen y desarrollo de esta experiencia, hacia un asunto de rentabilidad económica. En su creación se han utilizado los mismos conceptos étnicos y nacionales, que están a la base de todo el discurso de post-guerra en Bosnia y Herzegovina. El proceso, dirigido por la iniciativa privada, muestra el modo de funcionamiento de un nuevo sistema de valores, democrático y capitalista, para el que la sociedad no estaba preparada debido a la falta ausencia de tradición y a la ruptura cultural de la continuidad del sistema político y social. Este sistema es débil y está fuertemente marcado por la transición, en la que al agente promotor le es permitido actuar sobre la sociedad y en el espacio, de una manera más o menos informal y al margen de la administración, de forma totalmente independiente y de acuerdo a su exclusiva voluntad e interés privado. Por lo tanto, indirectamente y sin ningún sistema de control, al promotor se le permite que actúe en la formación del nuevo sistema de valores, que se aceptan como oficiales y preferentes.

La ocurrencia caricaturizada y poco natural de estos lugares es una metáfora del proceso en el que unas identidades se sustituyen por otras que las exageran. A pesar de que los símbolos representan identidades "étnicas" acentuadas en los territorios "étnicamente puros", todavía causan un conflicto entre las identidades previas y nuevas, y provocan la creación de algunos nuevos rasgos híbridos. En el espacio y el tiempo entre las dos situaciones estas identidades en transición aún no se han definido, ni confrontado en un sistema de valores. En el plano personal, la matriz es el resultado de un fuerte deseo del agente promotor, sin ninguna relación con el contexto geográfico y social. Dada la escala pequeña, una cierta estanqueidad y un alto grado de independencia, la propia identidad se va rehaciendo y transponiendo a un nuevo contexto. Tal como es de inicio, no siente necesidad de adaptarse así que va cerrándose aún más, y fortaleciéndose, creando condiciones para nuevos posibles conflictos con los diferentes. Al mismo tiempo, la nueva estructura permanece aislada, fuera del contexto espacio-temporal, y por lo tanto se reconoce como identidad artificialmente construida. No se realiza en toda su potencialidad, y con el tiempo va perdiendo su fuerza y carácter en su confrontación con la vida cotidiana, mostrándose como un elemento débil en el desarrollo continuado de la identidad personal, cultural y espacial.

Aparte de en los pequeños espacios limitados de las etno-villas, los cambios significativos también se manifiestan en las ciudades cercanas a estos lugares. En comparación con la situación anterior, su implantación tiene muchas otras consecuencias sobre la organización territorial de la Bosnia y Herzegovina. Por ejemplo, Bijeljina era un núcleo representativo de las ciudades de tamaño medio en la República Federal de Bosnia y Herzegovina, que durante el proceso se convirtió en un importante centro regional y terciario. Por otro lado, el núcleo de Vares como representante de la tipología de ciudades industriales pequeñas está en proceso de vaciado de tal función. Así que el declive de las ciudades pequeñas y el desarrollo de las grandes son, en parte, el resultado geográfico del proceso descrito.

Ciudad

La construcción de la ciudad de Sarajevo Este es una manifestación muy específica del proceso. Es representativa de una tipología adoptada por el sistema estatal de planificación urbana al abordar el problema de la transición masiva y simultánea de muchas personas, construyendo los asentamientos de fábrica urbana formal de manera sistemática. Debido a la complejidad de este proyecto y del contexto en el que se produce, no acaba como está previsto en su programación, sino que con el tiempo va transformándose en otros procesos y formas. La especificidad de la construcción se encuentra en la relación de contigüidad entre el previo y el nuevo lugar de residencia, en su conexión cercana, física, urbana y contextual.

Desviándose de los planes originales de eliminar esta relación natural, la matriz de la construcción formal de la nueva ciudad repite rasgos de la anterior y va desarrollándose de una manera muy similar a la ciudad contigua de Sarajevo. Aunque la forma general de las dos ciudades es bien diferente, los planos y la realidad física construida de Sarajevo Este no muestran mucha diferencia en comparación con los barrios contiguos del otro lado de la frontera interna, considerando la forma urbana de las manzanas, los trazados y orientación de las calles, etc. La nueva ciudad está repitiendo la matriz urbana de los barrios de la ciudad de Sarajevo construidos en los ochentas y presenta ciertas analogías morfológicas con el nuevo Sarajevo. La nueva ciudad depende de la estructura urbana existente e indirectamente muestra la conciencia de orientarse hacia un futuro común.

Debido a los cambios radicales de las estructuras étnicas y culturales de la población y la introducción de nuevas formas de vida en las ciudades, Sarajevo se percibe ahora como una ciudad nueva, que ha perdido su identidad si la comparamos con la que existió hace 20 años. Sarajevo echa de menos su espíritu anterior marcado por la pluriétnicidad, pluriconfesionalidad y multiculturalismo, que le caracterizaron y le hicieron reconocible. Por otro lado existe una realidad nueva, una ciudad nueva, Sarajevo Este, que también adolece de falta de identidad. A este nivel de la ciudad, prevalece la gran escala, que anula casi por completo la especificidad de las identidades individuales "transferidas", que se reflejan solamente al interior de las unidades de vivienda. A esta escala, por una parte, la conexión urbana existente entre las manzanas y bloques de los dos Sarajevo no presenta una coherencia suficiente y por otro lado los elementos simbólicos de identidad étnica de la arquitectura de la nueva ciudad, no tienen significativas relaciones de armonía con su forma y su estructura física.

