



TRANS
FORMING
URBAN
PUBLIC
SPACES
USING
INTERIOR
DESIGN
TOOLS

URBAN
ROOMS
OF
SARAJEVO

BY NERMINA ZAGORA AND DINA ŠAMIĆ

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*I gradually became
aware that my interiority
was inseparable from
my exteriority, that the
geography of my city was the
geography of my soul.*

Aleksandar Hemon,
Bosnian-American author

FOREWORD

Our lasting fascination with the dichotomies of indoor and outdoor, interior and urban space, private and public domains, domesticity and publicity, and interiority and exteriority as psychological and spatial conditions is the source of inspiration for this book. Our joint path of professional endeavours in architectural practice, as well as in the academic domain, have emerged from an effort to perceive and interpret space on multiple levels, simultaneously correlating the urban, architectural and interior. It is no surprise that we investigated the juxtaposition of interior and urban design when tackling the topic of urban rooms. The alliance between these research realms and the theoretical perspectives of the co-authors was inevitable – Dina Šamić explores the potentials of urban voids in contemporary cities, while Nermina Zagora researches how the urban context affects interior spaces. What began as an intuitive leap has gradually become purposeful research into the phenomenon of how the urban environment reflects interior design, and vice versa.

Because of our powerful subjective and professional bond to the city of Sarajevo, like that so eloquently expressed above by Aleksandar Hemon, we were obliged to pursue the burning topic of Sarajevo's urban public spaces crisis. With this book we contribute to a profounder exploration of this topic by proposing alternative planning methods and intervention

tools from interior design methodology, which we applied in our professional projects designing urban staircases.¹

The completion of this book coincided with the Covid-19 pandemic, one of the greatest challenges contemporary global society has faced. The new circumstances prompted radical shifts in urban lifestyles worldwide, reflected primarily by social distancing measures and the closure of public places and events. The pandemic will inevitably affect social interaction and the shaping of public spaces in the future, and may even yield new social and urban paradigms. In light of these circumstances, the theme of this book is that of utopia in a dystopian situation, in which the ultimate urban public space is virtual. The book also, however, stresses the importance of the human-centred experience of the urban environment. It compares this to the domestic atmosphere of the home, and simulates it in a city that has recreated itself in spite of the many challenges it has encountered throughout its history.

1 The Jury of the Association of Architects of Bosnia and Herzegovina Collegium Artisticum Prize for Contemporary Architecture have noted the relevance of projects that address the public realm. In this environment, the design approach expressed in the authors' three urban staircase projects in Sarajevo received professional recognition when they won this award in 2017.

INTRODUCTION

In times of constantly changing technological, socio-political and economic paradigms, traditional definitions of public spaces need to be reassessed. This makes addressing the concept of public spaces in the contemporary global context particularly challenging. The complexity increases when the subject of public spaces is explored within the framework of a society in transition, and its multifaceted historical background. This book researches public spaces in the city of Sarajevo, an atypical city that has followed a route of urban development different to those of other cities in the region. The scope of public spaces, the key research subject of this book, encompasses open (and some enclosed) spaces in the public realm, which foster social interaction and gatherings. Regardless of their ownership, the spaces targeted in this study were chosen for their public importance and their relationship with the broader context of the city.

Public spaces in the (post-) transitional city of Sarajevo reflect its frequent and turbulent historical and socio-political shifts. The contemporary urban identity of these spaces has ambiguous and transient features, and should therefore be explored from a distinct, contextually sensitive research and design perspective. We recognised the ambiguity/in-betweenness/transiency of Sarajevo's public spaces as a particularly captivating subject, and considered it in this book from a historical, socio-cultural and urban perspective. This theoretical exploration culminates in

the recognition of urban voids – a specific and contested typology of public spaces in Sarajevo – as the key research target, followed by the identification of urban rooms as their regenerated counterpart.

This book has five chapters. The first two provide a historical overview of the evolution of public spaces in Sarajevo, and map their spatial attributes: accessibility, enclosure, scale, typology, urban activity, and urban atmosphere. These chapters highlight the ambiguity of public spaces and related contemporary socio-cultural issues. The third focuses on transitory identity as a potentially transformative force in the urban regeneration of public spaces. Key issues and challenges are identified, examined and used as stimuli – the most appropriate solutions in our case studies used their dichotomous characters as their transformative power. The last two chapters focus on the theoretical elaboration of the targeted typology (urban voids), illustrated by a practical simulation of recommendations for their potential conversion into urban rooms, based on the proposed design methodologies and intervention strategies.



A HISTORY
OF
FIVE
TRANSITIONS:
THE GENESIS
OF PUBLIC
SPACES
IN SARAJEVO

“

*We live in a divide between worlds,
at a border between nations, always
at fault, and first to be struck. Waves
of history strike us as the sea strikes
a cliff. Brute force has worn us out,
and we have made a virtue out of a
necessity: we grew smart out of spite.*

Meša Selimović, *The Fortress*

I. A HISTORY OF FIVE TRANSITIONS: THE GENESIS OF PUBLIC SPACES IN SARAJEVO

What makes the topic of public space in Sarajevo so unique, and so complex? Unsurprisingly, the answer lies in its geopolitical location and turbulent history. Sarajevo is a city in-between: “between the Eastern and Western Roman Empires, between Eastern and Western Christianity, between Ottomans and the Habsburgs, and between Christianity and Islam” (Stierli, et al., 2018). Its history is punctuated by frequent, periodical political and socio-cultural shifts, which have defined the cultural identity of the Bosnian people. As Grabrijan and Neidhardt state, “We often hear: ‘strange people, strange customs.’ Why strange? These people are strange because they had been living in transitional conditions for too long, because they had been defending themselves from violence, and unlike the western people, they never had a chance to maintain their own homogeneous culture” (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957).

Historical transitions as spatio-temporal conditions have had corresponding effects on Sarajevo’s urban development, and impacted the genesis of spaces in the public realm. These historical circumstances have affected how the concepts of permanence, stability and continuity are perceived in individual and collective mind-sets, and within cultural heritage. Among the most illustrative examples of this is that many of the city’s streets have changed their names four to five times during their history.

This chapter explores the historical transitions (Table 1) that have shaped Sarajevo's urban environment, focusing on the **production of spaces in the public realm**. The correlation between each historical period's ideological system and its representative indoor and outdoor public spaces will be studied.

Table 1. Timeline of historical eras and transitions of socio-political systems in Sarajevo

Period	Transitions of historical eras	Historical event / duration	Transitions of socio-political systems
1462-1878	Medieval Vrhbosna - Ottoman Sarajevo	Occupation 416 years	Feudalism (Bosnian Kingdom) - Oriental monarchy (Ottoman Empire)
1878-1918	Ottoman Sarajevo - Habsburg Sarajevo	Occupation 40 years	Oriental monarchy (Ottoman Empire) - Occidental monarchy (Austro-Hungarian Empire)
1918-1945	Habsburg Sarajevo - Early Yugoslav Sarajevo	WW1 27 years	Occidental monarchy (Austro-Hungarian Empire) - Unitary monarchy (Kingdom of Yugoslavia)
1945-1990	Early Yugoslav Sarajevo - socialist Yugoslav Sarajevo	WW2 45 years	Unitary monarchy (Kingdom of Yugoslavia) - Socialism (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia)
1990-present	Socialist Yugoslav Sarajevo - contemporary Sarajevo	1990s war	Socialism - Capitalism

From Medieval Vrhbosna to Ottoman Sarajevo

The territory of Sarajevo has been inhabited since antiquity by Illyrian, Celtic and Slavic populations, with its first settlements dating from Neolithic and Roman times. In the middle ages, the area of Vrhbosna² (the precursor of modern Sarajevo) developed as a cluster of villages under the authority of the independent Kingdom of Bosnia. The first historically significant transition occurred in the mid-15th century, when Medieval Bosnia was succeeded by the Ottoman Empire's occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The feudal system was replaced by the oriental monarchy, and a new religion – Islam – was introduced to a population that generally belonged to the Bosnian Church. The scattered medieval settlements and remnants of Roman occupation, including medieval marketplaces such as Tornik (Čengić, 2003), merged into the new oriental urban model of the city.

Context: Sarajevo's earliest urban contours date from the 15th century, when a medieval cluster of settlements and an embryonic road network evolved into an oriental city at the periphery of the Ottoman Empire. Between 1462 and 1878 the Ottomans defined the original urban structure of the city's core, instituting a strict separation of private and public domains. Complementing the topography of the city, all public facilities were located in the centre (Bascarsija), within the elongated valley of the Miljacka River, while private life took place in the residential settlements (mahalas) developed laterally on both sides of the city's amphitheatrical topography.

2 *Vrhbosna* can be translated as the "the peak of Bosnia".

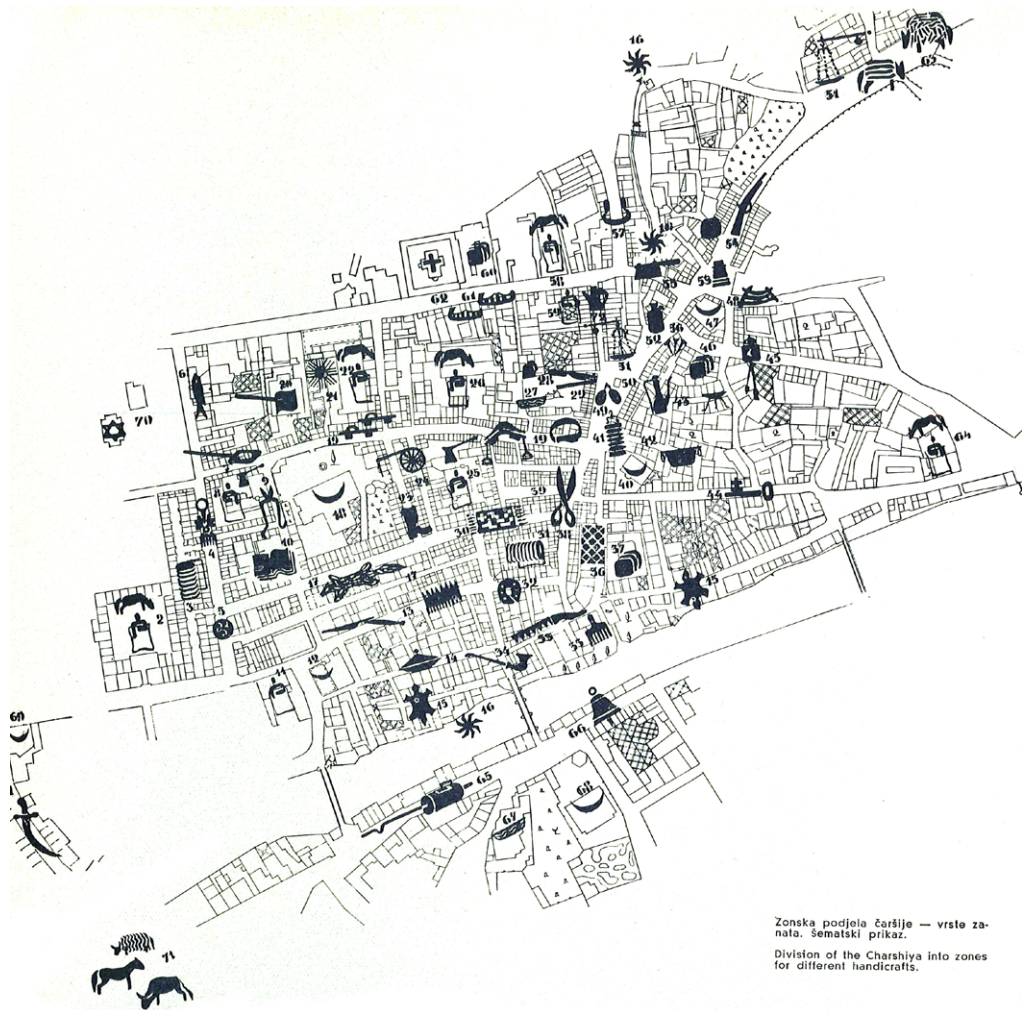


Figure 1. The zoning plan and urban layout of Bascarsija.

Public activities in 16th-century Sarajevo were mainly work-related: commerce, crafts, administration, education and hospitality. In accordance with oriental functional separation, they were located in Bascarsija. The urban configuration of Ottoman Sarajevo spread organically as a branched network of circulation routes, and several typologies of open public space. These included the bazaar and meydan as the oriental counterparts of squares, and the dzada, sokacic, cikma and budzak, which were kinds of streets (Bejtic, 1973). Bascarsija's urban grid (Figure 1) was congested, and based on a regular geometrical pattern of streets laid out in the valley, while the urban patterns of the hillside neighbourhoods (mahalas) was dispersed and irregular. The streets of Bascarsija epitomised the "soul and the heart of old Sarajevo" (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957, p. 56). The urban image of Sarajevo's public areas was that of a labyrinthine network of narrow streets, and a congested three-dimensional collage of domes, minarets and shops. One of the few typical public urban elements (which were leitmotifs of the era's urban design) were the hundreds of drinking fountains³ that appeared throughout the city. Even though the oriental culture gave precedence to the concepts of intimacy and introversion over publicity, the sense of collective spirit was reflected by the fact that the shops were open and unlocked during the five daily prayers, which took place in nearby mosques.

Social interaction generally occurred in open and enclosed commercial areas. The latter category was represented by bezistans,⁴ the forerunners of commercial centres. Oriental Sarajevo's two bezistans, which were built during the 16th century, were the city's hubs of public life. They were a scaled-down echo of the Grand Bazaar in Istanbul,⁵ together making up a tenth of its size. Bazaars were the enclosed, oriental versions of western

4 Bezistans or bedestens, were oriental covered markets or bazaars built during the time of the Ottoman Empire.

5 The centralised composition of Brusa Bezistan, which is covered by 6 domes on a 29 x 25 metre plan, is the indoor counterpart of the square, while Gazi Husrev Bey's longitudinal bazaar resembles a vaulted 105-metre-long street with shops on both sides.

open public spaces.

The prevailing public architectural typology of Ottoman Sarajevo was that of religious buildings. These were built not only as places of worship, “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” (Zagora & Samic, 2014). Along with Orthodox, Catholic and Sephardic places of worship, mosques were Ottoman Sarajevo’s main urban reference points, both in the commercial zones of Bascarsija and in residential areas (mahalas). Their significance as the key public buildings of the time can be seen in their architectural features: “... the dome conveys the idea of mass gatherings” (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957), while minarets “act as medium of communication with the public” (Zagora & Samic, 2014).

The urban and architectural design of Ottoman Sarajevo’s open and enclosed public spaces was strongly affected by the city’s topographical and physical constraints, its hierarchical status in the empire, and anthropometry – the **human scale**. For example, the dome of the largest mosque in Sarajevo (Bey’s Mosque) is 13 metres in diameter, and its minaret is 47 metres tall; Sultan Ahmed Mosque in Istanbul has a 23.5 metre dome and a 64-metre minaret. Even the nomenclature of streets (*dzada*, *sokacic*, *cikma* and *budzak*, which all come from the Turkish language) was adapted to the diminutive linguistic form in the Bosnian language, evoking their modest size.

In accordance with the oriental institution of *vakuf*⁶ the majority of public spaces was owned and constructed by private investment, to be subsequently entrusted to the larger community. This endowment trust economically ensured the construction and maintenance of spaces for public activities and socialising, not only within religious buildings, but also in indoor and outdoor commercial areas (*bezistans and bazars*), hotels (*hans*), public baths (*hamams*), restaurants and schools (*medressas and mektebs*). These indoor and outdoor public spaces, regardless of their precise function, are primarily characterised by introversion and intimacy, and the close relationship between interior and exterior spaces. The gradual transition from the outdoor public spaces of the street to intimate indoor spaces is perceivable virtually everywhere, in profane, sacral and residential architecture. In Gazi Husrev Bey's Mosque, the first level of spatial transition is its solid courtyard wall, which serves as a physical, visual and acoustic divide between the everyday public life of the street, and spiritual retreat. The second spatial sequence is the mosque's interior courtyard, a semi-open intermediate space, with fountains and trees that atmospherically and symbolically evoke the Garden of Eden. The third transitory level is the semi-enclosed space of the mosque's portico, whose vaulted domes lead progressively towards the architectural culmination of the domed interior. This introverted architectural composition and spatial gradation of outdoor to indoor spaces is characterised in some of Sarajevo's other religious buildings, such as the Old Orthodox Church (The Church of the Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel) and the Old Jewish Temple (The Old Synagogue and the Great Temple - Il Kal Grandi), both built in the 16th century (Figure 2).

The dialogue between exterior and interior is a ubiquitous attribute of Bosnian architecture from the Ottoman period. Architects Juraj Neidhardt and Dušan Grabrijan introduced the term *meander and atrium* (Grabrijan

6 *Vakuf* comes from the arabic word *waqf*: "an Islamic endowment of property to be held in trust and used for a charitable or religious purpose" (Merriam Webster Dictionary).



Figure 2. The courtyard as transition space in the 16th century religious buildings in Sarajevo: Great Temple (Il Kal Grandi), Old Orthodox church and Gazi Husref Bey's mosque in Sarajevo (from top to bottom).

& Neidhardt, 1957) to describe the architectural composition of volumes intertwining with their surroundings in the form of a meander. Interior spaces within the meander and atrium composition typically face interior courtyards or atriums, particularly in residential architecture. Traditional Ottoman houses in Sarajevo were shaped in harmony with their natural surroundings. They were typically structured with public and private areas that intertwined with their matching interior courtyards in the form of a meander, and enabled a gradual transition from the exterior (the street) to the interior – the heart of the house. This architectural principle was translated to larger scales and other typologies: e.g. Sarajevo's two remaining *hans*⁷ give the impression of introverted buildings from the outside, almost disguised by the dense formation of shops in Bascarsija. Like the layout of traditional houses, the spatial organization of *hans* converged in their interior courtyards, which served as gathering plazas for travellers and visitors to Sarajevo. The common characteristics of building typologies from the Ottoman period, from traditional houses to religious buildings and other profane public architecture, are therefore interiority and introversion. The true, hidden qualities of traditional interiors and exteriors can be discovered through the delicate gradation of spatial sequences from public exterior to private interior realms.

From Ottoman to Habsburg Sarajevo

Context: The socio-political transition from Ottoman to Austro-Hungarian rule was accompanied by a short-lived, futile pursuit for the establishment of an autonomous Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1878, following the Congress of Berlin, Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina became part of the Habsburg Monarchy. As it had been in Roman and Medieval times, Sarajevo again became the site of a genuine encounter of East and West. As a result, its urban population increased and the demographic structure of the city became more multi-ethnic and international. The administration of Austro-Hungarian consul Benjamin Kallay ensured not only the maintenance of religious buildings from the Ottoman period, but also the construction of new ones, balancing the representation of all the city's religions (Donia, 2006). During the Austro-Hungarian rule (1878 to 1918), development of the city started from the Ottoman downtown and, both literally and symbolically, continued towards the west and transformed vacant sites into a modern European urban landscape. The distinction between the almost homogenous urban ensembles – one, with traces of Istanbul, from four centuries of Ottoman rule, juxtaposed with that of four decades of Austro-Hungarian rule, reminiscent of Vienna – is clearly visible, and symbolises Sarajevo's architectural identity.

After a long period of oriental influence, the turn of the century and the new occidental monarchy introduced different urban and architectural forms and styles. The organic meander pattern and the intimate scale of Ottoman urbanism were replaced by the significantly larger orthogonal grid and medium- to large-scale city blocks. The new urban matrix contained blocks of residential and public buildings and a standardised street system more than twice the size of those in the mahalas and



Figure 3. The locations of some of the key public buildings in Sarajevo during the administration of Benjamin Kalay: 01. City Hall (Vijećnica); 02. Old Orthodox Church; 03. Gazi Husref Bey's Mosque; 04. Hotel Evropa; 05. Sultan's Mosque; 06. Konak; 07. Sephardic Synagogue; 08. Catholic Cathedral; 09. New Orthodox Church; 10. Ashkenazi Synagogue; 11. Evangelical Church; 12. Regional Government building.

Bascarsija, which were distinguishable by their small architectural scale and narrow streets. The Austro-Hungarian legacy in Sarajevo was one of general modernisation: the introduction of civil engineering codes, regulation of the Miljacka river bank, urban regulation and infrastructure planning and the intensive construction of all types of building (civic, administration, cultural, religious, industrial and residential). By the turn of the 20th century, the modernisation and westernisation of Sarajevo was realised by foreign architects⁸ and expressed in European architectural styles.

The development of residential blocks occurred alongside the construction of a wide typological variety of administrative, industrial and public buildings, including a museum, a theatre, a university, schools

8 Many of Sarajevo's significant public buildings were designed by the most renowned architects of the Austro-Hungarian period, who were of international origin: Josip Vancas (Croatian), Karlo Parik (Czech), Ciril Ivekovic (Croatian), Karlo Panek (Czech), and Alexander Wittek (Czech).

and hospitals. These structures were rich in architectural eclecticism, and used neoclassical, neo-renaissance, secession, and pseudo-Moorish styles. Because of their potential as urban nuclei, these new public buildings were generators of social and cultural activities. The National Museum was one of the representative public buildings of the time, envisioned as the urban landmark of the district, which was Sarajevo's western boundary. The museum's architectural ensemble was designed by Karel Parik in the neo-renaissance style, and was built between 1908 and 1913. It consisted of four freestanding pavilions that encompassed an interior botanical garden, and was enveloped by green public spaces. As the city's first public scientific and cultural institution of its kind, the National Museum encapsulates its social, cultural and scientific symbolism.

Sarajevo's City Hall,⁹ another Austro-Hungarian landmark, marked the city's eastern edge. It is distinct for its style and considerable size, which are in contrast with the dense, small-scale Ottoman urban structure that surrounds it. The importance of the City Hall's micro location and overall architectural expression to Sarajevo's urban image is undeniable, and the conspicuous lack of a corresponding public space, such as a square or plaza, alongside such a monumental building is surprising.¹⁰

The architectural developments and changes to the demographic structure at this time represented the secular ideology imported from the West, as well as a unique form of ethnic and religious pluralism, which became a hallmark of the city. This socio-cultural transition from oriental to western added a new dimension to the traditional Ottoman intimate gatherings at homes and religious buildings, in the form of social activities, celebrations and other public events, which were held at the newly-built public buildings (Donia, 2006). The most significant socio-cultural aspect

9 The Sarajevo City Hall was built in 1894 and was designed by Alexander Wittek and Ciril Ivekovic in pseudo-Moorish style.

10 Due to the dimensional constraints of its location, the City Hall site is delineated by streets and the riverbank, and lacks an approach sequence or plaza.

of the Austro-Hungarian architectural legacy was the establishment of educational, cultural and scientific institutions, which met the Western European standards of the time. These constructions are characterised by prominent facades and accentuated exteriors in European eclectic styles, and can be identified as public architectural typologies. They were owned by either governmental or private stakeholders, and were designed for collective, public use. However, their public image was at odds with their introverted character and the limited accessibility of their interior spaces. The theatre, schools and hotels welcomed only the social elite, with their approachability for the wider population limited to the visual perception of their exteriors.

A distinguishing feature of the large Austro-Hungarian city blocks is their interior courtyards, which have the potential to be urban public areas of introverted character. Since interior courtyards within urban blocks are geometrically defined by the ground (or the base plane) and four facades as vertical planes, they can be described as semi-enclosed public spaces.

The development of open public spaces took place at a much slower pace than the construction of public buildings. The former mainly entailed the regulation of existing and new streets;¹¹ the construction of small plazas and squares in front of significant public buildings¹², and of residential blocks with interior courtyards; and environmental interventions such as the development of green avenues, promenades and parks in the city centre, and recreational zones on its outskirts. Unlike the City Hall, the Sacred Heart Cathedral¹³ has an accompanying square, but its form and size are not sufficient to stress the public significance of the cathedral and its location in the city. The pedestrian Strossmayer Street, which is

11 In 1880, the Austro-Hungarian urban regulation plan for the city of Sarajevo introduced a system of street classification according to traffic frequency and width (6.0 metres, 7.5 metres, 9.0 metres and 11.25 meters) (Bejtic, 1973).

12 The cathedral, churches, the National Museum and the National Theatre had plazas and squares, while administration and government buildings had parks.

13 Designed by Josip Vancas, and completed in 1889.



Figure 4. Transition of urban scales between the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman urban grid in the old town of Sarajevo.

aligned with the main axis of the cathedral, enables a full perspective view of the representative entrance façade, and compensates for the absence of a potential main city square.

Although the majority of open public spaces such as streets, promenades, parks and squares were generally freely accessible to the public, the formal language of their neoclassical and secession facades was prioritised over the freedom and potential of their public use.

From the Habsburg Era to Early Yugoslav Sarajevo

Context: The final stages of the Habsburg administration in the city of Sarajevo, which had a population of 52,000 in the first decades of the 20th century, were marked by the rise of secular nationalism among ethnic groups, when neighbouring countries used Bosnia and Herzegovina as a battlefield for their mutual extraterritorial aspirations (Donia, 2006). The political and social upheaval culminated in the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria and his wife Sophie on 28 June 1914, during their official visit to Sarajevo. This event led to World War I and put Sarajevo in the historical spotlight. The end of World War I was marked by the cessation of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, when Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina became part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

During the Early Yugoslav period of Sarajevo's development, the principles of the modernist architectural movement of the first half of the 20th century were embraced. A group of Bosnian architects¹⁴ who graduated from prominent European architecture schools in Prague, Vienna and Zagreb designed the city's first modernist public and residential buildings. They discarded the historical eclectic styles and ornamentation of the previous epochs, as well as the national, regional and ethnic architectural expressions of the past, and promoted the principles of functionalism and an international, ethnically unbiased, architectural idiom. The acceptance of modern architecture corresponded with the multinational identity and socio-political ideology of the Early Yugoslav period.

14 The most prominent architects from the interwar period in Sarajevo were Mate Bajlon, Helen Baldasar, Jahiel Finci, Leon Kabiljo, Muhamed Kadic, Reuf Kadic, Emanuel Samanek and Dusan Smiljanic.

Development in the interwar period was in decline in comparison to *fin-de-siecle* urbanisation. Austro-Hungarian regulations had provided the only legal framework and guidelines for the city's development, and as a result, the urban and architectural developments of the time lacked a systematic approach, consisting mainly of building interpolations within existing urban blocks. The construction of public buildings in the early Yugoslav period was funded primarily by banks, endowment trusts and cooperatives. In general, architectural and urban spaces in the public realm were emphasised less due to the new political circumstances and reduced administrative authorities of the city of Sarajevo, which had become part of the Drina Banate of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The most recurrent architectural typologies of the time included administrative/office buildings, mixed-use (residential and public) buildings, banks and saving funds, schools and cooperative centres (present-day cinemas), and several youth centres for culture and recreation.

The urban development of Sarajevo in the interwar period was still dependent on Austro-Hungarian regulations and construction codes from 1893. Despite individual professional initiatives and architectural competitions advocating the need for an urbanism strategy, there was no consistent and constructive endeavour to develop new regulations or create urban public spaces in Sarajevo. This was mostly for financial reasons (Milosevic, 1997). Theoretical discourse on the architectural and urban perspectives of Sarajevo was initiated by Austro-Hungarian architect Josip Pospisil and continued during the early Yugoslav period, tackling key urban issues such as the city's topography and the application of principles of modern movement, such as traffic, zoning and orientation. Statistics show that from 1918 to 1945, 57 new documented urban units (streets and squares) were built (Bejtic, 1973). The notion of public space, however, was only present as a topic in theoretical discussions and competitions, and not in the form of concrete urban realisation.

One of the era's most controversial urban debates was generated by an urban design competition for Sarajevo's former central square, King Peter Square (currently Liberation Square [*Trg oslobođenja – Alija Izetbegović*]) (Figure 5). This competition, organised in 1934, had 27 entries and was evaluated by two juries in two cycles, but the realisation of the winning design was impeded due to the outbreak of World War II (Milosevic, 1997). On the occasion of the competition announcement, Professor Marcel Martinis analysed the urban, social and cultural importance of public spaces to Sarajevo: "The city of Sarajevo lacks actual squares, especially the representative types of squares [...] All places of worship and public buildings are scattered around the city, and are located at large distances [...] Some of the most representative buildings are not accompanied by squares, nor do they have matching urban space, which would enable a proper distance and perspective, as well as a total architectural effect [...] Squares are ornaments of the cities, their wonderful artistic constituents that reflect the cultural and artistic affinities of its citizens, and add a specific value to each city. The squares are closely related to the events of public, cultural and social life of a city" (Milosevic, 1997).

Although urban design issues were addressed in theoretical discourse, there were no actual contributions to the urban planning of the city during the Early Yugoslav period. Conversely, early modernist architecture had an indirect effect on the urban image of the city, as the visual identity of its public spaces (mostly streets, promenades and urban blocks) was filled with modernist facades, especially Sarajevo's inner city. The modernist public buildings of the Early Yugoslav period were interpolated in the Austro-Hungarian urban matrix, complementing the medium- and large-scale urban blocks in the central parts of the city.

Due to the socio-political context of the war and interwar times, in which the political authority of the city of Sarajevo within the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was in decline, only a small number of public buildings were



Figure 5. The retrospective overview of the transformation of Liberation Square / Trg oslobođenja – Alija Izetbegovic. Top left: Historical photo of the Liberation square prior the WWII (previously known as the Ofizierkasino-Platz during the Austro-Hungarian period). Centre and bottom: Liberation- Alija Izetbegovic square today.

developed. Most construction was of residential buildings, with a few fully accessible buildings to host social and cultural activities, and some mixed-use buildings with public zones, which were financed institutionally by pension funds and trusts, as in the case of the Retirement Fund building. One of the first truly public buildings from the early modernist period was the FIS youth centre for sports, recreation and culture, which allowed the general population open access and hosted social activities, at which (mostly young) citizens could spend their free time.

With the exception of a few cases, the character of architectural and urban production of the time was introverted, and its architectural facades can be interpreted as tools of communication with citizens in open public spaces. These modern facades were inserted next to those of the historical secession and pseudo-Moorish styles, resulting in heterogeneous urban blocks. This new urban identity, in the form of a colourful collage of contrasting historical and modern facades, symbolises Sarajevo's historical and socio-political transitions.

Because the Early Yugoslav era of Sarajevo's urban development occurred between the two world wars, it can be characterised as transitory in cultural, economic and socio-political senses. Due to the city's decreased political power within the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, there weren't many significant or strategic urban contributions. Although architectural developments, especially in the public realm, were sporadic, the relevance of this transitory epoch is visible in the introduction of modern principles and the rise of theoretical discourse in Sarajevo's architectural scene. Subtle insertions of modernist buildings into the urban matrix can be regarded as an attempt to continue the Austro-Hungarian legacy, while at the same time the contrasting architectural language of the two eras created an idiosyncratic urban image of the transition between the two socio-political regimes.

From Early Yugoslav to Socialist Yugoslav Sarajevo

Context: The Early Yugoslav period of Sarajevo's historical trajectory ended with WWII. After a four-year occupation by Nazi forces, Sarajevo was liberated on April 6th 1945, and it became the capital of the Republic of Bosnia in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This was a period of exponential industrial, economic, urban and socio-cultural progress for the city, which peaked with the XIV Olympic Games. During the Socialist Yugoslav period, the population of Sarajevo increased from less than 100,000 to almost 500,000, the city transformed and expanded geographically, and the private and public spheres were integrated for the first time (Donia, 2006).

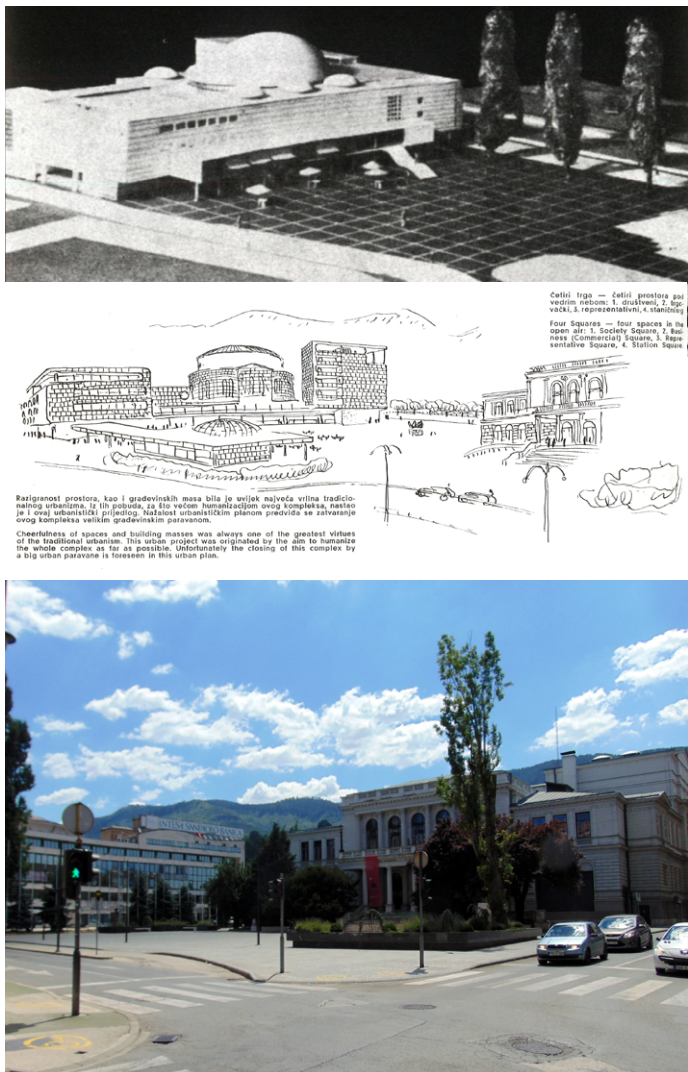
After the destruction and stagnation in Bosnia and Herzegovina during WWII, a new social system and communist ideology were established. Because of post-war economic scarcity, the greater part of the initial reconstruction in Bosnia and Herzegovina did not meet the high architectural standards found elsewhere in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Straus, 1998). Despite strong political pressure from Eastern Bloc countries and the Communist Information Bureau, local architects continued the tradition of modernist principles from 1920s and 1930s architecture, and ignored the doctrines of socialist realism (Kurto, 1997). In the 1950s, the architectural ambience in Bosnia and Herzegovina became more democratic and liberal: it was the decade of the establishment of the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism in Sarajevo, a time when local architects gained insight into events on the international architectural scene, and in which the most important urbanism and architectural competitions

were launched. One of the most significant milestones in this architectural period was the 1957 publication of the book *Architecture of Bosnia and the Way of Modernity* by prominent architects and theorists Juraj Neidhardt and Dusan Grabrijan (of Croatian and Slovenian origin respectively), which promoted the idea of Bosnian regionalism in architecture.

Socialist cities are often regarded as archetypes of modernity, representing the socio-economic system's ideals of publicness and collectiveness: *"These features of socialist urbanism were attuned to the key aspects of the socialist socioeconomic and political order: dominance of production over consumption; dominance of the public and the collective over the private and the individual; and dominance of order and discipline over diversity and marginality"* (Banerjee, 2004). The first post-war master plan was developed for the Grbavica 1 neighbourhood,¹⁵ a residential area that is today perceived as a model of the modern principles of town planning and the early urbanisation and industrialisation of Sarajevo. However, its implementation underwent radical changes due to strict measures of financial rationalisation, which resulted in an urban density increase, a reduction of the standard residential floor area, infrastructural shortcomings, a lack of public facilities, and inadequate use of public spaces.

Discourse on spaces in the public realm in the Socialist Yugoslav period was initiated in the 1950s, when some of Sarajevo's most significant central locations became the subjects of architectural and urban design competitions. Among the first projects to indirectly tackle the issue of open public spaces was the winning entry in a 1951 competition for remodelling the city's synagogue. Although never realised, this design proposal shows an alternative interpretation of the central Susan Sontag

¹⁵ The master plan for Grbavica 1 was developed in 1948, by architects Branko Kalajdzic, Zdravko Kovacevic and Milivoj Petercic.



Četiri trgovi — četiri prostora gotovim rešenjima: 1. društveni, 2. Kovačica, 3. reprezentativni, 4. stambeni

Four Squares — four spaces in the open air: 1. Society Square, 2. Kovačica (Commercial) Square, 3. Representative Square, 4. Station Square

Razigranost prostora, kao i građevinskih masa bila je uvijek najveća vrline tradicionalnog urbanstva. U tom pogledu, za što većom harmoničnijom ovog kompleksa, nastao je ovaj urbanistički prijedlog, nastojao urbanističkim planom prevladati se zatvaranje ovog kompleksa većim građevinskim masama.

Cheerfulness of spaces and building masses was always one of the greatest virtues of the traditional urbanism. This urban project was originated by the aim to harmonize the whole complex as far as possible. Unfortunately the closing of this complex by a big urban pavilions is foreseen in this urban plan.

Figure 6. The retrospective overview of proposals for the transformation of the former synagogue and Susan Sontag square. Top: The winning competition entry by Kovacevic and Petercic. Centre: The competition entry by Neidhardt. Bottom: Present-day aerial view of the site (Susan Sontag square, Sarajevo).

Square, suggesting the integration of the competition site with the theatre plaza and opening the view towards the synagogue's dome. Instead, in 1962 the headquarters of Energoinvest, Yugoslavia's most influential engineering company, was built on the site. This created an enclosed urban framework, which cut the site off from the theatre square and screened it from the synagogue.

The 1955 competition to design the Parliament building and its main square (the present-day Parliament Square) in Marijin Dvor was won by Juraj Neidhardt, and to this day it epitomises an important line of reasoning in ongoing discussions about development in this urban zone. The location of Marijin Dvor is a physical and symbolic threshold of the Austro-Hungarian urban and socialist-modern parts of the city, the latter of which dates from the 1960s. Within Neidhardt's abundant opus of built and unbuilt work and written and drawn theory were numerous urban design proposals and initiatives that endorsed the development of open public spaces in Sarajevo (Karlic Kapetanovic, 1990). In response to the shortage of such spaces, Neidhardt proposed so-called manifestation, representative, station and theatre squares in various locations throughout Sarajevo, from its historic core (Bascarsija and the *mahalas*) to its Austro-Hungarian and socialist neighbourhoods, comparing them to the vestibules, lobbies and theatre halls of the city. Neidhardt's master plan for Marijin Dvor was a true socialist-modernist urban utopia: a composition of administrative and cultural facilities in a lavish setting of open public spaces, such as parks and squares. Marijin Dvor's master-plan was another representation of socialism as "modernity's most devout, vigorous and gallant champion" (Bauman, 1991). At the same time, the concept proposed a harmonious relationship with nature, respecting the vistas to and from the slopes of the city's amphitheatre-like morphology. Since the Yugoslav policies of the time prioritised investments in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina's industrial and residential sectors rather than its cultural life, the original master plan was only partly

opsežni kompleks
spomeničke vrijednosti
National Liberation
Monument
novoprojektirane javne
zgrade
proposed public
buildings

Narodna skupština
Bosne i Hercegovine
National Assembly
Building

veliki manifestacioni
trg
large square for mani-
festations

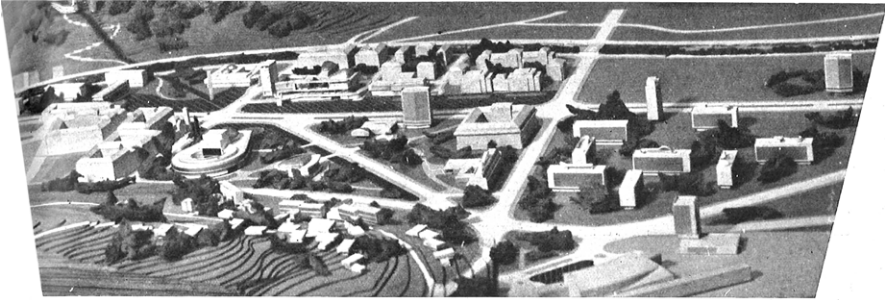
biblioteka
library

istraživački i industrijski
preduzeća
skyscraper for Indus-
trial Agencies

postojeći Zemaljski
muzej
existing Provincial
Museum

novoprojektirana
transverzala
proposed traffic
transversal

novoprojektirana
mreža ulica
proposed art gallery
with break on
the square



novoprojektirana
opera
proposed opera
house

novoprojektirana
osmoškolka
proposed school

representativni hotel
hotel

postojeća putnička
stanica
existing Railway
Station

posta
proposed Post Office

stambeno naselje sa
mješovitom strukturom
na mjestu današ-
njeg logora (u buduć-
nosti)
neighbourhood unit
with multi-storey
buildings on site of
the present camp



Figure 7. Marijin dvor. Top: Master Plan model of Marijin Dvor by Juraj Neidhardt. Bottom: Marijin dvor aerial view.

implemented, and only a few of Neidhardt's emblematic buildings were built in the following two decades. Even today, this urban zone lacks the socio-cultural standards and public spaces that had been envisaged in the original master plan.

Marijin Dvor was also the designated location for the 1958 architectural competition to design the Museum of the Revolution,¹⁶ the present-day Historical Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The museum was built in 1963, and was conceived as an integral part of the planned cultural and educational district of Marijin Dvor, with the Austro-Hungarian-built National Museum¹⁷ on the neighbouring site, and the University of Sarajevo's Faculties of Philosophy and Natural Sciences nearby.¹⁸ Although the Museum of the Revolution was "originally founded to develop a collection of documents, art and artefacts to commemorate the national liberation movement with an emphasis on its anti-fascist character" (Harrington, et al., 2017), its architectural expression is "completely devoid of any kind of ideological, archaic and folklore narration" (Sankovic-Simcic, 2016). This purely modern, minimalist museum building can only be regarded as "revolutionary" in the fact that it introduced a progressive architectural language to the socio-cultural context of 1960s Sarajevo.

After almost a decade of research and preparation, the first general urban plan for Sarajevo was adopted in 1965. As a result of the political and economic strategies envisaged for Bosnia and Herzegovina as a primarily industrial state, the urban planning and architectural endeavours of the 1960s favoured the industrial sector and housing projects. If we interpret Sarajevo through a neo-Marxist lens, the city can be characterised by

16 The winning entry was designed by a trio of Croatian architects: Radovan Horvat, Boris Magas and Edo Smidhen.

17 The National Museum was designed by Karlo Parik in 1909, in the neoclassical style.

18 The Faculty of Philosophy and the Faculty of Natural Sciences and Mathematics were designed by Juraj Neidhardt, and were built in 1959 and 1966 respectively.



