SARAJEVO LOST IN TRANSITION?
Ideologies and Their Representational Spaces

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Abstract
This study aims to investigate three characteristic representational typologies in Sarajevo, in regard to Henri Lefebvre’s theory of “Production of Space.” Representational typologies are considered as a tool in the hands of power holders capable of influencing, motivating or manipulating wider population. The comparative analysis of the deterministic link between the social system and architecture will be examined in order to highlight the universal qualities of architecture capable of outliving the liminal momentum of transitions from one socio-political system to another.

Keywords: representational typology; ideology; reference point; social relevance; common identity.

INTRODUCTION: IDEOLOGICAL POTENTIAL OF ARCHITECTURE
Social and political ideologies have inevitably been encrypted in architectural styles and typologies throughout history. As Blomqvist argues power has always made use of symbols (Arvidsson and Blomqvist, 1987) and architectural objects are the most prominent “containers” of political and cultural iconography. While Foucault analyzed space as a disciplinary apparatus of political power, Lefebvre considers space as a social product in which society represents itself – representational space, and it “works as tool for the analysis of society” (Lefebvre, 1991). Representational space overlays physical space with the force of symbolic meanings and hidden metaphors. According to this phenomenological approach, representational space includes not only physical component but also a symbolic, intangible concept that cannot be visualized at first. Furthermore, the process of urbanization plays a central role in the hand of political ideology by placing these strategic, social spaces in the strategic places. The spaces that are proposed are not a result of spontaneous social processes that have occurred over the time, they are rather projected interventions with the scope of influencing the masses and their everyday life. Main idea behind strategic proliferation of these representational spaces was to spread certain social or political ideals widely among the population. Lefebvre uses the term colonization suggesting that whenever there is a dominant, imposed and dominated space there is colonization (Lefebvre, 1978). The ideological colonization of the city usually involves introduction of representational typologies as reference points capable of radiating ideological values with the goal of transforming and coordinating related portion of urban structure.

The acceptance of this approach leads to the question – what kind of architectural typology represents certain political power? Or the real question is – what are the architectural spaces capable of fostering the sense of common identity and at the same time capable of linking this identity to the system of values of the power holders. Typologies that are of particular
concern in this paper are those related to the public sphere, architectural spaces designed for the masses with deep impact on larger groups of people. These spaces are considered to be physical artifacts of political power capable of establishing sense of common identity, motivating or manipulating masses.

Having in mind its social relevance, architecture is truly challenged in the times of radical shifts and transitions between different social systems. In these shifts, the values and symbols of the previous political system are highly contested. A significant part of the political transition includes quite a selective ratification of the common memory often characterized by modification or destruction of representational spaces created by past regimes or outmoded socio-political systems. This paper intends to identify universal architectural qualities that can outlive the liminal momentum such as sociopolitical transition.

Sarajevo City: Case Study

Selecting the city of Sarajevo as a model to study the ideological reflections in architectural and urban design is a challenging task. Signs of Sarajevo’s past and present can be found in architectural layers all over the city, often informing us that the frequent ideological shifts have caused numerous contradictions and discontinuities in its development. Hence, the implications of political and social transition on the contemporary architectural production in Sarajevo need to be examined in the sense of Lefebvre’s theory of representational space. This issue requires to be regarded from the historical perspective, as the current epoch represents an amalgam of oriental and occidental, socialist and capitalist influences, and cannot be viewed alone and without relation to its predecessors.