A nivel territorial, cabe señalar que el nuevo Sarajevo Este también supuso la creación de una nueva unidad administrativa que contribuye a conformarla como una ciudad independiente de la ciudad de Sarajevo. Sin embargo, la contraparte imaginaria de Sarajevo se ha detenido en la primera etapa de su desarrollo, y la idea inicial de una nueva capital se reduce a la de la capitalidad de la recién constituida región y a una especie de gran asentamiento suburbano o satelital de Sarajevo. Destáquese, en resumen, que Sarajevo ha sufrido una serie de importantes cambios en cuanto a la estructura demográfica, al desarrollo urbano y a su intensa y rica identidad cultural.

Síntesis

Aunque los tres estudios de caso son esencialmente diferentes en cuanto a su (in)formalidad, a la escala del espacio, y la naturaleza de los agentes de la construcción, sobre la base de observaciones previas, se pueden definir ciertas características generales de la matriz de transición forzada.

- Los agentes de la construcción forman parte de la nueva estructura demográfica / social en categoría de refugiados y desplazados que en algún momento se establecieron en un nuevo lugar de residencia y comenzaron a reconstruir sus vidas.
- El tiempo de construcción de la nueva vivienda es muy corto, los fondos iniciales son pequeños, así que la nueva construcción se limita a satisfacer las necesidades mínimas. Debido al contexto específico de la construcción, los constructores no tienen conocimiento de los efectos que, a largo plazo, sus intervenciones causan en la zona. Se centran en el problema del "techo sobre la cabeza" inmediato, pero enseguida han de afrontar muchos otros problemas.
- Los cambios acaecidos tras el periodo transcurrido en veinte años muestran lo absurdo de la guerra y de las transiciones forzadas, porque aparte de la nueva construcción y la nueva percepción del espacio no aportan nada sustancialmente novedoso. Las diversas formas de las nuevas construcciones no son fundamentalmente nuevas, ya que muestran la repetición de la matriz de origen, recuperada del pasado. Es la misma que existía antes de la guerra y en los lugares previos de residencia de los desplazados. A pesar del carácter forzado de las transiciones, los desplazados hacen de los nuevos hogares elementos de memoria de la situación anterior, vivida con nostalgia y sentimiento de pérdida.
- Las nuevas construcciones representan partes de la evolución de las unidades urbanas existentes, que se perciben y se definen como "nuevos asentamientos" surgiendo de manera similar en otros escenarios del conflicto en Bosnia y Herzegovina. La arquitectura de edificios y la estructura urbana de los asentamientos no han aportado el valor añadido que se esperaba.
- Aunque la construcción formal se fundamenta en la legislación urbana, esta no necesariamente es congruente con el contexto espacial y cultural. El desarrollo no atendió a las necesidades de los residentes sino de los inversores, y por ello tiene una alta densidad de ocupación del suelo. El análisis muestra que la calidad de la vivienda, no depende de la construcción formal o informal del barrio. Tanto en la construcción informal como formal, el proceso incluye ciertas normas urbanísticas y arquitectónicas, independientemente de que provengan de políticas urbanísticas o de reglas no escritas heredadas. Estas reglas están constantemente influyendo durante el tiempo de adaptación a las circunstancias y los intereses de la nueva situación. En ambos casos la nueva construcción muestra un cierto respeto a la organización espacial heredada.
- Debido a un cierto aislamiento de los "nuevos asentamientos", su estado de incompletitud y la falta de integración con las unidades espaciales contiguas, se puede concluir que la transición espacial no ha terminado. Su construcción aún tiene que ser completada y se han de proveer o mejorar ciertos servicios.
- La transición es un proceso continuo, que debido a los cambios constantes del contexto va cambiando, evolucionando y complicándose. También, que 20 años después del inicio del proceso de transición no se nota consolidación del espacio o su integración con las unidades espaciales contiguas. Independientemente de la escala espacial, entre las unidades existentes y los nuevos asentamientos hay una discontinuidad espacial que se define como un límite, que a pesar de su dimensión física tiene muchas más capas y significados. Esta "brecha" o espacio intermedio es uno de los temas pendientes para el futuro y el lugar que, junto con la dinámica del contexto, tiene un papel clave en la definición del futuro desarrollo del proceso, que conducirá a la integración o desintegración del espacio físico y cultural. Dado el tamaño del espacio y su carácter, en este límite radica uno de los grandes potenciales del espacio.
- El desarrollo futuro de estos espacios dependerá principalmente de su aceptación como hechos incontrovertibles. Será necesario acabar con la frontera entre el antiguo y el nuevo espacio y poner el foco del planeamiento en el espacio entre ellos. Tal espacio debería ser encajado en el contexto más amplio de una única entidad administrativa y física. La ciudad, su imagen e identidad deberían ser observadas en cuanto al propósito de su creación, y a la dinámica de sus cambios.
- Observando los procesos de transición de las identidades espaciales en los sistemas formal e informal, se podría concluir que las diferentes experiencias no han tenido un impacto sustancial sobre los

mismos. Ambas vías del proceso muestran ciertas fortalezas y debilidades que necesitan ser reducidas o mejoradas. La diferencia entre formal e informal es más aparente que real, por lo que las estructuras urbanas tanto formales e como informales deben ser integradas en el marco de la planificación. Tal integración debe informar todo el proceso, incidiendo en las formas de urbanización, así como en el desarrollo de las identidades urbanas. Esto significa que los habitantes deben participar más en los procesos del sistema formal. Deberían tener la oportunidad de participar en la tarea de dar forma a los acontecimientos históricos y al espacio social, así como al espacio urbano donde viven, y, en suma, a las identidades colectivas y espaciales. Por otra parte, tanto los habitantes como las autoridades deben ser conscientes de las consecuencias de su actuación, que pueden dejar huellas permanentes en la morfología urbana y el espacio social.