Figure 8. Skenderija. Top: Cultural and sports centre Skenderija in 1970s. Bottom: Skenderija today.

its *dependent urbanization* (Castells, 1977). One of the few (albeit distinguished) public building projects of the time was the Skenderija Centre for culture and sports, which opened in 1969. The first-of-its-kind mega structural urban and architectural complex encompassed cultural, sports and commercial facilities and open public spaces. It was designed by Zivorad Jankovic and Halid Muhasilovic and won the “Borba”, the most prestigious national architectural award, in 1969. The Skenderija Centre has been one of Sarajevo’s crucial urban focal points since its inauguration, due to its central location, history and cultural and social significance.

Its architectural features, **monumental scale** and **accessibility** to the general public make the Skenderija Centre a true representative of public architectural achievements in the Socialist Yugoslav period.

Along with the strategic development of public buildings in the 1960s for administration, education, health and public services, so-called “Houses of Culture” were an important segment of the public realm, and were the Yugoslav equivalent of Western European workers’ clubs, or Soviet Palaces of Culture. This specific public typology appeared throughout the Eastern Bloc, and reflected the socialist ideal of “bringing culture to the masses”. Houses of Culture organised the post-work free time of the working class, and were hubs for cultural, social and recreational activities. Houses of Culture of different scales and architectural expressions were intended to symbolise the pluralist identity of its users, and acted as gravitational points for the populations of local residential or industrial zones: “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” (Zagora & Samic, 2014).

In the 1970s, economic movement triggered by international credits and debts boosted the construction of public buildings. Architects were assigned a wide variety of typologies and public building briefs: from department stores (western European symbols) to hotels, Houses of Culture, insurance companies and sports centres. In only a small number of cases was the development of public buildings accompanied by corresponding open public spaces. The construction of the Sarajka department store in 1975 and the Svjetlost administrative building¹⁹ in 1976 contributed to the spatial definition of two familiar prominent

¹⁹ The former was designed by Vladimir Zoha Zarahovic, and the latter by Halid Muhasilovic.

squares in downtown Sarajevo, now known as the Children of Sarajevo Square and Liberation Square.

The accelerated urbanisation of the 1970s peaked with a major construction boom in Sarajevo prior to the city hosting the 1984 XIV Winter Olympic Games. This spurred the construction of major sports and cultural facilities in Sarajevo and its surroundings, as well as entire residential quarters, numerous hotels, and modern public buildings such as the airport and the headquarters of Radio and Television of Sarajevo and the leading daily newspaper *Oslobodjenje*.

Socialist-era architectural production in Sarajevo embodied high social and cultural values, and deserves special consideration. The marriage between modernism and Yugoslav socialism in the form of a Non-Aligned²⁰ architectural brand successfully celebrated the ideals of “brotherhood and unity” and “self-management”, while simultaneously reconciling its internal ethnic diversity in a universal language. Consequently, the varied cultural heritage of the socialist period encompasses a wide variety of architectural and urban typologies, including spaces in the public realm: “Affordable mass housing, new civic and social institutions, public spaces for interaction and participation, tourism facilities, and even commemorative structures all became grounds for experimentation, giving rise to some extraordinary, internationally relevant results” (Stierli, et al., 2018).

20 Yugoslavia belonged to the Non-Aligned movement, established in 1956 as a group of states not formally aligned with either Eastern or Western Blocs.

From Socialist Yugoslav to contemporary Sarajevo

Context: During the last decade of the 20th century, the Cold War ended with the triumph of capitalism over socialism, commemorating the “end of history” (Fukuyama, 1989). After almost half a century, the socialist utopia was replaced by a three-year dystopia. The 1990s war in Bosnia and Herzegovina was triggered by the dissolution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1991, and the proclamation of independence by the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992. More than two decades after its official end in 1995, the consequences of the war are still present in the Bosnian reality, and are manifested in socio-political complexity, economic instability and cultural crisis. Because of this complexity, the contemporary era of Sarajevo’s development is often referred to as transitory. The 1990s post-socialist transition from the single-party system and centrally planned economy to a multi-party democracy and market-based economy affected more than 28 countries. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, unlike in other former Eastern Bloc countries, the transition from socialism to a liberal economy was blocked, and subsequently prolonged (Bolcic, 2003), by the war.

The continuing state of transition can thus be described in relation to the previous condition as: 1) a post-conflict society, from a historical perspective; 2) a post-socialist society in political and economic terms; and 3) a postmodern society in philosophical and cultural terms. This transitory condition, or state of in-betweenness, is present in everyday life and can be perceived in quotidian speech. The citizens of Sarajevo often utilise the terms “pre-” and “post-” (pre-war and post-war), and “the now” is often

referred to as a temporal condition in between prior and posterior states: "Its citizens and institutions are caught in a state of in-betweenness, where memories of the conflict clash with memories of life previously lived and where the new way of life is not yet fully owned" (Harrington, et al., 2017).

The "triple-post" – post-conflict, post-socialist and postmodern – urban condition of contemporary Sarajevo might have been a point of departure for future development: an opportunity to pursue a line of continuity or to embrace the new. Dutch architecture critic and historian Hans Ibelings takes a more realistic approach in his theoretical overview of the first 15 years of post-war architectural production in Bosnia and Herzegovina: "It is a myth that after war there can be Stunde null or zero hour. A genuinely new beginning is an illusion. It is an inescapable fact that things will never be as they used to be, but it is equally true that the past can never be entirely erased. At most it is possible to pick up the pieces and make a new start" (Ibelings, 2010).

In reality, the political, economic and socio-cultural processes of transition are reflected in the material form of Sarajevo's recent urban developments and transformations. The initial post-war reconstruction was followed by an urban accretion of new layers, and subsequently succeeded by augmented architectural developments, generated by a liaison between the privatisation process and the introduction of foreign investments: "The city's grander varieties of post-socialism, on the other hand, seem more bombastic and more overbearing than any of the imperial urbanisms that went before – even having had less time to assert themselves in the urban landscape than the Habsburgs once did" (Tonkiss, 2014).

Along with new housing developments, the proliferation of shopping malls and commercial buildings as dominant public architectural typologies embodies the mainstream development of Sarajevo since

the turn of the 21st century. One of the first commercial buildings, the BBI Centre shopping mall,²¹ was built in 2009 in Sarajevo's downtown, replacing the socialist Sarajka department store, which had stood on the site since 1976. The BBI Centre is composed of two volumes – horizontal and vertical blocks – and contains a bank, a garage, gastronomy and retail outlets, and the head office of an international cable television station. The centre's hybrid structure and functional program mirrors the contemporary consumerist *zeitgeist*, while not detracting from its significance in terms of its urban impact and spatial relation with the adjacent public space, the Children of Sarajevo Square. The design of the building's southern facade, which faces the square, emphasises the building's public function, and stimulates dynamic urban activity: "The building is open from the inside to the outside world and vice versa, by using natural or artificial lighting reflecting the pulse of urban life" (Ibelings, 2002). Its other three facades are relatively enclosed, making the streets that delineate the site passive.

In the five years following the BBI Centre's opening, the sequence of commercial properties continued a kilometre to the west, in Marijin Dvor, with the construction of three new shopping centres (Figure 9). In locations between 150 to 400 meters apart, Importanne, Alta and the Sarajevo City Center were opened from 2010 to 2014. To gain wider popular acceptance and stimulate the influx of the contemporary global lifestyle to post-war Sarajevo, these shopping centres have foreign names and/or abbreviations, also suggesting the international origin of their investors. These new temples of consumerist society are symbolic of the neoliberal capitalism in Sarajevo's local margins in the same way that cultural and sports centres were symbols of the socialist period, important civic buildings represented the Habsburg epoch, and religious buildings

21 The design of the BBI Centre by Sead Golos of the architectural studio Grupa ARH was the winning entry in the 2006 architectural design competition. The 2005 urban design competition for the same site, was awarded to a proposal by architect Slobodan Andjelic.



Figure 9. Shopping malls built from 2009 to 2014 in the downtown of Sarajevo. Top left: The Importantne Shopping Centre. Top right: The BBI Centre. Bottom left: The SCC-Sarajevo City Centre. Bottom right: Alta Shopping Centre.

mirrored the Ottoman period. The primacy of commercial architectural typologies signals that the culture of shopping has replaced the cultural, civic and religious life of previous times: “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 centres than by libraries” (Ibelings, 2010).

Consumerism (the most popular framework of public activities) and its architectural representations in the form of shopping malls, was brought about by the transition in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and is an echo of a global social and economic phenomenon. The contention lies in whether shopping malls and the public life they generate are valid alternatives for the traditional forms of public space that preceded them. Some theorists argue that shopping malls are privately owned public spaces (POPs) (Miller, 2007) or pseudo-public spaces: “Some of us are [...] disquieted by the constant reminders of surveillance in the sweep of cameras and the patrols of security personnel [in malls]. Yet those of us for whom it is designed are willing to suspend the privileges of public urban space to its relative benevolent authority, for our desire is such that we will readily accept nostalgia as a substitute for experience, absence for presence, and representation for authenticity” (Goss, 1993).

The most recent socio-economic transition interrupted Sarajevo’s urban development in the late 20th century and affected the relationship between contemporary Bosnian society and its pre-war past. This transition caused significant changes in the public realm, and requires critical evaluation in terms of gains and losses. The advent of capitalism in the first wave of post-war reconstruction was marked by banks, commercial buildings, and offices built on the sites of former public spaces and parks in socialist and Olympic residential blocks. The legalised occupation of open public areas and intra-block communal areas initiated in the late 1990s can be explained by the

political circumstances of this foggy period of privatisation, and its lack of solid (or any) legislative framework. The same tendency continues today, and is visible in intensified high-density social housing developments. The result of such intrusive spatial activities is a loss or fragmentation of public spaces throughout the city. It is important to note that these transitional developments came with a socio-cultural bias towards the legacy of socialism in the wider population, in parallel with an uncritical, enthusiastic acceptance of values imported from the West. “Communist” or “socialist” attributes of architecture were often associated with a negative bias in society, in what can be understood as a collective identity crisis: “The commons – from urban public spaces to various civic, educational, and cultural facilities – have been subject to shady privatization schemes, reduced to mere real estate” (Stierli, et al., 2018).

Most of the public spaces that were yielded after Sarajevo’s 1990s transition subsequently embodied capitalist ideals: “As a secular space, the public space of the modern city has always been a hybrid of politics and commerce” (Sennett, 2002). Most of the city’s new commercial architecture was adapted to the new context of a post-conflict Balkan society, and it generally discarded the urban and architectural legacy of previous epochs. Multiple shopping malls were built close to one another throughout Sarajevo, to serve as hubs of public life. However, because they are privately owned, their accessibility and freedom are controlled; this means that in spite of their seductive appearance, which celebrates the culture of commodification over that of public interaction, they are characterised as pseudo-public spaces. Because of a fragile legislative framework and pressure from political and market forces, pre-existing public areas have been invaded by high density structures that caused the fragmentation and disappearance of common spaces such parks and plazas. Large public areas are converted into real estate developments and parking areas, while the spaces in between remain undefined, undermanaged and inactive.

The panorama of Sarajevo is additionally dominated by numerous unplanned residential areas – such as those in Pofalici, Velesici and Buca Potok in the north, and Hrasno Brdo and Aneks in the south – consisting of illegally built single-family houses on the hillsides, some of which have subsequently been legalised. These areas have radically expanded in the post-war period, and consequently lack basic communal infrastructure, parking areas and open public spaces. Perplexingly, this deficit also arose in recent high-density housing developments in the western part of Sarajevo, such as those in Otoka and Stup.²² These observations highlight the need for Sarajevo's open public spaces crisis to be addressed in a systematic and studious manner.

22 Collective residential housing in the area of Stup is typically in buildings of 10 to 16 floors, 10 to 16 metres apart, without green areas, public facilities or other open public spaces.

Summary

The objective of this historical exploration was to determine the link between historical transitions and urban development, focusing on the genesis and evolution of open public spaces and public facilities in Sarajevo. Transitions and fragmented histories generally assume political instability and a lack of socio-cultural continuity. In Sarajevo, the legacy of such a dynamic historical trajectory was embodied in its valuable architectural heritage and cultural pluralism. The question that permeates this chapter is: **how have the periodical changes of regimes affected the mind-set of the citizens of Sarajevo, their collective spirit and their shared values, and ultimately, their attitude towards the notion of their shared, public space?**

The creation of public spaces was scarce in the city's 15th-century transition from the medieval town of Vrhbosna to Ottoman Sarajevo. **The Ottoman era clearly favoured the intimacy of private life over the collectivity of public life.** One omnipresent architectural element – the wall – served as the acoustic and visual divide between public and private spaces, communal and family life, and secular and spiritual realms. All Ottoman typologies – houses, bazaars, hans and mosques – followed the typical *meander* compositional schemes with interior atriums, enabling a gradual sequencing of spaces from the public exterior to the private interior realm.

By the end of the 19th century, Sarajevo had become the venue of a genuine encounter between East and West. **The transition of urban development is legible in the city: Ottoman and Habsburg areas sit side-by-side in chronological alignment.** During the latter era, Sarajevo was modernised and westernised according to the models of European cities, and gained

new public architectural typologies, designed in the formal language of neoclassical, neo-Renaissance, pseudo-Moorish and secession styles. To a degree, the exterior appearance of the administrative, cultural and educational buildings of the time expressed social exclusivity, though they allowed limited accessibility to the public. The development of open public spaces in Habsburg Sarajevo was less expressed.

The Early Yugoslav period, referred to by locals as the “inter-war” period, yielded the first progressive modernist public and residential buildings in Sarajevo, predominantly interpolations into existing Austro-Hungarian urban blocks. The contrast between the historical and modern facades epitomises the *fin-de-siecle* historical transition. Urban issues and the notion of public space were present only on paper, in theoretical discourse and architectural design competitions.

The Socialist Yugoslav expansion of Sarajevo honoured the socialist-modernist urban utopia. By bridging ethnic diversities in a universal design language, the marriage between modernism and Yugoslav socialism in the form of a Non-Aligned architectural brand successfully celebrated the ideals of “brotherhood and unity” and “self-management”. The first two decades after WWII were marked by the strategic development of public buildings for the purposes of administration, education, health, and public services, and by the particular typology of Houses of Culture, which promoted the socialist ideal of “bringing culture to the masses”. The development of public buildings and cultural and sports facilities for large gatherings – which promoted national unity and controlled the socio-cultural life of Sarajevo and its surroundings – was boosted in the 1970s, prior to the city hosting the XIV Winter Olympic Games.

This period of socialist utopia was replaced by the 1990s war, uricide, and a three-year state of dystopia. The contemporary era of Sarajevo’s urban development has so far been characterised by a prolonged post-socialist, post-conflict and postmodern transition. Privatisation and the

uncritical acceptance of globalist capitalist values discarded the urban and architectural legacy of previous eras. **Shopping malls have become the city's new temples of consumerist society, analogous to what sports centres were to socialism, civic buildings were to the Habsburg era, and religious buildings were to the Ottoman period.** The new developments fit the definition of pseudo-public spaces, which is an echo of the global condition. It seems, however, that the crisis of public spaces in Sarajevo is amplified by one of socio-cultural identity. The traumatic abolition of the ideals of "brotherhood and unity" caused a predominantly negative bias towards attributes such as "communist" or "socialist" among the general population, which is reflected in a negative attitude towards the socialist architectural legacy. The collective identity crisis, in addition to the foggy economic and political circumstances of unregulated privatisation, contributed to the appropriation, loss or fragmentation of public spaces and intra-block communal areas throughout the city.

Visible traces of socio-political transitions in Sarajevo's urban fabric – contrasting, blurring, overlapping, and interlocking fragments – contribute to its powerful and unique cultural image on a global level. The historical timeline of the city's evolution is visible in its urban-morphological alignment, where public architectural typologies of various socio-cultural provenience stand side-by-side. At the same time, spatio-physical and mental thresholds, gaps and grey-areas, are witnesses to the lack of cultural and urban continuity. What has happened to the perception of a collective/shared identity, in a society that represents the ideals of multiculturalism and co-existence? **The transitory condition or state of in-betweenness is manifested as the condition between *pre-* and *post-*, between *here* and *there*, between *public* and *private*, and between *us* and *them*.** Repeated and often dramatic transitions led to a collective identity crisis, which subsequently caused a public space crisis in the city of Sarajevo. More than two decades after the last socio-political transition is sufficient time to address this crisis in a studious and

strategic manner. The antidote for a fragmented and disconnected urban context is in the (re)evolutionary quest for continuity, and in finding a meaningful role for ambiguous, in-between places: "*There is still another method, a method of continuity – a continuity of spirit and continuity of evolution; including also revolutions that mark the way*"²³ (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957).

23 Written by Le Corbusier in 1957 for the preface of the book "Architecture of Bosnia and the way modernity" by Dusan Grabrijan and Juraj Neidhardt.



An isometric architectural drawing of a city street scene. The buildings are rendered in a dark teal color with white outlines. A white grid is overlaid on the roofs and facades of the buildings. In the foreground, there are two stylized white trees. A dark teal rectangular box is positioned in the center-right of the image, containing white text. The overall style is clean and modern.

II
MAPPING
PUBLIC
SPACES
IN
SARAJEVO



Every public space is like a billboard, with messages from the collective subconscious of the nation. There one can read passivity, rage indifference, fear, double standards, subversion, bad economy, a twisted definition of 'public' itself, the whole Weltanschauung - an entire range of emotions and attitudes is exposed.

Slavenka Drakulić, How We Survived Communism and Even Laughed

II. MAPPING PUBLIC SPACES IN SARAJEVO

Public space has generally been associated with the iconic image of a large, publicly owned area, accessible and open to all: a place for the celebration and expression of democratic life. Yet, recent global economic and technological shifts have led to the privatisation and commodification of traditional public spaces. The *publicness* of contemporary public spaces is being contested. This transformation can be perceived either as the decline or *loss of public space* (Sennett, 2002), (Sorkin, 1992), (Zukin, 1995), (Putnam, 2001) (Koolhaas, 1997), or as the *natural process of evolution* into a new kind of more diverse, dynamic and democratic public space (Carr, et al., 1992), (Loukaitou-Sideris & Banerjee, 1998).

This potential difference in perception makes it difficult to define contemporary public spaces. Many theorists define them by their ability to generate *public life* and *civic order* (Mumford, 1970), (Jacobs, 1961), (Habermas, 1962), (Whyte, 1980), (Sennett, 2002), (Zukin, 1995). Conversely, public spaces can be defined by their *accessibility* and their level of *publicness* (Carr, et al., 1992), (Miller, 2007), (Carmona, 2010), (Madanipour, 2010), (Varna & Tiesdell, 2010). Urban designers generally consider *form and function* as key aspects in the perception and creation of successful public places (Krier, 1979), (Shaftoe, 2008), (Gehl, 2011).

Instead of seeking a single definition, we should understand public space in its complexity as a multi-faceted concept, acknowledging all its essential attributes. Our study of theoretical perspectives on the

contemporary status and various definitions of public space yielded six socio-spatial attributes (Table 2):

- (1) Typology;
- (2) Scale;
- (3) Enclosure;
- (4) Urban Activity;
- (5) Accessibility;
- (6) Urban Atmosphere.

Mapping methodology as a visual research tool was used to localise urban public spaces by these attributes within the bounds of the City of Sarajevo, which encompasses four municipalities: Stari Grad, Centar, Novo Sarajevo and Novi Grad. Using the data available, we applied mapping as a methodological tool for the graphical isolation of public spaces and their classification according to essential socio-spatial features. This can provide a methodological framework for further applied research.

Table 2. Socio-spatial attributes of contemporary public spaces. Source: Authors

CRITERION		ATTRIBUTES					
1.	TPOLOGY	GREEN	CIVIC	COMMUNAL	TRANSPORTATION	PUBLIC INTERIORS	UNDEFINED
2.	SCALE	LARGE AND EXTRA-LARGE		MEDIUM SCALE	SMALL AND EXTRA-SMALL		
3.	ENCLOSURE	OPEN		SEMI-OPEN	ENCLOSED		
4.	URBAN ACTIVITY	ACTIVE AND SEASONALLY ACTIVE			PASSIVE		
5.	ACCESSIBILITY	ACCESSIBLE			CONDITIONALLY ACCESSIBLE		
6.	URBAN ATMOSPHERE	EXTROVERTED			INTROVERTED		

Typology

The function or use of a public space is the fundamental criterion for its classification, and the typology of public spaces is generally determined by the social activities they accommodate and generate. Their traditional role has been to spawn public life and social interaction, and to provide a stage for civic, political, commercial and cultural proliferation. Contemporary global economic, political and technological forces are, however, changing the perception of public spaces as democratic arenas for civic, cultural and political exchange: "*The urban field is no longer the domain of a civic openness, as the traditional city was, but the territory of a middle-class culture, characterized by increasing mobility, mass consumption and mass recreation*" (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001).

According to Sennett's thesis on the decline of public life in favour of a society that promotes individualism, self-absorption and alienation, many functions that were traditionally perceived as public now belong to the private, domestic realm (Sennett, 2002). This withdrawal from public to private has been further amplified in spatial and psychological terms by the prevalence of digitalisation and virtual communication. Modern technologies have facilitated almost unrestricted access to information, as well as the performance of a multitude of public activities, such as entertainment, shopping, social interaction and work to take place in the private realm of the home. The average modern person is consequently increasingly individualised and self-oriented, and less inclined to participate in collective activities: "The telephone, television, video, home computers, and so forth have introduced new ways of interacting. Direct meetings in public spaces can now be replaced by indirect electronic

communication. Active presence, participation, and experience can now be substituted with passive picture watching, seeing what others have experienced elsewhere. The automobile has made it possible to replace active participation in spontaneous local social activities with a drive to see selected friends and attractions” (Gehl, 2011). The new social paradigm of replacing public spaces with private or virtual spaces stresses the need to re-envision real social environments capable of fostering socialisation and re-establishing links within the community.

Academic literature offers several function-based classifications of contemporary public spaces. Carr et al. identify eleven functional types: (1) public parks; (2) squares and plazas; (3) memorials; (4) markets; (5) streets; (6) playgrounds; (7) communal open spaces; (8) greenways and parkways; (9) atrium/indoor marketplaces; (10) found spaces/everyday spaces; and (11) waterfronts (Carr, et al., 1992). To include other types of informal public life, this classification may be complemented by emerging forms of public space, such as *transport hubs*, as well as *third places* (Oldenburg, 1997) and *liminal or lost spaces*. Carmona proposes a more elaborate classification, with twenty functional types in four groups of spaces: *positive, negative, ambiguous* and *private* (Carmona, 2010).

Based on the study of public spaces in relation to their modes of use, Jan Gehl (Gehl, 2011) distinguishes three types of outdoor activity: *necessary, optional and social*. *Necessary activities* are compulsory activities that occur continuously and repeatedly, such as going to work, or shopping for groceries. The occurrence of *optional activities* relates to weather and cultural conditions, while *social activities* take place in the presence of other people. The latter usually require publicly accessible spaces, and are directly dependent on the quality of these spaces. While necessary and optional activities can be performed individually, social activities are by definition collective. Accordingly, the quality of public spaces can be measured by the types of activities, particularly social activities,

that occur within them: “When public spaces are successful [...] they will increase opportunities to participate in communal activity. This fellowship in the open nurtures the growth of public life ...” (Carr, et al., 1992).

These definitions and the theoretical framework for the classification of public spaces into functional typologies were the basis of our analysis of public space typology distribution in Sarajevo. To that end, **mapping** included public areas that have the capacity to **generate social encounters**, according to Gehl’s categorisation of public activities. Using Carr’s classification, complemented with *negative spaces* (Carmona, 2010) and *third places* (Oldenburg, 1997), we recorded the distribution of six functional types of public space in Sarajevo:

1. Green spaces;
 2. Civic spaces;
 3. Communal spaces;
 4. Transport/circulation spaces;
 5. Public interiors/facilities and *third places*;
 6. Undefined spaces.
-
1. **Green spaces** are *natural or semi-natural areas within an urban perimeter, such as common gardens, greenways, parks, parkways, riverfronts, recreational and sports areas, urban forests and waterfronts.*

Green areas and the natural landscape of the surrounding hills are ubiquitous features of Sarajevo when observed from its downtown or from elevated viewpoints. The urban morphology of Ottoman-era hillside neighbourhoods Alifakovac, Bistrik, Vratnik and Sedrenik resembles a collage of cubic-shaped houses, intertwined with private interior gardens and orchards, which act as in-between spaces and separate adjacent houses. These green areas are either part of the natural landscape or belong to private, single-family houses.

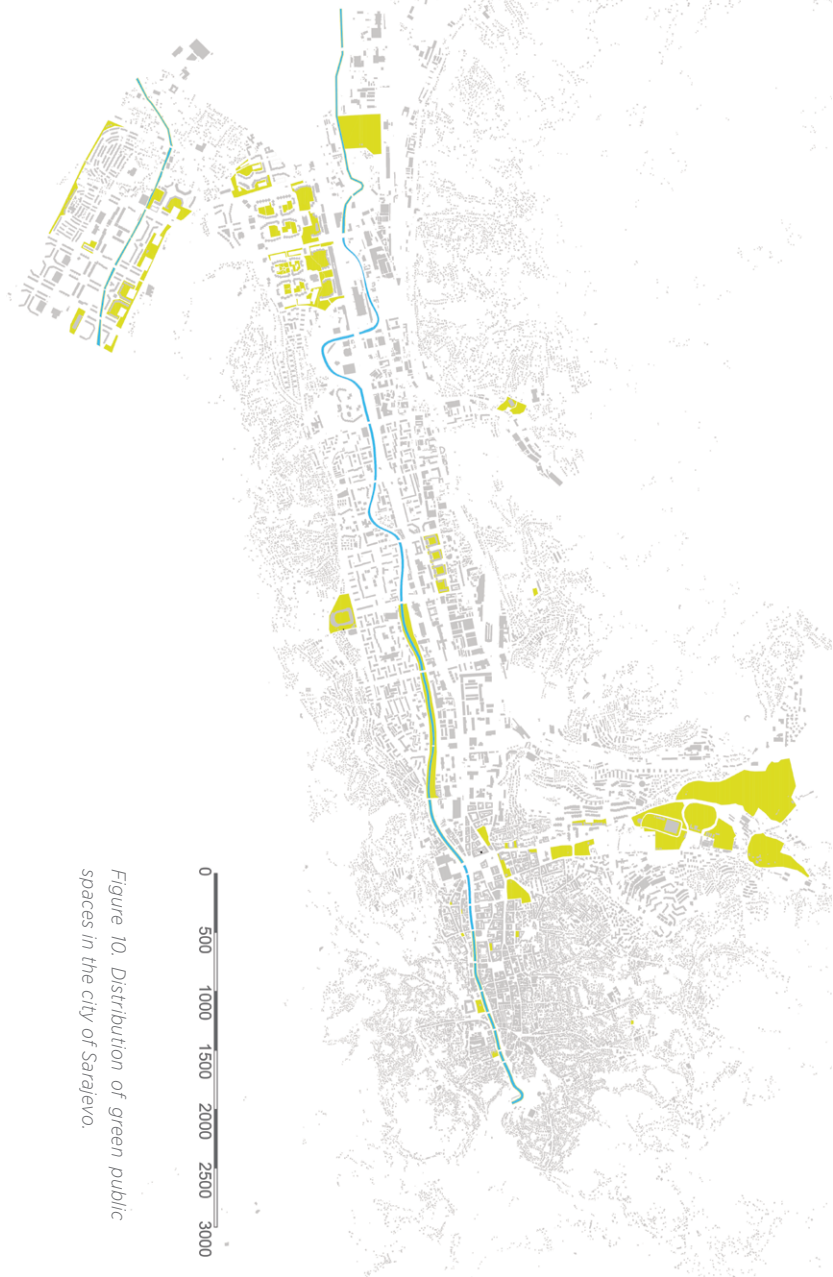


Figure 10. Distribution of green public spaces in the city of Sarajevo.



Figure 11. The urban profile of the streets in Sarajevo increase from east to west. Left: Kazandziluk, Bascarsija; Centre: Kralja Tvrtka street, Marijin dvor. Right: Zmaja od Bosne boulevard.

Sarajevo's most prominent green spaces include Wilson's Promenade and four central parks and recreational areas (Atmejdani, Betanija, Central and Kosevo parks) along the city's north-south axis (Figure 10). Outside the downtown area, green spaces are located in the modernist neighbourhoods in the city's west, and two large parks and recreational areas on its outskirts (Park Safet Zajko and Vrelo Bosna, the park at the source of the Bosna River).

2. *Civic spaces are traditional public spaces, such as squares, plazas, streets, markets and memorials.*

As a result of Sarajevo's physical constraints of topography and urban morphology, its civic spaces are generally streets and pedestrian areas rather than squares and plazas. The urban profile of the streets, the velocity of movement and the means of transport increase relative to the city's urban-chronological plan,²⁴ along its east-west axis. The narrow, irregular pedestrian streets of the

24 "Urban-chronological" here refers to the spatial arrangement of historical zones as they coincide with Sarajevo's development along its east-west axis, as described in Chapter I.

Ottoman areas flow into shared-use streets with Austro-Hungarian decorated facades, used by pedestrians and personal and public vehicles. In the city's modernist areas, these streets ultimately become wide boulevards designed primarily for personal vehicles (Figure 11).

The four best-known squares in the centre of Sarajevo (Liberation Square, Children of Sarajevo Square, Parliament Square and Theatre/ Susan Sontag Square) have been the subject of periodic civic debate, due to their prominent locations and urban significance. These venues have transformed over time, reflecting frequent social and ideological shifts and tensions between influential political and economic forces. The urban design and socio-cultural identity of these civic spaces fluctuates, and is occasionally shaped and transformed by public activities such as festivals, markets or commercial events.

3. **Communal spaces** *are spaces that belong to a small community, and include communal green areas, playgrounds and university campuses.*

Mapping has shown that communal spaces are the prevalent functional typology in the urban structure of Sarajevo, especially in its western areas, which were built after World War II. This typology is generally represented by modernist intra-block open public spaces in the areas of Grbavica, Hrasno, Cengic Vila Otoka, Alipasino Polje and Dobrinja (Figure 12). All these quarters are genuine models of modernist urbanism, and illustrate the conceptual shift of functionalist visions of open space. The pre-modern concept of pedestrian-friendly open space is that of a void surrounded by a mass (buildings), like those in Bascarsija and Marijin Dvor. The modernists inverted this figure-ground concept, and placed the mass in the middle of the vast open space (the void), thus creating *"... large quantities of open space for hygienic as well as aesthetic*



Figure 12. Distribution of civic and communal open public spaces in the city of Sarajevo.



Figure 13. Aerial photos of Alipasino Polje in 2002 (top) and today (centre, bottom), indicating the loss and conversion of communal spaces into construction sites, parking areas, illegally used public spaces and undefined spaces.

reasons. What resulted was vast expanses of space which could have little or no connection with the other spaces of the city and could be left under-used, only to be watched from the top of the high rise buildings or from the car windows” (Madanipour, 2003).

Due to the initial lack of cohesion between mass and void and space and content, the undefined communal spaces of the residential zones in Sarajevo's west became easy loot in the recent years of socio-economic transition. These under-used and unsociable communal spaces were easily captured in seductive and suspect privatisation deals. Consequently, portions of communal spaces vanished (or were converted into construction sites, illegally-used private areas, parking lots or undefined spaces), resulting in a complex patchwork of fragmented, unrelated public and liminal zones that lack appropriate links to the local community. It is important to emphasise that the highlighted zones (which indicate the distribution of communal and civic spaces) are not as compact and homogenous as they appear in maps; rather they are fragmented, with a complex system of uses and ownership. This trend is visible throughout Sarajevo, and is illustrated in the loss of communal and green public spaces around Boulevard Mesa Selimovic in the Alipasino Polje neighbourhood (Figure 13).

4. Transport/circulation spaces – areas that serve the transport infrastructure, such as bridges, bus and tram stops, parking lots, railway stations, roads and underpasses.

Following a study of the typical modes of transport in Sarajevo, the process of mapping encompassed public spaces either utilised or affected by urban mobility. Moreover, the degree of private vehicle use was viewed in comparison to the availability and/or frequency of public transport.

According to official statistical surveys and on-site empirical observations, Sarajevo has become a city dominated by automobiles. The national annual increase in the acquisition of personal vehicles has ranged from 3.07 to 4.21% in the last 10 years (BIHAMK, 2018), resulting in approximately 80% of households in Bosnia and Herzegovina owning a car. The prevalence of personal vehicles as the main mode of transport is evident in the statistics: In 2018, 129,690 automobiles²⁵ were registered in Sarajevo Canton, which has population of 438,443.²⁶ This increase in the acquisition of personal vehicles was not accompanied by investment in multilevel or subterranean garages, and consequently, some previously open public spaces, such as parks and green areas, have been gradually seized and converted into ground level car parks.

Compounding the problems associated with the increase in traffic, measures to modernise public transport have been insufficient. Sarajevo's public transport infrastructure, built during the Austro-Hungarian period and expanded in Socialist Yugoslavian times, relies on an outdated network of trams, buses, and trolleybuses. The construction of cycle paths in 2015 and the launch of a bike-sharing system the following year are recent novelties in the city's public mobility system, and have significantly affected public awareness about sustainable transport options.

Mapping shows the fragmented distribution of transportation/circulation spaces throughout the city, which are generally amalgamated within larger public areas characterised by hybrid use. These spaces are remnants of larger areas originally envisioned as civic, communal and green. They subsequently underwent transitional processes of privatisation and *impromptu* appropriation, made easier by their complex and ambiguous status as *undefined spaces*.

25 This is the number of personal vehicles registered in Sarajevo Canton that year, out of a total 143,919 vehicles (BIHAMK, 2018).

26 The population of Sarajevo Canton according to the 2013 Census.

Sarajevo's car-dominated urban lifestyle and underdeveloped public transport system were key factors that shaped the typology of the city's transport and circulation spaces, and, consequently, the quality of its public spaces in general. Existing mobility trends in Sarajevo diverge from European and international standards, which promote environmentally conscious car-free cityscapes: *"... quality public space favours pedestrian routes and public transport connections over car-based developments [...] cities based on walking and an interconnected public transport network and greener cities based on sustainable buildings, green belts and clean, renewable energy. By promoting parks and the greening of cities, as well as walking, cycling and public transport, public places contribute to a more environmentally friendly urban landscape"* (Varna, 2011).

Sarajevo's residents prefer the current car-dependent urban lifestyle to that of using public transport or car- and bike-sharing. This affects the character of socio-cultural interaction in the city, which in turn strengthens the private over the public domain. Environmental and

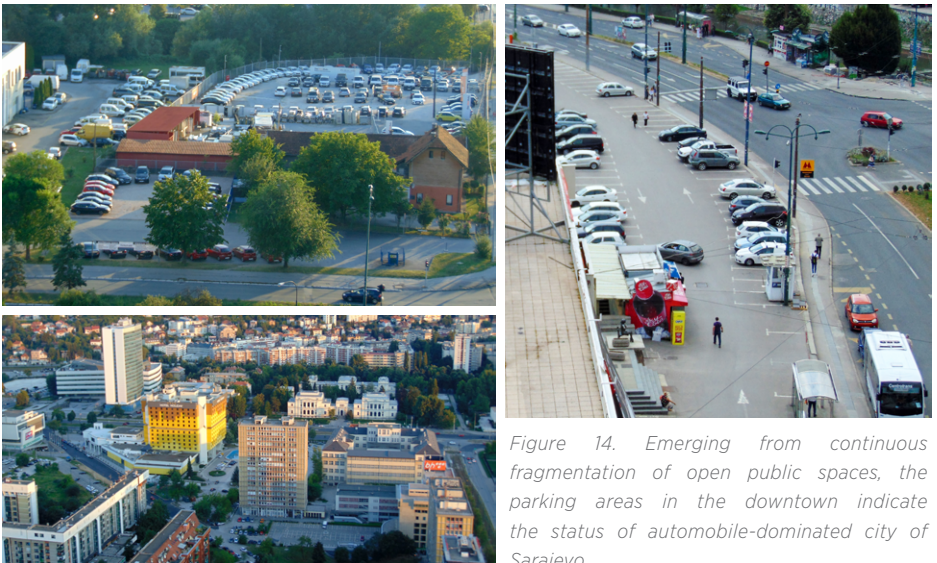


Figure 14. Emerging from continuous fragmentation of open public spaces, the parking areas in the downtown indicate the status of automobile-dominated city of Sarajevo.

Figure 15. Distribution of public interiors and third places in the city of Sarajevo.





Figure 16. Enlarged view indicating the commercial and cultural zones in the Marijin Dvor neighbourhood and the third places in the downtown and old town area.

sociocultural issues show mobility is the key urban challenge for Sarajevo, in light of Gehl's recommendation to strive for liveable, car-free cities (Gehl, 2010).

5. **Public interiors and *third places*** – *cafes, galleries, museums, religious spaces, restaurants and retail spaces.*

This category brings together a wide range of privately and publicly owned indoor and outdoor spaces that may seem divergent, but all of which accommodate a fusion of commercial and socio-cultural activities. There are two subcategories in this typology of public space: public facilities or *public interiors* and “third places”. Manuel de Solà-Morales defines *public interiors* as enclosed public spaces that belong to private or public owners. These include bus stations, libraries, the atria of hospitals and shopping malls, and passages and inner courtyards (de Solà Morales, 1992). This group of public spaces primarily encompasses commercial and cultural environments that are the hubs of public life in a globalised society, such as entertainment venues, shopping centres and theme parks. It also includes cultural typologies, such as museums, art

galleries and other cultural centres, along with their accompanying outdoor spaces. As previously discussed, the global proliferation of consumerist venues is often associated with the term pseudo-public spaces, or POPs,²⁷ which often link the private and public domains.

These types of commodified environment have been criticised by sociologists and anthropologists for diminishing the traditional values of public spaces. Mapping has revealed a significant concentration of these typologies in the Marijin Dvor neighbourhood, where recent urban and architectural developments (Figure 16) resonate with the global economic, political and spatial phenomena that emerged during Sarajevo's latest historical transition, from Socialist Yugoslavia to the contemporary period, as discussed in Chapter I. The common denominators of these functional typologies are commodification and homogenisation, which makes them comparable with generic internal and external public spaces worldwide. Due to a lack of identification with their context, a number of the mapped typologies can be described as *non-places* (Augé, 1995).

Alongside commercial and cultural zones with pronounced public activity, this category embraces the subcategory of *third places*, which, according to Ray Oldenburg, are informal gathering places that foster social interaction, or places where one can relax in public after spending time at home (the *first place*), or at work (*the second place*) (Oldenburg, 1997). *Third places* such as bookstores, cafes, clubs, public libraries and religious buildings are "*the core settings of the informal public life*" (Oldenburg, 1997), and can belong to either the private or public domain. Though they are small-scale and low-profile, they possess a large capacity for encouraging a vibrant

27 "Privately owned public space is a physical place located on private property, where the owner has granted legally binding rights of access and use to members of the public" (Kayden, 2000).

public life. While recent large-scale commercial developments in Marijin Dvor have seldom been site-specific, *third places* can be found throughout the city of Sarajevo, and are densely concentrated in the downtown and old town areas, contributing to their atmosphere, identity and sense of place. A comparative analysis of the two subcategories of public spaces led to an observation that the first is often car-related (such as large shopping malls, regardless of their location), whereas *third places* are generally associated with main pedestrian routes, as is the case with the district of Bascarsija.

6. **Undefined spaces** – *spaces without a clear function or meaning; modernist open spaces, neglected spaces, transient spaces and voids.*

A combination of ownership issues, planning policies, physical decline and poor maintenance has produced a new urban typology, which some scholars refer to as in-between, liminal, lost or residual spaces (Trancik, 1986), (Zukin, 1991), (Shields, 1991), (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1996). Because of their unfavourable position within the urban fabric, these spaces are often hidden from the public eye, and are consequently underutilised and deteriorating. The most challenging issue for these types of spaces is urban management, and as a consequence they are often associated with urban under-management. Hajer and Reijndorp and Carmona, however, see these interstitial spaces as assets to urban renewal and development, and argue that they deserve greater attention: *“The new public domain does not only appear at the usual places in the city, but often develops in and around the in-between spaces in the archipelago of homogenous and specialized islands, in surroundings that belong to different social, economic and cultural landscapes. These places often have the character of ‘liminal spaces’: they are border crossings, places where the different worlds of the inhabitants of the urban field touch each other”* (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001).

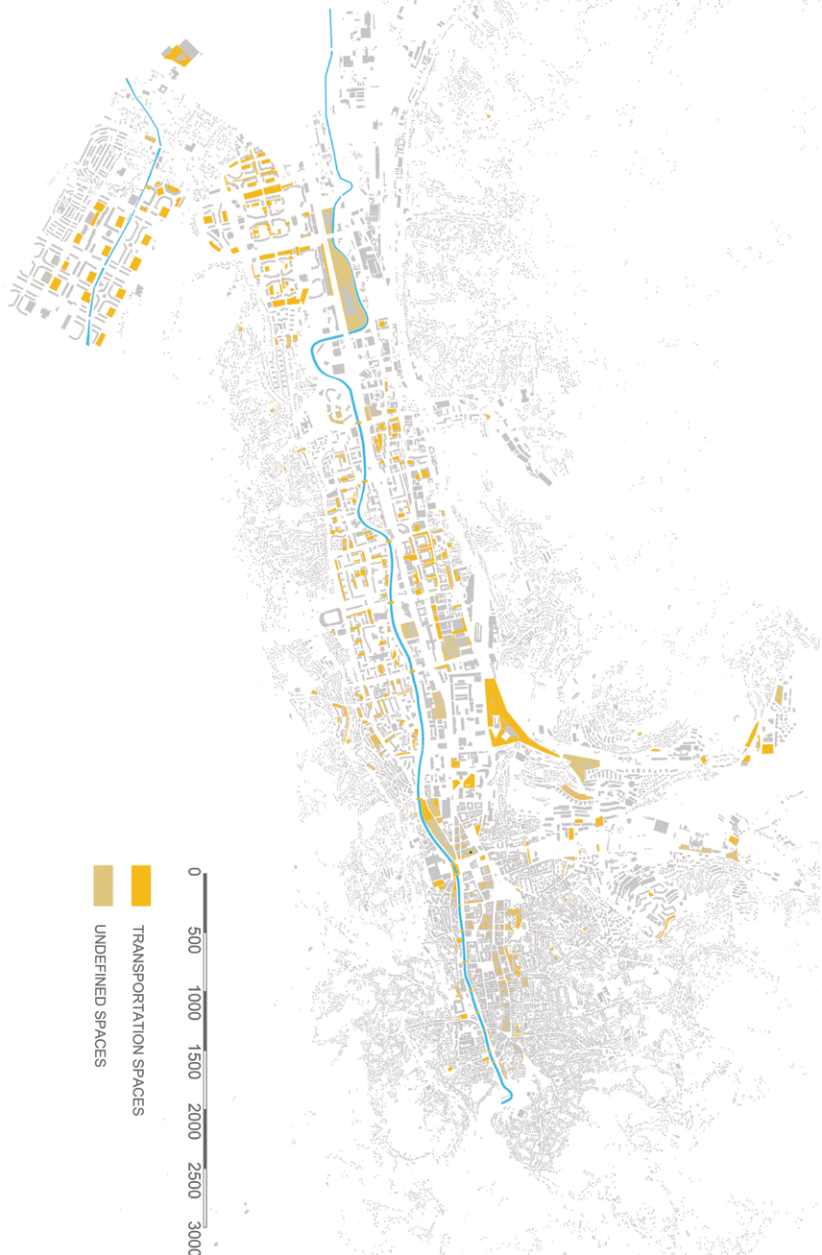


Figure 17. Distribution of transportation and „undefined“ public spaces in the city of Sarajevo.