Uniqueness and the complexity of the socio-cultural identity of the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a result of its geographical location, being at the threshold between the eastern and western civilizations. Ever since antiquity, its territory has attracted the Illyrian, Celtic and Slavic populations during the Neolithic and Roman periods, while reaching its political peak and independence in the medieval period of the Kingdom of Bosnia. Acknowledging the historical relevance of the earlier epochs, veritable valorization of the urban and architectural heritage of Sarajevo is related with the origins of its urban development in the 15th century. Due to this rich and turbulent historical trajectory, multifaceted architectural identity of Sarajevo simultaneously brings together ambiances of the Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, Yugoslav and contemporary Sarajevo. Each of the named regimes has privileged certain architectural typologies and expressions, in other words, they all had their own representational spaces, which best epitomized their respective ideologies. This paper aims to tackle the issue of fate of these representational spaces in the times when the new regime replaces the old one. Accordingly, “afterlives” of the three characteristic representational spaces from the Ottoman, Yugoslav Socialist and contemporary period in Sarajevo, will be evaluated from the urban and architectural, socio-cultural and sustainability perspectives. The selection of architectural typologies presented in this case study focuses on those spaces that most frequently served as means of nonverbal communication between the authorities and the popular masses.

Table 1: Comparative review of analyzed social systems and their characteristic representational spaces (Source: Authors).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOCIAL SYSTEM</th>
<th>REPRESENTATIONAL SPACE</th>
<th>SOCIO-CULTURAL ACTIVITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ottoman rule (15-19th century)</td>
<td>Spaces of worship</td>
<td>Worship + socializing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslav socialism (20th century)</td>
<td>Social/cultural/sports homes</td>
<td>Creating/performing + socializing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contemporary capitalism (21st century)</td>
<td>Shopping center</td>
<td>Consuming + socializing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
15TH-19TH CENTURY SARAJEVO:
ARCHITECTURE IN THE AGE OF SPIRITUAL SYMBOLISM

Ottoman Empire founded the city of Sarajevo in 1461, on a territory that used to be merely a cluster of several villages ("About Sarajevo", 2003). The new rule imposed the new administration, which significantly changed the way of life of the local population. The latter included the introduction of the new religion, when the majority of the population, who formerly adhered to the Bosnian church, converted to Islam.

The new way of life was reflected in the urban structure of Sarajevo that consisted of two zones: Čaršija (Charshiya), the business center, situated along the valley of the river Miljacka, and residential neighborhoods - mahalas, spread on the northern and southern mountain slopes. By the end of the 16th century, development of Sarajevo reached its peak and included a wide variety of architectural typologies: “...Sarajevo had about 50,000 inhabitants, 100 mosques, 2 churches, 1 synagogue, several tekias, minarets, musafirhans (night quarlers for travelers), 3 medressas (high schools), numerous mektebs (elementary schools), 6 hammams (public baths), 3 bezistans (covered market places), several dairas (storehouses), numerous hans (hotels), about 1000 shops, 10,000 dwelling houses amid gardens...”. (Grabrijan and Neidhardt, 1957)

Nevertheless, the most emblematic and recurrent public architectural typologies in the time were the religious buildings (in addition to the religious buildings that mostly refer to Islamic architecture, Ottoman period in Bosnia and Herzegovina is characterized by the development and maintenance of several Orthodox churches, Franciscan monasteries as well as Sephardic temples, promoting coexistence of different ethnic and religious groups) which can thus be regarded as representational spaces of Sarajevo during Ottoman rule. Belief was as an important part of everyday life, as it included prayers five times a day. Moreover, religious buildings were built not only to serve as the spiritual, but also as the cultural, educational and social pivot for the masses, as there was no alternative gathering space capable of accommodating any kind of collective or public activity besides work. Construction of mosques, which was strategically...
financed by the regime, was consequently followed by further development of the new neighborhoods: "Because each newly appointed ruler considered it his duty to erect a new mosque, or another public building, the town spread at a stupendous rate." (Grabrijan and Neidhardt, 1957).

Figure 2: Neidhardt sketches showing the mosque as a fundamental reference point of each neighborhood (Source: Grabrijan D., Neidhardt J., 1957).

Figure 3: Schematic map of Sarajevo showing occurrence of Ottoman representational spaces (Source: Authors).