- No cabe duda de cuánto los lugares de Bosnia y Herzegovina han cambiado en los últimos 20 años, porque las nuevas urbanizaciones están fragmentadas, dispersas, y aparecen como conflictivas y enfrentadas, al mismo tiempo, nuevas y diferentes, complejas y difíciles. Además, ya ninguna ciudad es así, como fué hace 20 años, pero por otro lado, los asentamientos urbanos forman parte de la permanente evolución que se observa en la continuidad histórica de la existencia de una ciudad y en la vida social. Por lo tanto, la ciudad, de alguna manera, contribuye a crear las condiciones para la preservación, la transición, la hibridación o la construcción de la identidad. Debido a esto, se podría concluir que en el espacio urbano de Bosnia y Herzegovina, todavía se puede encontrar una base común para la coexistencia y convivencia de sus habitantes, así como para promover la integración de los diferentes tipos de identidades. Lo que requiere una confrontación con el pasado y adoptar una actitud orientada y preocupada por el futuro, lo que también podría ser considerado como un mensaje general de la investigación.

8.4. REidentificación

El análisis general de la identidad socio-cultural, no muestra resultados significativamente diferentes comparando los tiempos inicial y final del proceso. En cuanto a la etnicidad, la religión y la homogeneización nacional, uno de los resultados más importantes del proceso es la re-significación del espacio, que sigue siendo una cuestión abierta.

Los acontecimientos que causaron la transición de las identidades espaciales han provocado una nueva composición de todos los tipos y niveles de sentimientos de identidad, desde individuales, culturales y nacionales hasta físicos como los más obvios. A la identidad existente en el origen, se han sobrepuesto nuevas identidades desplazadas, pero también se han formado grupos de alguna tercera, e identidades híbridas. Por un lado las nuevas identidades tratan de reconectarse con las identidades étnica, religiosa y nacional preferidas por cada una de las partes implicadas en el conflicto.

Sin embargo, por otro lado, esto muestra que el grupo de identidades prevalecientes no es suficiente para completar el sentido de pertenencia, independientemente de la homogeneización étnica del espacio. El análisis muestra que la identidad no puede ser dividida territorialmente, que no puede ser completamente nueva, y que es más compleja que la artificialmente simplificada impuesta por la guerra y la política de la posguerra. A los participantes en el proceso, esa violencia forzada no puede arrebatarles el vínculo con la identidad que antes sentían. Todavía hay un sentimiento de una cierta identidad común en la memoria colectiva, y los nuevos sentimientos se basan realmente en la reelaboración de los anteriores. Los valores del espacio cultural de origen siguen estando presentes, aunque se están remodelando de acuerdo con el contexto.

Aparte de una identidad nacional, étnica y religiosa sin una definición muy clara, pero muy fuerte, también hay muchas otras identidades. En consecuencia, la transición de las identidades espaciales está marcada por conflictos y confrontación de diferentes sentimientos de identidad de los cuales emerge una nueva agrupación de identidades, híbridas y complejas. Este tipo de identidad está atrapada entre dos situaciones opuestas, como un indicador real de la transición. La naturaleza del proceso se caracteriza por esa dualidad entre dos

identidades, la que se ha perdido y la nueva reconstruida. El hecho de que este conflicto aún esté abierto, de que la transición aún no se haya completado indica la posibilidad de que el proceso todavía puede dirigirse hacia el logro de una identidad compleja y rica en diversidad que suponga una característica importante y reconocible del espacio de Bosnia y Herzegovina.

Al hablar de este tipo de enfoque, la aproximación integral al espacio y la cultura en su totalidad, no se puede dar una respuesta clara a las preguntas sobre la identidad; especialmente al hablar de identidades espaciales y culturales. El análisis de la cuestión de la identidad en dos niveles demuestra que no pueden separarse porque constituyen una unidad coherente. Dado que el espacio y el contexto cultural están tan cohesionados, la investigación aborda unitariamente la identidad cultural y espacial, al igual que el propio espacio se define como el sistema integrado de todos los elementos que lo forman. Que lo que se define como transición de las identidades espaciales, en realidad indica el complejo proceso de construcción, consolidación y aceptación de unas potencialmente "nuevas" identidades. Dado que el multiculturalismo ha sido una de las mayores riquezas y ventajas de Bosnia y Herzegovina, tanto el contexto general como cultural y espacial deben proporcionar condiciones para su desarrollo. El contexto debe permitir la preservación y la libre expresión de sentimientos de todo tipo de identidad, pero de una manera que sea respetuosa con todos los "otros" sentimientos y no los confronte. En un contexto tan vulnerable debería exigirse a las nuevas construcciones / identidades una plena responsabilidad y prudencia en el encaje en el lugar así como a los grupos sociales un acuerdo para la convivencia.

La preocupación por el tema, su presencia constante en todos los segmentos de la vida así como en el espacio que se entrelaza con él, y en el que se refleja, habla de la importancia que tiene y el coraje que se necesita para afrontarlo. Así como el deseo de reconciliación y la reconstrucción de aquel espacio de identidad común que siempre ha existido, tarea que depende de la voluntad y los esfuerzos de todas las partes implicadas.

8.5. REconciliación

El proceso descrito, desafortunadamente dado el drama al que se refiere, tiene un valor universal hoy en día, considerando que los patrones definidos pueden ser útiles para los procesos de transición contemporáneos y futuros. Las conclusiones generales de la observación se enumeran en pocos puntos.