Carmona provides a comprehensive explanation and sub-classification of “undefined spaces” that consists of *neglected spaces* (which have deteriorated as a result of urban under-management), *lost spaces* (“cracks” that have emerged as a result of the privatisation of public spaces, and the functional separation of uses that occurred during the modernist movement), *twenty-four-hour spaces*, *invaded spaces* (public spaces that have been degraded by an invasion of traffic and car parks), and *disabling, parochial and segregated spaces* (Carmona, 2010).

Undefined spaces are spread throughout the city of Sarajevo, and appear in a wide variety of conditions, configurations and sizes (Figure 18), including: *neglected spaces*, such as Hastahana Park, interior courtyards and streets, and urban steps in hillside settlements; *under-managed* and *invaded spaces*, like the main bus and railway stations; *urban voids*, such as that around the tobacco factory, the old electrical power plant and other abandoned industrial zones; *non-places*, the urban legacy of the Modernist movement, such as the Skenderija commercial and sports centre, and the Radio and Television of Bosnia and Herzegovina headquarters; and the *in-between areas* around the entity borders of the Federation of BiH and Republika Srpska. Most of these sites are spatial fragments, adjacent to transport and circulation spaces, and are often positioned between civic or communal spaces (Figure 19).

Despite their smaller share in the area distribution of all typologies, as graphically indicated in the mapping, it is important to note the fragmented spatial allocation and parasitic nature of undefined spaces that are adjacent to those of other functional typologies. This underscores their importance as potential catalysts in the context of urban regeneration.

Figure 18. Top: Railway station. Centre: Radio and television headquarters. Bottom: Old electrical power plant.



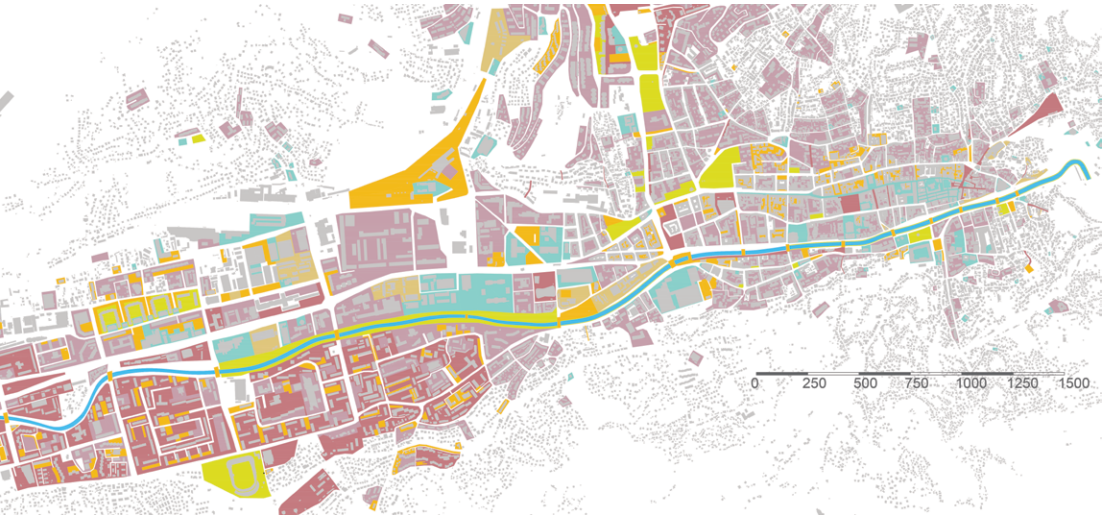


Figure 19. Enlarged view showing the typological heterogeneity of public spaces in the municipalities of Centar and Novo Sarajevo.

Typology: Summary

Our study of the function of public spaces in Sarajevo has highlighted the following characteristics of public spaces: functional/programmatic hybridity; structural heterogeneity and fragmentation; and urban management ambiguity.

Our mapping has shown that the distribution of typologies resembles a patchwork of dissociated public and semi-public spaces, rather than a network of contextually and programmatically linked spatial entities (Figure 19). This fragmentation of public space was primarily caused by the socio-political transition from socialist to capitalist systems, and was secondarily affected by the socio-cultural legacy and traditional

attitudes towards the notion of shared space. Modernist, utopian shared public spaces, such as communal spaces, civic spaces and green areas, crumbled into a dystopian sum of fragments, due to unrestrained privatisation. In the same way that the big public Yugoslav companies were restructured into private ones with multiple shareholders, collective public spaces were translated into a complex “sum of shares” in the urban space, characterised by a dispersion of ownership, interests and uses. The fragmented appropriation of civic, communal or green spaces by legalised or spontaneously privatised parcels or parking lots has resulted in spatial constructs characterised by hybrid use, which lack a clear unifying concept and management scheme. Due to mass and unrestrained privatisation, the most radical losses of public space have been in illegal residential neighbourhoods on the slopes of Sarajevo, and in the newly developed congested residential high-rises in the Stup district. Our study of the function of public space has highlighted the discrepancy between over-managed, commodified sites and undermanaged, undefined or neglected public spaces.

Analysis of the status quo of public spaces requires a response that functionally and contextually connects fragmented zones, creates a continuity of pedestrian areas, and converts existing spatial zones into places with identities. Potential links may be found in the infamous and under-managed category of “undefined spaces”. Despite their contested origin, deteriorating state and relatively small size, these public spaces have potential in terms of planning and urban regeneration. Specifically, alternative design and planning tools could be used to convert urban voids (which fall into the category of undefined spaces) into links that reintegrate Sarajevo’s public spaces.

Scale

Fundamental to any urban and architectural analysis is a consideration of the physical attributes of a space, including its *quantitative* parameters (size/scale), and its *geometric* features (configuration and form). Alongside their anthropometric and legislative imperatives, urban environments are closely related to the senses and behavioural patterns of those who use them, and this is important to understanding how they are perceived. Beyond measurements, the notion of scale should be understood as a correlation between the size of a space and the anthropometric parameters of its users, as well as with other physical objects, such as buildings (Lynch, 1971). There are two ways to assess the scale of a public space: from the perspective of its users, and from the perspective of the city. The former prioritises anthropometry (human senses), and considers the relationship between the **public space** and its **users**, while the latter addresses the ratio between the size of a **public space** and the extents of the **city**.

In the human, user-oriented perspective, the key to successful urban planning lies in finding adequate methods with which to measure the human scale and transpose it into urban design. In 1966, American anthropologist Edward T. Hall introduced the concept of *proxemics*,²⁸ and defined four spatial spheres relative to the human sensory apparatus: intimate, personal, social and public. Urban design and planning disciplines emphasise the importance of the social and public spheres. The social space, ranging from 1.2 to 3.7 metres from ourselves, is the zone in which we greet others and communicate informally. Distances beyond 3.7 metres are public space, in which we can observe and be

28 Proxemics is the study of the spatial requirements of humans and animals, and the effects of population density on behaviour, communication, and social interaction (<https://www.dictionary.com>; Retrieved March, 2019).

observed (Hall, 1966). Using Hall's reasoning, urban scholars such as Alexander, Gehl and Lynch sought to determine the optimal dimensions of the public space. Most subsequent approximations were based on the correlation between the human senses and the aforementioned definition of social space. According to Lynch, public spaces within a range of 12 metres can be described as intimate, while all those that measure up to 25 metres fit the human scale. Many of the successful enclosed squares of the past did not exceed 140 metres in length (Lynch, 1971). Gehl combines perceptive, psychological and social factors to determine the extents of the so-called *social field of vision*. The upper limit of the field, measuring 100 metres, was defined by the maximum distance at which a human figure can be perceived. From between 70 and 100 metres it is possible to determine particularities such as a person's gender, or what that person is doing. This corresponds to the range of visibility on many sports fields. Another threshold was at approximately 30 metres, from which some more pronounced physical features, such as age or hairstyle, can be recognised. Only at a distance of 20 to 25 metres is it possible to perceive, relatively clearly, the feelings and moods of others. In his elaboration of the relationship between a place's scale and intensity and closeness and warmth, Gehl states that smaller cities and projects are commonly perceived as warm and intimate, while large spaces are experienced as cold and impersonal (Gehl, 2011).

The correlation between the small scale of an urban space and its sense of intimacy is easily identifiable in Sarajevo's Ottoman old town. The urban and architectural design of open and enclosed public spaces in this area were intuitively affected by the human scale, and can be perceived in the context of both Lynch's and Gehl's description of intimate urban spaces (Figure 20).



Figure 20. Juxtaposition of pedestrian and vehicular scales in urban morphology of Sarajevo. Left: Ottoman small-scale meets Austro-Hungarian medium scale in the old town of Sarajevo. Centre: Austro-Hungarian meets socialist Yugoslav and contemporary medium and large scale at Marijin Dvor. Right: Automobile scale (medium and large scale) of socialist Yugoslav urban areas in the municipality of Novo Sarajevo.

It is important to note that prior discussions on the perception of different urban scales use an average movement speed of 5 to 15 km/h, relative to a pedestrian walking or running.²⁹ The perception of a space changes considerably with vehicular movement. As Gehl claims, “[the] automobile city and the pedestrian city have quite different sizes and dimensions” (Gehl, 2011). This implies that all urban representations are enlarged, in order to be perceived from a car moving at an average speed of 50 km/h. In Sarajevo, Mesa Selimovic Boulevard illustrates the automobile city scale. This eight-lane road, located in the high-density socialist residential area of Alipasino Polje in the city’s west, features massive concrete towers dating from the 1970s, as well as recent large-scale developments of postmodernist public buildings on its south side. To the north of the boulevard is the 300-metre-long brutalist Radio and Television of Bosnia and Herzegovina building, surrounded by vacant plots that await development. Because its activities, communications and functionality are dispersed, the area lacks urban coherence. Despite local government efforts to introduce diverse public amenities in the pedestrian zone alongside the boulevard, such as seating, urban greenery and a bicycle and jogging path, this area has failed to respond with increased urban activity.

We can also compare the size of the public space to the size of the city. In this sense, the notion of urban density³⁰ is relevant, as it acknowledges

29 This means that an average pedestrian would be able to walk approximately 800 metres in 10 minutes.

30 It is a common perception that high density and quality of life are mutually exclusive in urban public spaces. Various (mostly unsuccessful) attempts have been made to capture the relationship between the quality of an urban form and its density. On one hand, we have simple progressive calculation methods such as the New Urbanist concept of transect planning, which suggests proportions of green and grey space relative to the progressive growth of urban density (Duany, et al., 2009). On the other, many authors (E.R. Alexander included) underline the interrelation of density and other factors, and note that the concept of density is complicated, as it involves “... the interaction of perceptions with the concrete realities of the built environment” (Alexander, et al., 1988). To this purpose, it is important to consider two types of density: 1. Building density, or three-dimensional density, which is measured by the Floor Area

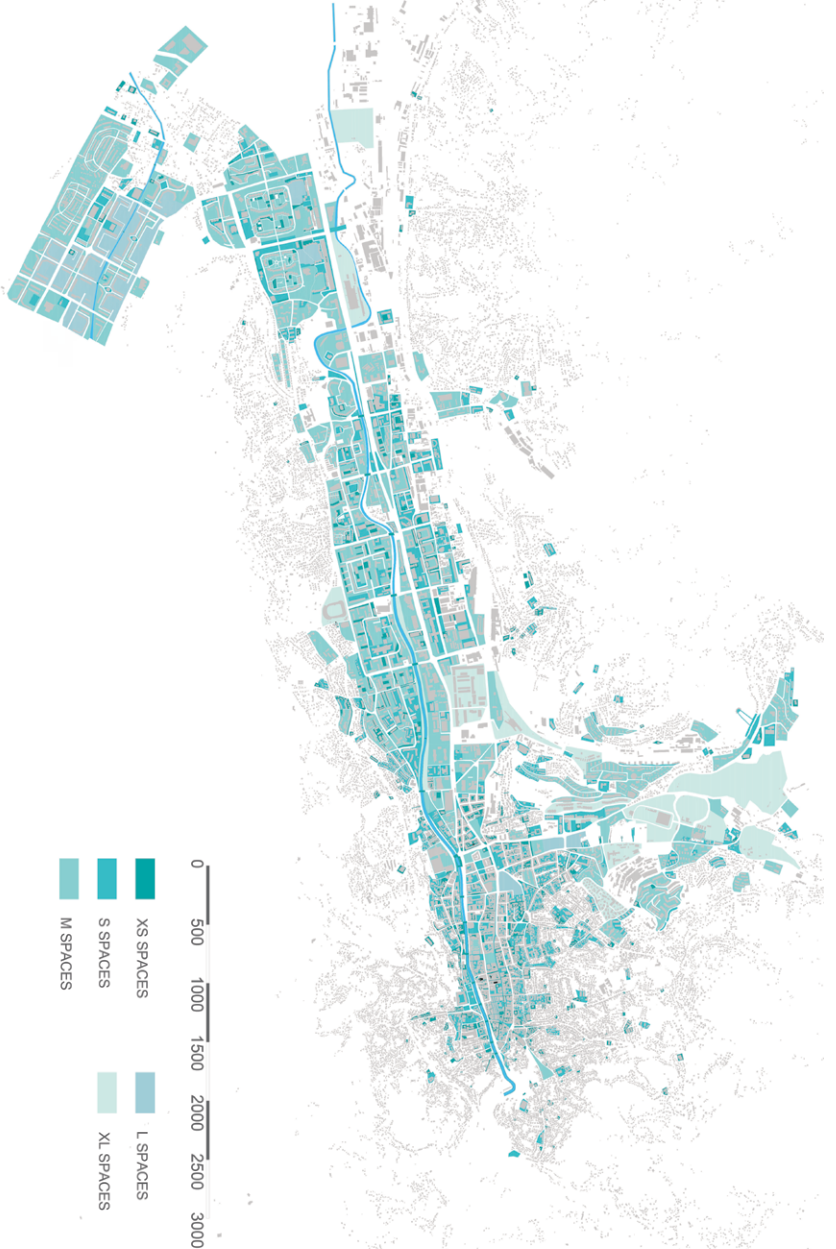
that public space is directly dependent on urban context and urban form. Some theorists propose overlapping the notions of scale and social implication to serve a larger or smaller percentage of the urban population. It defines three levels of scale: citywide, intermediate and residential. The city scale refers to open spaces associated with the main institutions of the city, and is oriented to a larger population. The intermediate scale relates to spaces that serve collective residences in a more localised portion of the city, such as a district or neighbourhood. The third level, residential, refers to small-scale public spaces in areas with single-family houses or smaller residences with shared spaces for occupants, such as yards or enclosed courtyards (Stanley, et al., 2012).

Based on the theoretical guidelines previously discussed, in correlation with the specific geomorphological features and urban scale of Sarajevo, we have identified and mapped (Figure 21) three categories of public space, varying in their size and urban level, with matching quantitative criteria:

1. **Large- and extra-large-scale urban public spaces and zones** (XL and L spaces), larger than 100 metres;
2. **Medium-scale urban public spaces and zones** (M spaces), from 25 metres to 100 metres;
3. **Small and extra-small-scale public spaces and zones** (S and XS spaces), less than 25 metres.

Ratio (FAR) index. It is expressed by a building's total number of square metres divided by the total square metres of the lot it stands on; and 2. The correspondence of urban density to the heterogeneity of land use and function. This is expressed by the urban density index, which is the ratio of the area (in square metres) that functional land use occupies to the build surface for each city block, multiplied by a diversity factor. Values of 100 or more indicate greater diversity. Generally, the second type of density relates to the traditional planning apparatus, and even though it is based on functional diversity it does not necessarily guarantee the quality of a public space.

Figure 21. Mapping of urban public spaces in Sarajevo by their size. Urban scales from XL- L-, M-, S- to XS are graded by the colour shade: the lightest shade stands for the XL spaces while darkest one represents XS spaces.



Areas in the first category, large- and extra-large-scale public spaces and urban zones, are found in the northern and western areas of Sarajevo, and usually date from the Socialist Yugoslav period. Compared to those in the other two categories, L and XL spaces are encountered less often, generally because the city's mountainous topography impedes the development of larger open public spaces. Urban mapping therefore indicates that the category containing the largest open public areas has only a few examples of large-scale recreational zones, located in the north and far west of the city. One of the most significant of these is the 2-kilometre-long Wilson's Promenade, which stretches along the banks of the Miljacka River in the municipality of Novo Sarajevo.

At first glance, the scope of XL and L spaces include large-scale modernist residential blocks,³¹ as well as some postmodernist urban blocks in the Novo Sarajevo and Novi Grad municipalities. These blocks are often located in heterogeneous parcels, consisting of large open spaces and multiple buildings arranged in a free layout. They typically feature modernist arrangements of freestanding buildings, which are occasionally on *pilotis* and appear to be floating in the fluid, open space of their park-like setting. Despite the modernist ideal of creating large common spaces as a foundation for architectural development, deconstruction of the patterns of use of large-scale socialist residential blocks reveals that they are in fact compound areas, made up of multiple medium- and small-scale fragmented open public spaces (Figure 22).

Examples of medium-scale and small- and extra-small-scale public spaces can be found throughout Sarajevo, although the latter is most recurrent. Urban mapping highlights the prevalence of this category in the dense urban tissue of the city's historical core, in the form of small interior courtyards or atriums concealed behind introverted Ottoman structures. Following the enlargement of the urban scale of districts in

31 Most of Sarajevo's modernist urban blocks date from the Socialist Yugoslav period.



Figure 22. Enlarged map showing public spaces of various sizes in Sarajevo. Left: Medium and small-scale public spaces are dispersed in the residential neighbourhood Hrasno. Right: Sarajevo University campus encompasses large-scale public spaces. Bottom right: Radio and Television of Bosnia and Herzegovina headquarters is accompanied by extra-large open public areas.

the 19th and 20th centuries, the interior courtyards of Austro-Hungarian residential and public urban blocks were mapped as either active or potential medium-scale public areas. Because of their size of up to 100 metres' range, all public squares and pedestrian streets were recorded as medium-scale public areas.

The largest squares in Sarajevo, Skenderija Plateau and Parliament Square,³² were classified as medium-scale open public spaces as they do not exceed the 100 metre range and are smaller than some renowned European squares (Figure 25).

32 Average areas of the most prominent squares in the downtown and old town of Sarajevo: Children of Sarajevo Square (BBI) 3000 m²; Parliament Square 5500 m²; Skenderija Plateau 5600 m²; Theatre /Susan Sontag Square 1800 m²; Oslobođenje/Alija Izetbegovic Square 6200 m²; Sebilj/Bascarsija Square 1800 m².

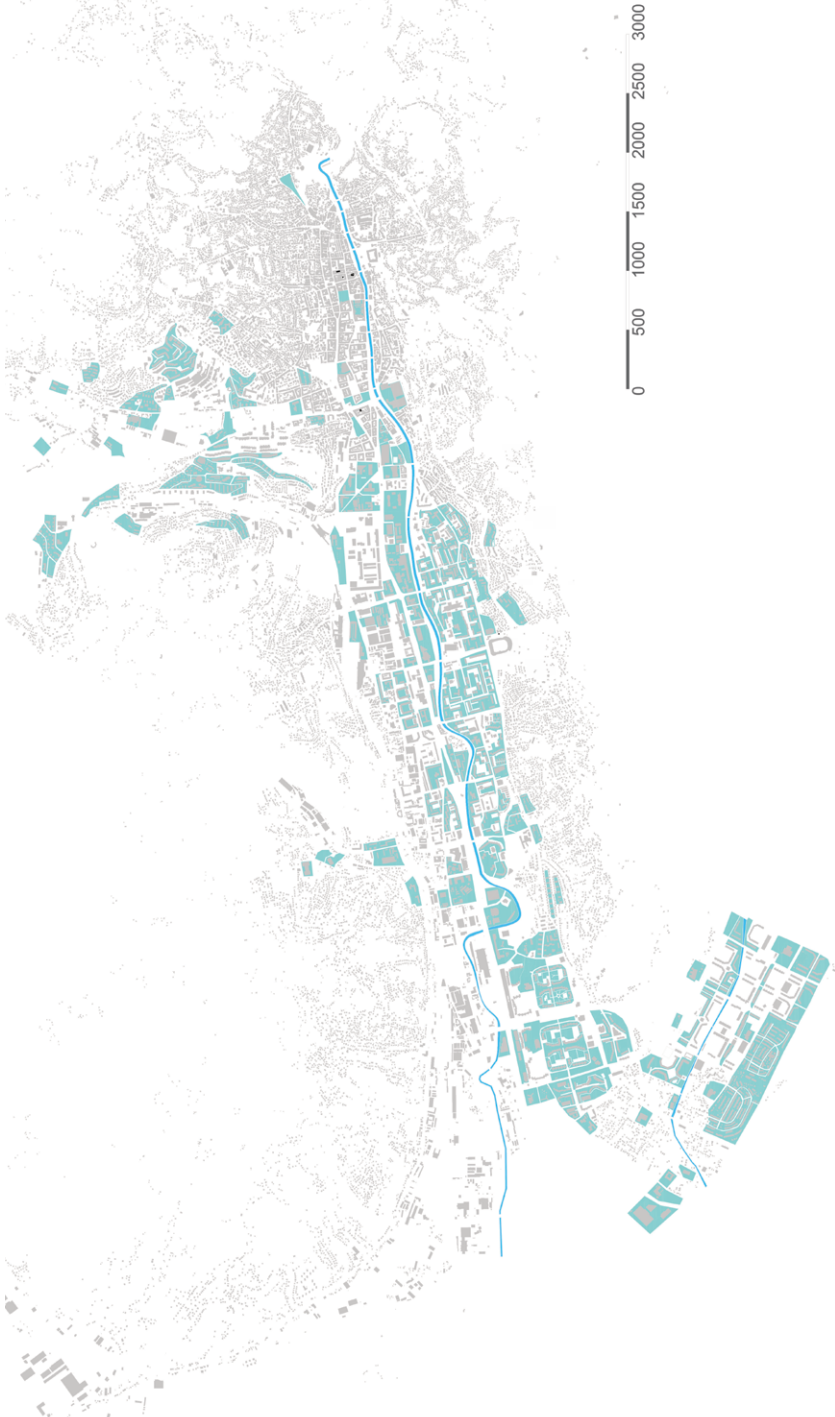


Figure 23. Distribution of medium-scale (M) urban public spaces in Sarajevo.

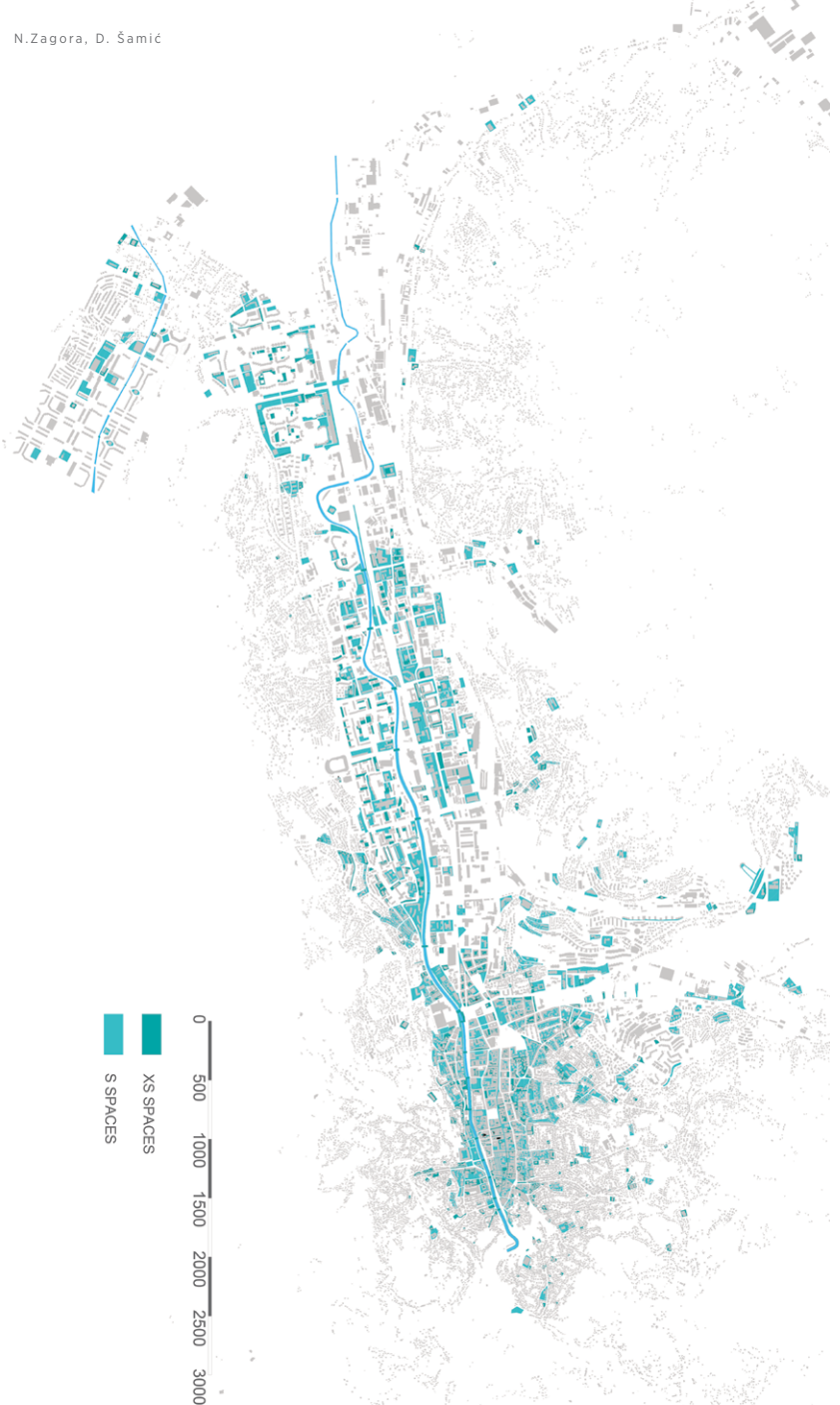


Figure 24. Distribution of small and extra small-scale (S and XS) urban public spaces in Sarajevo.

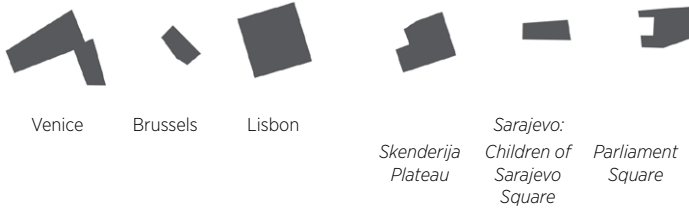


Figure 25. Comparative view of the squares in European cities and the squares in Sarajevo: San Marco in Venice, Grand Place in Brussels, Praca da Comercio in Lisbon with the Skenderija Plateau, Children of Sarajevo Square and the Parliament Square in Sarajevo.

Scale: Summary

The objective of assessing scale by means of urban mapping was to determine the varieties, distribution and recurrence of the different sizes of public spaces in Sarajevo. The subject was approached from two perspectives simultaneously – the **city scale** and the **human scale**. The dimensional ranges to define public spaces were obtained from theoretical sources and empirical research, particularly from the study of anthropometrics and human senses. Specifically, Edward T. Hall's discussions on proxemics, Kevin Lynch's assertions on the optimum size of public spaces, and Jan Gehl's concept of the social field of vision provided the theoretical background for categorising public spaces by their scale. After being tested in the urban framework of Sarajevo, the proposed classification of public spaces by scale was structured in three levels: 1) large- and extra-large (XL and L); 2) medium (M); and 3) small- and extra-small (S and XS).

The study shows that small-scale public spaces are intuitively attuned to the human scale, and their distribution corresponds to the chronological layout of the urban scale of Sarajevo's neighbourhoods. This means that

S and XS spaces mostly appear in the oriental Ottoman old town, while M spaces are generally located in occidental Austro-Hungarian and Socialist Yugoslav areas. Urban mapping shows that XL and L spaces, though largest in size, are the least recurrent typologies, and are typically associated with the “automobile city scale” urban areas, which were developed in the second half of the 20th century. The most prevalent categories – M and S spaces – can primarily be identified as traditional public spaces (“green spaces” and “civic spaces”, such as parks, plazas, squares and streets. The superimposition of urban maps that focus on the scale and function of public spaces has revealed the occurrence of peculiar medium-scale areas, sometimes referred to as “undefined spaces”, in two forms. The first is the compact, enclosed space, such as the interior courtyards of Austro-Hungarian blocks, and the second is the fragmented segments of open space in modernist blocks. Both are suitable for transformation into public spaces.

The results of the study of scale of public spaces in Sarajevo shifts the focus of future research and planning to the level of small- and medium-scale spaces, as “... the small scale – the immediate environment – is where the individual person meets and evaluates decisions made at all planning levels. The battle for high quality in cities and building projects must be won at the very small scale, but preparations for successful work at this level must be made on all planning levels” (Gehl, 2011).

Enclosure

Besides the scale, as the physical dimension of a public space relative to the size of the elements in its context, analysis in architectural and urban design begins with the study of the geometric characteristics of configuration and form, as essential physical properties of the space. In architecture and planning, the term *configuration* generally refers to the two-dimensional layout or shape of a particular element or object. Two-dimensional analysis in urban design typically distinguishes linear (ribbon-like) and centralised configurations of public space. The former configuration is mostly associated with streets, paths, promenades, walkways, and other spaces of movement, while the latter is represented by squares, plazas and other spaces that psychologically and socially suggest the gathering and concentration of people. The analysis of the configuration of public spaces in Sarajevo indicates a higher presence of linear or elongated spaces, which by their inherent geometric properties imply movement rather than gathering. The physical configuration of these types of urban public space is affected by the geomorphological features and dominantly linear urban layout of Sarajevo along the east-west axis, contrasted with the surrounding hills in the north-south direction, which prevent the creation of large-scale centrally-organised urban spaces. The characteristics of public spaces with linear configuration is most apparent in the case of Wilson's Promenade, which stretches along the bank of the Miljacka River in Novo Sarajevo municipality. The deficiency of squares, plazas and other centralised public spaces has directly affected the urban lifestyle and quality of public life in Sarajevo.

Urban designers generally use graphic tools of planar representation, showing the relationship between mass and spatial voids in two-dimensional plans. The three-dimensional perception of a public space



Figure 26. Analysis of urban configuration and urban form in the case of Hastahana park in Sarajevo. Left: Map as a visual tool depicting the relation between solid and void. Right: Aerial photograph showing the 3D urban form and enclosure.

takes in to account its urban form, consisting of 2D configuration of a space as well as its envelope, or vertical enclosure (Figure 26). Horizontal and vertical planes form volumes of mass and space, and define the level of enclosure of an urban public space. Along with the importance of the ground plane and the two-dimensional configuration of the urban fabric, it is important to understand the role of vertical planes in defining the enclosure and character of an urban form: “As exterior walls mould interior space, they simultaneously shape exterior space and describe the form, massing, and image of a building in space” (Ching, 2015).

Since public spaces are generally considered spatial voids, they are identified in figure-ground diagrams as the *ground*, while the buildings are considered the mass (spatial *positives*) and represented as solid *figures*. Three-dimensional urban analysis highlights the role of the vertical envelope, which acts as a membrane between the interior and exterior. It simultaneously acts as the exterior expression of the building

mass and the interior elevation of the spatial void, or, in this case, the public space. Public space may therefore be paralleled with interior space, as they both represent spatial voids. Camillo Sitte compares the “public square” to a “room”:

“Today we designate as a ‘plaza’ (or ‘public square’) even the empty space which is formed when a building lot bordered by four streets remains unbuilt. This might hold true for hygienic and other technical considerations, but from the artistic point of view a merely unbuilt piece of ground is not yet a city plaza. Aesthetically speaking, a great deal would still have to be added in embellishment, in meaning and in character. However, just as there are furnished and empty rooms, so one might also speak of furnished plazas, since the main requirement for a plaza, as for a room, is the enclosed character of its space” (Sitte, et al., 2006). According to Gehl, the interaction between horizontal and vertical enclosures is essential to achieve quality in urban public spaces: *“The treatment of the city’s edges, particularly the lower floors of buildings, has a decisive influence on life in city space [...] the edge along ground floors is also a zone in which doors and exchange points between inside and outside are located [...] no single topic has greater impact on the life and attractiveness of city space than active, open and lively edges”* (Gehl, 2010).

This research encompasses the typologies of indoor and outdoor public spaces, due to their importance in generating social activities, and the category of “in-between” spaces, which are on the threshold of open and enclosed spaces. Based on theoretical study and discussions about the levels of spatial enclosure, we identified the following categories of public space (Figure 27):

- 1.** Open public spaces;
- 2.** Enclosed public spaces;
- 3.** Semi-open public spaces.

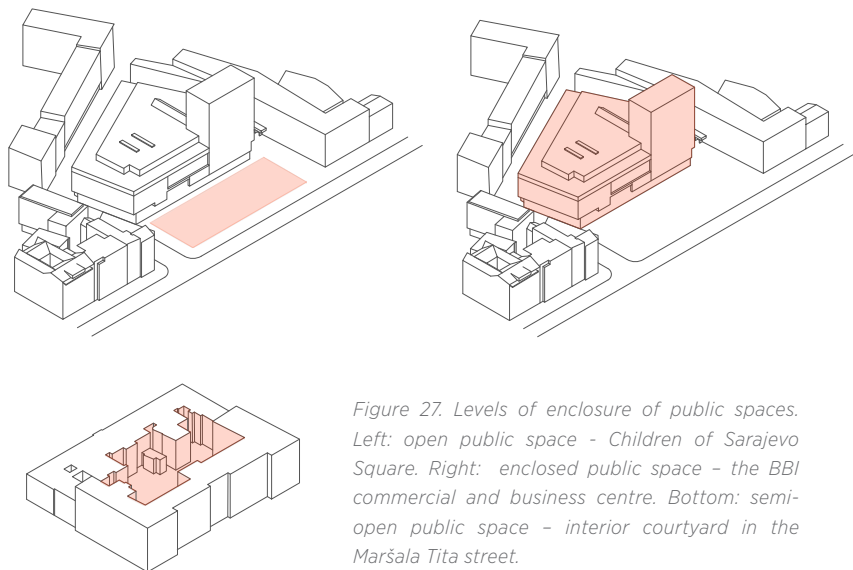


Figure 27. Levels of enclosure of public spaces. Left: open public space - Children of Sarajevo Square. Right: enclosed public space - the BBI commercial and business centre. Bottom: semi-open public space - interior courtyard in the Maršala Tita street.

Traditional conceptions of open public spaces are associated with ancient squares such as the Greek *agoras*, or with Roman *fora* and the medieval plazas of churches and city halls, which accommodated a wide variety of open-air social activities. The term *open* has a certain level of playful ambiguity, which allows two parallel interpretations: open in terms of the absence of a physical barrier, and open as in free, or “*not restricted to a particular group or category of participants*”.³³ Here we will use the former interpretation of openness in physical terms, while the topic of accessibility will be further expounded in subsequent sections.

According to quantitative analysis, the category of **open public spaces**, which can be found throughout the city of Sarajevo, stands out as the most recurrent (Figure 28). Mapping has further indicated the prevalence of this category in modernist and postmodernist residential settlements

³³ Merriam Webster Dictionary: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/open>

in Novo Sarajevo and Novi Grad. Open public spaces in these areas are large-scale urban blocks, characterised by a low level of vertical enclosure. Large distances between the buildings lead to a lack of interaction between the *parterre* and the building facades.

The category of **enclosed public spaces** should be regarded in the context of the increasing physical and psychological enclosure of the public world (Low & Smith, 2005), which is criticised by sociologists and anthropologists. Some of Europe's most renowned public spaces, however (including Mercat de la Boqueria in Barcelona, and major transport interchanges such as Termini in Rome or Atocha in Madrid), are entirely or partially covered and enclosed. Enclosed public spaces were included in the 1748 Nolli Map of Rome, and depicted in white, like open public spaces, while private spaces appear in black. Based on Michel Foucault's theory, authors Dehaene and De Caeter describe enclosed public spaces as heterotopic: *"The interior spaces that have been drawn as white appear on the map as part of the continuous matrix of urban public spaces, and have been conventionally interpreted as an extension of the outdoor public spaces. This reading misses an essential point. The interior spaces that are left white - the churches - are not public or private, but heterotopian. What this map so eloquently shows is the necessary connection and partial overlap between public space and heterotopian space. Heterotopian spaces are necessarily collective or shared spaces. Their heterotopian character, as Foucault clearly explained in his fifth principle, was contingent upon a precise mechanism of opening and closing. That closing means excluding the public, a delineation of otherness and a closure vis-a-vis public space, while the opening is an opening unto the public domain (Dehaene & De Caeter, 2008).*

Contemporary types of enclosed public space, such as shopping malls or art galleries, are often referred to as *public interiors*: *"The totality of spaces in which civil society can be seen to operate, both inside and*

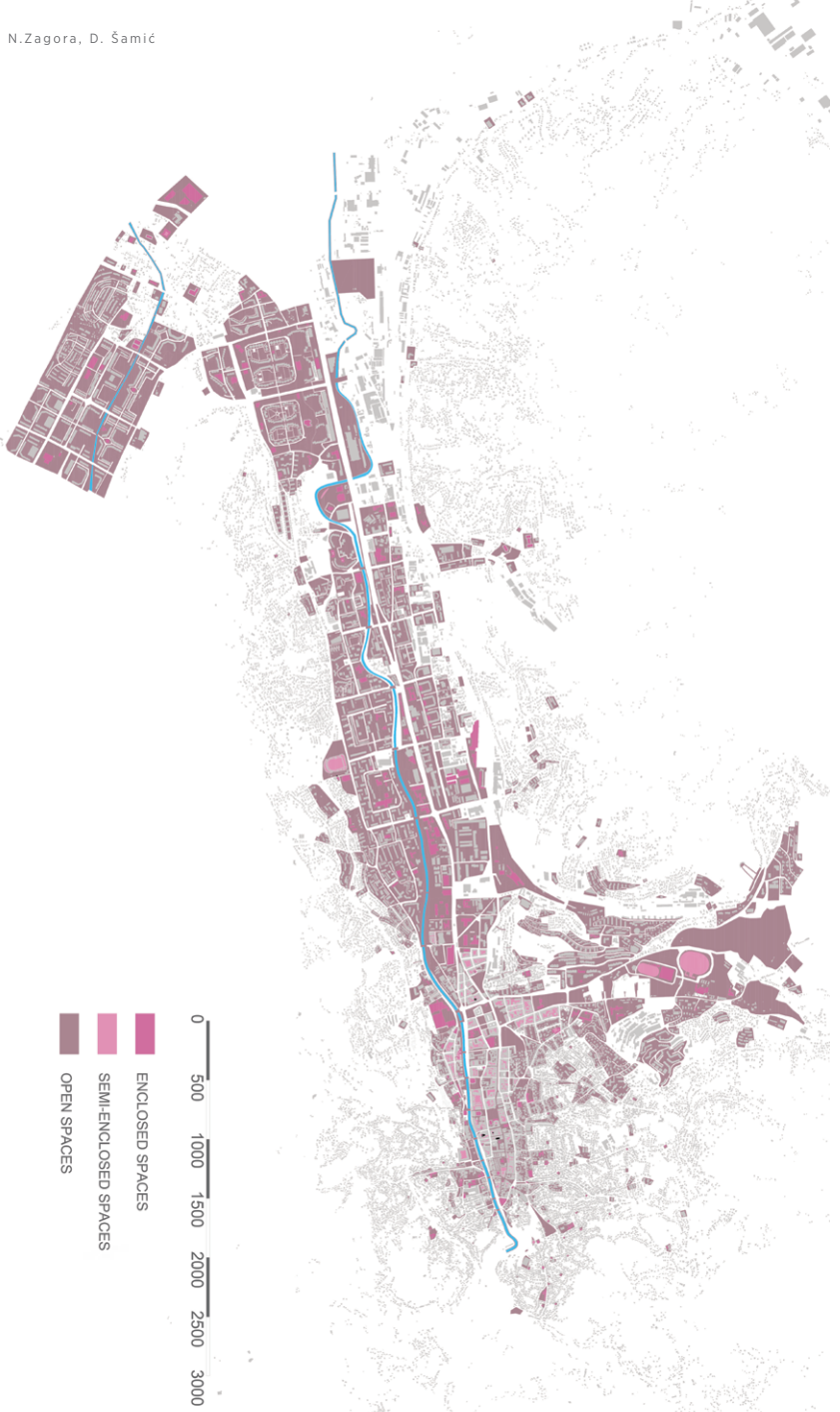


Figure 28. Distribution of open, semi-open and enclosed public spaces in Sarajevo.

outside buildings, for the encounter and collective use of private people" (Pimlott, 2016). According to Pimlott, these are places of commerce, entertainment, leisure, sociability and transport, as well as for culture in the broadest sense. The commercial public interiors mapped in the central zones of Sarajevo were built in the last 10 to 15 years, and new examples are constantly emerging.