It is important to highlight the aspect of economic sustainability behind the role of vakuf (waqf -ar. In Islamic terms, waqf refers to a religious endowment i.e. a voluntary and irrevocable dedication of one's wealth or a portion of it - in cash or kind, such as a house or a garden, and its disbursement for shariah compliant project, such as mosques or religious schools – “Waqf”
2010), which “represented the main cornerstones of architectural activity, through building of sacred, public and commercial structures.” (Bublin, 1999)

Architectural features of Ottoman mosques are easily distinguishable in the panoramic of Sarajevo: simple geometry and characteristic composition of vertical accents (minarets) combined with central spaces (covered with dome or pitched roof). Application of solid materials in religious buildings, like stone and metal, suggest their monumental character (During the same period, European architectural styles - Roman, Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque and Rococo - were also typically and dominantly represented by ecclesial architecture, symbolizing the close relationship between the religion and society. However, religious architecture in BiH, during Ottoman period, adhered to the principle of human scale design, thus differentiating its monumentality from the European standard). Therefore, a number of religious buildings from Ottoman era are nowadays regarded as monuments and have been conserved as a part of architectural heritage. It is important, however, to emphasize the social potential of architectural features of the described representational typologies, in a sense that “…the dome conveys the idea of mass gatherings” (Grabrijan and Neidhardt, 1957) and minarets act as medium of communication with the public.

In conclusion, the described representational spaces of Ottoman era in Sarajevo, as a consequence of their social relevance and architectural qualities, were utilized as an effective medium for transmitting spiritual values and non-verbal messages between the official rule and the masses.

Table 2: Comparative review of the fundamental aspects of Ottoman representational space
(Source: Authors).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OTTOMAN ERA: 15TH-19TH CENTURY SARAJEVO</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Representational space:</td>
<td>Sacred architecture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban aspect</td>
<td>Nodal point of the pertaining neighborhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architectural aspect</td>
<td>Distinguishable architectural form defined by two basic elements and resilient materials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social aspect</td>
<td>Spiritual, social, cultural and educational reference point of the neighborhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustainability aspect</td>
<td>Vakuf-concept of economic sustainability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outcome:</td>
<td>Representational spaces outlived the subsequent epochs and liminal moments, having become a part of architectural heritage of contemporary Sarajevo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TURN OF THE 20th CENTURY: EAST MEETS WEST
After becoming a part of the Habsburg Empire in 1878, development of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its capital have completely changed its direction. This was the time of the direct encounter of eastern and western ideals in Sarajevo, being simultaneously challenged and enriched by the dynamics of contrast and coexistence between the two polarities. The city was then restructured and continued to develop to the west; oriental urban principles were replaced by the western ones. On one hand, the role of Austro-Hungarian rule in modernization of Sarajevo is indisputable, while at the same time the city also became a playground for foreign architects who interpreted and experimented with different architectural styles and idioms. Habsburg Empire materialized its ideology in Sarajevo in the form of various administration and public buildings, as well as residential blocks, churches, museum and theatre buildings, in eclectic architectural vocabularies of neoclassicism, neo-renaissance, secession, and pseudo-Moorish styles. Nevertheless, architectural development of public buildings during the Austro-Hungarian regime
was envisaged to communicate with the general population only at the level of exterior appearance and façade décor. Accessibility of the space itself was limited as a privilege of the elite – for the rich and powerful, and it did not in fact invite everyone. This period lacked architectural typologies that would address the masses or stimulate the sense of common identity. Most of the buildings from Austro-Hungarian period were constructed for very precise functional purpose without any hidden, intangible elements or social content. Therefore the focus of this paper will be placed on those historical periods that have produced architectural typologies with strong social dimension capable of transmitting ideological values of a social system.