- Los años de experiencia de la guerra y el intervalo de tiempo, entre el anterior y el nuevo lugar de residencia redujeron significativamente la posibilidad de regresar a la situación inicial. Esto ha determinado el carácter permanente de la resolución adoptada ante los problemas de la vida y de la vivienda, es decir, la residencia permanente y el comienzo de una nueva vida en un nuevo asentamiento.
- Por lo tanto, inmediatamente tras la guerra se ha iniciado un proceso permanente de recuperación, incluyendo la resolución del estatus de refugiados y desplazados y de sus hogares. Las soluciones primeras y temporales han permanecido muy a menudo válidas hasta muchos años después, en algunos incluso hasta hoy.
- El proceso no puede ser detenido, pero puede ser reorientado desde experiencias anteriores, resultados de algunas investigaciones, suposiciones y tendencias, y, especialmente, entendiendo la naturaleza del conflicto que ha desencadenado el proceso.
- Los procesos de migración y búsqueda de refugio han afectado significativamente la estructura del espacio involucrado, de modo que, dependiendo de la magnitud del fenómeno y la extensión del asentamiento, ciertas áreas fueron percibidas como parcial o completamente nuevas.
- Aunque se pueden apreciar reglas universales del proceso, en cada caso se han de tener en cuenta sus condiciones específicas y ser objeto de un análisis apropiado.

Originalidad del trabajo

La metodología del estudio ha supuesto que el análisis en sí mismo sea ya una especie de resultado porque el espacio de posguerra de Bosnia y Herzegovina se observó y cartografió por primera vez de esa manera. Efectivamente, este es el primer estudio que intenta conectar el contexto cultural del espacio de posguerra de Bosnia y Herzegovina con las formas de su desarrollo a través de un enfoque integrado y multidisciplinario. El estudio abarca los últimos 20 años de enormes cambios en todos los niveles del espacio, conecta sistema cultural y espacio físico, describiendo y definiendo el concepto de la transición de la identidad espacial. Por primera vez, después de 20 años, la investigación afronta la descripción del proceso, de enorme escala, que ha cambiado completamente la imagen de Bosnia y Herzegovina, un país asolado por la guerra, las migraciones y los refugiados y la división. Un proceso que todavía no está completamente terminado. La importancia de la investigación es podría fundarse en que despliega una amplia gama de enfoques y, por lo tanto, demuestra la necesidad de una aproximación multidisciplinaria a estos temas, tal que permita una mejor comprensión de su complejidad.

Temas emergentes

En cuanto al enfoque y la complejidad de la investigación, esta tesis plantea una serie de cuestiones no resueltas y hace aparecer muchos otros fenómenos espaciales que no han sido explorados. Por ello, apunta a otras direcciones de investigación y establece las bases para algunos posibles futuros ámbitos de reflexión. Cada uno de los tres estudios de caso analizados abre también una variedad de asuntos entre los cuales se encuentran temas sociales, culturales, antropológicos junto con los físicos, territoriales y urbanos relacionados con ellos.

Cabría destacar varios temas que se observan en todo el territorio de Bosnia y Herzegovina, considerando diferentes niveles y escalas, temas que pueden ser abordado desde diferentes enfoques. El atlas propuesto de espacios y temas analizados es extenso y diverso, confirmando sus interrelaciones y abriendo un amplio campo para futuras investigaciones:

- Posición contextual (geopolítica, geográfica, cultural, imaginaria) de Bosnia y Herzegovina
- Discontinuidad temporal como rasgo característico del espacio;
- Reterritorialización, homogeneización y nacionalización del espacio;
 - desertización / devastación vs. urbanización
 - centralización territorial, polarización y regionalización
 - análisis de territorios supuestos étnicamente "limpios" o "sucios"
- Áreas fronterizas, limitando y definiendo el territorio, considerado en diferentes escalas;
 - zonas de fronteras interiores / exteriores
 - ciudades divididas / nuevas / expandidas / dobles
 - áreas de conexiones y divisiones / espacios intermedios
- Redefinición de la tipología del espacio urbano y del territorio;
 - formas espaciales / territoriales en el proceso de formación o transformación (corredores urbanos, ciudades regiones)
 - nuevas formas urbanas (ciudades recién formadas / fundadas, barrios urbanos, barrios interpolados, enclaves urbanos / rurales)
 - nuevas formas rurales (hinterlands, paisajes, ...)
- Fabrica urbana informal
 - regularización de la informalidad / transformaciones hacia modelos sostenibles
 - tipología de la informalidad
 - vernacularidad / tradicionalismo / identitarismo de modelos informales
- Guerra y espacio
 - temporalidad / permanencia de la guerra / estatus espacial (transformaciones, ocupaciones, intercambios)
 - patria perdida y reconstruida
 - espacio mental / cultural / identidad
 - tipología de las ciudades / barrios de los refugiados / viviendas / casas (Diferentes enfoques para resolver el problema)

- espacios de diálogo / reconciliación / integración
- Transición de identidades espaciales en diferentes escalas, niveles y áreas (Regional / Continental / Global)
 - sentimiento de pertenencia al espacio en el exilio / emigración / diáspora

Todas estas cuestiones específicas del espacio geográfico y cultural de Bosnia y Herzegovina deben ser intensamente debatidas y estudiadas en las escuelas y universidades y en otras instituciones de investigación científica. Considerando su importancia contemporánea, universal y real a nivel global y general, también podrían ser objeto de interés para un público científico internacional más amplio. Podrían atraer el interés de numerosas instituciones internacionales, fondos, instituciones de investigación, y talleres académicos al espacio de investigación de Bosnia y Herzegovina. Todas estas entidades, su trabajo y los resultados del mismo, podrían significar una inmensa contribución al presente y futuro de Bosnia y Herzegovina. Así la investigación apunta la necesidad de lograr múltiples tipos de cooperación a diferentes niveles y en diferentes áreas, en razón de las valiosas experiencias, conocimientos y enfoques que supondrían todos y cada uno de ellos

Por desgracia, debido a la ruptura de las conexiones entre el espacio y la cultura, y al intento de sustituirlas por "tradiciones" reinventadas, el valioso espacio, real y mental, integrado de Bosnia y Herzegovina está hoy en día descuidado, mal estudiado y permanece inexplorado. Por lo tanto, este trabajo pretende contribuir, aunque sea de manera modesta, al restablecimiento de un diálogo interno con y en el espacio de Bosnia y Herzegovina y su posicionamiento en el foco de la reflexión. Trata de llamar la atención sobre la necesidad de que las investigaciones espaciales integren en su seno, como esenciales, la lectura y comprensión del contexto cultural.