The third category of **semi-open (semi-enclosed, "in-between") spaces** is of particular interest to this research. These spaces are usually small-to medium-scale, bounded by a minimum of three vertical planes, with a strong tension between the horizontal plane and vertical envelope. These ambiguous spaces feature attributes of outdoor spaces, such as publicness, liveliness and collectiveness, but simultaneously display traits associated with interiors, such as interiority, intimacy and domesticity. Semi-open public spaces are usually found in the eastern part of the city. These include the interior courtyards in Bascarsija's dominantly Ottoman, low-rise introverted public facilities, and the atriums in Austro-Hungarian residential and public urban blocks. Semi-open spaces are a stimulating research topic for several reasons. First, their irregular geometric configuration is challenging from a design perspective. Ottoman atriums are characterised by the *meander* form (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957), which enables a gradual transition from the outdoor public spaces of the street to intimate indoor spaces. Conversely, the Austro-Hungarian interior courtyards are bounded by blocks of multi-storey buildings, and their taller vertical envelope creates an introverted character and limited accessibility.

Second, due to their ambiguous status such spaces have not been integrated into the public realm, and it remains unclear whether they should be considered civic or communal public spaces. This highlights the need to address this research and design topic with an approach focused on the reprogramming and re-integration of these vague spaces with



Figure 29. Semi-open/semi-enclosed public spaces in Sarajevo.

the city. Last, the “*in-betweenness*” of these spaces, or the transitional state between the indoor and outdoor, lends itself to the use of creative intervention tools. This was seen in the reactivation of one such Austro-Hungarian courtyard in the urban initiative “The Bench of Marijin Dvor” (Marindvorska klupa),³⁴ during the 2014 Days of Architecture festival.

34 <https://ba.boell.org/sites/default/files/uploads/2015/01/marindvorskaklupa42.pdf>

Enclosure: Summary

*Beyond a standard figure-ground analysis of two-dimensional configuration, the study of the geometric and physical features of public spaces concentrated on the three-dimensional perception of urban form. Consideration of the role of the building envelope or the vertical enclosure of the space is thus important to a comprehensive understanding of public spaces. **Because of their geometric properties and character as spatial voids, public spaces can be paralleled with interiors (or rooms), as they are defined by their horizontal configuration as well as their vertical enclosure.***

In this study, we identified and mapped three categories of the physical enclosure of public space: open, semi-open and enclosed. Open public spaces are the prevalent category in quantitative terms, but because of discontinuities in function and form, their quality as public spaces should be explored further. Though frequently criticised, enclosed public spaces or public interiors have gained more popular acceptance globally, as hubs for generating public activities. They presently occupy multiple central locations in Sarajevo. "In-between", semi-open or semi-enclosed public spaces appear as the "veiled" interior gardens of Ottoman heritage, and marginalised Austro-Hungarian interior courtyards. Their potential for reactivation as intimate public spaces is yet to be revealed.

Urban activity

Urban activity is the degree to which a public place is actively used, and considers how the design of the space correlates fundamentally with the qualities of public life. *Public life* is the unity of the overall atmosphere and activities that take place in a public space: “*It is the public life that enriches the scene as well as the beautiful space in which it takes place*” (Carr, et al., 1992). According to Carr et al., cultural, economic, political and technological factors determine the public-private profile of a society, which is reflected in the shape and use of domestic and public spaces over time. Public places and the public sphere are determined by a sum of attributes Varna and Tiesdell define as *publicness* (Varna & Tiesdell, 2010). One of the key components, or “meta-dimensions” of publicness is *animation*. Other characteristics are *civility*, *control*, *meaning*, *ownership* and *physical configuration*. Animation is the meeting of human needs in public space, and the provision of opportunities for *passive engagement* (such as people watching), *active engagement* (activities, events and social interaction) and *discovery and display*, which encompasses a variety of functions. Successful public spaces facilitate social networking, through various functions for passive and active engagement: “*Public space affords common ground – for social interaction, intermingling and communication: it is a site of sociability. It is a stage for information exchange, personal development and social learning (i.e. about ‘the other’) and for the development of tolerance*” (Varna & Tiesdell, 2010).

A key aspect in the assessment of the quality of public spaces is their social value. The Jan Gehl Institute developed the “Twelve Quality Criteria” research tool, a matrix of social activities in public spaces that determine the quality of public life (Figure 30). In this matrix, a set of six criteria of the *comfort* of public spaces encourages and promotes opportunities

Protection

Protection against traffic & accidents — feeling safe

- Protection for pedestrians and cyclists
- Eliminating fear of traffic
- Safe crossings

Protection against crime & violence — feeling secure

- Lively public realm
- Allow for passive surveillance
- Diversity of functions 24/7/365
- Well lit / lighting in human scale

Protection against unpleasant sensory experiences

- Wind/draft
- Rain/snow
- Cold/heat
- Pollution
- Dust, noise, glare

Comfort

Opportunities to walk/cycle

- Room for walking
- Interesting facades
- No obstacles
- Good surfaces
- Accessibility for everyone

Opportunities to stop & stay

- Attractive & functional edges
- Defined spots for staying
- Objects to lean against or stand next to
- Facades with good details that invite staying

Opportunities to sit

- Defined zones for sitting
- Pleasant views, people watching
- Good mix of public and cafe seating
- Resting/waiting opportunities

Opportunities to see

- Reasonable viewing distances
- Unhindered views
- Interesting views
- easy orientation
- Lighting (wehen dar k)

Opportunities to talk & listen

- Low noise levels
- Public seating arrangements conducive to communicating, 'talkscapes'

Opportunities for play & exercise

- Allow for physical activity, exercise, play & street entertainment
- Temporary activities (markets, festivals, exhibitions etc)
- By day and night
- In summer and winter

Enjoyment

Dimensioned at human scale

- Dimensions of buildings & spaces in observance of the important human dimension in relation to senses, movements, size and behaviour

Opportunities to enjoy the positive aspects of climate

- Sun/shade
- Heat/coolness
- Shelter from wind/breeze

Aesthetic qualities + positive sensory experience

- Good design and detailing
- Good materials
- Fine views/vistas
- Rich sensory experiences: trees, plants, water

Figure 30. Urban quality criteria by Gehl Institute.

for various urban activities: walking/cycling; standing/staying; sitting; seeing; hearing/talking; and playing/exercising/entertaining (Gehl Institute, 2017). Evaluation of public spaces by these standards focuses on the correlation between invitation and patterns of use, and prompts the idea that design of public spaces should encourage greater diversity of activities and social interactions.

As many scholars argue, the location or position of public spaces is an important determinant of its activity, function and public life: *“The real estate people are right about location, location, location. For a space to*

function truly well it must be central to the constituency it is to serve – and if not in physical distance, in visual accessibility” (Whyte, 1980). According to Shaftoe, public spaces usually work best if they are reasonably central (either in a town or neighbourhood), and are at the convergence of routes that people use for other purposes (Shaftoe, 2008). They are also more effective when they are surrounded by mixed-use areas, rather than monocultures such as offices or housing. Varna and Tiesdell contend that places that are strategically well-located, centrally positioned and well-connected within the movement pattern of a city show greater potential for the mixing of social groups in space and time (Varna & Tiesdell, 2010).

Based on these theoretical accounts and discussions, we determined a logical pattern of the location of public spaces, their function, and the level of urban activities they generate, and mapped two categories of public space (Figure 31):

1. Active and seasonally active public spaces;
2. Passive public spaces.

Multiple observations during different seasons and times of the day led to the detection of active public spaces in Sarajevo, which met all six criteria for the definition of comfort in a public space (Gehl Institute, 2017). This category was supplemented with seasonally active public spaces, in which the intensity of public life varies throughout the year, depending on festivals and other social events. Passive public spaces are distinguished by a lower level of social interaction, and their public life is characterised by passive engagement activities, such as walking and people watching (Varna & Tiesdell, 2010).

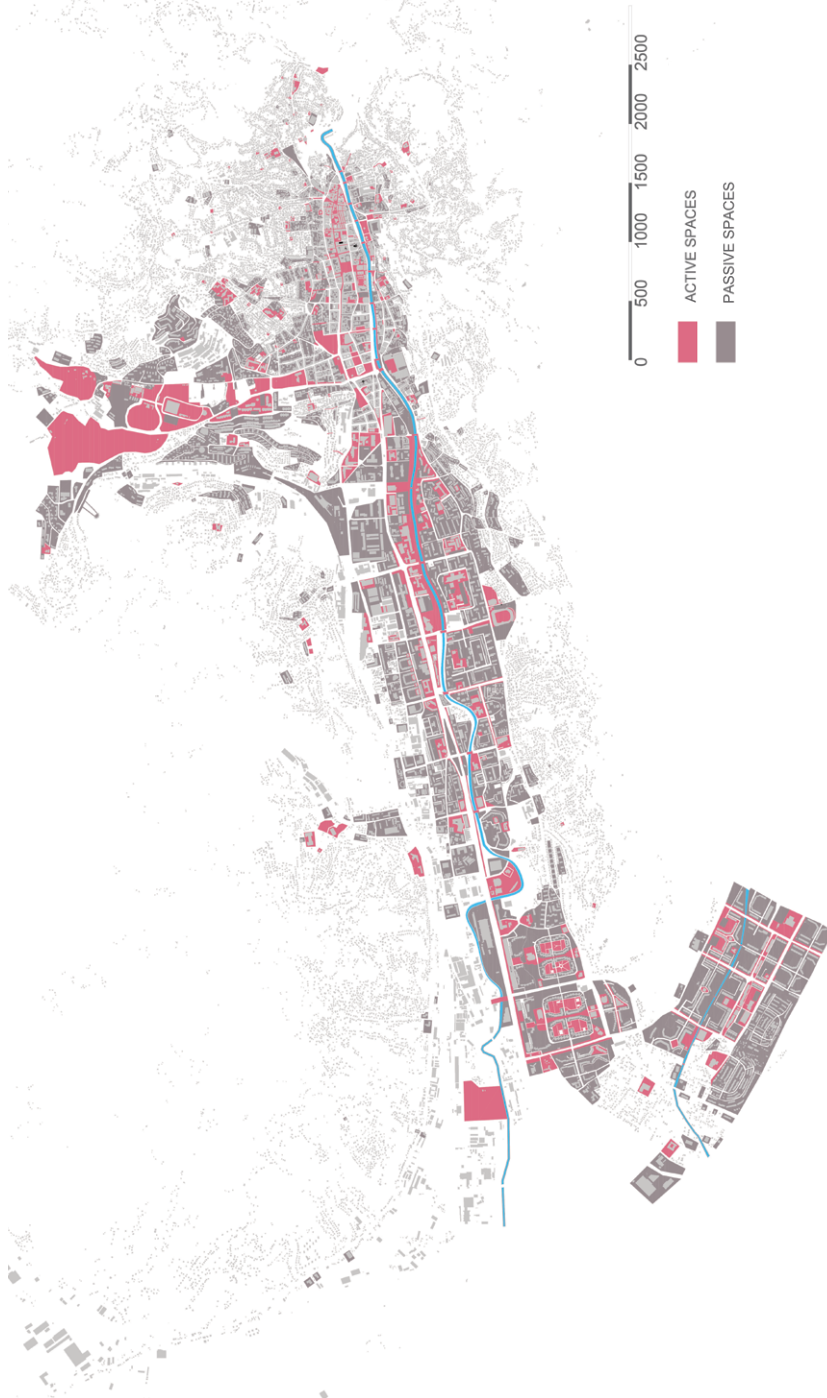


Figure 31. Distribution public spaces by their level of urban activity.



Figure 32. High level of urban activity at Wilson's promenade.

One particularly active public space in Sarajevo throughout the year is Wilson's Promenade, which stretches along the Miljacka River between the Suada and Olga Bridge and the Dolac Malta neighbourhood. This 2.5-kilometre-long green public space was developed during the Austro-Hungarian period, but in the decades after the reintegration of the Grbavica neighbourhood and the 1990s war it was passive, neglected and dangerous. The genuine urban transformation of this public space was initiated in 2010 by the suspension of traffic at weekends and on public holidays, and on weekdays from 17:00 to 0:00. This was followed by the restoration of the pavement in pedestrian zones, and the installation of outdoor fitness areas, playgrounds and urban furniture. Public life grew exponentially after the completion of a series of remodelling projects, in which old barracks were converted into a sequence of cafes, restaurants and shops, some of which gradually became *third places*. The urban identity of Wilson's Promenade was additionally enhanced by the



Figure 33. Seasonal transformation of the Theatre /Susan Sontag Square. Top left: Typical view of the square off-season. Bottom right: Public life at the square during the 25th Sarajevo Film Festival.



organisation of marathons and running schools, which promoted a new collective spirit and healthy lifestyle, and showed a social demand for the activation of public spaces in Sarajevo.

The level of urban activity is generally high in the historical downtown of Bascarsija, a vibrant area especially popular among tourists. Besides its historical and touristic identity, the quality of public life in this area was primarily instigated by a network of *third places*, such as artisanal shops, cafes and religious buildings. Additional urban features that contribute to the pulsating public life in Bascarsija include the design of its *edges* in accordance with human scale, the positive sensory experience gained from its use of local materials, the detailing of its facades, and its walkability.

Public life in other central zones varies, depending on the season and the organisation of festivals, markets, public events and street fairs.

The quantitative and qualitative rise of social activities was registered by on-site observations and the collection of geo-located data on social media. The Theatre/Susan Sontag Square is an example of a seasonally active public space. During the Sarajevo Film Festival, which takes place every summer, it becomes Festival Square, a highly active public venue that hosts the main festival ceremonies. Throughout the rest of the year, the square returns to its common state, a transient and vacant space that hosts passive public activities, such as passing foot traffic. The act of staying (standing or sitting) in the square is subject to theatre performances and cultural festivals. Similar periodical transformations take place at Hastahana Park and Liberation Square, whose busy periods occur when they hold markets and fairs in the summer and winter months.

The low level of urban activity in the Theatre Square during its off-season may be caused by its physical and programmatic detachment from the surrounding urban context. The square is situated between three inactive zones: the archaeological site of the Kalin hadzi-Alija Mosque plaza³⁵ to the west, a large parking area to the east, and the vacant building of the former Posta Hotel³⁶ to the south.

Despite the 2017 reconstruction of its lighting, pavement and urban furniture, the square lacks appropriate urban articulation and enticements for people to stay and enjoy their free time. The prospective reactivation of Theatre Square should be regarded along its east-west axis, which connects it with the aforementioned plaza and archaeological site to the west and the parking area to the east. The introduction of public

35 The Kalin hadzi-Alija Mosque and Cemetery archaeological site has been under excavation since 2005, and is physically and visually isolated from neighbouring sites, including Theatre Square, which affects the urban image of Sarajevo's central zones.

36 The parking area of approximately 2300 m² and the former Posta Hotel building are controversial locations in downtown Sarajevo, because of legal and administrative issues related to ownership rights. As a result, both potentially important urban public sites have remained either inactive or inadequately used for over two decades, since the end of the 1990s war.

functions, especially on the ground floor of the Posta Hotel building *en face*, could stimulate additional interaction with the square and theatre.

Events and festivals contribute to an increased intensity of public life in the city, as “*people and human activities attract other people [...] New activities begin in the vicinity of events that are already in progress*” (Gehl, 2011). The continuous organisation of social and cultural events can gradually change the identity of a public space, and convert it from inactive to seasonally active, and ultimately to a socially vibrant place. The role of architecture in the global consumerist society is reflected not only in a proliferation of commercial public buildings, but also in the shaping of public spaces, which are sites that produce experiences. In this way, the public life in the squares and plazas of shopping centres in Sarajevo (Alta, BBI, SCC) was boosted by frequent events created by experience industries. Bearing in mind that social activity in these public spaces is dependent on the strategies of an experiential economy, their genuine qualities should be valued in the absence of economic generators of public life. For instance, a comparative analysis of two plazas of approximately the same size (about 2000 m²), that accompany neighbouring shopping centres Alta and SCC, shows different approaches to the urban design of public space. The appropriate arrangement of urban equipment such as benches and lighting to accentuate the flow of the space, its design according to the intimate urban scale, and the integration of green areas allowed a higher level of urban activity at Alta’s plaza, compared to the passive or occasionally active Sarajevo City Center plaza.

Public spaces characterised by passive engagement, such as walking and people watching, were detected in all parts of Sarajevo. The three most distinguishable are the Skenderija Plateau, Parliament Square (Figure 34) and the University of Sarajevo Campus, each of which is placed at an exceptionally significant location. Despite its architectural and historical prominence, the decline of cultural, sports and commercial activities in the



Figure 34. Sarajevo squares and urban activity. Top left: Skenderija Plateau. Top right: Parliament Square. Bottom left: University Campus site.

Skenderija Centre was echoed by a decrease of public life in the complex's indoor and outdoor spaces. Regardless of its convenient location, its multi-layered history as the military barracks of three political regimes, and its educational and sociocultural potential, the University of Sarajevo Campus remains an inactive public area while it awaits development. The fusion of its monumental appearance and multileveled design with its political and surveillance aspects gives Parliament Square the image of a conditionally accessible public area, which results in an absence of public life on the site.



Figure 35. Seasonal activation of public spaces in Sarajevo. Top right: The Parliament square, the SCC plaza and the Boulevard of Zmaja od Bosne during the New Years' celebration, concert by Dino Merlin, 2017.

Bottom left: Maršala Tita Street during the DJ Solomun performance, 2019. Bottom right: Metalac courtyard converted into open air cinema during the Sarajevo Film Festival, 2019.

Urban Activity: Summary

Sarajevo's urban activity was studied through the identification and mapping of two categories of public space: active and passive. Levels of activity were determined through observation during various times of the day and year according to Varna and Tiesdell's criteria (which define "animation" as the meta-dimension of "publicness") and the Gehl Institute's quality criteria, which defines "comfort" in public spaces. This study of public life has singularised a subcategory of seasonally active public spaces, referring to urban areas periodically activated by festivals and/or other events. The temporary transformation of public spaces in Sarajevo generally requires the regulation of vehicular traffic, and indicates a demand (from the local population as well as from visitors to the city) for fully accessible public spaces, capable of fostering public life (Figure 35). The study targeted factors that raise the level of public life, resulting in the transformation of public spaces from passive to active.

Accessibility

The general perception is that public spaces are open to all, regardless of their management and ownership status. The term *public* signifies that a space is “*open to or shared by all the people*”.³⁷ Urban theorists, however, define public spaces as “*all areas that are open and accessible to all members of the public in a society, in principle, though not necessarily in practice*” (Neal & Orum, 2010). Both definitions imply that physical and psychological accessibility is a highly significant but contested aspect of contemporary public spaces. It is precisely what makes places public, and capable of echoing the changes in contemporary society: “*In the processes of urban change, the conditions of accessibility are subject to change, hence changing the nature of public spaces*” (Madanipour, 2010).

Accessibility is deeply intertwined with the concept of **publicness** (Varna & Tiesdell, 2010) on one hand, and the issues of **control, management** and **ownership** on the other. Traditional notions of public spaces (parks, plazas, squares and streets) in which people normally gather are associated with *public ownership*, unlike the home or workplace, which belong to the *private realm*. In the contemporary context, spaces such as beaches, parks, squares and theatres are considered public if they are *open to everyone*. Alternatively, if a space is defined by boundaries allowing or denying *the right of access*, it is regarded as *private* (Gauss & Benn, 1983). The more permeable the boundaries of the space, the more accessible that space becomes to the public. Accessibility directly determines the scope of places considered to be public, from traditional spaces such as parks, plazas, squares and streets to new places, like privately-owned public spaces (POPs) (Miller, 2007) and transport hubs. Keeping in mind that market forces lie in the background of new hybrid typologies, the genuine publicness and openness of these spaces is subject to critical assessment.

37 Oxford Dictionary, retrieved November 2018.

Contemporary critiques of public spaces can be divided into two lines of thought: one holds privatisation accountable for the decline of public spaces, and the other favours blurring the boundaries between public and private. The production of privately-owned, controlled and commodified spaces is criticised for causing the erosion of community spirit and the *loss of public space* (Sennett, 2002) (Zukin, 1995) (Putnam, 2001). In cases of hybrid ownership and use, public involvement is often exploited by private interests (Sorkin, 2003), as private ownership involves control. In comparison to publicly-owned spaces, privately-owned public spaces are often perceived as restrictive and non-democratic. The public-private dichotomy is frequently blurred, and is not simply black and white (Sheller & Urry, 2003). On a scale from public to private ownership, Marcuse distinguishes six levels of legal ownership: (1) public ownership/public function/public use (e.g. streets, squares); (2) public ownership/public function/administrative use; (3) public ownership/public function/private use (e.g. spaces leased to commercial establishments, cafe terraces); (4) private ownership/public function/public use (e.g. airports, bus stations); (5) private ownership/private function/public use (e.g. shops, cafes, bars, restaurants); and (6) private ownership/private use (e.g. houses) (Marcuse, 2005).

The blurring of the boundaries between the public and private space should, however, not necessarily be regarded as a negative phenomenon. According to Manuel de Sola-Morales, the architectural, civic, morphological and urban richness of a contemporary city resides in its collective spaces that are not strictly public nor private, but are both simultaneously (de Solà Morales, 1992). Some public spaces accommodate private activities, and some private spaces allow collective use. This phenomenon is referred to as the *hybridisation of public and private space* (Kohn, 2004), and is exemplified by the shopping mall: a privately owned space that uses its architectural vocabulary to evoke a traditional town centre. The progressive tendency to blur the boundaries

between public and private spaces demands a more flexible definition of public space (Kohn, 2004).

The accessibility of a public space is determined by the presence or absence of physical and symbolic boundaries or barriers. Physical boundaries include walls, fences, gates, security guards or electronic surveillance, and other means of control. Enhancing the **physical aspect of accessibility** enables all forms of mobility, whether walking, cycling, using a wheelchair or pushing a stroller (Gehl Institute, 2017). The analysis of transport in public spaces shows that vehicular traffic has been highly prioritised over pedestrian movement in the city of Sarajevo. Many pedestrian zones have been obstructed by various physical obstacles, from structural issues such as high kerbs, narrow pavements, uneven or damaged paving and poor lighting, stairs and steps, to a cluttered urban inventory, complicated by irregularly parked cars, provisional kiosks, temporary (or less temporary) summer terraces, and vending machines. All these factors turn apparently accessible public spaces into spaces that are partially or completely inaccessible to groups or people with reduced mobility (Figure 36).

The **psychological or symbolic aspect of accessibility** is a more complex notion, and refers to a set of visible and invisibles features that imply the right of access to a public space. Even in some prominent urban spaces that lack physical boundaries (such as office complexes, spa resorts and luxury shopping centres), access can be limited in a socio-symbolic sense. While physical boundaries are normally explicit, symbolic limits are often subtle and implicit. Symbolic boundaries can cause the economic or social exclusion of a certain group of individuals, as well as social segregation and the fragmentation of urban space. Consequently, the city is divided into comfort zones for specific economic, ethnic or social groups, which turns it into an *archipelago of enclaves* (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001). Symbolic boundaries in urban spaces additionally hinder access

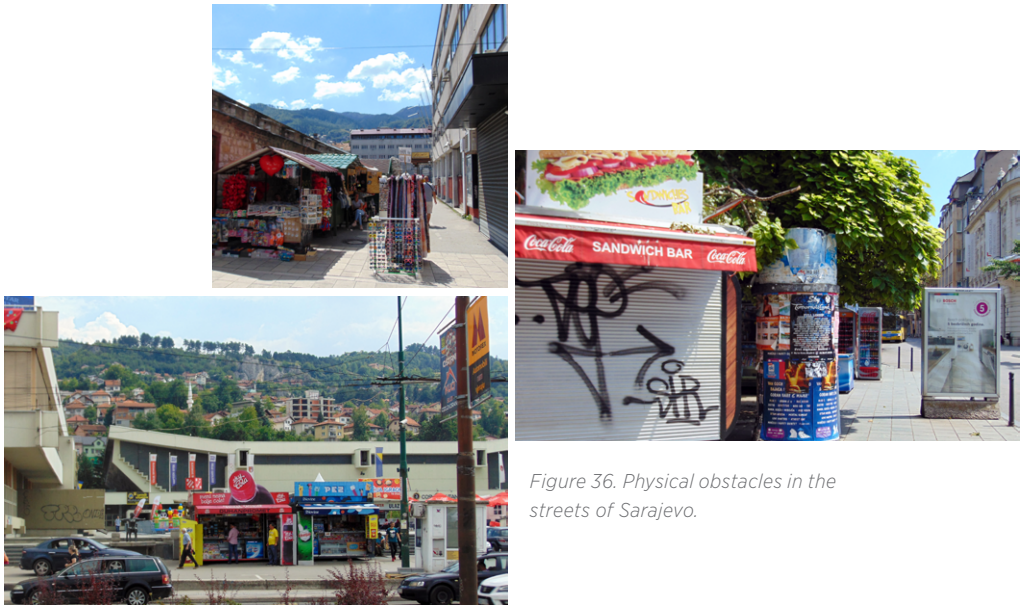


Figure 36. Physical obstacles in the streets of Sarajevo.

to information and/or certain types of activity. The contemporary social implications of symbolic barriers in urban spaces signal the importance of the expression of fundamental human rights in public spaces, and, implicitly, the right to public space as advocated in concepts such as *the right to the city* (Lefebvre, 1968) or *the right to inhabit* (Mitchell, 2003).

Our exploration of the economic, legal and social and factors that determine physical and symbolic accessibility led to the classification of two categories of public space in the city of Sarajevo:

1. Accessible public spaces;
2. Conditionally accessible public spaces.

As anticipated, mapping showed the prevalence of the former, which are accessible without restrictions or conditions, over the latter. Accessible public spaces can be found throughout the city, overlapping with the

locations of urban parks and recreational areas (Atmejdani, Betanija, Central and Kosevo Parks), civic spaces (Children of Sarajevo Square, Liberation Square, Parliament Square and Theatre/Susan Sontag Square), and spaces typologically specified as *undefined*. Even though these spaces are generally characterised by open accessibility, closer inspection reveals numerous small-scale spatial restraints and obstacles, which restrict access to persons with baby strollers, bicycles or reduced mobility, as well as children and the elderly. These barriers are typically the result of illegal appropriations of space by parking or vending activities. In this way, once fully accessible spaces have decomposed into a cluster of partially accessible or inaccessible fragments, as in the cases of the central streets of Ferhadija and Branilaca Sarajeva, which are characterised by numerous obstacles and discontinuous accessibility (Figure 36).

The category of conditionally accessible public spaces includes a wide variety of private and public spaces for collective use, encompassing the aforementioned public facilities, POPs, and *third places*. This category is exemplified by restricted, residents-only access to publicly-owned Austro-Hungarian inner courtyards. On the other end of the spectrum are large commercial centres, which are conditionally accessible because of their limited working hours, surveillance systems and invisible socio-economic barriers. For instance, regardless of its private ownership, the city's largest shopping mall, the Sarajevo City Center, apparently invites full public use based on *individualised collectivity* (Wagner, 2016). The linear configuration and interior layout of this centrally located shopping mega structure evokes a traditional streetscape, providing shoppers with an "authentic" urban experience, only safer – protected from the dangers of the real world. Camera surveillance and private security guards are there to guarantee a protected, enclosed environment, insulated from the disturbing and undesirable individuals and scenes that may be encountered on a street or square. These spaces are often referred to

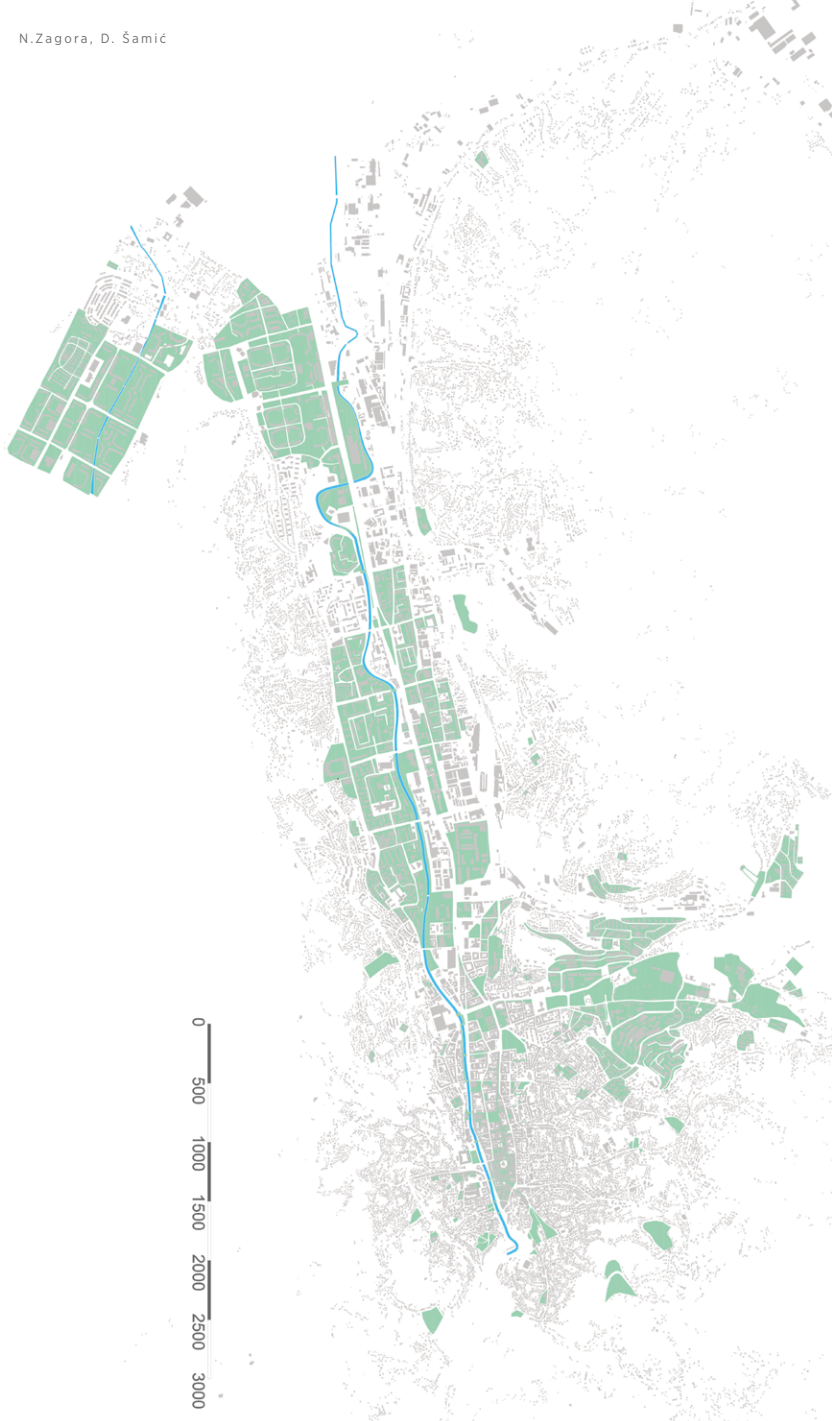


Figure 37. Distribution of accessible public spaces in the city of Sarajevo.

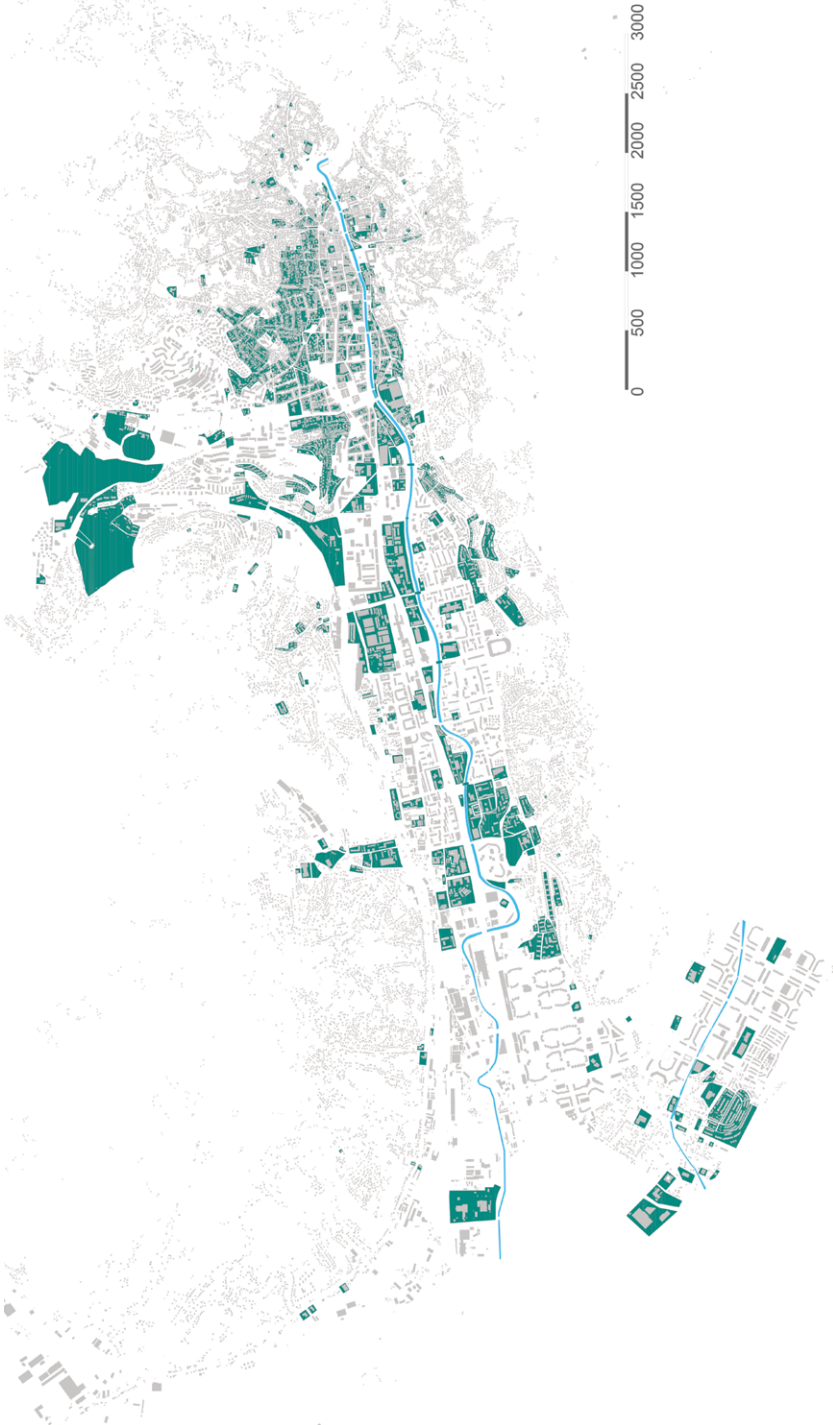


Figure 38. Distribution of conditionally accessible public spaces in the city of Sarajevo.

as *protected public spaces*, and can be physically distinguished by their artificial grounds and roofs. In legal terms, protected public spaces involve multiple stakeholders, and belong not only to municipal or national public authorities, “*but also to a number of other actors in the city, such as public enterprises [and] private real estate developers*” (Orillard, 2008). This urban typology may rightly be criticised for epitomising non-democratic, commodified spaces with hidden but strictly controlled rules of access, which contravene *the right to the city* (Lefebvre, 1968). At the same time, the continuous vitality and visitor numbers apparently signify the *zeitgeist*, showing that Sarajevo’s inhabitants prefer the consumerist lifestyle and the kind of protection that shopping malls offer. For climatic reasons, during the winter shopping centres in Sarajevo become hubs for various public activities and cultural and sports programs that foster community participation, alongside their primary commercial functions. Undoubtedly, the socio-cultural viability of the commodification of public spaces and its implications on public life and society in general, will be tested over time.

Accessibility - Summary

Accessibility as a key aspect of publicness, can be determined by analysis of the physical and/or symbolic boundaries of public spaces. It is directly correlated with ownership, management and control issues, which frequently involve multiple stakeholders, from both public and private realms. The resulting phenomenon is the hybridisation of public and private spaces.

The mapping of (1) accessible and (2) conditionally-accessible public spaces in Sarajevo delivered ambiguous results. Spaces that appeared to be fully accessible to the public, when analysed in detail, revealed a number of small-scale physical obstacles that compromised their overall accessibility. Conversely, a number of restricted or conditionally accessible public spaces (often criticised for commodifying public life), such as shopping centres and similar pseudo-public spaces that foster a new urban culture, have a higher degree of accessibility and potential for citizen participation than anticipated. These findings lead to a new perspective on contemporary public spaces, as hybrid co-products of the public and private realms. The collaboration between public authorities and private developers is the basis of the co-creation of sustainable, publicly accessible urban spaces that are beneficial not only to the city of Sarajevo, but to society in general.

Urban atmosphere

A considerable part of the architectural discourse in past decades addressed the atmospheric qualities of spaces, and the human senses, which play a key role in the perception of the natural and built environment. The importance of the multisensory experience is rooted in the phenomenological approach to architecture found in works by Gaston Bachelard, Martin Heidegger and Christian Norberg-Schulz, and was recently popularised by contemporary architects Juhani Pallasmaa and Peter Zumthor. Emerging from criticism of the ocular-centric paradigm in contemporary architectural practice, the phenomenological view prioritises the multisensory over the visual experience: *“Atmospheric characteristics of spaces, places and settings are grasped before any conscious observation of details is made. Architecture is the art of reconciliation between ourselves and the world, and this mediation takes place through the senses”* (Pallasmaa, 2012). Before understanding it intellectually, our response to the atmospheric qualities of a space is emotional: *“We perceive atmosphere through our emotional sensibility – a form of perception that works incredibly quickly”* (Zumthor, 2006).

The concept of the multisensory experience of an atmospheric space in architecture has become increasingly important in urban environments under the concept *“the atmosphere of a city”* (Böhme, 2014). Atmosphere is a phenomenon which mediates between the subject and the object: *“Atmospheres fill spaces; they emanate from things, constellations of things and persons”* (Böhme, 2014). The atmospheric perception of public spaces involves all senses, and adds up to the atmosphere of the entire city, which consequently constitutes the quality of the city. Beyond the *plain mise-en-scene*, overall sensorial stimulation combines various types of visual and olfactory experiences (*smellscapes*) (Henshaw, 2013) or auditory sensations (*soundscape*s) (Atkinson, 2007), acquired through mobility (walking) and perceptual memories (Montserrat Degen & Rose,

2012). The *Twelve Quality Criteria* research tool, developed by the Gehl Institute, highlights the particular relevance of the sensory experience to the perception of a specific atmosphere, and the improvement of the public space's overall quality. From the planning and design perspective, visual and aesthetic elements such as aromatic and sonic impressions, landscaping, trickling water, temporary artistic additions, and the artistic treatment of light are outlined as place-making tools (Gehl, 2010).

The ambience of public spaces may also be strategically stage-managed to subtly control the behaviour of their users. John Allen terms this *ambient power* (Allen, 2006), and it is a means to either enhance or inhibit the accessibility of the space and of public life. Atmosphere is particularly susceptible to manipulation and strategic moulding to induce specific behaviours (Sloterdijk, 2015). Shopping malls and other retail spaces are paradigms of such strategies, particularly those that involve atmospheric seduction and the simulation of a pleasant, domestic experience, while artfully concealing their controlling and manipulative intentions.

Discussion about the character and atmosphere of public spaces *a priori* involves the concepts of urbanity and extroversion. While the terms of interiority and intimacy are typically represented by the home, visibility and exposure are the major characteristics of public spaces. A public space is commonly perceived as a *space of appearance* (Arendt, 1958), and "*the city creates the theatre and is the theatre*" (Mumford, 1970). Public spaces are assumed to be vibrant and dynamic arenas of urban life – sites for rituals and routines, demonstrations and festivals (Sassen, 2006), while interiors are perceived as concealed, enclosed and intimate. However, the topics of **interiority**³⁸ and **urban interiors** (Attwill, 2015) have gained increasing interest in the work of urban designers and theorists, even though the two concepts at first seem dichotomous. According to Sennett, the notion of interiority is not withdrawal from

38 The term *interiority* is commonly used in philosophy, psychology and theology to characterise one's inner life or human substance. Source: Merriam-Webster dictionary retrieved November 2018.

the world; it is a particular kind of relationship with the world (Sennett, Harvard University GSD, 2016). This relationship can be symbolically associated with Charles Baudelaire's term *flâneur* – a man who saunters around observing society, while retaining his anonymity and freedom to observe. Interiority, as an abstract term, represents “*a theoretical and immaterial set of coincidences and variables from which ‘interior’ is made possible [...] interiority is instead mobile and promiscuous*” (McCarthy, 2005). But it can also be sensed in outdoor spaces: “*This feeling of being immersed, surrounded, and enclosed – transcends the experience of indoor enclosures and extends to the out-of-doors in gardens, squares and parks bounded by trees or low walls*” (Benedikt, 2002).

The condition of atmospheric interiority is not limited to indoor spaces; it can be encountered on the urban level, in the outdoors. This ambiguity relates particularly to the topic of **urban voids**.³⁹ These empty spaces have emerged as a result of an increased density in the urban fabric, parallel to the fragmentation of modernist open spaces. Urban voids in the contemporary city are recognisable by their ambivalence, multidimensionality, juxtaposition and simultaneity. Their emergence often leads to the loss of basic urban conditions, such as a space's program and its connection with context and continuity. This poses a design challenge for how these discontinuities should be bridged. Due to their dualistic nature at the threshold between interior and exterior realms, some urban voids can be compared to **urban rooms**⁴⁰ or **urban interiors** (Attiwill, 2015).

As a subjective phenomenon dependent on personal perception and impressions, atmosphere or ambience is a challenge for scientific, quantitative research. To measure how public spaces affect comfort

39 *Urban voids* were mentioned previously, in the discussion of typology of public spaces under the category of “undefined spaces”, and are typically represented by small- and medium-scale parking areas, scraps of green areas, and wastelands. Chapter IV will elaborate on this.

40 *Urban rooms* or *urban interiors* will be discussed further in Chapter IV.

levels, emotions and the human sensory experience, researchers from *The Centre for Conscious Design* developed the *Huss Index* methodology,⁴¹ which is based on five sensory systems: “the visual system, the auditory system, the taste–smell system, the basic-orienting system, and the haptic system. These systems use different cues for exploring the environment and feature a different perception range. Touch, smell, and taste provide information on the so called ‘near-space’, whereas visual and auditory systems can receive information over a greater range, or ‘far-space’ ” (Daly, et al., 2017).