20TH CENTURY SARAJEVO: ARCHITECTURE IN THE AGE OF SOCIALIST SYMBOLISM

After World War II new socialist Slav state emerged as a threshold between Soviet Union and USA (after the Tito-Stalin split and Yugoslavia's disloyalty to the USSR in 1948 Yugoslavia was considered buffer zone between Eastern and Western block). It was ideated to be a single state for all South Slavs and relied on very strong ideological background and propaganda since the state itself was quite “artificial”– its populations consisted of six disparate ethnic and religious groups using three different languages and two alphabets. The only thing that these heterogeneous groups had in common was the pursuit for the common future and prosperity. The social aspect of this pursuit was characterized by replacement of sacral religion with “civil religion” (Perica, 2002) that resulted in hostile approach toward the sacred heritage and significant decrease of number of believers. The faith in God was replaced by the faith in Slavic brotherhood, unity and self-management. Glorious myths of nation's origin, memorial sites, monuments, cultural/social homes and other types of state worships promptly succeeded religious symbols and places of worship.

The faith in brotherhood and unity even facilitated architectural production establishing exclusively national pride as the universal value that should be glorified. As a result of the Yugoslav-Soviet rupture in 1948 and further opening to the Western culture architectural emblems of this period reflected a specific combination of Socialist realism and International style. Architecture expressed universal, international values promoting Yugoslavia as an open country diverse from other communist countries.

This ideology was spread throughout new representational typology, which most often gets classified under social, cultural and sports homes or centers. The government appreciated sports, entertainment and culture as effective tools for influencing the nation and wanted to apply equal diffusion for all – "culture for all". These polyvalent institutions were designed for large gatherings with the goal of promoting national unity and controlling the socio-cultural life.

Different types of cultural homes were littered throughout the city in a period of approximately forty years– depending on urbanity level those types varied in size and function from local Cooperative homes (in peripheral areas) to large scale Cultural - sports centers such as Skenderija completed in 1969. Skenderija “an unique architectural achievement in Yugoslavia” (Straus, 1998) represented a specific form of cultural, social and architectural hybrid as it was integrating wide range of different activities – culture, sports, leisure, commercial activities, entertainment and services. The architecture of Skenderija from both morphological and conceptual point of view reflects pure International style which can be recognized in emphasized horizontality, strong mass-void opposition, open plan, relationship between positive and negative and the excessive usage of "béton brut". Application of raw concrete and strong, clear modernist lines connote the principles of simplicity, honesty, equality and openness to every citizen.
Figure 4: Cultural – sports center Skenderija constructed in 1969
(Source: http://www.skenderija.ba/).

Figure 5: Schematic map of Sarajevo showing occurrence of Socialist representational spaces
(Source: Authors).
Based on their frequency and social relevance social/cultural/sports homes emerge as the most important representational typology characteristic for Sarajevo during the socialist period from 1945 to 1990. This typology throughout architectural and social program was transmitting the messages of brotherhood, unity and self-management.

Table 3: Comparative review of the fundamental aspects of Socialist representational space
(Source: Authors).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOCIALIST ERA: 20th CENTURY SARAJEVO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Representational space: Cultural/social/sports “homes”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban aspect: Generators of urban activities and development, at the level of the local neighborhood and the city level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architectural aspect: Architecture in the spirit of modernism/International style and postmodernism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social aspect: Social, cultural and educational nuclei dedicated to all society groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustainability aspect: Financed by the state during the socialist system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outcome: A number of social/cultural/sports “homes” outlived the subsequent epochs of destruction, reconstruction and transitions to the new system. Nowadays facing the challenges of economic sustainability, energy efficiency and undetermined status in terms of architectural valorization.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21ST CENTURY SARAJEVO: ARCHITECTURE IN THE AGE OF TRANSITION
The end of the communist reign in 1989 initiated a long and rather painful process of transition for most countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. In the case of multiethnic Yugoslavia this meant an upsurge of repressed local and national ethnic identities. Once again the faith in Slavic brotherhood and unity was replaced by national ideologies based on the exclusion of the other. This radical shift, also known as the “Balkan conflict”, was marked by mass killings, deportation and systematic destruction of architectonic heritage. This process has particularly affected culturally and ethnically diverse cities such as Sarajevo.