Dado que el ser humano y el espacio están constantemente interactuando, renovándose y produciéndose mutuamente, el enfoque se basa en la energía creativa potencialmente latente y enraizada en el espacio. En el lugar, parte de nuestro propio ser, es donde todo realmente comienza y sin él, no es posible generar el compromiso cívico, exclusivo e implícito, necesario. Todo lo que expresa este trabajo quiere ser una especie de invitación a continuar la investigación. Escasa, valiosa e inspiradora sobre este área de Bosnia y Herzegovina que, a nuestro juicio, sigue siendo una perla no descubierta con un montón de cuestiones importantes, trascendentes pero también cotidianas, que necesitan ser investigadas.

Ningún sacrificio es demasiado grande para la lucha contra la guerra.

Brecht

Finalmente, la investigación demuestra claramente que la guerra y sus consecuencias son la tragedia con efectos impredecibles. Llama a los lectores a emplear todos los medios de lucha contra la guerra, como la que golpeó a Bosnia y Herzegovina, y llamando a las acciones para tratar de hacer un mejor lugar para vivir. Al sacar conclusiones de la interpretación artística del espacio común, que aún perdura, de las representaciones del pasado (expresión de la continuidad histórica y cultural) y de las experiencias del espacio de hoy, el autor expresa la creencia de que las terribles imágenes del conflicto están detrás de nosotros. Con el mismo espíritu expresa su optimismo acerca de la evolución de la conciencia social, en la curación de las heridas y en la esperanza de un mañana mejor. La investigación muestra la intención de reconciliación y el deseo de reconstrucción del espacio cultural común, que sólo dependerán de la voluntad del pueblo y de los esfuerzos de todas las partes implicadas.

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Appendix

Univerzitet u Granadi, Španija. Departman za prostorno i urbanističko planiranje. PhD studije.
Tema: 'Tranzicija prostornih identiteta. *Rur-urbija* kao novi tip naselja u Bosni i Hercegovini.'

UVOD

Popunjavanjem upitnika pomažete izradu naučno- istraživačkog rada, doprinosite daljem razvoju misli o prostornom i urbanističkom planiranju, te poboljšanju uslova života naselja, koja su se poslije rata (1991-1995) razvijala u Bosni i Hercegovini.

Ukratko, paralelno sa migracijama stanovništva, Istraživanje prati uticaje koje su one imale na prostor, prije svega na obrasce njegovog korišćenja u odnosu na prošlo i novo mjesto prebivališta, te međusobne uticaje između identiteta, ljudi i prostora. Rad otkriva način, karakter i modele formiranja novih tipova naselja u Bosni i Hercegovini, poredeći fenomen na tri prostorna nivoa: 1. grad- Istočno Sarajevo, 2. naselje- Česma-Mađir (Banja Luka) i 3. selo- etno selo Stanišići (Bijeljina). Na studiji slučaja, naselje Česma-Mađir u Banjaluci, ispituje razvoj rur-urbije, kao tipa naselja između sela i grada. Kroz način njegovog razvoja u posljednjih 20-ak godina, preispituju se kulturni identiteti koji ga čine, odnosi koje "novi tip" naselja ostvaruje sa njegovim "starim karakterom", te vezom koju ima sa gradom s jedne strane i seoskim područjem sa druge.

Upitnik se popunjava zaokruživanjem slova (a, b, c, ...) ispred ponuđenih odgovora, ocjene (1- 5) ili pisanim odgovorom na označenom mjestu.

1. Kad ste se doselili naselje Česma-Mađir (u nastavku- Naselje)?
 - a. živimo tu oduvijek;
 - b. prije rata (1991-1995);
 - c. u toku rata (1991-1995);
 - d. poslije rata (1991-1995).
2. Odakle ste se doselili? (Molimo preskočite ukoliko u Naselju živite oduvijek)
 - a. iz Bosanske krajine (Drvar, Petrovac, Grahovo, Glamoč, Sanski Most, Ključ, Krupa, Cazin, Bihać, Velika Kladuša, ...);
 - b. iz Sjeveroistočne Bosne (Tuzla, Zavidovići, Banovići, Tešanj, Maglaj, Žepče, ...);
 - c. iz Srednje Bosne (Jajce, Bugojno, Gornji i Donji Vakuf, Travnik, Vitez, ...);
 - d. Iz Sarajevsko-zeničke kotline (Sarajevo, Zenica, Visoko, Breza, Vareš, Kakanj, ...);
 - e. Iz Hercegovine (Konjic, Prozor, Jablanica, Mostar, Livno, Duvno, Ljubuški, Čapljina, Stolac, Široki, Posušje, ...);
 - f. iz Hrvatske;
 - g. iz Srbije (sa Kosova i Metohije);
 - h. drugo (molimo navedite): _____
3. Zašto ste se doselili (ili živite) u Naselje (u)?
 - a. zbog uslova života;
 - b. zbog migracija uzrokovanih ratom (1991-1995);
 - c. zbog posla;
 - d. zbog porodičnih veza;
 - e. drugih razloga (molimo, navedite): _____
4. Koji su drugi parametri, koji su uticali na vašu odluku da se doselite (ili živite) u Naselju?
 - a. kontinuitet života u Naselju;
 - b. sličnost sa prethodnim mjestom prebivališta;
 - c. ekonomski uslovi (cijena nekretnina, troškovi života);
 - d. fizičke i prirodne karakteristike Naselja;
 - e. kombinacija različitih parametara.