Small, intimate urban spaces such as urban voids, or urban rooms, simultaneously encompass interior and urban atmospheric qualities. Because of their small/medium scale, these ambiguous spaces can be experienced by all senses, particularly the haptic system, and their level of enclosure gives them an introverted and intimate atmosphere. Large-scale, extroverted public spaces are characterised by a formal, representative city atmosphere, and, since they have a lower potential for accentuating the multisensory properties of a place, can be explored only by the visual and auditory systems. Based on these considerations of the atmospheric properties of urban public spaces, we mapped the following two types of public space in Sarajevo:

1. **Extroverted** public spaces, characterised by their **formal atmosphere** and sense of **urbanity**;
2. **Introverted** public spaces, characterised by their **intimate atmosphere** and sense of **interiority**.

Spaces were assigned to these categories according to their capacity for generating specific intangible qualities, typically associated with interiority and intimacy in the urban realm.

The category of **extroverted public spaces** (Figure 40) with pronounced

41 This methodology is based on a combination of ethnographic methods (i.e. street interviews and sensory mapping) with technological measurement devices (i.e. GSR and EEG).

Figure 39. Distribution of extroverted public spaces in the city of Sarajevo, characterised by their formal atmosphere and sense of urbanity.

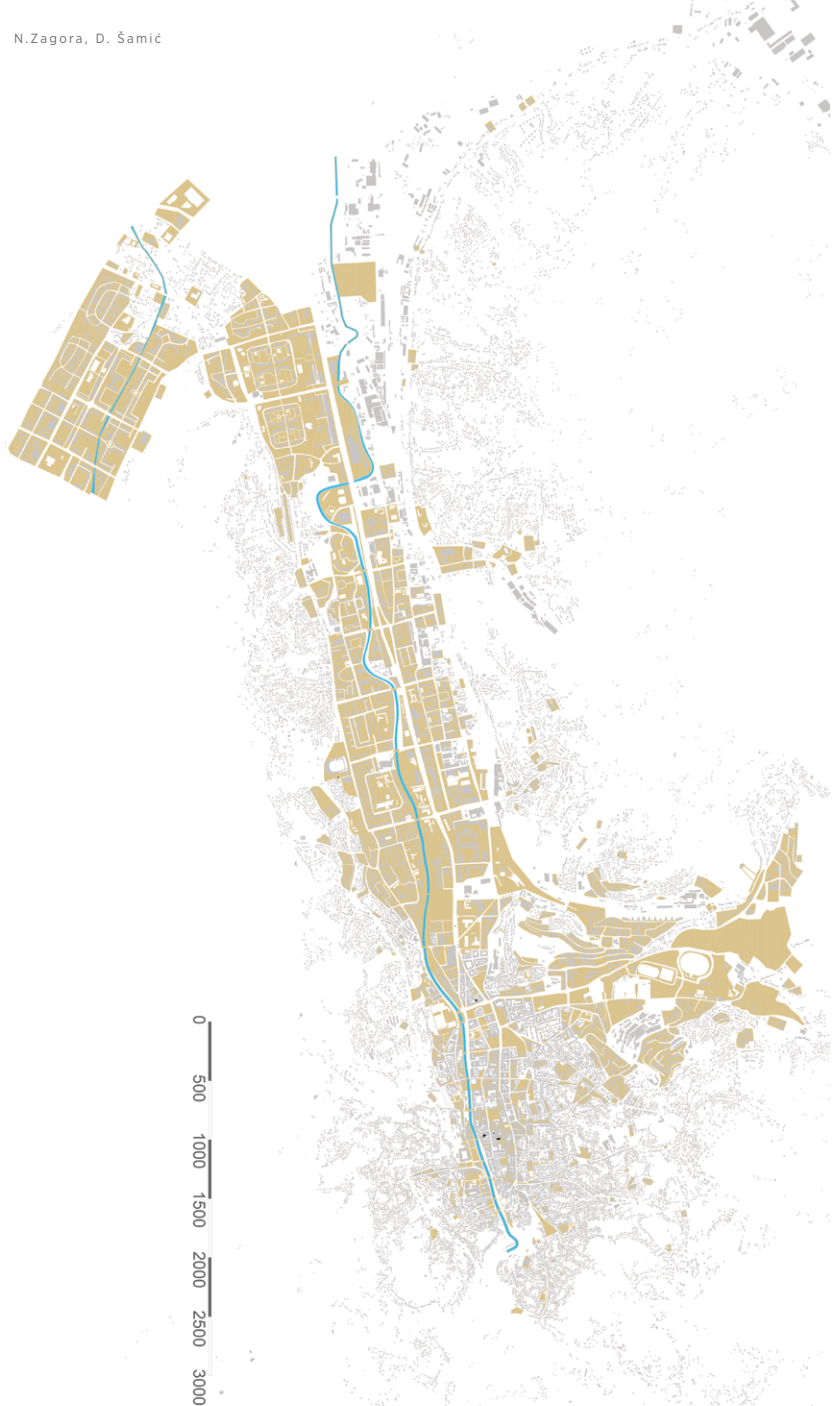
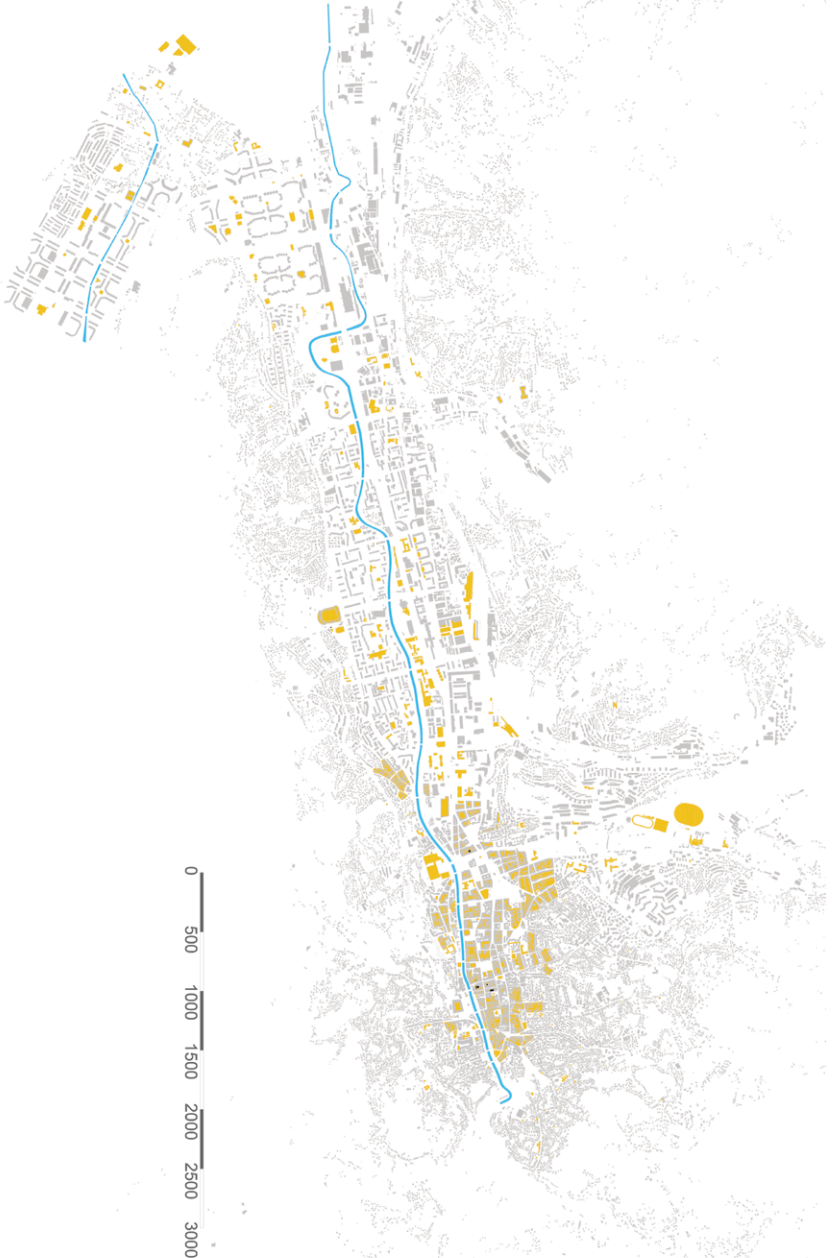




Figure 40. The Children of Sarajevo Square, an example of an extroverted public space.

urbanity encompasses the majority of public spaces created during the Socialist Yugoslav and contemporary periods in Sarajevo. Examples of this representative, formal urbanity can be found in various locations in the city, from the monumentality of the grand Parliament Square, to the large undefined voids between modernist housing blocks and public buildings in the Grbavica neighbourhood. A distinct example of an extroverted public space is the Children of Sarajevo Square, which faces the prominent BBI shopping centre (Figure 40). Located parallel to Marsala Tita street, in the most frequented part of the city, this has always

Figure 41. Distribution of introverted public spaces, characterized by the intimate atmosphere and sense of interiority.



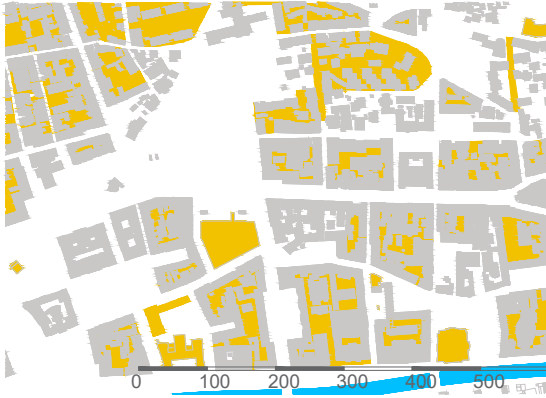


Figure 42. Enlarged view showing the locations of introverted public spaces in the historic downtown of Sarajevo.

been an extremely attractive public site. After the construction of the shopping centre in 2009, the square acquired its true urban character of a highly dynamic meeting place, frequented by both locals and visitors. The cafes and seating areas along the central walking path are its prime attractions, besides its favourable location, and are key generators of public life. The resulting atmosphere of this dominantly extroverted plaza plays an important theatrical role in its urban environment, and affects the visual and auditory systems of its users. This is typical of urban public spaces that are directly related to adjacent commercial facilities.

The category of **introverted public spaces** (Figure 41) includes a variety of public spaces that are characterised by intimacy, interiority and domesticity, without being limited to their physical enclosure. On one end of this spectrum are shopping centres and other public interiors, which, to a certain extent, simulate an atmosphere of intimacy and domesticity. Urban mapping also indicated the presence of genuine examples of highly atmospheric urban spaces located in the dense urban tissue of the Ottoman part of the city. The scale, historic context and enclosure of the narrow streets of Bascarsija stimulate the multisensory experience of its users, and create a *sense of place* particular to Sarajevo.

As described in Chapter I, *the meandered* architectural composition of volumes intertwining towards interior courtyards in the Ottoman area has generated a multitude of introverted and intimate public spaces. Kolobara Han, Morica Han, Trgovke Square and Kovaci are only a few of these introverted, interior public spaces with an authentic, charming ambience that encompasses specific scents, sights, sounds and haptic qualities. In addition, potential *urban rooms* were mapped inside the interior courtyards or atria of Austro-Hungarian urban blocks dating from the 19th and 20th centuries. The unexplored multisensory potential of the *introverted public spaces* identified is of particular interest to this research, and is suitable for the application of subtle urban recycling options, and alternative intervention methods.

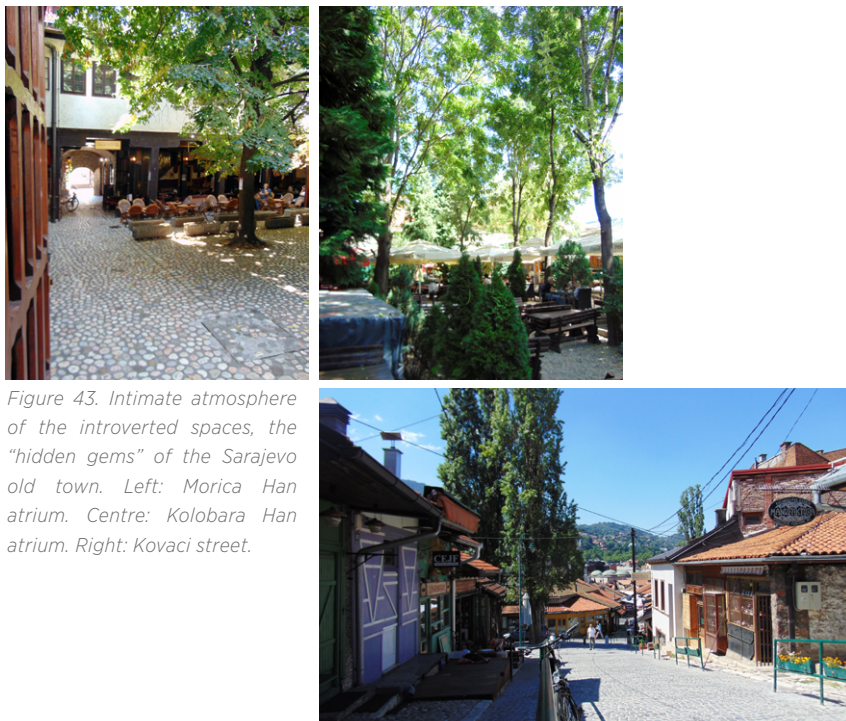


Figure 43. Intimate atmosphere of the introverted spaces, the “hidden gems” of the Sarajevo old town. Left: Morica Han atrium. Centre: Kolobara Han atrium. Right: Kovaci street.

Urban Atmosphere: Summary

The study of urban atmosphere began with an elaboration of theoretical perspectives on the notions of atmosphere/ambience and multisensory experience at the level of architecture, interiors and urban design. Interior architecture, archetypically represented by the concept of home and domesticity, is generally associated with the closest relationship a human body has with a space, due to the perception of “near-space” by all sensory systems. Atmosphere is considered as a mediation between the human body, surrounding objects and the interior space. The discussion posed the question of whether an atmosphere can be created and sensed at the level of urban public spaces. The analysis that followed focused on a particular category of urban public spaces – urban voids – and emphasised the features that make them comparable to interiors: their enclosure, interiority, intimacy and small/medium scale. These spaces are ambiguous, because they emanate both interior and urban atmospheric qualities. As a result of global economic and technological shifts, urban development is increasingly characterised by spaces at the threshold of the indoor (interior) and outdoor (exterior). Urban mapping identified two categories of public space in Sarajevo: (1) Extroverted public spaces, characterised by their formal atmosphere and sense of urbanity; and (2) Introverted public spaces, characterised by their intimate atmosphere and sense of interiority. The latter category embraces the typology of urban rooms, and corresponds to a selection of spaces isolated by the superimposition of maps from previous studies: small/medium-scale semi/enclosed public spaces, that generally fit the typological class of “undefined spaces”. Semi-open spaces provide a stimulating research topic for several reasons. First, their irregular geometric configuration is challenging from a design perspective. Ottoman atriums are characterised by the meander form (Grabrijan & Neidhardt, 1957), which enables a gradual transition from the outdoor public spaces of the street to intimate indoor spaces. The Austro-Hungarian interior courtyards, on the other hand, are bounded by multi-storey city blocks, and their taller vertical envelope gives these public spaces limited accessibility and an introverted character.

Summary

Rather than search for a general definition, this chapter encompasses the analysis of six socio-spatial attributes of contemporary public spaces: **typology**, **scale**, **enclosure**, **urban activity**, **accessibility** and **urban atmosphere**. Mapping was used as a visual methodological tool to pinpoint urban public spaces by these attributes in Sarajevo's four municipalities.

Our study of the function of public spaces identified the following typologies: civic spaces; communal spaces; green spaces; transport spaces; *public interiors* and *third places*; and *undefined* spaces. Because of unrestrained privatisation, the utopian modernist legacy of open public spaces has collapsed into dystopian areas of spatial fragments. The current situation requires a strategic approach to merge public spaces into a functionally and contextually meaningful network. Within the category of *undefined public spaces*, *urban voids* were identified as potential catalysts and links in projects of urban regeneration, and they merit further exploration. The scale of public spaces was explored in relation to the proportions of the city and the human body. Analysis of the distribution of the three groups of public spaces (from extra-large- to extra-small-scale), indicated a prevalence of medium- (from 25 to 100 metres' range) and small-scale (less than 25 metres' range) public spaces. The size of public spaces corresponds to the human scale of the urban fabric in the historic and central parts of Sarajevo, as well as with the fragments of undefined spaces in the municipalities of Novo Sarajevo and Novi Grad. Enclosure is a highly relevant factor in the assessment of the three-dimensional geometry of public spaces. Within the three categories of enclosure, our research highlighted semi-open public spaces as a stimulating research topic. Examples are Ottoman atriums in the form of *meander*, which enable a gradual outside to inside transition,

and Austro-Hungarian interior courtyards, with their challenging introverted character and limited accessibility. The mapping of public life (or urban activity) identified opposed categories of public space – *active* and *passive* – as well as an additional category of *seasonally active* public spaces. The study also determined factors that rise the level of public life, such as the regulation of vehicular traffic and organisation of public events, which gradually transform public spaces from passive to active use. Analysis of accessibility (as a key aspect of *publicness*) highlighted ownership, management and control issues, and pinpointed the phenomenon of the *hybridisation of public and private spaces*. The mapping of accessible and conditionally accessible public spaces in Sarajevo led to the conclusion that a large number of spaces are hybrid co-products of the public and private realms. Our exploration of urban atmosphere categorised extroverted and introverted public spaces. The latter is characterised by its enclosure, intimate atmosphere small- to medium-scale, and sense of interiority, which makes these spaces comparable to indoor ones.

The mapping of public spaces recognised the ambiguous status of many public spaces in the city of Sarajevo, which defy strict categorisation. The superimposition of maps highlighted: small- to medium-scale spaces; spaces with vaguely defined or undefined functions; semi-open and semi-enclosed spaces; seasonally active and conditionally accessible spaces; and semi-private and semi-public spaces, at the threshold of interior and exterior space. This typology of public spaces, which may potentially be referred to as *urban rooms*, is a particularly stimulating research and design topic. The challenge is to find the adequate tools to address their condition of “*in-betweenness*”, and convert their transitional state into impetus for urban regeneration and the creation of a network of vibrant public spaces in Sarajevo.





III
THE IDENTITY
OF PUBLIC
SPACES
IN THE
CONTEXT
OF
TRANSITION



*We are always remaking history.
Our memory is always an interpretive
reconstruction of the past, so is
perspective.*

Umberto Eco

III. THE IDENTITY OF PUBLIC SPACES IN THE CONTEXT OF TRANSITION

The identity of contemporary public spaces is determined by the **place** and **point in time** of their development. Public spaces are shaped by their appurtenant **context**, and by the **zeitgeist**, or the spirit of the era in which they belong. They are the physical reflection of non-physical processes from the cultural, political, social and technological realms: *“The diverse modes of governance, regulation, legal dominion and investment under which space is created; Political priorities and the particular lifestyles they support; Historical trends and norms that go back to the ancient world; The balance between political and market forces; Cultural traditions, which vary, even across the Western world; The increasing complexity of public space, and the limitations on professional skills and responsibilities to tackle this”* (Carmona, 2010).

Table 3. The dichotomies affecting identity of public spaces in Sarajevo. Source: Authors

In-Transition	In-betweenness and dichotomies
Socialism - Capitalism	Formal - Informal
Low - Smart Technology	Global - Site-specific
	East - West

The identity of public spaces in Sarajevo has been determined by multiple past transitions. Cultural, geographic and socio-political factors, along with complex historical transitions, have caused the contemporary condition previously referred to as **in-betweenness**, and in some extreme cases, an **identity crisis** of public spaces. The following chapter will

tackle these issues by examining dichotomies such as “*East-West*”, “*formal-informal*” and “*global-local*”, and considering them as stimuli for urban transformation rather than antagonism. Because of its historical circumstances, Sarajevo has frequently been given the status of a **city in transition**, as it was repeatedly sandwiched between the temporal prefixes of “pre-” and “post-”, in various historical eras, political regimes and social and economic systems. The most significant transitions to affect the urban environment in the recent past were the political and socio-economic shift from socialism to capitalism, and the digital revolution – the transition from the *low-tech past* to the *contemporary era of smart technologies* (Table 3).

To unravel the complexity and understand the processes of transformation and further development of contemporary public spaces in Sarajevo, factors representing the *transitions* and condition of *in-betweenness* are deconstructed into five layers of analysis (Table 4). These contextual factors or transformation trends are examined in cases studies from (post-)transitional societies, which also faced radical changes that affected the form, function and perception of the traditional model of public space. Lessons learnt from these cases, and their comparative analysis with the context of Sarajevo, are intended to cast a new light on the possibilities of reinterpreting and transforming existing public spaces.

Table 4. Causes of transformation of contemporary public spaces. Source: Authors

THE CONTEXT	THE TRANSITIONS AND DICHOTOMIES	
SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM	SOCIALISM	CAPITALISM
TECHNOLOGY	LOW-TECH	SMART
MANAGEMENT LEVEL	FORMAL (TOP-DOWN)	INFORMAL (BOTTOM-UP)
CULTURE	GLOBAL	SITE-SPECIFIC
HISTORY AND TRADITION	EASTERN/ORIENTAL	WESTERN/OCCIDENTAL

The transition from socialism to capitalism



“(Social) space is a (social) product”

(Lefebvre, 1974)

Public space is highly dependent on the society or social formation within which it is located (Castells, 1977). Consequently, shifts from one socio-economic system to another strongly influence the creation and further transformation of public spaces that are already in use. A number of scholars (Zukin, 1995), (Harvey, 1990), (Soja, 1989) have addressed the consequences of the shift to a neo-liberal economy, or hyper-capitalism (Piven, 2007), for urban space from the Western or Eurocentric perspective. In the West, the shift to a neoliberal economy resulted in a change in the methods of production in urban areas. Large scale industries have been replaced with small-scale production, characterised by clean and advanced technology. For economic reasons, heavy industry was moved to Third World countries, leaving behind vacant lots in strategic positions within the urban fabric. Production sites have been transformed into consumption sites: shopping malls, entertainment parks or high-density housing (such as Docklands in London, or HafenCity in Hamburg). Lefebvre critically assessed the measurement and control of space as a specific expression of the capitalist method of production, which results in abstract and fragmented spaces, highly developed exploitation, and carefully monitored passivity (Lefebvre, 2003). **In the Western world, the shift to neo-liberalism coincided with a transition from the modernist to postmodernist conception of space.** This change was visible in the city’s architectural styles, functional distribution, and scale. To summarise the complex subject of postmodern urbanism: large-scale modernist master planning was substituted with small-scale,

fragmented urban developments, and deindustrialisation was followed by aesthetic incoherence, commercialisation and the proliferation of exclusive, private interests (Dear, 2000), (Ellin, 1996).

The transition of socio-economic and political systems was far more complex in Central-East European countries, where it occurred in several layers: cultural, economic, institutional, political and social. The market oriented economy brought extreme privatisation and appropriation processes, and resulted in new forms of economic exclusion and social segregation. In most post-socialist countries, public space was poorly protected by city authorities from the dominant private/corporate interests that emerged from the transition. Inherent civic expectations of the state's responsibilities rather than personal initiatives led to an almost complete decline of the public realm. According to Zhelnina, everyone's space became no-one's space (Zhelnina, 2013). Following Banerjee's theory that socialist urban form is the archetype of modernity (Banerjee, 2004), and pursuing Hirt's argument that post-socialist cities provide vivid examples of the rupture between the modern and the postmodern (Hirt, 2008), **we can conclude that post-socialist cities exhibit all the effects of the modern/postmodern transition, further amplified by the socialist/post-socialist shift.** Most Central and East-European countries, however, managed to overcome these transitional difficulties by the early 2000s, and enter the post-transitional stage of development.

Sarajevo, along with other urban areas in former Yugoslavia to some extent, deviate from the typical socialist-post-socialist transitional model. As mentioned previously, **Yugoslavia wasn't a typical Eastern Bloc country.** After the Tito-Stalin split and Tito's further disloyalty to the USSR in 1948, Yugoslavia was considered a buffer between the Eastern and Western Blocs (Zagora & Samic, 2014). The reforms that followed led to a further opening to the West, which resulted in an economic system with both capitalist and socialist characteristics. As elaborated

in Chapter II, this condition of geo-political *in-betweenness* has been a characteristic of the region from antiquity: on the threshold of the Eastern and Western Roman Empires, of Christianity and Islam, of the Ottomans and the Habsburgs, and of socialism and capitalism. The resulting phenomenon is often referred to as a *kaleidoscopic culture* (Kulic, 2018) – a blend of cultures, ethnicities, religions, and traditions, brought together under the slogan of “brotherhood and unity”. Consequently, all the manifestations of vernacular and ethnic/traditional architecture were replaced by *neutral* modernist architecture, or *Yugoslav architecture* – a specific combination of socialist realism and international style (Štraus, 1991). This architecture was not derived from a specific cultural heritage; on the contrary, it expressed universal, international values promoting Yugoslavia as an open country, distinct from other communist countries. These peculiarities were reflected in its urban planning and development. Modernist city planning was fully embraced to accommodate the influx of the rural population into urban areas. The cities reflected both socialist and CIAM⁴² urban planning principles: the rigid segregation of functional zones; the predominance of production over consumption; the monumental scale of public projects; the planning of urban spaces not constrained by the land market; functionalism and uniformity as the proper aesthetic medium of progress and equality (Scott, 1998); and formal geometric simplicity and standardisation. *“The public spaces, created at that time, were reflecting the socialist ideals of dominance of production over consumption; the dominance of the collective over the private and the individual; and the dominance of order and discipline over diversity and marginality* (Banerjee, 2004).

The transition from socialist to capitalist systems in Bosnia was anything but gradual; first it was blocked by the tragic conflict and its consequences in the 1990s, and then it was suppressed and prolonged until the early

42 Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne.



Figure 44. Morii Canal in Reghin before and after the urban transformation.

2000s due to the resulting political and economic instability. As elaborated in Chapter I, despite the rise of city commerce and services, foreign investments and tourism, and spatial politics and planning methods, 24 years after the war **Sarajevo is drifting in transitional limbo**. The city's public spaces still mirror an aversion to and neglect of common values. This has led to fragmentation, through the dominance of private interests over public ones, transiency in terms of function and management, and an overall social, cultural and environmental imbalance. Examples of successful urban transformations of the socialist public space are rare, and hard to find.

Conversely, other former socialist countries with a more fortunate recent history are bursting with successful transformations. The urban transformation of the Morii Canal in the city of Reghin, Romania illustrates the socio-economic transition from socialist to contemporary eras, and its consequences for a specific public space (Table 5).

Similarly to Sarajevo and many other post-socialist cities, 1990s Reghin had a discernible aversion to public spaces, and a dominance of private vehicles over pedestrian areas. This was clearly visible along the banks of the Morii Canal, a channel of the Mures River, which belonged to the town council. But public ownership does not produce public space by default. First, the channel was blocked by massive concrete walls as flood protection. Later, the council granted temporary construction permits for private garages, kiosks and storage units along both riverbanks, covering an area of 6000 m². Consequently, the water became invisible to passers-by, and the neighbourhood was denied any recreational and communal spaces.

In 2010, a group of local architects began an initiative to restore the waterfront, and remove the physical obstacles between the water and the neighbourhood. At this point it is useful to follow the course of implementation and decision-making in light of its collaborative approach to urban planning and bottom-up initiatives. The architects acted as a proactive intermediary agent between the local community and the town council. The initiative was first presented to local residents and businesses through a series of postcards that illustrated Morii Canal after its transformation into a community space. This presentation of the idea made people aware of the possibilities the area offered them in terms of environmental and social wellbeing. Driven by an expression of community interest, the municipal actors expanded the idea, and the city invested over half a million euros into the transformation of the riverfront area (Figure 44). The temporary buildings were demolished,



Figure 45. Morii Canal in Reghin after the urban transformation.

re-establishing visual contact with the water. Two pedestrian walkways connected with foot bridges were introduced along the riverbanks, along with urban furniture, a children's playground and sport and recreation areas (Figure 45). Instead of passively waiting for institutional actors to take responsibility for public spaces, as is the case in many post-socialist countries, in this example private and public layers were equally involved in the transformational process.

The individual initiative acted as a catalyst to raise the awareness of both the local community and city authorities of the potential of the neglected river. The lessons learnt from the Morii Canal case study (Table 5) would be valuable in an analysis of neglected modernist intra-block communal

spaces in Sarajevo, such as those in the neighbourhoods of Grbavica, Hrasno, Cengic Vila and Otoka, as well as in Alipasino Polje and Dobrinja.

Table 5. Analysis of the socio-spatial attributes of the Morii canal site prior and post transformation. Source: Authors

ATTRIBUTES		SOCIALIST CONTEXT		POST-SOCIALIST CONTEXT	
1.	TPOLOGY	TRANSPORTATION	UNDEFINED	COMMUNAL	GREEN
2.	SCALE	MEDIUM		MEDIUM	
3.	ENCLOSURE	ENCLOSED		OPEN	
4.	URBAN ACTIVITY	PASSIVE		ACTIVE	
5.	ACCESSIBILITY	CONDITIONALLY ACCESSIBLE		ACCESSIBLE	
6.	URBAN ATMOSPHERE	INTROVERTED		EXTROVERTED	

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The transition from low-tech to smart technology

The technological revolution at the turn of the 21st century profoundly transformed cities and the global urban lifestyle. Nowadays, the expansion of augmented, digitalised and virtual reality has prioritised the private over the public realm, while live interaction and socialisation is largely substituted with digital networking at home and in the workplace. Many scholars (Sennett, 2002), (Ellin, 1996), (Oldenburg, 1997), (Carmona, 2010) have addressed the socio-cultural phenomenon of withdrawal from the public to private realm as a result of technological progress. Based on the accelerated growth of this cyber society, it may eventually outgrow the physical public domain and require a new form of urbanism. The present-day overlap of real and virtual space, as the latter becomes an increasingly important aspect of the information age, is parallel to Lefebvre's account of the correspondence between physical, social and mental space (Lefebvre, 1974). Although the internet was initially seen as a technological upgrade of conventional media, such as radio or print, over the years it has gained more of the characteristics of place. The metaphor of the **internet as the new public space** is illustrated in numerous forms: traditional public spaces such as market places and libraries are now online; social networks are facilitating communication and the formation of social bonds; and sites like YouTube provide opportunities for artistic expression. It is clear that the development of virtual space affects the perception, production and use of public spaces. **The question is whether this tendency will lead to the marginalisation and further decline of the real public space, or to an emergence of new, technologically enhanced forms of public space.**

Critics of the technological impact on the urban environment argue that the increasing virtuality of space leads to the disappearance of

architecture. According to Paul Virilio “... *public space yields to public image*” (Virilio, 1994). Reality has become unstable; mass and energy are being superseded by information and image, and the stability and materiality of architecture is being substituted with the ephemerality of images (Beckmann, 1998). The growing supremacy of public image over public space is manifested in the use of fixed advertising screens in urban spaces, surveillance cameras, and the everyday use of mobile interfaces in public spaces. This new technological paradigm has affected the processes of production and consumption, and our lifestyles in general, followed by the emergence of the concept *spaces of flows*, a term coined by Manuel Castells alongside the traditional *spaces of places*: “*Social meaning evaporates from places, and therefore from society, and becomes diluted and diffused in the reconstructed logic of a space of flows ...*” (Castells, 1989). The information age has irreversibly transformed the ways in which we inhabit cities, which is inevitably reflected in the character, function and meaning of public spaces worldwide.

Conversely, Alessandro Aurigi argues in favour of the technologically enhanced urban environment. He asserts that the *real versus virtual space* dichotomy is outdated, and that rather than being threatened by emerging technologies, urban public spaces are augmented by them (Aurigi, 2008). The notion of augmented spaces refers to the overlaying of physical space with information by using art, decoration, images and any kind of media or architectural technique that adds information to the built environment. According to Aurigi, this is just another layer added to the already complex reality of traditional public spaces, with the purpose of increasing their overall quality. This line of reasoning has led to the concept of smart cities: a network that links the physical infrastructure with IT, and social and business infrastructure and services, with the objective of optimising city operations and increasing contact between citizens and their city. In practice, smart city concepts use electronic sensors and the Internet of Things (IoT) to collect real time data on

parameters such as environmental conditions, energy consumption, public safety and traffic in urban areas. The application of smart concepts in public spaces generally targets cultural activities, the tourist infrastructure and transport systems, while increasing security and inclusiveness. A potential shortcoming of the strategic implementation of smart concepts in public spaces is the deepening of the division between the “smart” and “non-intelligent” areas, since the concept mainly relies on market-oriented technologies (Mela, 2014). Smart technology is typically applied in high-profit public areas such as airports and commercial centres, which leaves urban areas with a lower social status behind.

The potential of new technological tools in the activation of existing public spaces to foster social interaction and increase the attractiveness of urban areas is being tested in experimental projects and spatial installations. Most of these projects were envisioned to add special value to particular urban landscapes and contain responsive audio-visual components and structures, while simultaneously implementing models of sustainability. Besides technological playscapes and audio-visual experiments, public spaces can be activated through advanced technology to respond to human needs and the dynamic contemporary urban lifestyle. These public spaces are *hybrids*, in which physical and material elements interact with virtual layers. Urban projects can integrate the functional technological tools to increase social interaction, sustainability and the real-time management and maintenance of public spaces. The EU research project APS (Active Public Spaces) (Markoupoulou, et al., 2017) selected 70 international permanent and temporary spatial installations in which technology was used in urban public spaces to: (1) foster social interaction and inclusion; (2) provide data visualisation of social activities and environmental conditions; (3) enable real-time responses and management of uses; (4) incorporate parametric design that responds to users’ needs; (5) use materials responsive to environmental and social conditions; and (6) incorporate sustainable energy models and increase interaction with the environment.



Figure 46. Planet smart square project (Piazza Risorgimento) in Turin.

An example of an innovative concept for public space is the 2016 transformation of Piazza Risorgimento, a formerly disused, unsafe and neglected site in Turin (Figure 46). The transformation of the square demonstrates how smart technology can improve the quality of public spaces and increase socialisation. The concept, by Planet Smart City, was to incorporate more than 25 innovative solutions, connected by a user-friendly online application, to reactivate the square, which measures 5200 m². These innovative solutions were located on the site for 257 days in 2016 and 2017, and tackled four key topics: architecture, environment, social inclusion and technology. Among the most successful projects were a small temporary info-point pavilion, 25 urban garden boxes for local crops, free Wifi, smart benches and an open-air gym that stored

kinetic energy. Smart and sustainable solutions included lighting that only activated where and when necessary, a smart irrigation system to manage the vegetable garden, and photovoltaic tiles to light the floor. The application PlanetAppSquare was developed to monitor the status of each project, and the satisfaction of citizens who visited the square regularly was measured by surveys, indicating a project rating of an average 8.9/10.⁴³ The effects of the transformation of this area in Turin using smart technologies were analysed in Table 6, according to the criteria listed and explained in Chapter II.

Table 6. Analysis of the socio-spatial attributes of the Piazza Risorgimento prior and after transformation. Source: Authors

ATTRIBUTES		LOW-TECH PARADIGM		SMART TECHNOLOGY PARADIGM
1.	TYPOLOGY	CIVIC	OTHER	CIVIC
2.	SCALE	MEDIUM		MEDIUM
3.	ENCLOSURE	OPEN		OPEN
4.	URBAN ACTIVITY	PASSIVE		ACTIVE
5.	ACCESSIBILITY	CONDITIONALLY ACCESSIBLE		ACCESSIBLE
6.	URBAN ATMOSPHERE	EXTROVERTED		EXTROVERTED

Following the successful integration of similar concepts worldwide, the Smart City Sarajevo initiative,⁴⁴ funded by the UNDP, was launched in 2018, with the engagement of more than 30 enterprises, including commercial banks, innovation labs, hotels, as well as businesses in the arts and crafts, IT and telecommunications sectors. The project tackled Sarajevo's most burning issues, according to the results of an on-line survey (air pollution, corruption and poor public transport), and launched a public call for innovative solutions. It proposed the fields of real-time

⁴³ <https://www.planetsmartcity.com/success-stories-from-the-first-smart-square-in-italy/>

⁴⁴ https://www.ba.undp.org/content/bosnia_and_herzegovina/en/home/smart-city-initiative.html

air pollution measuring and monitoring; smart urban mobility solutions and electric vehicles; smart public transport systems; smart parking and lighting; and smart and inclusive theatre, and announced that the selected concepts would be gradually implemented in collaboration with official cantonal, city and municipal institutions.

Technological innovations, as an inseparable part of our *zeitgeist*, are rapidly transforming our urban environment and everyday lives. The preceding theoretical analysis shows, however, that the process of change should be observed and channelled critically. Technological tools may be perceived and used wisely to improve the quality of our cities, and, consequently, of our public spaces. Screens or mobile interfaces should not be regarded as a replacement for public spaces, but rather as extensions that contribute to the improvement of public spaces in terms of their activation of public life, the efficient distribution of their functions and their environmental sustainability, multisensory design and safety. Successful examples show that the introduction of smart technologies (such as artificial intelligence, augmented and virtual reality, and smart city concepts) as layers over physical spaces results in hybrid spaces, characterised by a higher level of performance than traditional urban public spaces.

In between formal and informal approaches

The role of urban planning departments and institutions in contemporary cities has recently been contested for several reasons. In general, the development of public spaces is confronted with its questionable economic profitability, in terms of strategic position and land value. Additionally, the accelerated processes of deindustrialisation and urban transformation, followed by shady privatisation processes, have led to a situation in which local planning authorities are struggling to find financial support for their numerous development projects. These circumstances led to a new entrepreneurial approach from local governance, in which competitiveness and the desire for economic growth are the dominant forces, and ruthlessly displace the notion of public interest: *“Deindustrialization and suburban growth have meant that cities must compete against one another to attract itinerant, or ‘footloose’, capital investment by making themselves as attractive as possible to potential suitors. Many planning departments now serve primarily as economic development agencies, intent on attracting the top firms and the best and the brightest residents. These fundamental shifts in the political economy of cities have resulted in a transformation in how public space is produced”* (Schmidt & Németh, 2010). The traditional top-down, *tabula rasa* approach to urban planning introduced by the modernist movement was most efficient in European countries destroyed by World War II. The weaknesses of this kind of institutional planning are currently emerging, especially due to long-term planning and a high level of vertical subordination between local master plans and governmental strategic plans. Local master plans and regulatory plans are often unable to follow real-time urban dynamics. This *lack of planning* (Hirt & Stanilov, 2009) is becoming more and more obvious especially in transitional countries, like those Balkan states characterised by post-socialist/post-war restructuring. According to Hirt & Stanilov’s report *Urban Planning*

in *Transitional Countries*, the performance of municipal governments during the transition period has been significantly below the level of urban challenges (Hirt & Stanilov, 2009). These countries, Bosnia and Herzegovina included, have become testing grounds for neo-liberal development experiments that largely ignore the concept of strategic spatial planning. According to Oswalt, this planning concept manifests as *island urbanism*: sites that are interesting to investors are planned as projects – enclaves developed according to plans – while the territory in between disappears from the public consciousness. What was once a continuum of urban space ultimately disintegrates into two areas with virtually opposing characters (Oswalt, et al., 2013).

The points raised in the previous discussion show that traditional planning institutions alone cannot cope with the needs and dreams of their citizens. **We are currently entering a *post-institutional period*, characterised by a new paradigm of development defined by smaller projects and more fragmented spaces** (Ibelings, 2002). The role of planning and design professionals should be reconceived, with emphasis on catalysing collaborations between public, private and non-profit entities. Instead of relying on traditional solutions of formal planning via institutionalised channels to create urban transformations, we should be focusing on a combination of top-down, less formal, less permanent initiatives and alternative practices of *place-making* (Whyte, 1980). The spaces left out of *island urbanism* (often referred to as *urban voids*, in-between, liminal, lost or residual spaces) stand out for their special urbanity (Oswalt, et al., 2013) and reinsert the possibility of *urban making*, or *poesis*, in a way that large projects do not (Sassen, 2006). These small- or medium-scale interventions, often created modestly through neighbourhood initiatives or small architectural interventions, promote the genuine idea of common space. Such initiatives are frequently encompassed by another interesting phenomenon, commonly defined as *temporary urbanism* (Madanipour, 2017). This form of ephemeral intervention initiated by public, private

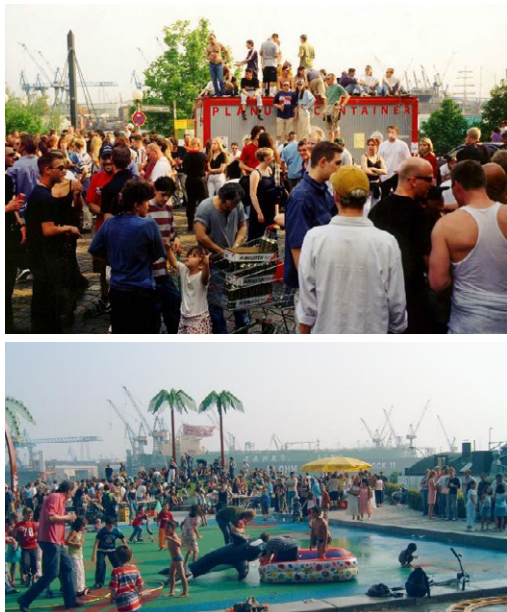


Figure 47. Various spontaneous and organized public activities taking place at the Gezi park.

or civil society actors is an emerging urban trend, an opportunity to change rigid rules, and to introduce something new to the urban context. However, since the early 2000s there has been an increasing intention to integrate these bottom-up initiatives and temporary interventions into the course of formal planning. Temporary interventions are employed to investigate new programs and functions for vacant sites, to promptly re-activate underused urban sites and to explore alternative planning procedures and new collaborative practices that are able to connect immediate needs with strategic plans.

Gezi Park in the Hamburg district of St. Pauli illustrates the major characteristics of the shift from the traditional approach to the planning of public spaces to a post-institutional and collaborative one. The idea of this project was to create a public neighbourhood park rather than a private residential complex. The neighbourhood of St. Pauli is historically



Figure 48. Gezi Park Fiction after the urban transformation.



and culturally rich, though many of its buildings are neglected, and the area has fostered a considerable squatters' movement since the 1980s. It is highly populated and relatively devoid of green and other communal areas. The project site was one of the few remaining unbuilt sites along the area's waterfront, and in 1994 the Ministry of Urban Development proposed a development plan for private housing and offices. At this point, the Harbour Edge Association presented a counterproposal: plans for a public park. It is particularly interesting to analyse the gradual strategy of appropriation and transformation that the citizens performed on the site. One of the most successful strategies was to not only protest for a public space, but to act as if one already existed (Figure 48).