After the Dayton Peace Accords, Bosnia and Herzegovina was reestablished as a multinational society with three dominant nationalities Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats. Complex political structure of the country has profoundly impacted its socio-economic situation and prosperity in general. Along with the common problems that all transitional societies share, Bosnian transition is additionally marked by constant national and symbolic confusions, invented ethnic and ideological emblems, as well as by the struggle for domination over the space and identity and by manipulation of collective memory.

On the other hand, Sarajevo, as any other transitional city, has encountered with strong globalizing tendencies and underwent brusque transformation from the centrally controlled to the liberal market economy. The post-war society in Bosnia was confronted with a profound and dramatic shift: from a system where collective ideals were more important than the individual ones, to a system that has completely lost the sense of community. Free market did not bring many positive changes into the urban structure. Profit oriented private interests repeatedly prevail over the collective domain, thus contributing to an overall chaos and further fragmentation of the public space. In this way, process of urban mapping is predominantly influenced by investors’ profit oriented requirements, according to the principle “he, who pays, decides.”
These multilayered circumstances, mostly grounded on consumerist philosophy have yielded an architectural typology that best reflects the image of contemporary Sarajevo – the shopping center. Since they hadn’t existed in the pre-war period, these architectural typologies have emerged only recently, symbolizing the consumerist nature of today’s society. Commercial architecture construction boom initiated around the year 2000 and at the beginning, it was positioned around the suburban areas of Sarajevo. Later on, this trend displaced its target towards the central part of Sarajevo, focusing on the area of Marijin dvor. Over the course of the last three years, three new shopping centers were built in Marijin dvor, only within the radius of 250 meters and reaching the total area of cca. 86 000 square meters of new commercial spaces by the spring of 2014.

At first glance, construction of the new vibrating architecture may be interpreted as a sign of progress. From the socio-cultural viewpoint, new shopping centers as “public territories, open to the community at large” (Kopec, 2006) radiate the optimistic idea of social freedom and openness in city that suffered a catastrophic devastation only two decades ago. However, a more in depth understanding of this socio-cultural context uncovers a discrepancy between the dynamics of the construction of the new built commercial spaces and the actual statistical figures, demonstrating unfavorable rates of unemployment, GDP, average salary and the rate of public debt (Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2013). Is the expansion of shopping areas in a country that imports twice as much as it exports, for the 300 000 indebted inhabitants of its capital city really justified? If the answer is no, than the alternative activity to shopping itself is “window shopping”, as long as the shopping centers provide space for both: “The utilitarian shopper seeks accomplishment, and the recreational shopper seeks entertainment”. (Kopec, 2006) Meanwhile, the population is entertained according to the ancient credo “panem et circenses”, shutting its eyes before the seriousness of the socio-cultural reality in Bosnia and Herzegovina: “In many ex-socialist countries, shopping and window shopping have become a popular pastime and in a city like Sarajevo, too, the shopping mall and the shops are the social capacitors of urban life, together with the bazaar, the coffee house and the čevapčići restaurant which have traditionally fulfilled that role.” (Ibelings, 2012) Some of the interesting critical responses to these issues can be found in the series of satiric video commentaries by Damir Nikšić, contemporary Bosnian artist who candidly highlights the absurdness of proliferation of
foreign banks and shopping centers in Sarajevo, in contrast with the parallel decadence of culture and social standard (Nikšić, 2013).

Figure 7: Commercial centers constructed in the center of Sarajevo over the course of the last three years (Source: http://www.sa-c.net).