5. Da li je Vaše prebivalište (ili život) u Naselju na bilo koji način određeno spoljnim faktorima?
 - a. da (ukoliko je odgovor pozitivan, molimo da zaokružite 1 ili 2)
 1. političkom odlukom republičkih ili opštinskih vlasti;
 2. uslovima za pomoć;
 - b. ne, to je bila lična odluka.
6. Kako je riješeno Vaše stambeno pitanje (u nastavku- kuća) u Naselju?
 - a. izgradnjom;
 - b. nasljeđivanjem;
 - c. zamjenom;
 - d. kupovinom;
 - e. iznajmljivanjem.
7. Da li ste imali povoljnosti pri rješavanju Vašeg stambenog pitanja u Naselju?
 - a. da (ukoliko je odgovor da, slijedi...);
 1. podršku lokalnih vlasti;
 2. podršku republičkih vlasti;
 3. podršku radne organizacije;
 4. podršku međunarodnih donatora;
 - b. ne.

Ukoliko je Vaše stambeno pitanje u naselju riješeno iznajmljivanjem stana, nije potrebno da odgovarate na pitanja o načinu izgradnje kuće (osim ako znate odgovore).

8. Kako je tekla izgradnja kuće u kojoj živite?
 - a. izgradnja još traje u fazama;
 - b. izgrađena je u nekoliko faza;
 - c. izgrađena je odjednom;
 - d. izgrađena je, ali nije opremljena, niti useljena;
 - e. izgrađena je i useljena, ali je samo djelimično opremljena.
9. Koliko godina je trajala (ili još traje) izgradnja kuće?
 - a. 0- 1 godina;
 - b. 1- 5 godina;
 - c. 5-10 godina;
 - d. više od 10 godina.
10. (Ukoliko kuća nije završena) Mislite li da ćete do kraja radnog vijeka završiti izgradnju kuće?
 - a. da;
 - b. ne;
 - c. ne znam.
11. Koja je veličina Vaše parcele?
 - a. < 500 m²;
 - b. 500- 1000 m²;
 - c. > 1000 m².
12. Koja je veličina (spratnost) Vaše kuće?
 - a. Prizemlje;
 - b. Prizemlje+Potkrovlje;
 - c. Prizemlje+1 sprat+Potkrovlje;
 - d. > Prizemlje+1 sprat+Potkrovlje.
- 12 a. Koja je veličina (kvadratura) Vaše kuće?
 - e. < 100 m²;
 - f. 100- 200 m²;
 - g. > 200 m².

13. Koliko stanova ima Vaša kuća? _____
- 13a. Da li stanovi imaju posebne ulaze (stepeništa)?
- da
 - ne
14. Za koga je kuća sve namijenjena?
- za jednu generaciju (Vi i Vaša porodica);
 - za dvije generacije (Vaša porodica i porodica Vašeg djeteta);
 - za tri ili više generacija (Vaši roditelji, Vaša porodica i porodica Vašeg djeteta);
 - za više porodica (Vas i Vaših srodnika).
15. Koliko članova porodice živi u kući? _____
16. Da li mislite da će kuću poslije Vas koristiti više generacija Vaše porodice u budućnosti?
- da;
 - ne znam.
 - ne;
17. Da li je Vaša kuća u Naselju, prva koju je Vaša porodica posjedovala (izgradila)?
- da;
 - ne znam;
 - ne (ukoliko nije, molimo da odgovorite, koja je po redu?) _____
18. Da li mislite da je Vaše stambeno pitanje u Naselju konačno riješeno?
- da;
 - ne znam;
 - ne.
19. Da li za kuću u kojoj živite posjedujete potrebnu (tehničku) dokumentaciju (urbanističku saglasnost, UT/lokacijske uslove, glavni projekat, građevinsku dozvolu)?
- da;
 - djelimično;
 - ne.
20. Da li je kuća u kojoj živite, izgrađena prema arhitektonskom projektu?
- da;
 - djelimično (prema skici, idenom projektu, crtežu iz kataloga);
 - ne.
21. Da li ste zadovoljni funkcijom, konstrukcijom i izgledom kuće?
- 5
 - 4
 - 3
 - 2
 - 1
22. Da li mislite da pri izgradnju kuće treba angažovati stručnjake za projektovanje i izgradnju?
- da;
 - možda (za određene faze);
 - ne (pojedinaac to može uraditi bolje, jednostavnije i jeftinije).
23. Na koji način je građena Vaša kuća?
- sopstvenim angažovanjem;
 - uz radne akcije i pomoć rođaka i prijatelja;
 - angažovanjem građevinske firme za izvođenje radova;
 - kombinovano.
24. Gdje se nalaze uzore za izgradnju Vaše kuće?
- u načinu izgradnje okolnih, susjednih objekata;
 - u načinu izgradnje iz prethodnog mjesta prebivališta;
 - u savremenim načinima izgradnje;
 - nije bilo uzora.