To this end, the citizen group organised a series of public events on the site, including concerts, exhibitions, open-air screenings and talks (Spatial Agency, 2009). Consequently, the Ministry of Culture invited the association to enter its plans in a competition for art installations, where they received the green light to continue planning. The neighbourhood network had succeeded in bringing two city departments into conflict: the Ministry of Urban Development continued to insist on developing the land, while the Ministry of Culture endorsed the planned park (Seeds Project, 2013). In 1997, the movement seized the opportunity of elevated neighbourhood tensions and imminent elections to clean up the site. Its members placed benches, planted flowers and declared it a park. Eager to win the election, the city authorities approved the park idea. The planning process was envisaged as a *collective production of desires* (Spatial Agency, 2009), a collaborative activity performed in an on-site shipping container, and including clay models, discussions, lectures, sketches, and interviews with over 1500 people over a two-year period.

After numerous bureaucratic delays, the park was inaugurated in 2005 and soon became one of the city's favourite spots. It is dominated by thematic islands (*Dog Garden, Flying Carpet, Open Air Solarium, Palm Island and Tenants*) and various temporary and informal interventions (Figure 48).

Gezi Park is an important example of a public space developed collaboratively by including a range of local actors (Table 7). It illustrates various modes of participatory planning and a non-institutionalised approach to city making. The inclusive planning strategy did not originate from local planning institutions as a test ground for further developments. On the contrary, the authorities were forced to concede under constant public pressure, and the idea of *the right to the city* (Lefebvre, 1968).

Table 7. Analysis of the socio-spatial attributes of Gezi Park prior and post transformation. Source: Authors

ATTRIBUTES		INSTITUTIONALIZED APPROACH	COLLABORATIVE APPROACH	
1.	TYPOLOGY	UNDEFINED	COMMUNAL	GREEN
2.	SCALE	MEDIUM	MEDIUM	
3.	ENCLOSURE	OPEN	OPEN	
4.	URBAN ACTIVITY	PASSIVE	ACTIVE	
5.	ACCESSIBILITY	CONDITIONALLY ACCESSIBLE	ACCESSIBLE	
6.	URBAN ATMOSPHERE	INTROVERTED	EXTROVERTED	

Conversely, many Northern European countries, headed by Denmark, are **promoting calls for new collaborative planning models**. The Danish Town Planning Institute, under the *Network for Private-Public Urban Cooperation* programme, is exploring the potential of public and private partnerships in urban development. Similarly, in the *Smart Urban Intermediaries* programme, they are seeking individuals who are strong anchors of their communities to bring people and resources together in creative or interesting ways, to solve shared problems for the common good.

Over the past few years, the number of non-institutionalised urban interventions into public spaces with the intention of common benefit has been rising in Sarajevo. In 2013, the *Crvena* association for art and culture, in cooperation with the *LIFT Spatial Initiative*, launched the *City and Nature* programme to create an experimental modular web map of Sarajevo, called *Gradology*. *Gradology* is an online activist platform that helps citizens of Sarajevo discover and map urban open spaces like parks, squares, abandoned buildings and unused spaces. The programme's goals were to: accumulate and disseminate knowledge on the issues of collective action in space; encourage involvement in decision-making processes through formal and informal organisational mechanisms



Figure 49. Informal initiatives of urban sites transformation launched by *Dobre kote*.

and forms; and develop democratic, participatory approaches to the analysis and practice of urban planning (LIFT, 2015). Similarly, a group of self-organised young activists gathered under the name *Dobre kote* has operated since 2015 with the aim of reintegrating abandoned and neglected public and semi-public spaces into everyday life (Figure 49). Their scope is to turn discarded and unwelcoming urban spots into gathering spaces for the local community, especially children, through joint collaborative action.

These informal activities, as well as the protest against the 2019 appropriation and conversion of part of the Hastahana park in Sarajevo in a construction site, testify to the gradual rise of citizen awareness of their right to public space, and to the city in general. Sadly, local authorities are still reluctant to respond to citizen initiatives, and do not sufficiently recognise the potential value that the collaborative planning approach can contribute to the quality of Sarajevo's urban environment.

In between global and site-specific

According to Norberg-Schulz's concept of *genius loci*, every site has its own character, determined by location, geography and history – the sense of place (Norberg-Schulz, 1991 [1979]). Jan Gehl probes how this specific feeling of spatial quality creates a remarkable overall impression, which inspires people to be in a certain space (Gehl, 2010). According to Lynch, “[s]ense of place in itself enhances every human activity that occurs there, and encourages the deposit of a memory trace” (Lynch, 1960). For Juhani Paallasma, *genius loci*, is an ephemeral, unfocused, and non-material experiential character, which gives it a unique perceptual and memorable character and identity (Paallasma, 2006). Despite this, **we are witnessing an all-pervading homogenisation and loss of identity in almost every part of the world.** Commodification and globalization are influencing the public realm, endangering the authenticity of cities, and mass-producing anonymous, consumer-friendly, populist spaces. The phenomenon of *global* and *entrepreneurial cities* emphasises the trend of creating safe, controlled and generic public environments to attract as many tourists as possible. The loss of authentic spaces by using such scenographic urban strategies is often referred to as the *fantasy city* (Hanningan, 1998), (Hajer & Reijndorp, 2001) or the *theme-parking* (Sassen, 2006) of cities. Disney World is often analysed as a case study of this, epitomising places with a strong artificial identity, but lacking authenticity. Carmona describes this process as homogenisation of the space through design, characterised by generic and globalised design principles that may or may not be appropriate locally, or that are applied rigidly by unskilled local government officers, without giving thought to context (Carmona, 2010). According to Augé, this specific urban condition generates *non-places* – spaces that create neither a singular identity nor relationships, but only solitude and similitude (Augé, 1995). Non-places have a recognisable form and uniformity, and can be anywhere and

everywhere. For Ibelings, non-places can be seen as typical expressions of the age of globalisation (Ibelings, 2002).

Globalised landscapes usually occur in the form of shopping streets and high-rise business districts in major cities throughout the highly developed world. A global city is characterised by its global consumer culture. Today, shoppers can buy identical branded handbags in identical shops in lookalike commercial streets in Paris and Tokyo. But the concept of the global city spreads further, encompassing a wide variety of globalised events and phenomena, from proliferation of Fashion Weeks and Guggenheim Museums to ubiquitous polycarbonate urban cow sculptures.

Globalisation to this extent is a product of the late 20th century. The idea of authentic and diverse public spaces appeals to the middle-class residents of contemporary cities in Europe and North America. Neighbourhoods with a kaleidoscopic mix of bohemians, immigrants, hipsters, students and families riding their bicycles in a former industrial setting filled with cafes, craft breweries and local designers' showrooms is a socio-cultural ideal of the 21st century, and can be achieved only by finding a balance between consumer culture, historical and contextual traces, social values and visual and symbolic meaning. As Southworth and Ruggeri argue *"Identity cannot be captured simply through snapshots, but requires a continuous engagement with the place and its life. It should come from the bottom up, rather than top down, from the users, rather than the experts, from incremental projects, rather than largescale urban renewal programs"* (Southworth & Ruggeri, 2011). It is not surprising, then, that urban transformation and renewal projects in European cities frequently incorporate the reassessment of heritage and other historic legacies.

The *Stadshal* (Market Hall) project in Ghent, Belgium uses traditional, site-specific elements to improve the quality of public life in its city centre, while avoiding the trap of quasi-historicist reconstruction (Figure



Figure 50. Stadshal - Market Hall square, Ghent.



50). The *Stadshal* is a 40-metre long, free standing canopy used as a shelter from the rain and sun, as well as for weekly markets, occasional concerts and other public gatherings.

Prior to its transformation, this site was used as an open-air car park at the gates of the historic city. Due to demolitions of the original gothic urban fabric in 1913 and the 1960s, it became a part of an excessively large esplanade surrounding the Town Hall, Saint Nicholas Church and Saint Bavo Cathedral. In 1996 and 2005, municipal authorities launched

two consecutive competitions with the same scope: to redesign the esplanade and construct an underground car park. In both competitions, architects Robbrecht en Daem and Marie-José Van Hee proposed an alternative: instead of a car park and open space, their design restored the original topography of the demolished gothic blocks, dividing the esplanade into a cluster of three smaller squares. In 1996 their proposal was disqualified. In 2005, it won.

The structure consists of two steeply sloped roofs that cover the site and reference the forms of nearby gothic buildings. The architects opted for a dualistic aesthetic approach; from the outside the simple finishes of the new building appear humble in comparison to the surrounding aristocratic facades. The wooden shingles are covered with a protective glass membrane, creating a soft glow and sky reflections. From the interior, the rich colour and double modulation of the wooden ceiling pierced with a thousand small windows that scatter the light inwards embraces passers-by with a feeling of domesticity. The roof structure is supported by four solid, concrete columns set at the corners of the building. One of these incorporates a fireplace (a symbol of home), while the others contain staircases and elevators leading to lower level facilities, such as a cafeteria, bike parking and public transport connections. In terms of function, this solution gives precedence to pedestrian and bicycle traffic over motor vehicles.

In this case, historic, local forms were used to give greater meaning to the urban planning intervention. The real essence of the project lies in its restoration of the original spatial relationships between the three squares, and in intensifying public life by inviting people to stay in the space instead of pass through it (Table 8).

Table 8. Analysis of the socio-spatial attributes of Stadshal in Ghent prior and post transformation. Source: Authors

ATTRIBUTES		GLOBAL	SITE-SPECIFIC	
1.	TYPOLOGY	TRANSPORTATION	CIVIC	
2.	SCALE	MEDIUM	MEDIUM	
3.	ENCLOSURE	OPEN	SEMI-ENCLOSED	
4.	URBAN ACTIVITY	PASSIVE	ACTIVE	
5.	ACCESSIBILITY	CONDITIONALLY ACCESSIBLE	ACCESSIBLE	
6.	URBAN ATMOSPHERE	INTROVERTED	INTROVERTED	EXTROVERTED

Conversely, urban transformation in contemporary Sarajevo is yet to use its rich historical heritage as a catalyst for the restoration and improvement of public spaces. Recent projects tend either towards a historicist reconstruction (such as the music pavilion in Atmejdán park, the Bakr-babina Mosque, and the courtyard of Kalin hadzi-Alija's Mosque) or a neutral approach lacking site-specific features (such as the squares in front of the Youth Theatre, and the Children of Sarajevo square). Contemporary urban interventions should seek balance between the revitalisation of heritage, and adding value to the public space. This does not necessarily imply literally referencing traditional or heritage sites, but rather giving them higher visibility and greater appreciation in the context of the contemporary city.

In between East and West

In exploring the extensive academic literature, it is noticeable that the Western/Eurocentric perspective on public spaces and their transformations is prevalent. **The Western conception of public space is adopted as a universal model, regardless of the contextual specificity of local, culturally embedded traditions and uses of public space.** In Bosnia and Herzegovina, as in many transitional Eastern countries (Krebs, 2015) the common perception of “Western” and “European” is positive – an ideal for which to strive – as opposed to “non-European” and “Oriental”, which symbolise regression and decadence. But according to Lefebvre (Lefebvre, 1974), public space is a projection of a society on its terrain. This implies that there is no ideal, independent model of public space for a location, regardless of regional settings.

On the other hand, much of the uniqueness and complexity of Sarajevo’s socio-cultural identity lies in its geographical location, at the threshold of Eastern and Western civilisations (Zagora & Samic, 2014). Having been exposed to both Western and Islamic-Oriental ideas and influences, public space in Sarajevo is primarily characterised by its hybridity and state of in-betweenness. This is particularly evident in the relationship between public and private realms. The city’s cultural legacy is most commonly distinguished by the following paradigms:

- **Islamic/Oriental:** small-scale residential developments, i.e. private and semi-private *mahalas* (an immediate neighbourhood that signifies the essence of local communities), each with a central mosque; and Carsija (Bascarsija), the business and public centre of the city, containing all its public activities. In Ottoman times, the space of the city was clearly divided into public and private zones, and the privacy of the house and local neighbourhood was highly valued.

- Austro-Hungarian/Western: *the city* – i.e. orthogonally planned block structures containing administration, cultural and healthcare functions, and apartments. The division between the city's public and private zones is less expressed than in the oriental paradigm; however, the limited accessibility of the new developments curbed their true publicness.

As previously discussed, over the years several socio-economic/historic layers (socialist/modernist, transitional, neo-liberal/post-modern) have added to Sarajevo's overall picture to create a kaleidoscopic image of the city. Under the influence of these different conceptualisations of publicness, it is understandable that public space in Sarajevo is characterised by hybridity, multiple uses and the periodical blurring of concepts. Therefore, rigid definitions and universal formulas for the transformation of public space are inapplicable in this case.

Besiktas fish market in Istanbul is an example of a successful, subtle transformation and upgrade of a traditional public space. For over a hundred years, the original market stood on a triangular lot in the heart of Besiktas, one of the city's most vibrant and eclectic neighbourhoods, crowded with restaurants and small shops. The site represents the true essence of Istanbul: a sense of vicinity, the mixing of flows and sensory experiences, and a fascinating liveliness. The original market was covered by a triangular roof structure in disastrous condition, and its deteriorating general infrastructure was significantly impacting health and safety standards. Consequently, sales started to drop, and in 2006 local merchants asked Besiktas Council to renovate the market without changing its content or way of doing business.



Figure 51. Besiktas fish market after the urban transformation.

The new market is also covered by a triangular structure, this time made from concrete and steel, without internal columns (Figure 51). The slab itself folds towards the ground at the three points, which allows its facades to remain open to the street. This unifies the market with the wider urban fabric, and influences its integration with neighbouring shops and restaurants and the flow of pedestrian traffic. The interior is divided into six sections for vendors. The display cases were hand-crafted by local experts in continuous stainless steel forms. The lighting system maintains the traditional use of hanging bulbs, common to fish markets in Istanbul (GAD Architecture, 2009).

Table 9. Socio-spatial attributes of Besiktas fish market prior and post transformation. Source: Authors

ATTRIBUTES		SOCIALIST		POST-SOCIALIST	
1.	TPOLOGY	COMMERCIAL	CIVIC	COMMERCIAL	CIVIC
2.	SCALE	SMALL		SMALL	
3.	ENCLOSURE	SEMI-ENCLOSED		SEMI-ENCLOSED	
4.	URBAN ACTIVITY	ACTIVE		ACTIVE	
5.	ACCESSIBILITY	CONDITIONALLY ACCESSIBLE		ACCESSIBLE	
6.	URBAN ATMOSPHERE	INTROVERTED		EXTROVERTED	

The urban regeneration of Besiktas fish market reflects a genuine balance of traditional values such as community, spontaneity of social interaction and vibrancy, and contemporary elements such as the form and materials of the canopy structure. The intervention remains faithful to the traditional essence of the site without disregarding its contemporary progress.

Summary

Public spaces are inseparable from their context: the fluctuating cultural, economic, political, social and technological factors that constitute their spatial and temporal reality. Discussions about the historical and spatial attributes of public spaces in Sarajevo in previous chapters denoted their *transitory condition*, or their *state of in-betweenness*. This state is manifested in a series of dichotomies, such as *pre-* vs. *post-*, *here* vs. *there*, *public* vs. *private*, and *us* vs. *them*.

The *zeitgeist* of the contemporary epoch is generally characterised by instability and rapidly accelerating global change. These changes can be regarded as obstacles, challenges or opportunities, and depending on the approach, can be either resisted, embraced without reservation, or accepted with a critical setback. Frequent changes and divergences are not new to Sarajevo. In the previous chapter, public spaces were regarded as products of transition processes, temporal changes from one state to another, such as socialism to capitalism, or low-tech to smart technology. Public spaces are often situated between opposed concepts or polarities, such as *formal* and *informal*, *global* and *local*, and *East* and *West*. An analysis of each aspect affecting the identity of public spaces in Sarajevo was followed by case studies that proved transition or in-betweenness are not necessarily obstacles, and can be transformed into opportunities for future development.

Socio-economic transition

Alongside the global economic transition to a liberal economy by the turn of the third millennium, Central and Eastern European cities underwent political and social shifts, and witnessed the transition from modernism to postmodernism. The multi-layered transition process in post-socialist cities affected their urban environments significantly. One of the consequences of this was an acquired aversion to the common values of the previous era and regime, which led to a general disregard of public spaces. Even almost three decades after the end of the 1990s war, the city of Sarajevo and its public spaces are drifting in transitional limbo: a post-socialist, post-communist and postmodern state of *in-betweenness*. The “pre-” and “post-”, “public” and “private”, “socialist” and “capitalist” dichotomies are blocking the fate of public spaces. Cases like the urban transformation of Moirii Canal in the Romanian city of Reghin show that it is possible to reclaim communal space, even after the post-socialist period allows it to be physically blocked and randomly, privately appropriated. The lesson of this urban makeover is in the proactive role of the architects, who initiated the project through linking the local community with the town council.

Technological transition

Late 20th-century theories on withdrawal from the public to private realm as a result of technological progress have been validated by the contemporary global urban lifestyle. The metaphors of “Internet as the new public space” and “the screen as the last wall” have become less fiction, and more everyday reality. The discussion of technological impact on the urban environment diverges into two perspectives: (1) the critical stance, blaming technological progress for the further decline of real public spaces; and (2) the progressive stance, favouring the emergence of new, technologically enhanced forms of public space. A more balanced approach is the perspective on public spaces as hybrids, in which physical and material elements interact with virtual layers to increase their social contact, sustainability, real-time management and maintenance. The application of smart technology in the 2016 transformation of Piazza Risorgimento (the Planet Smart Square) in Turin, Italy, was a key feature of this collaborative project between businesses, urban planners, and the IT, private and public sectors. The project used an online application to monitor the improved qualities of the public space, primarily focusing on social interaction and sustainability. Learning from successful projects of this kind, and following the path of similar initiatives in Sarajevo, can raise awareness on how the application of smart technologies can result in these spaces having a higher level of performance than traditional urban public spaces.

In between formal and informal approaches

Formal, traditional planning strategies that echo the modern urbanism movement and post-war reconstruction are not synchronised with real-time urban dynamics, and highlight the need for the role of planning institutions to be redefined. Market pressure to increase the competitiveness of cities to attract more capital results in island urbanism and a series of urban voids (Oswalt, et al., 2013). Planning authorities are gradually becoming entrepreneurship agencies, striving for the goals of cities' political economies, instead of citizens' public interests. Rather than profit-based urban activities, an alternative approach can be taken, which prioritises the needs of citizens and the sustainability of public spaces. This lies in a combination of formal planning via institutionalised channels with the bottom-up informal practices associated with terms such as *placemaking* (Whyte, 1980), *temporary urbanism* (Madanipour, 2017), and *ephemeral interventions*. Cases of the integration of bottom-up initiatives and temporary interventions into the course of formal planning (such as Gezi Park in Hamburg or the Danish Town Planning Institute's *Network for Private-Public Urban Cooperation*) show the qualitative benefits of the collaborative approach to the development of public spaces. Though there has been an increase in the number of informal initiatives concerning the current status and perspectives of public spaces in Sarajevo, there has been an insufficient response and initiative from local authorities to explore and embrace the potentials of public and private partnerships in urban development.

In between global and site-specific


Global consumer culture has had a great influence on the public realm, resulting in an anonymous, generic and mass-produced architecture and urban environment. Simultaneously, the *theme-parking* (Sassen, 2006) trend in urban development emerged in the 21st century, parallel to homogenisation, the loss of identity in public spaces, and the proliferation of *non-places* (Augé, 1995). The latter profit-based phenomenon, however, lacks the authenticity of homogenised environments, and fails to capture the identity and sense of a place. Conversely, projects such as the Stadshal Market in Ghent, Belgium show that the quality of public life in a city centre can be achieved by interacting with context through site-specific interventions. As an alternative to the design competition's programme to construct an underground parking garage, the new market echoes the demolished gothic blocks, and resonates the *genius loci* of Ghent's historic city centre. These kinds of projects represent a design approach to urban transformation that adds new value to public spaces, enhances the identity of a place, and resists the supremacy of globalisation.

In between East and West

Because of its geographic location, Sarajevo has been exposed to both Western and Islamic-Oriental mind-sets and influences throughout its history. Consequently, the socio-cultural identity and the identity of public space in Sarajevo can be associated with hybridity and the state of in-betweenness. Its multi-layered historical legacy makes the city architecturally and culturally idiosyncratic, but also determines its ambivalent relationship towards the notion of public spaces, and the appreciation of common, shared values. The contextual narrative of the coexistence of Eastern and Western traditions in Sarajevo is specific, making other examples and role models hard to find. For this reason, the most suitable approach to its public spaces would be one that emerges from the authentic context of the city. The urban regeneration of the Besiktas Fish Market highlights the “software” of the public space, by translating the site’s traditional oriental atmosphere, its sense of community and the spontaneity of its social interaction into contemporary Western elements, such as form and materials.

The previous chapter’s consideration of causal relationships between context and public space was intended to show the advantages of transitions and dichotomies, rather than viewing them as obstacles. Polarities can yield new values and instigate progress, instead of stagnating and maintaining the *status quo*, or, as in the case of public spaces in Sarajevo, the *status in-between*. Even dichotomies can be viewed from the perspective of an integrative, inclusive approach. When viewed through this lens, public spaces can highlight social values in the age of capitalism; use smart technologies to enhance their traditional qualities; and collaborate to bring authorities, the community and professionals together. Design can embody both global and site-specific *hardware and software*; embracing the oriental paradigm does not necessarily exclude the Western perspective, and vice versa.





IV
FROM
URBAN VOIDS
TO
URBAN ROOMS



*So plant your own gardens and
decorate your own soul, instead of
waiting for someone to bring you
flowers.*

Jorge Luis Borges

IV. FROM URBAN VOIDS TO URBAN ROOMS

A key finding of the examination, historical overview and urban mapping of the status-quo of Sarajevo's public spaces was the identification of spatial (physical) and socio-cultural (non-physical) thresholds, gaps and grey-areas, as the most likely reasons for the city's lack of cultural and urban continuity. A review of academic literature on public spaces reveals the need to discover an alternative to the traditional top-down approach to urban planning. Grand urban schemes are no longer suitable in the contemporary condition of permanent instability, especially in transient socio-cultural contexts such as Sarajevo. Rem Koolhaas sees this paradigm shift, and describes the quest for a new vision in urbanism in his book *S,M,L,XL*: *"If there is to be a new urbanism it will not be based on twin fantasies of order and omnipotence; it will be the staging of uncertainty; it will no longer be concerned with the arrangement of more or less permanent objects but with the irrigation of territories with potential; it will no longer aim for stable configurations but for the creation of enabling fields that accommodate processes that refuse to be crystallized into definite form..."* (Koolhaas, et al., 1995). Following a similar line of reasoning, Ibelings affirms that we are entering a post-institutional period, characterised by a new paradigm of the development of smaller projects and more fragmented spaces (Ibelings, 2002). As many authors suggest, alternative planning methods should therefore consider small, fragmented spaces and limited economic resources. Saskia Sassen proposes a movement to create *modest public spaces*, which would diverge from traditional urban paradigms and grand monumentalised spaces. By creating modest public spaces, the experience of a particular locality gradually becomes part of a global network, comprising multiple localities.

The critical categories of public spaces identified in previous chapters of this book, referred to as *urban voids*, should be defined and closely examined in the context of current urban developments in Sarajevo. Urban voids, leftover and marginal spaces, generally emerge as inconsistencies within the urban fabric, intentionally or unintentionally produced in the process of traditional city planning and development. In theoretical discourse, these spaces are often referred to as *voids*, *black holes*, and *cracks in the city* (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1996): abandoned, unused spaces that have been pushed to the margins of daily life, both physically and historically. The proliferation of voids can lead to further physical and social deterioration in an urban environment, as elucidated in the *broken windows theory*.⁴⁵

The objective of the following theoretical discussions, which are accompanied by case studies, is to find the most suitable approach for the urban transformation of specific urban voids. We will examine how these passive urban spaces could be converted into active and vibrant urban rooms, and whether this transformation would affect the regeneration of broader urban areas.

One of the possible options in a bottom-up strategy to address Sarajevo's public spaces crisis is the *urban acupuncture* methodology, which involves multiple micro-interventions. The final chapter will simulate potential intervention methods in a case study of small-scale urban voids, which could potentially lead to the broader urban regeneration of public space in Sarajevo. The objective of this simulation is to show how these *black holes* can be converted into *urban rooms*, and subsequently instigate the activation and re-signification of wider urban areas.

45 A social theory proposed by James Q. Wilson and George Kelling in 1982, which used broken windows as a metaphor for urban disorder that encouraged further social disorder and crime.

Intervention target: urban voids

“Where there is nothing, everything is possible. Where there is architecture, nothing (else) is possible” (Koolhaas, et al., 1995).

There is nothing more difficult to define than an empty space. Even though it has been a part of the economic, philosophical, social and urban discourse for some time, the urban void or urban empty space evades solid definition. As Paolo Desideri states, *“the void is not a very definite term”* (Desideri, 1997). The notion of a spatial void is parallel to the ancient Japanese concept *Ma*, denoting a gap, a pause, a negative space, or an interval between two objects. *Ma* can also be described as *“an emptiness full of possibilities, like a promise yet to be fulfilled”*, and as *“the silence between the notes which make the music”*⁴⁶ (Kisaki, 2011). The interpretation of spatial voids in the *Ma* sense therefore evokes multiple opportunities and promises.

The essence of this urban phenomenon, however, is not easily captured by a comprehensive term. Recurrent subjects in urban transformation projects and theoretical discourse, urban voids are described by several synonyms or corresponding terms such as: *Derelict Land, Brownfield, Freiräume, Leere, Terrain Vague, Terrenos Baldios, Urban Wastelands, Vacant Land and Vazios Urbanos*. The French term *Terrain Vague*, coined by de Sola Morales in the 1990s, evokes a wider meaning by uniting the physical manifestation of a phenomenon with its potential use (de Sola Morales, 2003). As de Sola Morales explains, the word *vague*, has a double origin – Latin and Germanic. The German term *Woge* means *instability, movement or oscillation*. In Latin, however, the word *vague* may have one of two different roots: *vacuus*, which means *available, empty, free or unoccupied*, or *vagus*, which means *confused, inaccurate, indeterminate*,

46 This quotation is attributed to French composer Claude Debussy.

or *out-of-focus*. According to de Solá Morales, the semiotic relationship between an absence of content and a sense of freedom and hope is a fundamental aspect to the understanding of urban voids' potential to be elements of wider transformation and development in their "*emptiness, absence but also promise, possibility, expectation*" (de Sola Morales, 2003).

In simple terms, urban voids occur in unbuilt urban spaces. This suggests that they also fit the category of open public spaces. From this perspective, Fernando Espuelas expounds two ways in which open public spaces are produced, which also applies to urban voids: "*Public space is generated, basically in two ways: one follows a temporal process of accumulation and modification without any clear prefiguration and the other one finds its origin in previous and unitary order, fruit of a planning will*" (Espuelas, 2004). Depending on their genesis, urban voids can be categorised as **defined** and/or **residual voids**. A defined (programmed, planned) void is a vacant space created for a specific purpose, and is an equivalent to an open public space. A residual void is created accidentally, as a result of urban development and transformation (Šamić, 2012). At times these types overlap, or are transformative cycles of the same space.

The difficulty in defining urban voids relates to their changing role over the course of a city's development: the transformations of a city are followed by the shifting status and consequent transition of urban voids. In both traditional and modern concepts of the city, emptiness is the visual *background* for a building, the latter of which is regarded as a *figure* or *solid*. The ratio between solid and void changed drastically between ideas of urbanism in the pre-modern and modern eras. The compactness of historical cities did not allow undetermined spaces. In modernist urbanism, this vision was replaced by the paradigm of a "*continuous void*" (Koetter & Rowe, 1978). The point where the vision of the modern city diverged from that of traditional city planning also

changed the notion of the void: *"The first one is an accumulation of solids in largely unmanipulated void, whilst the other one is an accumulation of voids in largely unmanipulated solid."* (Koetter & Rowe, 1978). Over the last 50 years, the vast open spaces of modernist urbanism have been gradually fragmented by architectural developments and transport infrastructure to produce in-between, under-used urban spaces dominated by car parks, scraps of green areas, and wastelands. Urban voids are often ambiguous in terms of ownership and accessibility, and it can be hard to tell whether they belong to the public or private realm. This discontinuous, fragmented void is the field of the modernist city's dissolution.

Rather than conforming to a fixed definition, urban voids are better described by their tangible and intangible characteristics. As explained previously, comprehension of this phenomenon is broadened through the elaboration of the linguistic etymology and semiotic values of *terrain vague*. This type of space emerges in urban areas as defined/planned or residual. It originates from two types of solid-void compositional arrangements: pre-modern and modern. Understanding the theoretical basis of the genesis and meaning and of urban voids leads logically to a critical inquiry into their contemporary condition. Urban voids in the contemporary city are characterised by multi-dimensionality, multi-valence, juxtaposition and simultaneity. This can lead to a progressive loss of meaning, and the absence of the basic urban conditions of continuity, function, programme, and connection with context. As Desideri points out, urban voids are not only spaces without structure, they also lack meaning. Or, as Saskia Sassen argues in her essay "Hybrid Space", these spaces are characterised more by memory than contemporary meaning. Similarly, for Ignasi de Sola Morales, voids in a contemporary metropolis are a metaphor for urban estrangement: *"They are the interior islands, inactive, uninhabited, insecure and unproductive. They are the strangest places in the urban structure."* (de Sola Morales, 2003).

Regardless of their scale or type, all urban interventions imply taking and adding value from and to their relative context. In this respect, the importance of design has a wider meaning. In the broadest sense, a context is understood by its spatial/physical aspect (the built environment), its social aspect (the expectations, needs, rites and traditions of its users), its cultural aspect (aesthetic and ethical values, design paradigms, and past legacies) and its temporal aspect. The topic of emptiness, or urban voids, (understood as the absence of a project), therefore becomes a **contextual inquiry**. The selected case studies will be regarded within the temporal process of urban transformation, which means they are products of their relatable past and present context, but still susceptible and modifiable according to the future context. In this way, they are potential key factors in the influence of their future micro and macro milieu.

This give-and-take liaison, established by interventions (in particular urban voids and their context) becomes part of the dynamics of the larger urban process, as Rossi observes: *"the dynamic process of the city tends more to evolution than to conservation"*. Similarly, Koolhaas claims that *"[t]he great originality of the Generic city is simply to abandon what doesn't work - what has outlived its use [...] the Generic city is held together, not by over-demanding public realm [...] but by the residual"* (Koolhaas, 2007). The fundamental aspect to consider in order to understand the urban void is therefore its temporary or transitory character, which reflects urban mutation processes. An urban void is a manifestation of transformational processes in progress, in which the present state is one of many episodes of continuous transformation. Its current form seeks balance between enhancement of the past and design for the future, and responds to new spatial demands. This ambiguous status of the urban voids we mapped in the city of Sarajevo provides an opportunity to respond to the public identity crisis that caused them. A careful assessment of their context is critical, as is the proposal of

fresh new public content. The problem could be approached by tackling the confusion between private and public identities instigated by the city's past and present, and by addressing the contemporary notion of collectivity in a new way, regarding it as an interactive union of individual identities. Bernardo Secchi explains why having a suitable vision is important to future interventions: *"The space in which we will live the next few decades is foremost already built. The theme now is how to give a meaning and a future to the city, to the territory and to the existing materials. This implies a modification of our design methods that allows us to recover the ability to see, foresee and control. It is indeed from the vision that we must begin"* (Secchi, 1984). The fundamental challenge of urban interventions is therefore to reinvent flexible urban design principles. This can be achieved by taking into account the present and future elasticity of urban voids in the context of the city, and allowing a multiplicity of expressive possibilities in future interventions.

Intervention methods: focus on urban acupuncture

When analysing public spaces and public life in contemporary cities, we can see that grand urban schemes by visionary politicians and urban planners have become a thing of the past. Cities can instead be regarded as complex living organisms that require efficient new strategies to pursue their issues *in situ* and in real-time, and to respond flexibly to the dynamic economic and political cycles of contemporary society. Many urban scholars and experts give prominence to **small-scale interventions, which can generate a large-scale impact** on an urban environment. This is particularly appropriate in small cities (with fewer than 500,000 inhabitants) such as Sarajevo, which has physical limitations in terms of its topography and existing urban fabric. Alongside these limitations, however, such multifaceted urban contexts extend possibilities. Previous discussions have led to the identification of urban voids as potential focal points for the regeneration of wider urban areas. The following section will present an overview and genesis of the formal, informal and collaborative methodological approaches to urban regeneration in contemporary practice. Our objective is to uncover the modes and techniques that will facilitate the reinvention of Sarajevo's urban voids.

Most urban regeneration projects target neglected, underused areas that deteriorate a city's image and liveability, and generally result from changes to urban growth and productivity patterns (The World Bank, 2015). Depending on budget and scale, urban regeneration projects can be performed from the top down by the public sector, or from the bottom up by the community or the private sector, and can use various programmes, scopes and techniques. Some of the most successful recent projects have been based on a **collaborative approach, bringing together the public, private and community sectors.**

URBAN REGENERATION

Some of the best known examples of **urban regeneration** date from the late 20th century, and were instigated by avant-garde architectural projects. These include the Pompidou Centre in Paris, the Guggenheim museum in Bilbao, and the Tate Modern in London. All three projects stemmed from an overarching cultural narrative of the development of new museum facilities in abandoned and underused industrial urban landscapes. The resulting iconic works of architecture had a global domino effect (often referred to as the Bilbao effect), and inspired subsequent urban renewal projects and city branding strategies worldwide (Zagora & Šamić, 2014). Engaging arts and culture as catalysts for urban renewal began in the SoHo neighbourhood of Lower Manhattan in New York City. The 1960s plan to build elevated highways in the former industrial area south of Houston Street was abandoned because of opposition from civic and cultural activists lead by Jane Jacobs. The cast-iron architecture and urban contours of SoHo were later persevered, while the spacious and luminous lofts were converted into artists' galleries and residencies, branding SoHo a symbol for the renewal of former urban industrial sites.⁴⁷

These successful fusions of architectural, cultural and urban regeneration inspired some of the 21st century's most recognised **urban renewal strategies** worldwide, which took place within the institutional framework. The collapse of the industrial economy during the 1980s and early 1990s in most European and North American cities led to socio-economic stagnation and urban deterioration, which left numerous unused areas in vital urban locations, mainly on industrial sites and docklands. In the early 2000s, the majority of governmental planning authorities opted for traditional urban regeneration, based on long-term, large-scale, high cost transformative strategies. The institutional, top-down approach to

47 SoHo's gentrification has attracted affluent residents since the 1980s. This, combined with its transformation into a popular tourist attraction, made it one of the USA's most expensive areas for real estate.

urban regeneration consists of “a comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental conditions of an area that has been subject to change” (Roberts & Sykes, 2000).

This strategy of bringing cultural policies and urban regeneration together in post-industrial environments, mostly for the purposes of city branding and tourist appeal, has been successfully implemented over the last two decades in European cities such as Amsterdam, Barcelona, Copenhagen Istanbul and London. Despite the success of projects such as the regeneration of Barcelona’s *La Mina* neighbourhood and Rotterdam’s inner city, some proved to be too expensive, too slow and too exclusive.⁴⁸ Today, international organisations such as the European Regional Development Fund and the World Bank have launched development programmes that encourage transformative actions through small-scale initiatives and improved social inclusion. The dissemination of this kind of project has shown that culture is a catalyst for urban regeneration. Introducing art and culture into abandoned post-industrial and transport sites or decaying historic inner cities creates a new image of the district, raises its attractiveness, and consequently improves the overall quality of life in the wider area or even in the city as a whole. Cultural policy and urban regeneration were merged as a strategy to create a post-industrial urban landscape, resolve the shortage of public finance, and strengthen competitiveness in the global economy (Harvey, 1989) .

Deriving from the ideological milieu of community activism and urban culture resistance in SoHo, the synergy between cultural policies and urban regeneration has gradually merged into the mainstream

48 As Savini points out, “although planners and engaged politicians were fully aware of the importance of inclusionary and responsible planning, their practices often resulted in exclusive, unresponsive, over-standardized and profit oriented activities” (Savini, et al., 2014).



Figure 52. Telliskivi Creative City.



institutional top-down approach to urbanism. Among the initiatives that radiate the spirit of the SoHo and Bilbao transformations is the institution of the *European Capital of Culture*,⁴⁹ which endorses urban regeneration in alliance with the creative and cultural leisure industries. The ECOC programme was launched in 1985, and one of its priorities since 2004 has been the redevelopment of the urban environment of selected cities. An exemplary case is the Estonian capital Tallinn, which was designated as the ECOC in 2011. Its redevelopment shows that the quality of an urban space can be used as an instrument to support the competitiveness of its city. After the collapse of the Socialist regime,

49 The European Capital of Culture (ECOC) is an EU Creative Europe funded program, which promotes a different city annually through cultural events.

several parts of Tallinn's inner city, as well as most parts of its waterfront (former industrial or military areas), were strategically neglected and left as a barrier between the city and the sea, to await "better times". Tallinn's ECOC status established its new image as a maritime city, by redefining its coastal area and redesigning its skyline as viewed from the sea. The urban redevelopment scheme considered public spaces as **urban living rooms**, where people would come to spend their free time, meet friends, and enjoy diverse leisure activities (Lahdesmaki, 2013). Featured projects included the urban promenade *Cultural Kilometre*, the development of the Contemporary Art Museum of Estonia (CAME) next to the former power plant, the renewal of the old seaplane harbour as part of the new Maritime Museum, and, later, the establishment of the Telliskivi Creative City – Estonia's largest creative centre, which houses creative companies, studios, and the offices of NGOs.

ALTERNATIVE STRATEGIES

In addition to institutional, top-down strategies, alternative methods can be applied to transform abandoned urban industrial sites. These predominantly entail the self-initiated, spontaneous actions of cultural appropriation, temporary cultural interventions and hands-on approaches. One of the most renowned examples of these unconventional and controversial interventions is Copenhagen's district of Christiania, which has been squatted since the 1970s. Today, it is home to a rising number of informal practices, such as urban or community gardening, DIY and tactical urbanism, and ephemeral urban and architectural projects. **Urban or community gardening** has become an important tool for the re-appropriation and regeneration of unused urban spaces. Urban gardens can be cultivated in the most unlikely places, such as Berlin's former military airport Tempelhof, or a concrete car park like Melbourne's Pop Up Patch (Figure 53). Whether formally or informally initiated, urban gardens share some key points. First, they convey the values of



Figure 53. A Community Garden at Berlin's abandoned Tempelhof Airport (left), Pop Up Patch at the Federation square Melbourne (right).

community involvement, environmental sustainability and a responsible attitude to energy consumption. Second, they represent a switch from a consumer-oriented culture to a *culture of making* (Gauntlett, 2011). Urban gardening is also a convenient programmatic choice for **temporary or transitory solutions** on certain sites before they are designated a more permanent function.

Perspectives on informal methods of urbanism (such as alternative uses of vacant land, community inclusion, DIY urbanism, ephemeral architecture, experimental projects and tactical urbanism) have been discussed and illustrated previously, through case studies.⁵⁰ As one of

50 Theoretical overviews and case studies on temporary urbanism and the collaborative

the most recurrent concepts in recent times, the subject of temporality and temporary use in urban planning fluctuates between formal and spontaneous appropriation activities. Because of this, the temporary use of urban space is considered an opportunity for change, and a critique of long-term strategies, fixed rules and rigid master planning (Madanipour, 2017). Temporary projects of this kind have emerged in several European cities since the early 2000s, and have been particularly effective in times of economic crisis. *Paris Plage* (Paris beaches) is a case in point. This is an annual manifestation, run by local authorities in Paris since 2002, that closes certain riverside streets to traffic, and converts the Seine riverbank into a series of pop-up beaches, bars and performance stages (Figure 54). There is an increasing tendency for European city administrations to launch programmes that encourage community participation and the engagement of private and public stakeholders to shape urban voids. Alongside top-down strategies (known as “The Barcelona Model”), the Barcelona City Council introduced the Pla BUIITS⁵¹ plan, and invited public and private non-profit organisations’ and members of the public to propose temporary social and community uses for some municipally owned sites that are currently unused.

URBAN RECYCLING

It is important to note that alternative urban transformations do not dismiss the old; rather they promote a dialogue with the existing context. These methods consider the urban space as a **renewable resource**. Instead of understanding urban spaces as *tabulae rasae*, alternative urban-making strategies like recycling and re-use consider the character and history of the existing space. According to Paola Vigano, in urban

approach to planning that emerged in the post institutional period were presented in Chapter III, in the paragraph “In-between formal and informal approaches”.

51 Pla BUIITS is an abbreviation of Pla de Buïts Urbans amb Implicació Territorial i Social, which translates to Empty Urban Spaces with Territorial and Social Involvement. (Source: <https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/ecologiaurbana/en/bodies-involved/citizen-participation/buïts-plan>)

recycling “[...] it is essential to explore the spatial potential, also in terms of ‘architecture of the city’, of reusing and recycling to the limits of the existing situations (dealing with porosity, capacity to host, oversize and redundancy, mix), showing the advantages, but also the possible conflicts, controversies and frictions, for example taking into consideration the risks connected to social exclusion mechanisms” (Viganò, 2012). Recycling does not imply the restructuring of a space; it **signifies the re-activation and re-inclusion of a void into the socio-urban context**. These values are advocated in the concept of *recycled* or *second hand spaces* (Ziehl, et al., 2012). The positive effects of creative, unconventional urban re-use projects on urban development promote the sustainability of their wider environment on three levels: ecological, economic and socio-cultural. Second hand spaces open new courses of action for urban planning, and provide opportunities for interaction, participation, and the creation of start-ups, in line with the principles of collective self-organisation, do-it-yourself, flexibility, sharing and testing.