Table 4: Comparative overview of the fundamental aspects of contemporary representational space (Source: Authors).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Representational space:</th>
<th>Shopping centers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban aspect</td>
<td>Strategic redefinition of central urban areas by introduction of new shopping centers as dominating structures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architectural aspect</td>
<td>Architecture characterized by stylistic pluralism reflecting global trends, with little or no consideration for genius loci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social aspect</td>
<td>Consumer behavior as primary public activity is accompanied by socialization and entertainment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustainability aspect</td>
<td>Private foreign and domestic investment financing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outcome</td>
<td>Competitive dynamics of the construction of commercial architectural typologies challenges the long term use and sustainability potential</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

New shopping developments in Sarajevo raise several issues and controversies. To begin with, appropriateness of their location is questionable from urban perspective. Based exclusively on profit oriented private interests, decision was made to locate the shopping malls in the central zones of Sarajevo as dominant urban volumes and mega-structures instead of the concept of
high street shopping. Such dominant silhouettes would probably be more suitable in the suburban panorama rather than in the center. Another important architectural aspect of this representational typology is its introverted character, articulated by enclosed facades, with little or no interaction with the surrounding. Even though this representational typology presumes gathering of large groups of people, thus promoting appearance of socializing ambience, in reality, it rather creates “crowding” effect with no interaction involved.

CRITICAL OVERVIEW: LOST AND FOUND!

Historical trajectory of the city of Sarajevo has been marked by numerous transitions between completely divergent ideologies and regimes. Consequently, architectural idioms have corresponded with the symbolism of the ruling ideologies. This is why the process of transition also metaphorically implies the process of translation, from one architectural language to another. Referring to the linguistic expression describing misunderstanding in communication - lost in translation, this paper intended to discover what has been lost and what has been gained in the process of transition, particularly in the social realm of the contemporary architecture in Sarajevo. The discussion was focused on architectural typologies designed by the ruling regimes for the public, spaces characterized by the social potential to motivate or manipulate the masses. Correlation between ideology and architecture in the case of Sarajevo was analyzed by juxtaposing three representational spaces: religious buildings from the Ottoman period, social/cultural/sports “homes” from the Socialist period and shopping centers from the contemporary period.

Although the first two typologies reflect completely divergent ideologies, architectural features of both transmit the ideas of brotherhood, social equality and collective ideals. As opposed to the colonizing regime and totalitarian system which derived the first two typologies, the third architectural typology is a product of a transition to the liberal socio-economic system, promoting the ideals of freedom and individualism. However, comparative analysis of the three representational spaces indicates the emergence of a crisis of the collective, public space in Sarajevo in the times of transition. Accelerated proliferation of shopping areas in the central zones of Sarajevo may ironically illustrate Koolhaas’ statement: “Shopping is arguably the last remaining form of public activity” (Koolhaas, 2001). Nevertheless, analysis of the described trend from the urban, architectural and socio-cultural level indicates the lack of responsible and strategic involvement of authorities in securing the socio-cultural standards of the city. Decision-making is instead left in the hands of the private and profit oriented investors: “The second generation takes the form of shopping malls and office buildings which require greater investment and more time. Public initiative trails a good way behind; with the result that public life in Bosnia and Herzegovina may well be defined more by shopping centers than by libraries” (Ibelings H., 2010).

The task of summarizing the losses and gains of the city in transition is an ongoing process. Up-to-date snapshot of the current situation shows that the doors of the new shopping areas are continuously being opened, while at the same time the doors of the national museums and art galleries are closed. In addition, the status of the new museums and cultural centers remains to be only at the level of paper architecture. Apart from identifying what has been lost in transition, this paper aims to contribute to finding an adequate critical response to the complexity of the context and the dynamics of the global trends. The task might be difficult, but certainly not impossible, and it might be even found in the trails of an old method: “There is still another method, a method of continuity – a continuity of spirit and continuity of evolution, including also revolutions that my mark the way” (Grabrijan and Neidhardt, 1957).

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The city was under the siege from April 1992 to December 1995.
Even though they may not be the most recurrent contemporary building types in the local context, shopping centers are taken as representational typologies of contemporary Sarajevo, for their social relevance and adequate expression of zeitgeist.
Area of Marijin dvor was originally established as residential neighborhood in the Austro-Hungarian period, and later continued to develop under the Socialist regime, when it was transformed into the administrative center of Sarajevo. Marijin dvor area is currently undergoing a process of major urban remodeling and is becoming an important and controversial construction site in Sarajevo.