25. Da li ste bili upoznati sa uslovima života, odnosno prednostima i nedostacima izgradnje u Naselju (klizišta, negrađevinsko zemljište, zaštićeno područje, plavno područje, zagađenost, opremljenost infrastrukturom)?
- da;
 - djelimično;
 - ne.
26. Da li je Vaša parcela u trenutku Vašeg nastanjivanja, bila opremljena infrastrukturom (struja, voda, kanalizacija, pristupni put, rasvjeta)?
- da;
 - djelimično;
 - ne.
27. Na koji način najčešće koristite slobodan prostor parcele?
- za druženje;
 - za odmor;
 - za rad;
 - za hobi;
 - kombinovano.
28. Koji dio dvorišta koristite više?
- prednji (ispred kuće, prema ulici);
 - zadnji (iza kuće, prema unutrašnjosti bloka);
 - oba podjednako;
 - ne koristimo dvorište.
29. Šta od navedenog imate (koristite) u dvorištu?
- voćnjak, povrćnjak;
 - uređeni dio za sjedenje i druženje;
 - štalu sa domaćim životinjama;
 - ništa od navedenog;
 - kombinaciju svega navedenog.
30. Gdje najviše provodite svoje slobodno vrijeme u Naselju?
- u kući;
 - u dvorištu kuće;
 - u javnim otvorenim prostorima (ulica, polje, šuma, obale rijeka);
 - u dvorištima javnih objekata (Škola, Mjesna zajednica, Crkva);
 - u ugostiteljskim objektima.
31. Da li Naselje prihvatate kao svoje (osjećate) kao svoju kuću?
- da;
 - djelimično;
 - ne;
 - ne znam;
 - nije mi važno.
32. Da li mislite da sadašnji način života u Naselju ima veze sa prijašnjim (u prethodnom mjestu prebivališta, odnosno načinu života u Naselju prije 20 godina)?
- da;
 - djelimično;
 - ne;
 - ne znam;
 - nije mi važno.

33. Kako ocjenjujete odnos između lokalnog, domicionog stanovništva i stanovništva koje se u Naselje doselilo uslijed migracija 90-tih godina?
- 5
 - 4
 - 3
 - 2
 - 1
34. Koliko je domiciono stanovništvo grada Banja Luka, upoznato sa novopridošlim stanovništvom iz vremena 90-tih godina (i obrnuto)?
- 5
 - 4
 - 3
 - 2
 - 1
35. Kako ocjenjujete uticaj novopridošlog stanovništva na razvoj Naselja?
- 5
 - 4
 - 3
 - 2
 - 1
36. Da li su lokalne i republičke vlasti trebalo da imaju plan naseljavanja i formiranja naselja za potrebe izbjeglog i raseljenog stanovništva usljed migracija u toku i poslije rata (1991-1995)?
- a. da;
 - b. možda;
 - c. ne;
 - d. ne znam.
37. Kako ocjenjujete vezu između centralnih dijelova Grada i prigradskih naselja na periferiji (Česma-Mađir, Ada, Prječani, Kuljani, Motike, Drakulić, Šargovac, ...)?
- 5
 - 4
 - 3
 - 2
 - 1
38. Da li učestvujete u društvenom i javnom životu Naselja?
- a. da;
 - b. djelimično;
 - c. ne.
39. Da li Naselje posmatrate kao:
- a. ruralno (seosko);
 - b. prigradsko;
 - c. urbano (gradsko).
40. (Ukoliko ste se doselili iz drugog mjesta)
Koji tip naselja je predstavljalo vaše prethodno mjesto prebivališta?
- a. ruralno (seosko);
 - b. prigradsko;
 - c. urbano (gradsko).
41. Kako ocjenjujete funkcionisanje, izgled i opremljenost Naselja?
- 5
 - 4
 - 3
 - 2
 - 1

42. Kako ocjenjujete povezanost Naselja sa Gradom?

- 5
- 4
- 3
- 2
- 1

43. Da li bi Naselje bilo bolje (po funkciji, izgledu, opremljenosti) da se razvijalo planski?

- a. da;
- b. ne;
- c. možda;
- d. ne znam.

44. Da li bi Naselje trebalo?

- a. integrisati sa gradom (boljim saobraćajnim vezama i prožimanjem funkcija) ili
- b. dodatno odvojiti i zaštititi od loših gradskih uticaja
- c. (veći stepen izgrađenosti, nivo urbaniteta, zagađenost, frekventnost)
- d. ne znam.

45. Možete li ocijeniti, koliko napora lokalne vlasti ulažu u prilagođavanju Naselja novim uslovima života?

- 5
- 4
- 3
- 2
- 1

46. Možete li ocijeniti koliko ste zadovoljni kvalitetom života u Naselju?

- 5
- 4
- 3
- 2
- 1

LIČNI PODACI

Pol:

- M
- Ž

Dob:

Obrazovanje: _____

Zaposlenje:

- a. da;
- b. ne;
- c. povremeno;
- d. student/učenik;
- e. penzioner.

DODATNI KOMENTARI

Hvala Vam što ste dali doprinos ovom Istraživanju. Rezultati će biti javno objavljeni i dostupni.

INTERVJU I Agenti izgradnje naselja Česma - Mađir, Banja Luka

Univerzitet u Granadi, Španija. Departman za prostorno i urbanističko planiranje. PhD studije.

Tema: 'Tranzicija prostornih identiteta. Rur-urbija kao novi tip naselja u Bosni i Hercegovini.'

UVOD

Učešćem u intervjuu (kao naučnom metodu za potrebe doktorskog istraživanja) pomažete izradu naučno-istraživačkog rada, doprinosite daljem razvoju misli o prostornom i urbanističkom planiranju, te poboljšanju uslova života naselja, koja su se poslije rata (1991-1995) razvijala u Bosni i Hercegovini.

Ukratko, paralelno sa migracijama stanovništva, Istraživanje prati uticaje koje su one imale na prostor, prije svega na obrasce njegovog korišćenja u odnosu na prošlo i novo mjesto prebivališta, te međusobne uticaje između identiteta, ljudi i prostora. Rad otkriva način, karakter i modele formiranja novih tipova naselja u Bosni i Hercegovini, poredeći fenomen na tri prostorna nivoa: 1. grad- Istočno Sarajevo, 2. naselje- Česma-Mađir (Banja Luka) i 3. selo- etno selo Stanišići (Bijeljina). Na studiji slučaja, naselje Česma-Mađir u Banjaluci, ispituje razvoj rur-urbije, kao tipa naselja između sela i grada. Kroz način njegovog razvoja u posljednjih 20-ak godina, preispituju se kulturni identiteti koji ga čine, odnosi koje "novi tip" naselja ostvaruje sa njegovim "starim karakterom", te vezom koju ima sa gradom s jedne strane i seoskim područjem sa druge.