TEMPORARY PROJECTS

Over the past 30 years, the city of Berlin has been one of the most dynamic examples of experimental culture, informal user practices and urban recycling. Despite extensive top-down urban development between 1989 and 2000, a number of vacant and centrally located spaces remained underutilised in Berlin’s urban tissue. Once the initial development boom decreased, the remaining voids were neglected by local policy makers, and have gradually been occupied by a variety of entrepreneurs, groups and individuals, who created multifaceted, spontaneous and vibrant spaces. Berlin’s urban voids accommodated temporary programmes that matched their transient character. In 2005, Berlin implemented almost a hundred temporary projects on vacant urban sites, covering a diverse set of activities, including artistic, cultural, entertainment, gardening, leisure, social, sports and trade initiatives (Colomb, 2012). Like the *Paris*

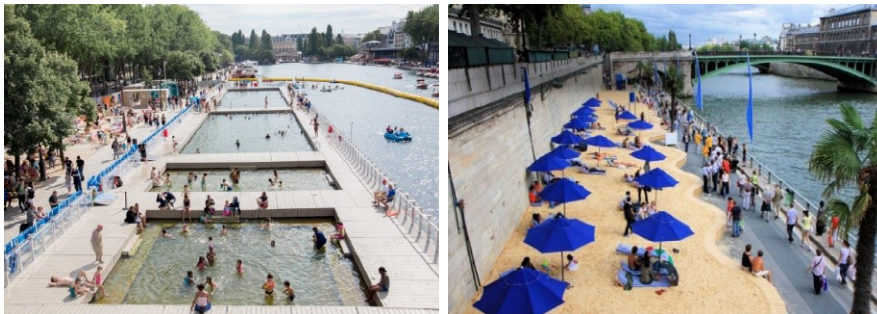


Figure 54. Paris Plage – pop-up urban beaches in the heart of Paris.

Plage, Berlin's first beach bar, *Strandbar Mitte*, opened in 2002, and was soon followed by many others. By 2010, there were over 60 such urban beaches in Berlin (Figure 54).

The temporary activation of certain urban public spaces and urban voids also occurs in Sarajevo, and is generally prompted by seasonal events such as arts and cultural festivals, and winter and summer markets and fairs. These seasonally active public spaces in Sarajevo were mapped as a part of our urban activity study, and were presented in Chapter II. Despite its profit-based background, this periodic transformation of public spaces is an opportunity to experiment and test their programmatic possibilities and recognise their physical and contextual potentials. This contributes to an improvement in the quality of public life in the city.

PLACE-MAKING

The presented cases of informal and temporary projects, urban recycling, urban regeneration, and institutionally-led projects are all based on the idea of community participation in the process of planning, designing and managing public spaces. Not only does community involvement raise the democratic aspects of public life, but it also provides valuable data and guidelines for the creation of a collective vision of a city's shared spaces. The idea of community participation to reinvent public spaces and strengthen the connection between people and places is the core concept of the place-making approach to the design and management of public spaces. The term *place-making* is derived from the writings of Jane Jacobs (Jacobs, 1961) and William H. Whyte (Whyte, 1980), who supported ideas of social and cultural diversity and human interactions as the essential underpinnings of successful urban public spaces. Whyte particularly stressed the importance of observing social life, and promoted bottom-up urban design strategies. Place-making inspires people to collectively reimagine and reinvent public spaces as the heart of the community, and refers to a collaborative process in the shaping of the public realm to maximise its shared value (Project for Public Spaces (PPS), 2019). The place-making movement encompasses **action-planning, city repair, pop-up projects and DIY, guerrilla and tactical urbanism**. Moving beyond the realm of urban design, place-making focuses on a place's current and future use, as well as its identity: *"More than just promoting better urban design, place-making facilitates creative patterns of use, paying particular attention to the physical, cultural, and social identities that define a place and support its ongoing evolution"* (Project for Public Spaces (PPS) , 2019).

In general, the process of place-making has five-steps: selecting the location and stakeholders; evaluating the space and identifying its issues; developing a vision for the place; implementing the plan through



Figure 55. Berlin pop-up beaches.

short-term experiments; and evaluating its effects to ensure long-term improvement (Figure 55). The third and fourth steps of this process are particularly interesting: a place's vision is usually developed during a *place-making workshop*, which brings together all stakeholders: community members, local government representatives and planning and design experts. This vision is usually inspired by successfully implemented cases, and is followed by an action plan for further interventions. The most important step of the process is the gradual implementation of this plan, which involves sequences of actions and their simultaneous evaluation. *LQC projects*⁵² are an example of this kind of temporary urban intervention. They include the installation of urban

52 "Lighter, Quicker, Cheaper", a term coined by Eric Reynolds, describes simple, short-term, low-cost solutions that have visible impacts on the shaping of neighbourhoods and cities (Project for Public Spaces (PPS), 2019).

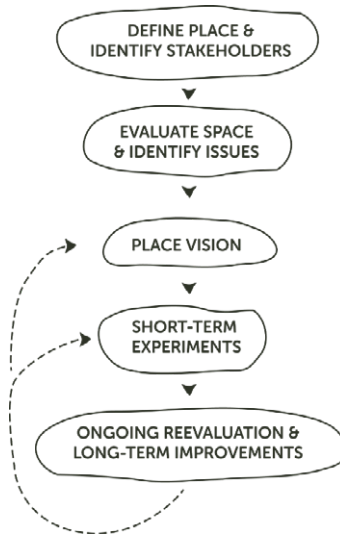


Figure 56. The process of place-making diagram.

equipment (primary and secondary seating, play facilities, urban art) and light or temporary structures (kiosks, tensile structures, pergolas) and the organisation of programmed activities (food festivals, holiday fairs, concerts, performances), which serve as tests for more durable interventions. Urban planner John Bela refers to these types of innovative interventions as *iterative place-making* (Bela, 2015): a phased series of physical interventions followed by evaluation in order to shape a place over time. These interventions are key tactics for long-term change. With his design group *Rebar*, Bela initiated a series of temporary transformation projects called *PARK(ing) Day* in cities worldwide (Figure 57), through the conversion of small parking areas or single parking spaces into temporary public parks. According to Bela, *iterative place-making* can be a tool for guiding strategic investments in both the public and private sectors, as it can generate cultural capital that translates

to real estate equity, or triggers the political will to realise major urban transformations.

In this way, LQC projects and iterative place-making have changed the traditional preconception that public spaces demand significant funding and long-term development. These creative solutions emerged during the financial crisis at the turn of millennium, which deeply affected institutional investments in public infrastructure and large development projects. Like place-making, the strategy of *tactical urbanism*⁵³ proposes solutions that respond to a lack of resources, as an “*approach to neighbourhood building and activation using short-term, low-cost, and scalable interventions and policies*” (Lydon & Garcia, 2015). Originating in the Columbian urban event *Ciclovía*, which converts streets into car-free zones, tactical urbanism evolved into a movement of interventions such as Chair Bombing, De-fencing, Depaving, Guerilla Gardening,



Figure 57. Tactical urbanism process diagram.

53 According to Mike Lydon and Anthony Garcia, *Tactical Urbanism* is an approach to neighbourhood building and activation using short-term, low-cost, and scalable interventions and policies.



Figure 58. Park(ing) projects by John Bela and Rebar group in San Francisco.

Open Streets, Pavement to Plazas, Pop-up cafes, Pop-up parks, and the aforementioned PARK(ing) Day. Unlike conventional strategic urbanism, tactical urbanism is beneficial to all stakeholders engaged in the process: *“For citizens, it allows the immediate reclamation, redesign, or reprogramming of public space. For developers or entrepreneurs, it provides a means of collecting design intelligence from the market they intend to serve. For advocacy organizations, it is a way to show what is possible to garner public and political support. And for government, it’s a*

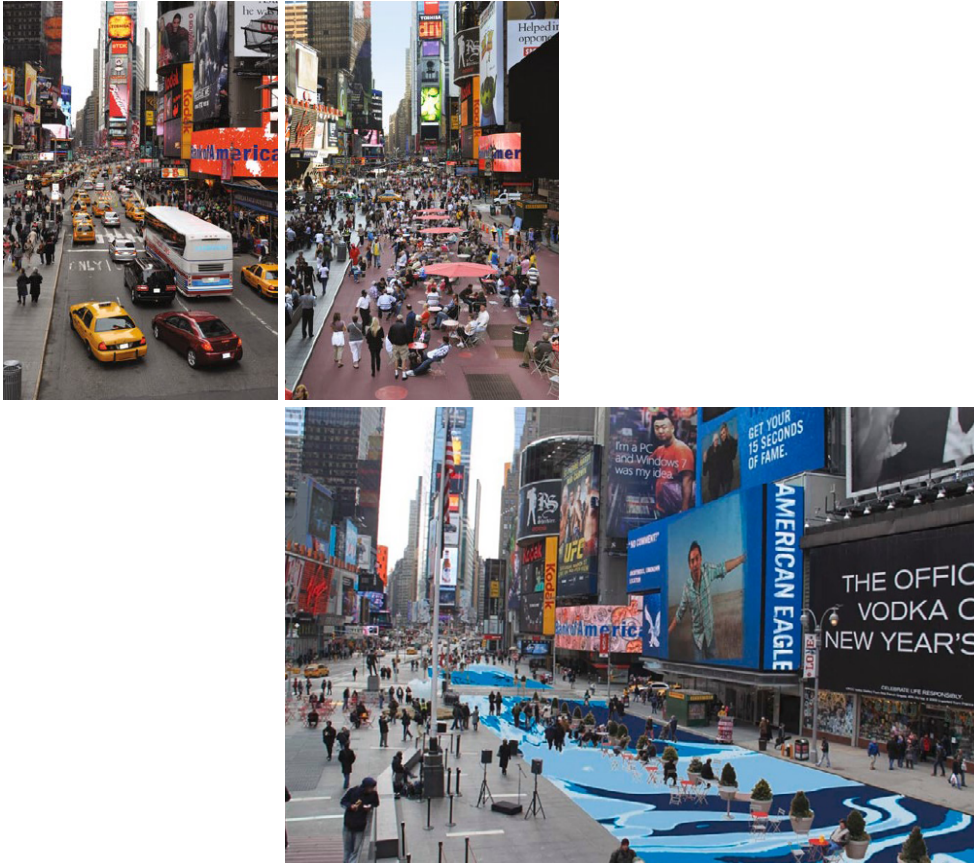


Figure 59. The transformation of the Times Square, NYC from a dense traffic to a pedestrian zone. Top left: The Times Square prior intervention; Top right: The tactical urbanism test and the temporary closure of Times Square in 2007; Centre: Cool Water, Hot Island art installation by Molly Dilworth in 2010; Bottom: Reconstruction by Snøhetta in 2014.



way to put best practices into, well, practice—and quickly!" (Lydon & Garcia, 2015). Tactical urbanism can even be compared to Toyota's lean production model of continuous improvement, whose objective is to attain long-term goals. Like rapid prototyping, tactical urbanism provides prototypes or "beta" versions for lasting future transformations of public spaces, instead of computer-generated images. Unlike DIY urbanism, which is initiated by "civic-minded hactivists" (Lydon & Garcia, 2015), tactical urbanism is initiated by developers, governments or municipal departments. The participation of the community and private and public sectors has proven to be crucial to transform the traditional model of planning and financing into a collaborative model (Figure 57). The transformation of the Times Square Plaza was instigated by a tactical urbanism pop-up in 2007, and resulted in its full reconstruction, designed by Snohetta, in 2014 (Figure 59).

THE COLLABORATIVE APPROACH

These implemented projects show that the place-making practices of DIY, guerrilla and tactical urbanism epitomise the post-institutional planning phase, and increasingly blur the boundaries of social activism and urban design. They have in common the spontaneous appropriation of urban space, in which amateur designers perform low-cost, small-scale interventions. These interventions range from urban farming and gardening initiatives to art installations or the creation of sub-culture spaces like graffiti walls and skate parks. In particular, **DIY urbanism represents an informal response to the scarcity of urban space and its functions.** Some of the most vital and vibrant spaces are being "discovered" by users, to the point that some have questioned whether public space should ever be rationally and formally planned (Schmidt & Németh, 2010). In spite of their democratic emancipatory traits, however, these principles have been criticised from the point of view of Lefebvre's *right to the city*. This criticism generally addresses the uncontrolled appropriation of urban space as a potentially serious threat to a city's

democracy, as it can promote inequality among its inhabitants and even flirt with anarchy. However, most authors agree on the advantages of DIY urbanism as a part of participatory urban design, and therefore believe that it should be strategically integrated into formal planning processes. Concurrently, the role of design professionals and planners needs to be redefined to match the requirements of collaborative practices. Planning authorities in some countries are gaining an increasing awareness on the advantages of bottom-up strategies, particularly in Denmark, where DIY urban design is used as an investment and planning tool (Fabian & Samson, 2016). Danish planning institutions are establishing empty lots as experimental testing grounds for developing policies that encompass participatory urban planning.⁵⁴ Carlsberg city is one of the best known examples of this kind of DIY urbanism. Collaborative approaches that encompass community and private sector participation are being promoted in international projects, thus providing guidelines and recommendations for urban regeneration. The World Bank Urban Regeneration programme provides a sample of an online decision-making tool, which shows the phases of scoping, planning, financing and implementing. This promotes collaborative schemes that bring the three key stakeholders together: *“An effective planning framework will balance vision, planning principles and facilitates negotiation amongst the public, private and community sectors”* (Amirtahmasebi, et al., 2015).

URBAN ACUPUNCTURE

An overview of good urban practices shows that the introduction of a bottom-up approach that involves multiple stakeholders in the urban planning process has positive effects not only on an urban landscape's culture, environment and society, but also on its economy. Raising awareness of the benefits of new sustainable planning models among

54 Including initiatives such as Think Tank BYEN 2025, organised by the Danish Ministry of Housing and Urban and Rural Affairs.

policy makers and city administrations is particularly important in cities with limited economic resources, such as Sarajevo. New approaches may lead to altered perspectives on the potential transformation of vacant and underutilised spaces, and improve their negative image. In this regard, **collaborative approaches to creating small-scale and low-cost solutions may be an appropriate response to the issues identified in the mapping of Sarajevo's urban voids.** This research on small-scale, participatory and punctual interventions inherently leads to an exploration of the urban acupuncture theory, elaborated by urban theorists Manuel de Sola-Morales, Jaime Lerner and Marco Casagrande. Urban acupuncture translates the principles of the Chinese medical technique of acupuncture from the human body to the city. **It refers to punctual, small-scale urban interventions with large-scale effects.** Just like in its medical application, the objective of urban acupuncture is to cure disease and re-establish balance by pinpointing strategic points in a city. Similar to tactical urbanism and place-making practices, these interventions are usually fast and cheap, but if done correctly they can produce profound results.

Catalan architect and urbanist Manuel de Sola-Morales introduced the term *urban acupuncture* in his book *A Matter of Things* (De Sola-Morales, 2008), in which he used the metaphor of skin to describe the surface of a city, which is capable of channelling quantitative energy. Applying pressure by means of urban acupuncture to specific sensitive points in the urban fabric creates ripple effects, empowering urbanity in various modes: “... urbanity made of touch and vision, of sensations and suggestions. The energy at these locations is linking to the existing richness and especially potential richness of urban sites” (De Sola-Morales, 2008). The first and most important step, according to de Sola-Morales, is to identify the location of the sensitive points: “the skin of the city has to be observed with the attention of a detective who scrutinizes the tinniest clues in its wrinkles and their apparent lack of connection” (De Sola-Morales, 2008). Subsequently, we can consider adding, removing,

modifying or restructuring elements. Surprise and intuition are as important in the urban project as coherence and understanding.

Brazilian architect and urban planner and former mayor of Curitiba Jaime Lerner was stimulated by the analogy between the human body and the city. For Lerner, urban acupuncture triggers widespread effects in a city, by creating positive chain reactions within the larger area. Effective punctual interventions address the fundamental issues of continuity, mobility, social interaction, and socio-diversity and sustainability. Effective urban acupuncture brings culturally and socially diverse people together to use public spaces, and should inspire gathering, interaction and movement. Urban acupuncture deals primarily with discontinuities, and adds new functions if necessary: *“Many major urban problems arise from a lack of continuity. A city pocked with lifeless suburbs or tracts of urban real estate devoid of housing is just as skewed as one strewn with abandoned lots and ramshackle buildings. Filling up these many urban “voids” can be the first step to sound acupuncture. An important step is to add elements that may be missing from a given area [...] whatever structures are constructed; any initiative must be undertaken quickly so as not to break the continuity of urban life. Continuity is life.”* (Lerner, 2016). Like tactical urbanism, urban acupuncture opposes the procrastination of top-down urban strategies and proposes quick and economically efficient solutions: *“We know that the planning process of a city takes time— and it has to—for it involves a multitude of actors and issues, as well as long-term guidelines. However, sometimes, a simple, focused intervention can create new energy, demonstrating the possibilities of a space in a way that motivates others to engage with their community. It can even contribute to the planning process. This gets to the essence of true urban acupuncture—it needs to be precise and quick, that’s the secret.”* (Lerner, 2014)



Figure 60. Urban acupuncture projects in Curitiba. Top: The Portable Street project; Bottom: Bus Rapid Transport (BRT).

Most of these principles were put into practice in the Brazilian city of Curitiba, where Lerner was elected mayor three times during the 1970s and 1980s. Curitiba is an archetype of urban sustainability and one of the greenest cities in the world, with 52 m² of green space per inhabitant.⁵⁵ Lerner's strategy worked on the car-free principle,⁵⁶ and a recycling programme that recycled over 70% of the city's waste. Urban acupuncture was used in addition to traditional urban planning in cases where change needed to be quick and effective. As Lerner argues, these sharp interventions produced powerful demonstrative effects. One of his most interesting interventions was *Bus Rapid Transport (BRT)*, a system

55 <https://theecologist.org/2014/mar/15/curitiba-greenest-city-earth>

56 Forty-two per cent of daily trips are made by foot and bike, while the other 28% are by public transport. Source: <https://www.smartcitiesdive.com/ex/sustainablecitiescollective/vision-jaime-lerner-curitiba-brazil/253266/>

of high speed, high capacity buses that use dedicated lanes (Figure 60). Traditional bus stops were replaced with platform bus stations where users prepay before boarding, considerably reducing delays. The buses run every 40 seconds during peak times, which keeps waiting times under a minute.

Analogous to place-making, urban acupuncture focuses on preserving or restoring the cultural identity or memory of a place or local community. Another interesting example of its implementation through a temporary intervention is the *Portable Street Project* in Curitiba: *“The concept of the portable streets is based on the fact that a large portion of today’s cities exists in informality, and that it is necessary to find ways to integrate the formal and the informal sectors. Inspired on the bouquinistes of Paris, this piece of urban furniture allows accommodating street vendors with quality and comfort, adding a new element to the urban landscape.”*⁵⁷ The idea is to revive street life even in areas where storefronts and commercial activities have deteriorated. The *Portable Street* concept allows city authorities to create a street in a parking lot or in front of a university on Friday evening and to dismantle it by Monday morning. It is a quick and inexpensive solution to raise the quality of public life in certain urban areas. The strength of urban acupuncture projects is in their economic, socio-cultural and temporal and efficacy, as Jan Gehl states: *“Urban acupuncture is an approach to city planning designed to make things happen. Don’t start with everything, start somewhere, make things happen, try it out.”* (Lerner, 2014)

Finnish architect Marco Casagrande proposes a different perspective on urban acupuncture, which focuses on highlighting sustainability and environmentalism. Casagrande constructs his theory on the bond between nature and people, considering the city a multi-dimensional sensitive energy-organic system. In that sense, urban acupuncture

57 Source: <http://jaimelerner.com.br/en/portfolio/portable-streets/>

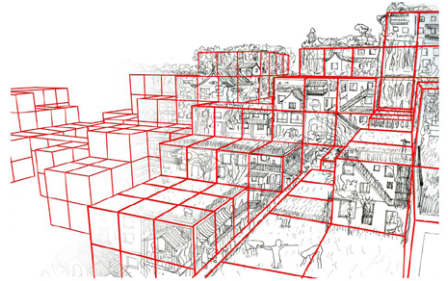


Figure 61. Urban acupuncture theory from the perspective of Marco Casagrande and the Paracity project in Taipei.

aims to manipulate urban energy flows, or the collective *chi*,⁵⁸ with the objective of creating a sustainable, post-industrial city – a so-called *Third Generation City* (Casagrande, 2020). This theory is illustrated by the metaphor of a weed growing through a crack in the asphalt. Casagrande pursues three informal principles: urban acupuncture (represented by illegal community gardens and urban farms), illegal architecture and river urbanism. His *Paracity* project (Figure 61) of bio-urban organism building, consists of a modular three-dimensional organic grid with spatial modules of 6 x 6 x 6 meters, made of CLT (cross-laminated timber). The resulting open framework allows free occupation and design by its inhabitants,

58 *Chi* or *Qi* is the Chinese name for the vital energy that underpins the universe. It is analogous to the Indian *prana*. Source: <https://www.encyclopedia.com/>

according to the principles of DIY urbanism: *“The official city should learn how to enjoy acupuncture, how to give up industrial control in order to let nature to step in. The local knowledge based transformation layer of Taipei is happening from inside the city and it is happening through self-organized punctual interventions. These interventions are driven by small scale businesses and alternative economies benefiting from the fertile land of the Taipei Basin and of leaching from the material and energy streams of the official city. This acupuncture is making the city weaker, softer and readier for a larger change”* (Casagrande, 2014).

The theoretical exploration above provides a broad insight into various methodologies and techniques in the urban development of contemporary public spaces, and assists our intention to find the most suitable tactics for intervening in the urban voids of Sarajevo. Although each situation requires a tailored response, the methodologies explored in this section have several common features. Detecting the points these methodologies share helps to narrow the options, and select the most suitable approach for each case. To discover the most appropriate approach to urban voids in Sarajevo, a study of intervention methodologies was collated (Table 10s) in the format of the 5WH1⁵⁹ analytical scheme:

59 5WH1, the Five Ws and How, summarises the following six questions: What? Who? Where? When? Why? How? It is an information-gathering or problem-solving technique used in journalism and research. Source: <https://www.humanperf.com/en/blog/nowiunderstand-glossary/articles/5WH1-method>

Table 10. Summary of the shared features of intervention methodologies applicable in the case of urban voids in Sarajevo in the 5WH1 format. Source: Authors

Questions	Inputs	Outputs
WHO?	Public, private and the community sectors	Shared responsibilities and gains
WHAT?	Urban voids	Urban rooms
WHEN?	Continuously and in real-time; Temporary projects	Uninterrupted process of urban regeneration Improved quality of public life through continuous activity
WHERE?	Instable, passive and sensitive locations in the city	Interconnected wider urban areas
WHY?	Healing the micro zones and their local community	Recovery of the city and society
HOW?	Small-scale interventions (i.e. <i>urban acupuncture</i>)	Large-scale impact
	Collaborative approach: top-down strategy in sync with bottom-up activism (i.e. <i>tactical urbanism</i>)	Economic, social and cultural benefits of the participatory approach
	Locally sensitive techniques (i.e. <i>place making</i>)	Recreating identity of the place

Summary

CULTURE AS A CATALYST OF URBAN REGENERATION

The fusion of architectural, cultural and urban regeneration in post-industrial environments has its roots in civic activism, and today represents top-down institutional practice for the purpose of city branding. The significance of the cultural impact of urban regeneration is particularly pertinent to Sarajevo, whose cultural diversity and repeated spatial and historical transitions are its assets, and the ongoing trend of intensified urban development is its potential threat.

COLLABORATIVE MODEL

Inclusion of the community and private sectors alongside planning institutions not only enhances democratic principles in a city, but can also be an investment and experimental planning model for urban interventions. In the spirit of Lefebvre's *right to the city*, citizen participation in the regeneration of urban voids/public spaces in Sarajevo through bottom-up initiatives, and tactical urbanism would significantly improve the quality of public life and bring back a sense of shared space and values.

PLACE-MAKING AND URBAN RECYCLING

The urban intervention methodologies analysed and explained through good-practice examples target urban voids or in-between spaces that lack a sense of place or identity, such as those mapped in Sarajevo. The intended conversion of the city's urban voids into urban rooms should therefore be underpinned by the idea of recreating meaning; the notion of the locality and memory of the place, as well as the cultural, physical and social identities that define it. The expected outcome of

the transformation is public spaces with meaning and identity, achieved through the process of place-making.

URBAN ACUPUNCTURE

Urban acupuncture planning tools (De Sola-Morales, 2008) (Lerner, 2016) (Casagrande, 2014) generally target small- or medium-scale urban areas. According to urban acupuncture theory, urban voids can be characterised as contradictory, instable or problematic places, and regarded as *sensitive points* to be healed by low-cost, small-scale, permanent or temporary interventions. These micro-interventions can catalyse the transformation of wider urban areas and, depending on the interconnections between selected sensitive points, create ripple effects.

Instead of selecting a single, universal approach, the transformation of urban voids to urban rooms will be simulated in a methodological hybrid of overlapping strategies: culturally-based urban regeneration facilitated by a sustainable collaborative planning process, which includes place-making and urban recycling techniques within the overarching strategy of urban acupuncture.

Targeted outcome: urban rooms

“ *If (as the philosophers maintain) the city is like some large house, and the house is in turn like some small city, cannot the various parts of the house – atria, xysti, dining rooms, porticos, and so on – be considered miniature buildings?”*

Leon Battista Alberti (Alberti, 1988)

In response to fading urban qualities and heightened alienation in contemporary urban environments, **domesticity, interiorisation and intimacy** play increasingly important roles in redefining the character of public space. The concept of interiorisation can inspire new methodological approaches, like employing interior design tools to enhance the quality of public spaces. The subject of urban rooms has been interwoven in previous discussions as the leitmotif of this book, portrayed as spatially contained urban spaces, certain features of which can be compared to interior spaces. They also epitomise the desired outcome of urban void interventions, and provide a model of reactivated, vibrant public spaces. **The expression *urban rooms* suggests an ambiguity of interior and urban space.** How are the two constituent words related? Do they make an analogous or antagonistic pair? Are urban rooms inclined towards the contemporary theory of urban interiors and interior urbanism? What is the link between urban voids and urban rooms? In addition to seeking the answers to these questions, this section will give an overview of the most significant theoretical perspectives on the dichotomy of interior and urban spaces since early modern times, and throughout the modern and postmodern eras. Last, an insight into contemporary discourse will differentiate and expound the definitions of terms related to urban interiors, interior urbanism, and public interiors.

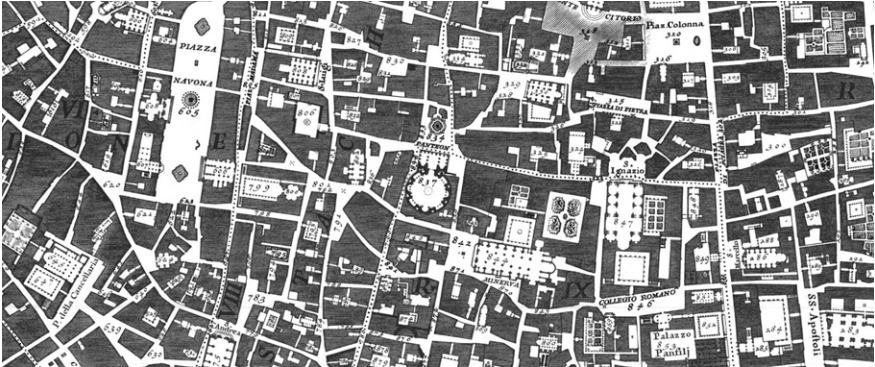


Figure 62. Map of Rome, 1784 by Giambattista Nolli.

INTERIOR + EXTERIOR

The phenomenon of the interior/exterior ambiguity is visible in Giambattista Nolli's 1784 Map of Rome (Figure 62). In this iconic figure-ground plan, open public spaces and public interiors are represented in white, while private objects and spaces are depicted in black. In spite of their enclosed character, the interiors of public buildings are considered in the same way as the as traditional public spaces such as streets and squares, suggesting their permeability and openness to the public.

In the 19th century, the conjunction between the terms *urban* and *interior* was explored meticulously by Walter Benjamin, for whom streets, represented the home of the collective, to be regarded in parallel with domestic interiors as dwelling places for individuals or families. Benjamin was intrigued by the *bourgeois* lifestyle of the 19th century and the dialectics between the domestic interior and the industrial city, and he focussed on their mutual transformative interdependencies. In his final book *Passagen-werk (The Arcades Project)*, Benjamin studied 19th-century Parisian life, particularly that in the city's arcades - covered passages

with elements of both interior and exterior, which were an extension of street life and *flânerie* culture, especially during bad weather (Benjamin, 2002). The links between interiors and public spaces are a feature of Benjamin's essays, and are expressed in the argument that "*the city is an effervescent site of collective interiorizing*" (Benjamin, 2002). He illustrates this interaction between urban and interior spaces by drawing similarities between shop signs and wall decorations, newspaper stands and libraries, and benches and bedroom furniture, and concludes that "*More than anywhere else, the street reveals itself in the arcade as the furnished and familiar interior of the masses*" (Benjamin, 2002). Walter Benjamin portrays the types of correlation between the individual and private and public spheres through the personifications of *collector* and *flâneur*. The *collector* brings in objects from the outside, and enjoys the reflection of the world inside of his home, while the *flâneur* strolls around the urban spaces of the city as if they were his living room, and intimately enjoys the atmosphere of his city in the same way the collector enjoys his home. Both figures merge the interior and exterior worlds: the former interiorises the exterior world, while the latter projects his interior world outside.

The dialectics between the inside and outside was an essential element of modern architecture, as Le Corbusier acknowledges: "*The outside is always an inside*" (Le Corbusier, 1986). The threshold between spatial sequences was represented both in his research observations and his drawing studies (Figure 63) (particularly "Voyage D'Orient"), as well as in his projects. From the 1910s to 1930s, Le Corbusier explored the relationship between the street and the building by overlapping the scales of the city with those of interior spaces. In his design explorations, he reinvented traditional elements of the streets and landscape, and transformed them into interior elements: highly flexible facades that could be opened and closed, interior streets, semi-public roof terraces, and vertical gardens (Martinelli, 2019). In line with research on interior-

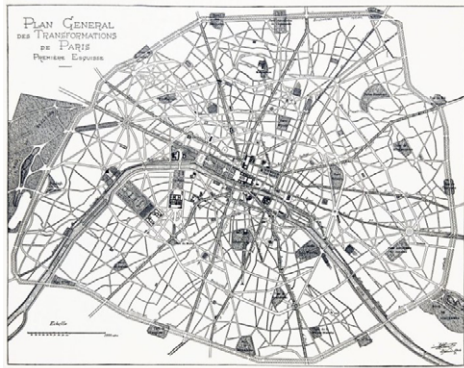


Figure 63. Top: General plan of transformation of Paris by Eugène Hénard; Bottom: Sketch of a café as urban interior by Le Corbusier from the series *Voyage D'Orient*; Right: Outdoor room – rooftop terrace at the Beistegui Penthouse, 1930.

exterior dialectics, Le Corbusier was strongly influenced by the writings of French urban planner Eugene Henard. A critique of uniformity and the monotony of street facades in 19th-century Paris, Henard wrote an essay entitled *Interrupted Alignments* in 1903, in which he proposed the introduction of special spatial sequences of *redans*,⁶⁰ which correspond to the concept of urban rooms. In Henard design, the public courtyards open to the street measured 28 x 20 metres, and were placed at every 36 metres along the length of a street (Martinelli, 2019). These voids would be enriched by vegetation, and would accommodate vibrant public spaces, such as cafes, plazas and restaurants, thus introducing a new rhythm and breaking the monotony of the enclosed stone facades.

60 Henard used the term *redan*, which is equivalent to the English "fortification".

In tribute to Henard, Le Corbusier devised a spatial configuration principle for his *Dom-ino* project, among other urban and architectural interventions. Le Corbusier's interpretation of the *redan* principle can be seen in the numerous projects in which he converted traditional urban open spaces such as streets, squares and gardens into interior spaces, and placed them inside architectural buildings. In turn, the facades of the modern buildings and their interiors blended with the atmosphere of the landscape, enabling daylight, fresh air, vegetation and vistas, which simulated the experience of nature even if only from a distance. The lines between the exterior and interior were particularly blurred in the 1930 project *chambre a ciel ouvert*, or the rooftop *outdoor room*, designed by Le Corbusier for eccentric *bon vivant* Charles de Beistegui's penthouse (Figure 63). This ambiguous space is simultaneously an open space and an enclosed interior. The terrace showcases chairs and pillows arranged around the baroque fireplace on a carpet-like lawn, and in a symbolic, surreal way it generates an illusion of the classical *bourgeois* interior. Beistegui's uncanny outdoor room is a vivid illustration of Le Corbusier's view of the dialectic of the interior-exterior space.

One of the most cited observations on the relationship between interior architecture and urban spaces is attributed to Louis I. Kahn. In his sketches and lectures, he refers to a fundamental spatial triad: the room, the street and the city (Figure 64). Kahn considers the room a basic spatial unit of architecture, followed by the street as a community room, and the city as a unity of assembled institutions⁶¹ and rooms. According to Kahn, **streets are the rooms of the city**: "*The street is a room by agreement, a community room, the walls of which belong to the donors, dedicated to the city for common use. Its ceiling is the sky*" (Kahn, 1971).

In Kahn's view, *agreement* is the essential feature of the street, as it

61 Institutions, according to Kahn, are places and spaces in which civic life takes place, such as churches, museums and schools. Source: <https://www.moma.org>



Figure 64. The room-street-city triad in drawings by Louis I. Kahn. Left: Architecture Comes from the Making of a Room; Centre: The Street is a Room; Right: The City from a Simple Settlement.

symbolises human interaction. Without public life, referred to as the *communal agreement*, streets would merely be roads, passages, or corridors. A city is measured by the character of its institutions, and the street among the first of these. Consequently, the city can be regarded as a “*society of rooms*” (Kahn, 1971).

The parallel between the city and the house, and resulting analogies between corridors and the streets, and rooms and courtyards/urban squares appear in all architectural periods and styles, from the Renaissance to today; Leon Battista Alberti, Le Corbusier, Aldo Rossi and Louis Khan have all reflected upon it. Specifically, Henri Ciriani was the first to address the subject of the *urban room* in the 1970s and 1980s, and originally coined the term in French as *la piece urbaine*. His concept of urban rooms is defined as a catalytic, threshold urban space. Featured in Ciriani’s 1980 housing project Noicy II, urban rooms share the following properties: 1) exterior identity; 2) introversion; 3) green reserve; and 4) simple figure. The role of the *urban room*, according to Ciriani, is dual – on one hand it supersedes the programme of the architectural object it accompanies, while on the other it affects the character of the

wider urban fabric. Finally, it presents itself as a possible link between urban morphology and the typology of a building's interior, within the autonomy of the programme (Ciriani Atelier , 2011).

There has been an emergent interest within contemporary discourse in the conjunction between interior and urban spaces. Present-day debates, literature and research lean towards the thesis that the discipline of interior design has started to extend beyond the bounds of architectural enclosure to step into the urban space. Currently, two parallel though inverse theories address the “matrimony” of interior and urban spaces.

The first is associated with the term **interior urbanism**, and focuses on the interiorisation of the public realm and the proliferation of public interiors. The second relates to the term **urban interiors**: the same words in reverse order. Urban interiors can be roughly defined as public spaces that have the spatial and atmospheric qualities of interiors, and fit the previous definition of urban rooms. In the following paragraphs, we will explore the resemblances and distinctions between **interior urbanism and urban interiors**, and seek common points and potential compatibilities.

INTERIOR URBANISM

Although *interior urbanism* seems like a new term in urban and architectural theory, it has been ubiquitous in the everyday reality of cities throughout the world since the second half of the 20th century. It describes the experience of *living inside cities*, and inhabiting their public interiors: large-scale spaces such as airports, hotels, libraries, museums, shopping malls and transport interchanges. Contemporary urban lifestyles can be depicted in diagrams of dynamic trajectories, which connect key points that symbolise domestic and public interior spaces. Modern society clings to *well-tempered interior environments* (Banham, 1984), and our everyday lives consist of repetitive cycles of movement from one interior sequence to another: kitchen - vehicle

- garage - office - museum - shopping mall – the room. Mark Pimlott describes the phenomenon of large-scale interior spaces in cities (such as airports, museums and shopping malls) as *continuous interiors*. Typologies of interior urbanism are usually dispersed over vast territories, which is a common spatial script in the American form of urbanisation that proliferated worldwide. According to Pimlott, these interiors embody the ideals of social and capitalist utopia, and are interiors for the masses masquerading as interiors for the public: “*The mall as model for a believable urban, public interior space seemed to have a number of benefits to its credit. First, it created an idealized urban environment in a manner akin to the artificial streets of the arcade: an environment that was controlled and managed in terms of its context, its appearance and its users [...] aimed to become the centers of urban networks, and considered, indeed as new city centers*” (Pimlott, 2007). **The American model of interior urbanism that has manifested in a global proliferation of consumer-driven large-scale public interiors was envisioned to replace more traditional forms of public space.** Apart from negating the existence of the exterior or the outside world, Pimlott notes that the described public interiors address the masses instead of the public. In his subsequent publications, he defines *public interiors* as a totality of spatially contained spaces, in which civil society can be seen to operate, both inside and outside buildings, for the encounter and collective use of private people. These are places of sociability, entertainment, transport, leisure and commerce, as well as culture in the broadest sense (Pimlott, 2016).

Interior urbanism, which addresses the urban scale and urban aspects of interiors, has gained prominence in recent theoretical explorations. Some thought-provoking perspectives were exposed in the thematic issue of the Magazine MONU #21, including Brendan Cormier’s claim that “*Urban life is an interior affair*”(MONU journal, 2014). Most scholars agree that the climate and requirements for creating a protected sheltered environment

are a vital factor in generating indoor public life and the development of public interiors. Winy Maas introduced the 3D Nollu map, arguing that increased urban density stimulates a blurring of boundaries between the interior and exterior (Ramo, et al., 2014). Acknowledging the emerging phenomena in contemporary cities, Snohetta's Kjetil Traedal Thorsen comments on new urban typologies in which the lines between indoor and outdoor space are erased: "*The next great public spaces will be indoors [...] There's always a bit of urban planning in designing interiors. There's always a bit of interior design in an urban space*" (Thorsen, 2016). In response to the ambiguous and multi-layered condition of public spaces, Thorsen stresses the importance of their collaborative, multifaceted programming.

As previously mentioned, critical perspectives in theoretical discourse on interior urbanism often link the emergence of public interiors with an "economy of experiences" in which potential users are perceived as consumers. Critical studies of certain typologies of public interior categorise them as non-places, lacking a true socio-cultural meaning and identity (Augé, 1995). As well as critical stances that primarily target the commercial logic of public interiors, there are affirmative outlooks on these "secondary public spaces", which emphasise their importance as "*meeting place[s] for the urban and the interior*" (Poot, et al., 2015). Rather than being an opposition or substitute, public interiors along with primary public spaces can contribute to the quality of a city's urban life, and promote its social cohesion.

The study of contemporary public interiors requires an interdisciplinary design approach, and even its own specialist field, to address all its urban, social and interior aspects. This can be achieved by bringing together **interior designers** (for their expertise in the relationship between individual users with objects and spaces), with **anthropologists**, **environmental psychologists** and **social geographers** (for their insight



Figure 65. Examples of public interiors. Top left: Atelier Bow Wow, Canal Swimmer's Club, Bruges Triennial, 2015. Top right: Atrium at the IBM Plaza, New York, 2015. Source: (Poot, et al., 2015); Bottom right: Market Hall, Rotterdam by MVRDV.

into social patterns) and urban planners (who work with flows, mobility, and large-scale developments) (Poot, et al., 2015). Public interiors as “secondary public spaces”, along with “primary public spaces” should be perceived within a larger urban network, rather than being excluded because of their formal ownership status: “*The study of the spatial context of public interior spaces can reveal their contribution to the greater urban network*” (Poot, et al., 2015). Alongside the top-down planning of urban networks, the shaping of indoor and outdoor public spaces should be simultaneously approached from the micro level, and studied in relation

to their users, as individuals and members of the community: *“In order to grasp the complex relationships between private and public space, we need to complement the top-down approach with a consistent bottom-up method i.e. a micro-spatial level [...]. Experts in the public interior should be able to easily zoom to different scales and domains, and be skilled in translating social and behavioural cues into spatial patterns”* (Poot, et al., 2015).

In our previous critical assessment of interior urbanism, represented by public interiors, we analysed cases that interiorised traditional public spaces, such as squares and streets. In subsequent considerations we will examine whether this **process can be inverted**, and, through the exploration of theoretical and practical possibilities, **analyse the ways in which interiority can be exteriorised**. The exploration of urban interiors in this book encompasses manifestations of interiority as both psychological and spatial conditions in urban space.

Richard Sennett reflected on **interiority as a psychological condition** in contemporary cities, in reference to Georg Simmel’s 1903 essay “The Metropolis and Mental Life”, in which Simmel proposed that urban spaces, rather than domestic spaces, produce subjectivity. Simmel discussed the blasé behaviour of urban dwellers as a response to the overstimulation generated by the modern metropolis (Simmel, 1903). In his lecture at the Harvard Architecture Symposium “Inside Matters” in 2007, Sennett talked about *urban subjectivity*, meaning interiority as psychological subjectivity in an exterior: *“... the emphasis on sociable space is something that we have got to rethink. Because, for lots of people, that is not why they want to be in public. They want something else. They want an interior life, a life where they can practice an observational cruising and reflexivity in which the work of memory can occur, because they are alone. [...] The issue for us, then, is to understand what kinds of space we can make so that somebody can sit at a table, in a cafe, drink a glass of absinthe, smoke a*

cigarette, and reflect. That is really the relationship between interiority and the exterior” (Sennett, 2007).

When considering **interiority as a spatial condition**, the reflections of interior spaces in the urban environment are not limited to geometrical parameters such as configuration, enclosure or scale. The prospective effects of this interchange include new urban experiences inspired by interior atmospheres and/or and new intervention approaches or design tools. Interaction between interior and exterior spaces produces an urban experience that can be described as spatial ambivalence, or the condition of in-betweenness. In urban studies, this phenomenon, often defined as *domestication*, has both positive and negative interpretations. Some scholars (Zukin, 1995), (Allen, 2006) use this term critically to refer to the potentially dangerous private appropriation and gentrification of the public realm.

On the other hand, the domestication of an urban environment can be regarded as a specific type of place-making, which transfers the activities and atmosphere of home to the outside, thus producing more inhabitable public spaces (Amin, 2008), (Gehl, 2011) (Koch & Latham, 2013). Public spaces can benefit from the atmosphere of domesticity – a sense of intimacy, protection, rest and tranquillity – and cultivate intimate and inclusive relationships between people (Ingold, 2002). The following paragraphs will focus on how interiorists can contribute to creating innovative tools in the urban design of public spaces, and how the atmospheres and sensibilities of interior spaces can be transferred to the urban environment.