UČESNICI

sveštenik,
predsjednik MZ,
predsjednik NVO,
starosjedilac / arhitektica,
izbjeglica

A. O PORIJEKLU

Odakle vodi porijeklo Vaše porodice?

Kakav je odnos između Vašeg prethodnog i novog mjesta prebivališta? / između naselja nekad i sad?

B. O TRANZICIJI

Možete li opisati kako je tekao proces tranzicije Vaše porodice? / Sjećanja na taj period života naselja?

C. O IZGRADNJI NASELJA

Možete li opisati kako je tekao proces izgradnje naselja?

D. O VEZI NASELJA I GRADA

Kakav je odnos između različitih struktura stanovništva? Odnos lokalne vlasti prema naselju?

Kakav je odnos između naselja i drugih gradskih naselja / centra?

Imate li osjećaj da živite u jednom novom naselju?

E. O IDENTITETIMA

Da li primjećujete prisustvo različitih kulturnih identiteta u naselju? Kako se oni ispoljavaju?

Da li različiti kulturni identiteti teže očuvanju ili se vremenom prilagođavaju jednom?

Da li naselje doživljavate kao svoj dom?

F. O OSJEĆANJIMA

Imate li utisak o dominantnom osjećanju stanovništva u i prema naselju?

Da li ste zadovoljni životom u naselju?

G. DODATNI KOMENTARI

INTERVJU II Sa Borisom Stanićem, osnivačem Etno-sela Stanišići u Bijeljini.

UVOD

Intervju se radi za potrebe naučnog istraživanja i izrade doktorske disertacije na temu 'Tranzicija prostornih identiteta. Rur-urbija kao tip novog naselja u Bosni i Hercegovini'. Učešćem u intervjuu pomažete izradu naučno-istraživačkog rada, doprinosite daljem razvoju misli o prostornom i urbanističkom planiranju, te poboljšanju uslova života naselja, koja su se poslije rata (1991-1995) razvila u Bosni i Hercegovini.

Ukratko, paralelno sa migracijama stanovništva, istraživanje prati uticaje koje su one imale na prostor, prije svega na obrasce njegovog korišćenja u odnosu na prošlo i novo mjesto prebivališta, te međusobne uticaje između identiteta, ljudi i prostora. Rad otkriva način, karakter i modele formiranja novih tipova naselja u Bosni i Hercegovini, poredeći fenomen na tri prostorna nivoa: 1. grad- Istočno Sarajevo, 2. naselje- Mađir (Banja Luka) i 3. selo- etno selo Stanišići (Bijeljina). Studija slučaja u etno selu Stanišići (Bijeljina) ispituje lični uticaj pojedinca na fenomen prostorne tranzicije. Kroz način formiranja etno sela, preispituju se kulturni identiteti koji ga čine, te odnosi novih i starih identiteta.

A O PORIJEKLU

1. Kako je izgledao Vaš život prije rata (1992-1995) u Bosni i Hercegovini? Gdje ste živjeli, kako je izgledala Vaša kuća, naselje, grad? S kim ste živjeli, gdje ste radili?
2. Kad ste se tačno doselili u Bijeljinu? Koji su bili osnovni razlozi te odluke?

B O TRANZICIJI

3. Možete li ukratko opisati proces vašeg preseljenja iz prethodnog mjesta prebivališta u Bijeljinu (koliko je trajalo, sa koliko članova porodice, kojim sredstvima)?
4. Šta su najvažnije stvari potrebne za život ili (ne)materijalno porodično nasljeđe, koje ste u prvi mah uspjeli sačuvati i ponijeti/ preseliti iz prethodnog mjesta prebivališta u Bijeljinu?
5. Možete li ukratko opisati Vaš život u vremenu između napuštanja prethodnog mjesta prebivališta i konačnog nastanjanja ili rješavanja stambenog pitanja u Bijeljini (koliko je trajalo, koliko je privremenih smještaja promijenjeno, i koje danas osjećanje imate prema tom periodu života)?

C O USLOVIMA IZGRADNJE

6. Šta je bila Vaša osnovna ideja pri izgradnji Etno- sela Stanišići? Jeste li imali neke uzore?
7. Kako je tekao proces preseljenja objekata iz Brgula u Bijeljinu (demontaža, prevoz, montaža)?
8. Kakve su bile reakcije dviju sredina, na ovaj proces? Da li ste imali ikakve opstrukcije i probleme? Da li ste imali ikakav vid podrške ili pomoći od lokalnih ili republičkih vlasti?

E O VEZI SELA I GRADA/ O ODNOSU IDENTITETA

9. Mnogi su rekli da je Bijeljina danas jedan potpuno novi grad u smislu njegove nove socijalne i fizičke strukture...
10. Da li je Etno- selo Stanišići danas prihvaćeno kao dio te nove Bijeljine?
11. Da li Etno selo Stanišići posmatrate kao jedinstvenu, nezavisnu cjelinu, ili dio Novog sela u kojem se zapravo nalazi?
12. Da li Bijeljinu prihvatate/ osjećate kao svoj dom/ ognjište i da li Vaš način života u Bijeljini (zajedno sa Etno-selom Stanišići) odražava Vašu kulturu, tradiciju i mentalitet?
13. Da li je Vaš identitet, odnosno identitet sela Brgule, uopšte Vareša i Srednje Bosne, osiromašen ili obogaćen Vašim preseljenjem, odnosno izgradnjom etno sela Stanišići? Isto pitanje se odnosi na Novo selo, Bijeljina i Semberiju?
14. Da li ste svjesni uticaja koje Selo ostavlja na prostor i buduće generacije?

LIČNI PODACI

DODATNI KOMENTARI