URBAN INTERIORS

Elena Enrica Giunta highlights the relevance of interior design to urban regeneration in the emergence of urban interiors (Giunta , 2009). Her theory develops Alessandro Barrico’s socio-anthropological paradigm

switch, substituting the *classical* value system (defined by four parameters: permanent, ethical, rational) with its contemporary counterpart, the *barbaric* framework (defined as temporary, emic, emotional/subjective). The latter paradigm promotes “*diversity as a positive value; beauty as self-expression/aesthetic tension (not necessarily connected with the search for truth); an awareness of contemporary deep nature as ephemeral and virtual*”(Giunta , 2009). Interior design could respond to this paradigm shift by decoding the system for the new socio-cultural needs. It could then expand its territory into the urban realm, and “*start considering cities’ interiors as fields of application. Interior design practice might generate a credible, independent, response to contemporary needs. It could develop visions of inhabiting suitable to the paradigms of our society: a permanent uncertainty where transition is a stable reality and liquidity is a permanent state.*”(Giunta , 2009). Giunta deliberately juxtaposes terms such as *permanency* and *transition*, as well as *stability* and *liquidity*, to depict contemporary issues that incite the merger of interior and urban spaces. For this reason, urban interiorists can be regarded as potential mediators between users and places. As illustrated by the remodelling of Bari’s Risorgimento Square (Figure 66), interior design tools can initiate the reactivation of public spaces: “*The new generation of interior designers should develop a method of work which would be able to operate both with a systemic and emic approach [...] This principle is coherent with the contemporary attitude, of interior design, toward reconfiguration; it is also suitable to the nomadic character of contemporary society, which ‘design’ and live places almost in real time.*”(Giunta , 2009). The *zeitgeist* of the digital age has fundamentally affected contemporary cities, transforming them into hubs within global networks and imposing the archetype of urban lifestyles worldwide: “*... home – connections (web or street) – series of interiors – connections (web or street) – home*” (Giunta , 2009). This process is followed by the decentralisation of services and the loss of public space, while the need for community integration entails a new response, which stems from interior design: “*Considering this*

framework, a new role of urban interior design can be outlined: it can play both as initiator and promoter of bottom-up processes, able to generate re-signification and re-appropriation of public and collective spaces” (Giunta, 2009). Urban interiors are created by using interior design tools to shape public spaces. This methodology of co-design involves urban interiorists as initiators of the process and users as activators of its script or programme. This enables the transformation of ambiguous spaces through iterative processes of innovation.

Professor Suzie Attiwill has studied the interweaving of interior design techniques in the urban environment in her practice-based research. Her theoretical and teaching approach are built on several precedents, including Sitte's theory that urban fabric is an assemblage of interiors and exteriors, rather than objects/buildings in void space (Sitte, et al., 2006), and the allusions of the idea of urban interiors in the spatial inversions of Nolli's 1748 Map of Rome. According to Attiwill, urban interiors are essentially inspired by artistic projects in the 20th-century Situations movement, which created particular ambiances to endorse public life and provoke and stimulate distinctive social behaviours. Attiwill refers to authorities such as Benjamin, Deleuze, Sennett and Simmel, and supports the protection of the psychological dimension of subjectivity – one's inner life in exterior space – contrary to classical urban dogmas, which implied that social encounters were urban imperatives (Attiwill, 2018). The Urban Interior Research Group {UI} at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT) has studied urban interiors since 2007. {UI} provides an academic and professional platform for the proposal of urban projects with interior qualities and atmospheres in the city of Melbourne. The notion of interiority can be incorporated in the urban context, along with the engagement of interior designers, as the {UI} group and Attiwill propose: *“The idea of urban interior challenges an assumption that interior design necessarily has to take place inside a building and shifts the focus to a relational condition – here the ‘and’ between urban*

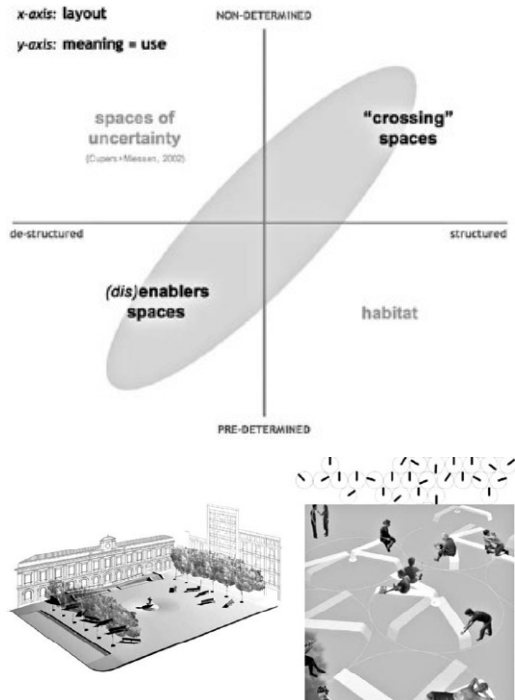


Figure 66. Top: Relational field matrix by Giunta, indicating the correlation between the level of structure and the function of public spaces; Bottom: Risorgimento square in Bari is an example of employment of interior design in reactivation of public spaces.

and interior as a question of designing and making a relation. This invites other possibilities for thinking and designing interiors – and the practice of interior design – and brings the sensibility and techniques of interior design to urban environment” (Attiwill, 2011).

Traditional assumptions about the public/private, urban/domestic and exterior/interior dichotomies were challenged in the provocatively titled book *Intimate Metropolis: Urban Subjects in the Modern City* (Di Palma, et al., 2008). By deliberately juxtaposing the metropolis (as

the embodiment of the public sphere) with the concepts of intimacy traditionally associated with the private realm, the book asserts that the *"the modern city is predicated on the concept of the private individual"* (Di Palma, et al., 2008). As Diana Periton claims, the expression of the private individual in the modern city can be both theatrically exposed and/or secluded, thus empowering individual anonymity, *"but that very anonymity is what allows an individual's interiority to be revealed"* (Di Palma, et al., 2008). The authors note that the technologically driven global society, fostered by the rise of celebrity culture, has given rise to a new type of intimacy: the digital broadcasting of private individual lives in public, virtual space. The proposed idea of the contemporary city as an *intimate metropolis* and its inhabitants as *private citizens* incited a discussion that led to multiple perspectives questioning the limits of the private and public and the interior and exterior, and focussing on their simultaneous presence in spaces and practices: *"The intimate metropolis is thus a place in which boundaries between public and private, individual and multitude have been blurred"* (Di Palma, et al., 2008).

In her study of the typology of urban rooms, Montanari proposes an experimental approach to respond to contemporary challenges caused by increased global urbanisation, in which public spaces have diminished in terms of representation and attractiveness (Montanari, 2014). Based on the etymology in Kahn's concept of public spaces as the rooms of a city, Montanari considers the application of interior design tools appropriate for enhancing urban public spaces, and emphasises their potential to address equipment, users and spatial configuration (Figure 67). The synergy between urban and interior design can be established through the application of new materials and technologies, as well as non-traditional architectural tools and practices, such as public art installations. These experiments are intended to re-signify places and *"promote the creation of an emotional bond and thus foster a sense of belonging in time and place [...] These renovated environments are*



Figure 67. Public spaces as urban rooms. Left: Atelier Oslo and AWP, *Lanternen*, Sandnes, Norway; *Lantern-pavilion-awp-atelier-oslo*; Right: Collectif Etc., *Place au Changement*, Saint Etienne, France, 2011; Bottom: Heri & Salli, *Flederhaus*, Vienna, Austria, 2011.

conceived to produce memorable ‘experiences’ and, eventually, foster new sociocultural rituals” (Montanari, 2014).

The concept of urban rooms should foster the individual and collective needs of their users through the use of cross-disciplinary strategies and participatory activities: *“The various strategies aimed at enhancing the rooms of the city, be they grounded on the production of ‘estrangement’ (ludic approach) or of ‘familiarity’ (domestic approach), all focus particularly on people” (Montanari, 2014).* Urban rooms should be

conceived as site-specific, rather than standard solutions: “*By enhancing urban rooms around the natural, historical and/or cultural assets embedded in their context [...] these practices intend to create a more effective bond between each peculiar place identity (valued, recreated or redefined) and the community*”(Montanari, 2014).

The phrase “Our Urban Living Room” defines the philosophy of the socially engaged projects of Danish design studio COBE, which endeavours to bring everyday activities into the public realm. COBE’s architectural, urban, landscape, interior and product design projects cross diverse scales, and share narratives that promote urban democracy and social liveability. It aims to create buildings and spaces that invite people to use and define them “*as extended living rooms, where the boundaries between private and public space become fluid*” (COBE, 2016). Referential projects in which COBE designed public spaces as urban rooms include the hybrid bicycle park and square at Karen Blixens Plads, which is reminiscent of an undulating “urban carpet”, and Charging Stations for Electric Cars, an urban oasis for “*recharging mental and physical batteries*”(Figure 68).

How do we summarise the ways in which we imagine, perceive and create urban rooms? An urban room is a spatial concept that transcends urban and interior scales and disciplines, blurs the boundaries between outside and inside, and merges the public and private realms. It is an urban public space that evokes the sense of domesticity and intimacy typical of an interior atmosphere. Inverting the Corbusian process of bringing public spaces inside a building, **urban rooms emerge when qualities and atmospheres from interiors are brought to the exterior, and when interior design tools are translated and synergised with urban design techniques.**

Urban rooms can be illustrated by abstract models and real cases. The empty spatial volume of Basque sculptor Jorge Oteiza’s work entitled



Figure 68. Public spaces as urban rooms by COBE studio. Top: Karen Blixens Plads, Copenhagen, 2019; Bottom right: Ultra-Fast Charging Stations for Electric Cars, Fredericia, Denmark, 2018.



*Empty Box with Large Opening*⁶² represents a fluid space filled with energy. This work symbolises the spatial ambiguity of the interior and exterior, and embodies the abstract model of an urban room. The formal structure and spatial fluidity of *Caja vacía* is evident in the design of the MECA cultural centre in Bordeaux, by BIG and FREAKS. This social and cultural hub is often referred to as an *urban living room*—an extension of the city's promenade that encourages social interaction and fosters arts and culture, both inside and outside the building. Other examples are an art installation and a literal urban room. James Turrell's *Twilight*

62 Jorge Oteiza, *Empty Box with Large Opening (Caja vacía con gran apertura)*, 1958; Steel with copper plating, 46x45x39 cm; Guggenheim Bilbao Museo.

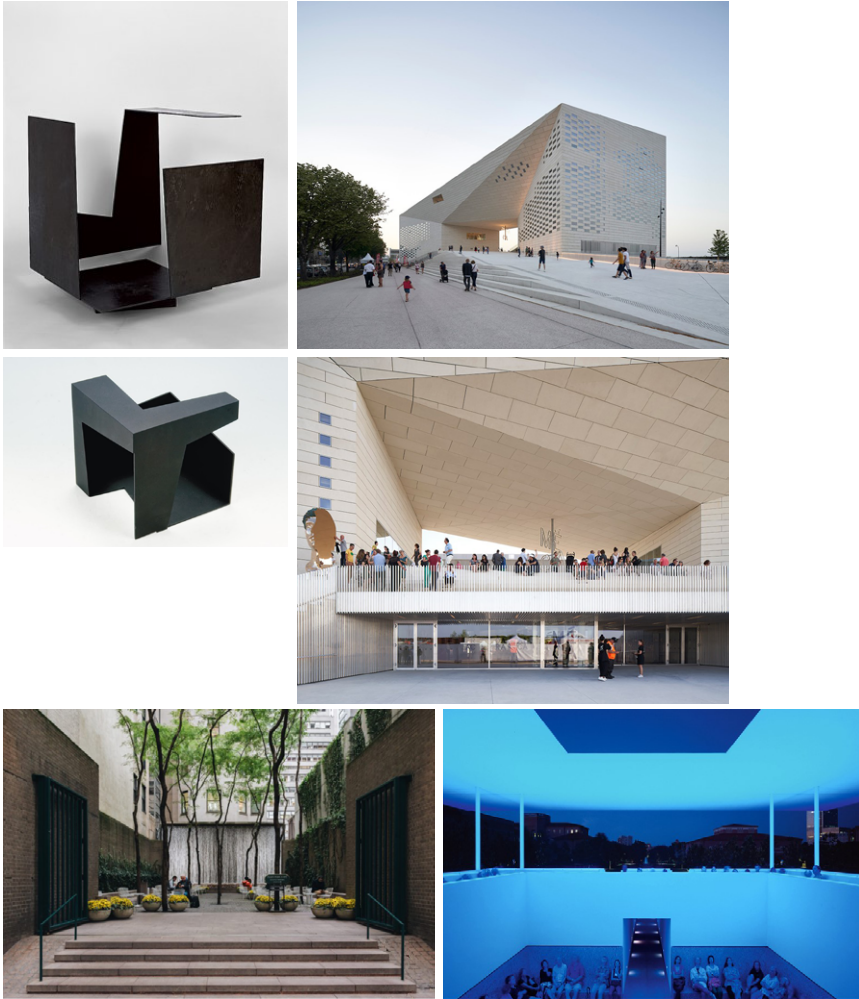


Figure 69. Abstract models and real examples of urban rooms. Top left: *Caja vacia* by Jorge Oteiza, 1958; Top right: *MÉCA Cultural Centre in Bordeaux* by Bjarke Ingels group BIG, 2019; Bottom right: *James Turrell, Twilight Epiphany*, 2012, Rice University, Houston, Texas; Bottom left: *Paley park*, New York by Zion Breen Richardson Associates since 1967.

Epiphany Skyspace is a mesmerising light and acoustic experience in a liminal interior-exterior space, providing a multi-sensorial oasis on the Rice University campus in Houston, Texas. Likewise, the spatial void of Paley Park, enclosed by three walls and oriented towards the open sky and the street, is an urban retreat in the middle of Manhattan, New York, which contains trees, furniture, and an artificial waterfall with calming visual and acoustic effects – a true urban room (Figure 69).

Summary

THE DIALECTIC OF INTERIOR AND URBAN SPACE

This has been present in architectural discourse throughout history, either directly or implicitly, from both theoretical and practical perspectives. Atriums, interior gardens, interior streets and urban furniture are only a few examples of the design components and concepts that emerged from the convergence of the two spatial realms. **Interior and urban design are not opposed or distant; rather they are relational and compatible.**

UBIQUITOUS DOMESTICITY

In response to the increasing virtualisation and alienation of the global society, the idea of domesticity is becoming an important feature of contemporary public interiors. The inclusion of shared social spaces with intimate atmospheres can be found in various architectural and interior typologies, such as home-like lounge areas in offices, urban cafes with freelancer-friendly environments, and lounge areas in concept stores and airports. Though they are generally founded on profit-based schemes, **it is evident that these concepts of domesticity and intimacy are desirable in contemporary architecture, as well as in the design of urban public spaces.**

INTERIOR URBANISM AND URBAN INTERIORS

Contemporary discourse revolves around two parallel but inverse concepts: (1) interior urbanism, which focuses on the interiorisation of the public realm and the proliferation of public interiors; and (2) urban interiors, which concentrate on public spaces characterised by the spatial, atmospheric qualities of interiors or created by interior design tools. **These concepts share the idea of a conjunction of interior and exterior space, and the private and public realms, and promote the gains of the convergence of interior design and urban planning.**

URBAN ROOMS

The increasing recognition of urban interiors (urban rooms) began with a recent paradigm shift in contemporary urban studies. In the classical figure-ground conception of urbanism, urban voids and public spaces are regarded as spatial fields to accommodate buildings. Interiors of buildings were for the accommodation and cultivation of life. The idea that both urban public spaces and interiors are in fact voids defined by an architectural mass (either an outer or inner shell), has instigated a new concept: that life occurs “*between the buildings*” (Gehl, 2011). **Urban life occurs inside the rooms of the city;**

urban rooms are simultaneously private and public, and can be squares or streets that feel like rooms. They evoke a sense of domesticity, and encourage social cohesion within a community, similar to the cohesion of family members at home. Because of their private-public ambiguity, urban rooms simultaneously support both individualism and social identity in space.

MERGING URBAN AND INTERIOR DESIGN

Urban rooms are the optimal outcome of merging urban and interior design. This can be achieved on two levels: enhancing their urban experience and identity, and upgrading the methodological approach of their design.


The identity and urban experience of public spaces can be enriched by establishing an accord between the interior and exterior in various spatial aspects, such as scale, configuration, atmosphere, and multisensory qualities, as well as material sensibility and interactivity. The resulting urban experience of ambiguity is the essence of urban rooms.

As in interior design, the human-centred approach to urban design involves making a city from the inside out. The planning of an urban

environment can be significantly enhanced by incorporating techniques and tools from interior design, which focus on the relationship between users and objects in space. This paradigmatic shift affects both stakeholder involvement and the development processes of urban rooms. To attain the anticipated level of social-cultural, functional and psychological relevance, **urban rooms should be based on a collaborative effort, in a continuous process of interaction between top-down and bottom-up strategies.** These processes involve the community, as well as environmental psychologists, interior architects, sociologists, urban anthropologists, urban planners and local authorities. The change of paradigm implies that both authorities and the community perceive the rooms of the city as the rooms in their own homes, as these spaces reflect the individual and collective identities, histories, concerns and hopes of their inhabitants, in the same way that domestic spaces do. **Urban rooms mirror ourselves as individuals, and our communities.**

On a global level, the proliferation of digital social networks has affected contemporary urban lifestyles by blurring or even erasing the boundaries between the private and public realms in virtual space, affecting (sometimes negatively) the psychological and social needs of individuals and the community. **Among their other aspects, urban rooms are a means of resistance to the technocratic, digitally-led alienation in contemporary society, and seek to re-establish the links between spaces, objects and users, on individual and collective levels.** Urban rooms endorse the site-specific approach, and evolve from their physical and socio-cultural context unlike standardised solutions, which result in urban homogenisation and placelessness.





V
CASE STUDY:
URBAN
ROOMS
OF
SARAJEVO



Lord, I'm not praying for miracles and visions, I'm only asking for strength for my days. Teach me the art of small steps..."

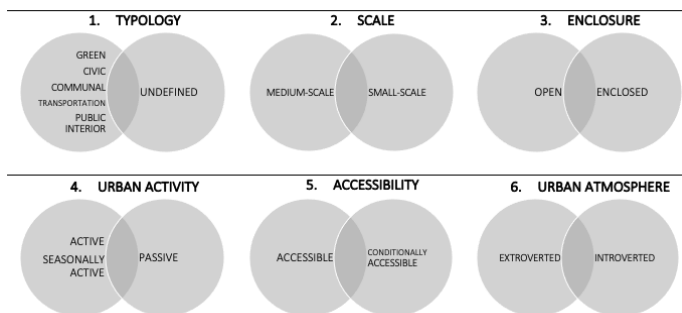
Antoine de Saint-Exupéry

V. CASE STUDY: URBAN ROOMS OF SARAJEVO

The previous theoretical discourse provided the basis for the applied research of urban rooms in Sarajevo. The mapping of public spaces in the city revealed marginal areas that were repeatedly associated with the ambiguous state of *in-betweenness* in terms of their context and historical genesis. The definition of this urban condition has features in common with *terrains vagues*, those *indeterminate, unstable, out-of-focus* urban spaces. At the same time, their ambiguous condition implies their potential for transformation into vibrant public spaces – *urban rooms* – and for translating their transitional state into impetus for urban regeneration. The superimposition of maps of public spaces in Sarajevo (see Chapter II) extrapolated the typology of urban voids and their locations in the city. The urban voids identified are characterised by distinctive but vague attributes, which can be classified into six categories (Table II):

1. Typology: vaguely defined, undefined and disconnected functions;
2. Scale: small- to medium-scale;
3. Enclosure: semi-open and semi-enclosed;
4. Urban activity: passive and seasonally active;
5. Accessibility: conditionally accessible;
6. Urban atmosphere: semi-private and semi-public.

Table 11. Socio-spatial attributes of urban voids in the city of Sarajevo: the darker shaded overlapping areas symbolize the condition of in-betweenness by categories of attributes.



The scope of urban voids in Sarajevo (which will be considered as *intervention targets* in subsequent paragraphs) was narrowed by taking into account their origin and present-day function. Accordingly, the selection includes planned or defined urban voids, comprising areas that had originally been envisioned as public spaces but have gradually lost their public value or meaning, and residual voids, which traditionally lacked definition and articulation but have the potential to be converted into urban rooms. This potential is often derived from dichotomies such as public/private, exterior/interior, and East/West.

Following an in-depth analysis of their historical origin, urban morphology, and relationship with context, the study of public spaces in Sarajevo focused on the following sub-categories of urban void:

(1) **Neglected public spaces**, which, due to historical and ongoing transitional processes, have gradually deteriorated, and declined in terms of public value and urban activity;

(2) **Intra-block urban voids**, in the form of interior courtyards or atriums in urban blocks from Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian times, which lack solid definition in terms of accessibility, ownership and use; and

(3) **Fragmented modernist urban voids**, which emerged as by-products of the processes of socio-political disintegration and physical fragmentation in the period of transition and privatisation in the 1990s.

These subcategories of urban void, and their current and future status, challenges and potential for transformation, will be illustrated in five case studies (Figure 70). The selected spaces will simulate the methodology of the transformation of Sarajevo's urban voids into urban rooms. They are located in the three innermost municipalities of Sarajevo: Stari Grad (Old Town), Centar (Centre) and Novo Sarajevo (New Sarajevo), and are listed by their location, from East to West (Figure 70):

1. Velika avlija Laure Papo Bahorete;
2. Tekija cikma courtyard;
3. Marsala Tita interior courtyard;
4. Radiceva Street; and
5. Grbavica Marketplace.

Each of these case studies is distinct in terms of its historical origin, urban context and morphology and current state of development, use and activity, and will therefore be studied to simulate diverse intervention methodologies. All five *rooms*, however, share the socio-spatial attributes in Table 11: they are vaguely defined or undefined, introverted, small- to medium-scale spaces, with a high level of enclosure, low urban activity and questionable accessibility. These spaces represent the most typical



Figure 70. Selection of urban voids in the city of Sarajevo: 1. Velika avlija Laure Papo Bahorete; 2. Tekija cikma; 3. Marsala Tita 34 interior courtyard; 4. Radiceva street; 5. Grbavica marketplace.

categories of urban void in Sarajevo, characterised by the potential to be transformed into urban rooms. It is this condition of possibility and potentiality that intrigues us as architects, because, as Saskia Sassen argues, these spaces reinsert the possibility of urban making – *poesis* – in a way that large-scale projects do not (Sassen, 2006).

When selecting the case study locations, we focused on sites that had the potential to initiate (and set an example for) further extensive urban regeneration in the wider urban area. With the awareness that Sarajevo has many urban rooms that could be regenerated, our intention was to present the potential transformation of exemplary cases that had already undergone certain transformative processes, and that were from different historical eras, in different morphological and typological urban settings. For instance, Urban Room No. 1 (Velika avlija Laure Papo Bahorete) is an example of the typology of neglected public spaces. It is a defined void that reflects historical transition, and pertains to the urban context at the threshold of Ottoman and Habsburg heritage. Urban Rooms Nos. 2 and 3 (Tekija cikma courtyard and Marsala Tita interior courtyard respectively), represent the typology of intra-block urban voids from the Habsburg and Early Yugoslav eras, the likes of which are common in the Old Town and Centre municipalities. Though they differ in urban morphology, programme, character and context, urban rooms Nos. 4 and 5 (Radiceva Street and Grbavica Marketplace), belong to the category of fragmented modernist urban voids, which have been challenged by their transitions from the formal to informal and global to site-specific realms.

Table 12. Identification matrix: socio-spatial attributes of urban voids in Sarajevo. Source: Authors

I. HISTORY					
Medieval	Ottoman	Habsburg	Early Yugoslav	Soc. Yugoslav	Contemporary
II. ATTRIBUTES					
Typology	Scale	Enclosure	Activity	Accessibility	Atmosphere
III. TRANSITIONS					
Socialist-Capitalist	Low-High-tech	Formal-informal	Global-Site-specific	Oriental-Western	

The study of these five urban areas of Sarajevo will be structured according to a predefined analytical framework. Each prospective urban room will be explored by providing a (1) **general overview** of its historical genesis and location, followed by a (2) **site assessment**, consisting of the analysis of its socio-spatial attributes and summarised in the **Identification Matrix** (Table 12). Finally, based on the evaluation of each site's qualities and the identified challenges, each case study will conclude with a proposal for (3) **intervention strategies**, which will highlight the opportunities for their future transformation, organised in the condensed form of the **Intervention Matrix** (Table 13).

Table 13. *Intervention matrix (condensed version): summary of methods and tools applicable in the case of transformation of urban voids in Sarajevo.*
Source: Authors

	I. SCOPE Key objectives and aspects of the intervention	II. STRATEGY Description of the proposed types of intervention	III. TOOLS Instruments to be performed to reach the defined objectives
1.	PROGRAM	Programmatic intervention strategies	Project vision, plan and program development tools
2.	IDENTITY	Strategies for physical/ spatial interventions	Urban-interior design -elements -principles
3.	DESIGN CRITERIA	Site-specificity Urban resilience	Attributes of urban rooms
4.	STAKEHOLDERS	Collaborative strategies engaging public, private and community sectors	Collaborative tools

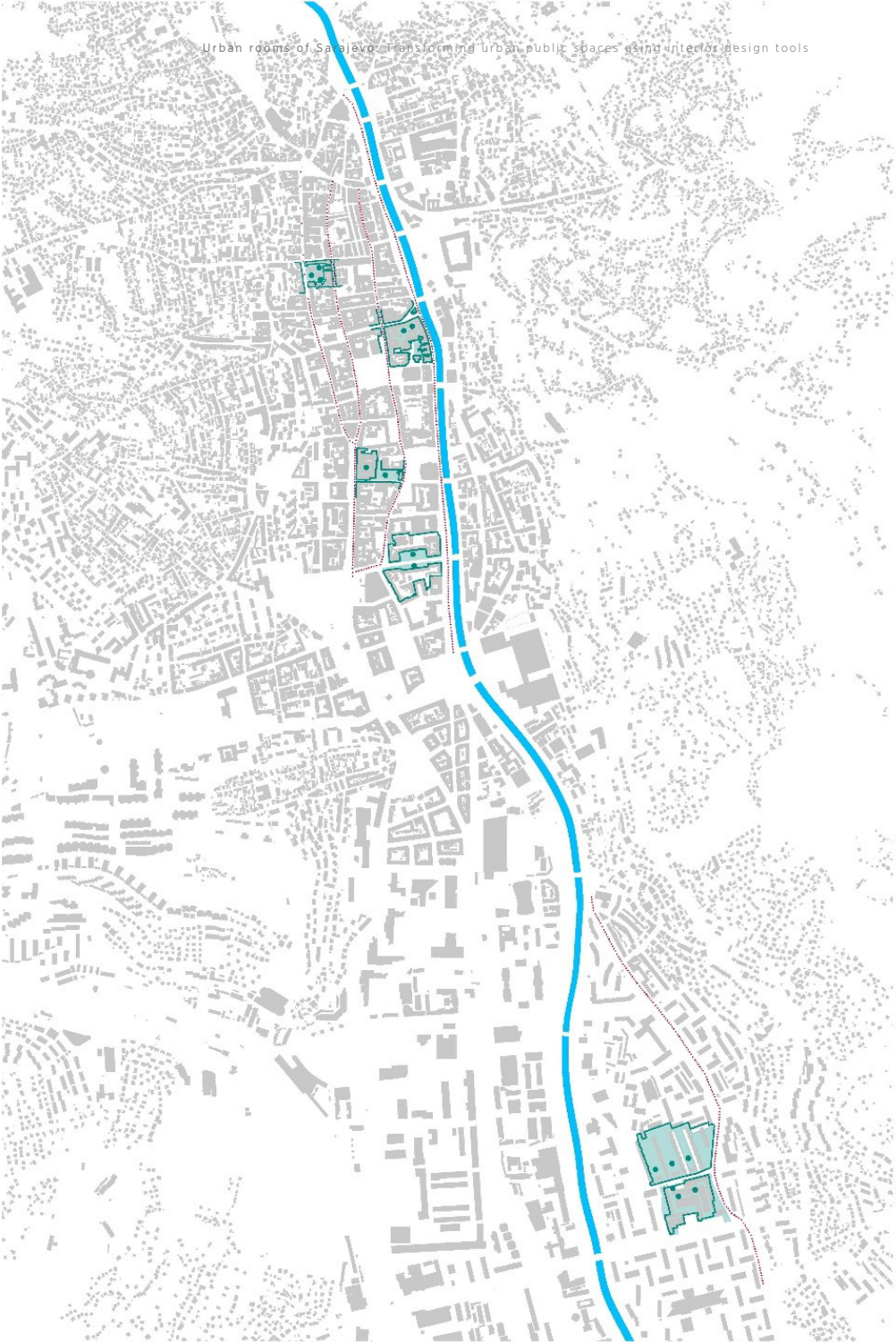


Figure 71. The locations of the five study areas.

The proposed interventions for each site analysed will be structured in three levels: scope, strategy and tools. Scope refers to the key objectives and aspects of the intervention, such as its identity, design criteria, programme and stakeholders, and is followed by a more detailed elaboration of the methodological steps, or strategy. Finally, the proposed intervention will conclude with a presentation of the tools that may be used to perform the predefined objectives and methodologies.

While developing the specific *Intervention Matrix* (Table 14) for our five case studies, we were inspired by the common theoretical and practical approach of Jan Gehl and Jaime Lerner, especially their advice on the importance of good programming: “*Good acupuncture is about understanding places better, understanding that one city is not like the other, understanding what it is that is missing in a neighbourhood before designing. Here Lerner touches upon an important issue: the need for good programming. There is plenty of good design but an exorbitant lack of good programming with a deeper understating of problems, people, and places*” (Jan Gehl on Jaime Lerner (Lerner, 2014)).

The simulation of intervention strategies in the case studies aims to show the synergetic link between the programme and formal identity of urban rooms, representing the translation of the programme into tangible objects. This is achieved by using urban design principles, while adhering to essential design values such as site-specificity and urban resilience, and through collaborative strategies involving the community and public and private sectors. As a result of the inductive analysis of individual cases, complemented by a theoretical background and body of knowledge on the subject of urban voids, urban rooms and urban regeneration, the *Intervention Matrix* (Table 14) contains a description of the scope of each location, the elaboration of a corresponding strategy, and a list of the tools that can be used to realise the desired intervention strategy. It is important to note, however, that the strategies and instruments provided

in the Intervention Matrix are general guidelines, which may cast a new light on urban voids and their prospective transformation, and the impact this has on the wider context. These guidelines should be considered in a flexible, site-specific manner, as each individual site requires a unique, multi-layered and multidisciplinary response.

Table 14. *Intervention matrix (extended version): summary of methods and tools applicable in the case of transformation of urban voids in Sarajevo. Source: Authors*

I. SCOPE <i>Key objectives and aspects of the intervention</i>	II. STRATEGY <i>Description of the proposed types of intervention</i>	III. TOOLS <i>Instruments to be performed to reach the defined objectives</i>
<p>1. PROGRAM</p> <p>The essential distinction between urban voids and urban rooms lies in the inquiry of their content. Evaluation of the program is the first stage in the process of transformation. The study of the current functions and activities should provide an answer to the question What? is needed/missing or redundant on the site? Whether it is a brownfield or greenfield, each urban void should be systematically assessed, (re)planned and (re)programmed taking into account the economic, environmental, socio-cultural perspectives.</p>	<p><i>Programmatic intervention strategies:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Re-functioning the site; ➤ Improving mobility/transport; ➤ Reclamation of public space; ➤ Introducing new functions; ➤ Removing redundant functions; ➤ Relocating/re-configuring/ correlating the functional zones; ➤ Introducing the new experimental, short-term, low-cost interventions; ➤ Establishing the hierarchy/ balance between existing and new functions; ➤ Reinforcing the economic and environmental sustainability. 	<p><i>Instances of programmatic interventions:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Pop-up shop/cafes/bars; ➤ Pop-up libraries/workplaces; ➤ Periodic/temporary activities/attractions; ➤ Car-free zones/Underground parking; ➤ Recreational areas/cycling lane; ➤ Green areas/green infrastructure; ➤ Open-air gyms/cinemas/ galleries; ➤ Playgrounds; ➤ Youth areas/skate parks/ graffiti art areas; ➤ Repositioning of parking areas/ temporary buildings;

I. SCOPE <i>Key objectives and aspects of the intervention</i>	II. STRATEGY <i>Description of the proposed types of intervention</i>	III. TOOLS <i>Instruments to be performed to reach the defined objectives</i>
<p>2. IDENTITY</p> <p>In the second stage of development of urban rooms, the program takes its physical shape. The predetermined functions are translated into tangible objects: design elements, forms and components. Identity making responds to the analytical questions of How? and Where? While the 'How' refers to design tools which transfer the predefined program into physical objects and forms, the 'Where' targets their colocation and spatial correlation of the design elements. The functional correlation and the spatial composition of elements, forms and components actually define the identity of urban rooms.</p> <p>In this stage, transfer of skills and techniques from interior design to urban spaces are particularly relevant because of their focus on the relationship between users and objects in space. Hybrid urban-interior elements which are the shared points between urban and interior space, grant the identity of urban rooms.</p>	<p><i>The objectives and strategies translated into physical/spatial interventions:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Detecting and boosting the intrinsic spatial, social and cultural features - the underlying identity of a place; ➤ Exploring the context; ➤ Creating an overall vision for the place in relation to its context, ➤ Reconnecting scattered spatial zones; ➤ Recognizing the aspect of interiority as a spatial condition in urban space; ➤ Correlating urban and interior space, through forms, elements and components; ➤ Creating particular welcoming ambience of domesticity, safety and well-being in urban space; ➤ Introducing familiar yet hybrid urban-interior elements derived from home to create urban room ambience. 	<p><i>Instances of urban-interior design elements:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Urban furniture/lighting; ➤ Green infrastructure; ➤ Hybrid elements of urban interior-scape: "urban carpet"/ "urban ceiling", "intimate lighting"/ "urban living room"/ "urban gate"/ "urban window" etc.; ➤ Ephemeral structures/Art installations. ➤ Instances of urban-interior design principles: ➤ Elimination of physical barriers; ➤ Unification of space/ connecting pedestrian zones; ➤ Linking the site with the surroundings, at micro and macroscale; ➤ Improving visual communication and facilitating attractive views; ➤ Emphasis on visibility, legibility and accessibility of space; ➤ Gradation of sequences, from public to private domain; ➤ Design hierarchy/design focal points.

I. SCOPE <i>Key objectives and aspects of the intervention</i>	II. STRATEGY <i>Description of the proposed types of intervention</i>	III. TOOLS <i>Instruments to be performed to reach the defined objectives</i>
<p>3. DESIGN CRITERIA</p> <p>Formulation of the program and the urban-interior design tools are complemented by setting the essential design values and principles in the development of urban rooms. Addressing the key design criteria starts off by the inquiry of How? and Why? The 'How' relates to taking the most appropriate methodological approach, while considering 'Why' it is relevant for the wider urban environment and the community. The design of urban rooms should be synchronized with the current and planned contexts. Design methods that take into account the factors of place/context and time/perspective will ensure the essential design criteria of site-specificity and urban resilience of urban rooms.</p>	<p><i>Methodological approach that adheres to design criteria of urban rooms include:</i></p> <p>(1) Site-specificity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Identifying the key features of the place identity as the starting point; ➤ Enhancing genius loci/memory of the place; ➤ Urban recycling; ➤ Re-use of space and objects; ➤ Synchronizing particular urban room with the current and planned context; ➤ (2) Urban resilience ➤ Rapid instalment of ephemeral elements; ➤ Continuously monitoring and measuring urban activity; ➤ Adapting to changing circumstances; ➤ Creating spatial narrative and visual sequences and itineraries; ➤ Connecting particular urban rooms in larger networks; ➤ Performing strategic micro interventions while aiming at large-scale effects; ➤ Integrating smart/digital/virtual tools and components. 	<p><i>Critical attributes of urban rooms:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Contextual/site specific; ➤ Adaptable/flexible/responsive; ➤ Multifunctional; ➤ Pragmatic/resistant; ➤ Innovative/creative; ➤ Diverse; ➤ Dynamic; ➤ Sustainable; ➤ Effective and efficient; ➤ Inclusive; ➤ Receptive; ➤ Linked; ➤ Modular; ➤ Self organized.

I. SCOPE <i>Key objectives and aspects of the intervention</i>	II. STRATEGY <i>Description of the proposed types of intervention</i>	III. TOOLS <i>Instruments to be performed to reach the defined objectives</i>
<p>4. STAKEHOLDERS</p> <p>The development of urban rooms should be based on a collaborative effort and endorse social inclusion, in a continuous course of interaction of the top-down and bottom-up strategies. Who is involved in the making of urban rooms? The process is multileveled and multidisciplinary, and involves the following three partners: public, private and community sector.</p> <p>Urban rooms are the result of a multidisciplinary collaboration of various design and planning professionals and experts in social sciences: interior architects, sociologists, urban anthropologists, environmental psychologists, urban planners, urban economists etc.</p>	<p><i>Collaborative strategies include:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Collaborative approach: top-down strategy in sync with bottom-up activism ➤ Cross disciplinary approach; ➤ Communal activism; ➤ Human centred design approach, ➤ Co-design; ➤ Small-scale interventions; ➤ Locally sensitive techniques (i.e. place making) 	<p><i>Instances of collaborative strategies:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Temporary spatial interventions; ➤ Pilot projects/Urban “beta” projects; ➤ Urban gardening; ➤ Interactive games; ➤ Urban acupuncture; ➤ Tactical urbanism; ➤ Cultural regeneration; ➤ Iterative place making; ➤ Ephemeral structures/Art installations; ➤ Smart/digital/virtual tools and components.



Figure 72. Urban room No. 1: Velika avlija Laure Papo aerial photos.

URBAN ROOM NO. 1: VELIKA AVLIJA LAURE PAPO

Overview

*Velika avlija Laure Papo*⁶³ (Figure 72) is located at the threshold of the organic urban pattern of Ottoman *Bascarsija* and the Austro-Hungarian regulated urban grid. The site's northern border is delineated by Mula Mustafe Baseskije Street, a well-known and high-traffic street that separates the flat, commercial zone of *Bascarsija* from the slopes of the

63 The Grand Courtyard of Laura Papo



mahalas (the old oriental residential neighbourhoods). The toponym *Velika avlija* translates as the Great Courtyard (or Garden). This particular *avlija* is dedicated to the writer Laura Papo Bohoreta, and is part of the legacy of the old Sephardic residential quarter *Sijavus-pasine daire*, which disappeared in a fire in 1879 (Bejtic, 1973). The site is part of the compound of Bosnia and Herzegovina's oldest synagogue, known as the *Old Temple*, which dates from 1581, and the adjacent *New Temple* synagogue, built in 1870. The two historical buildings have been converted into a museum and gallery respectively. The analysed area measures 27 x 50 metres. It opens towards the street on its northern side, and its outer boundaries are defined by the modest, rear facades of the multi-storey buildings in the structured Austro-Hungarian city block. These facades are juxtaposed with smaller buildings on its western edge, which echo the oriental urban pattern of *Bascarsija*. The external edge of the eastern city block contains a row of vibrant shops and tourist attractions, while

the envelope of buildings to its south encompasses the frontal facades of Ferhadija, the old town's most frequented pedestrian street. The two synagogues appear as freestanding solids, asymmetrically placed in the void, and are the site's key architectural and cultural highlights. The small plaza in front of the New Temple Gallery features two tall poplars, several pines and a chestnut tree, as well as two small green areas with benches placed in a circular form.

Site Assessment

Despite its small size, the analysed site has multiple functions: 1) transport/circulation, in the form of street-level parking spaces on the site's northern side along Mula Mustafe Baseskije Street, and vehicular access to private houses along its western edge; 2) patches of green space within the plaza in front of the New Temple Gallery, which act as a small civic square; and 3) communal space, consisting of a congested area of public facilities, small cafes and bars on its eastern side, which adjoin the secluded synagogue courtyard. Because of their specific morphology and position, the rear and lateral areas around the New Temple building are functionless and inactive, and therefore display characteristics of undefined space (Table 15). The entire site, consisting of six typological categories, is characterised by functional heterogeneity and spatial discontinuity. Its urban activity varies in response to its unbalanced programmatic scheme, from the high activity of the commercial facilities in its eastern part, especially during the summer tourist season, to its semi-active central plaza area, and the predominantly inactive parking areas and pocket-like spaces around the New Temple Gallery. The degree of enclosure increases from north to south, in relation to urban density. The two pedestrian access passages from the south and the eastern void at the back of the Old Temple are highly enclosed, while the remaining area is open only towards Mula Mustafa Baseskija Street. The overall

urban atmosphere of the site is highly introverted and intimate, and its human-scale proportions, enclosure, memory of place, and patterns of use insinuate the modes of its potential transformation into an urban room. Any intervention strategy in this urban void should therefore tackle the identified challenges (primarily its heterogeneity and fragmentation, which affect its general visibility and legibility) in order to attain spatial coherence and a permeation of functions and activities.

Table 15. Identification matrix: key attributes of the Velika avlija Laure Papo. Source: Authors

I. HISTORY					
Medieval	Ottoman	Habsburg	Early Yugoslav	Soc. Yugoslav	Contemporary
II. ATTRIBUTES					
Typology	Scale	Enclosure	Activity	Accessibility	Atmosphere
Civic/Green/Communal/Transport	Small	Semi-enclosed	Passive	Accessible and cond. accessible	Introverted
III. TRANSITIONS					
Socialist-Capitalist	Low-High-tech	Formal-informal	Global-Site-specific	Oriental-Western	

Intervention strategy

The objective of the intervention strategy for this site requires its partial reprogramming to reclaim the public space. This implies pedestrianisation of the northern part of the site, accompanied by the repositioning of its parking area to an alternative location. In this way, the overall site will become more open and perceptible from Mula Mustafe Baseskije Street, which would alter the view from the tram and from the buildings on the opposite side of the street. The undefined areas in terms of public-private ownership and accessibility behind and around the New Temple Gallery should be repurposed. To find the right function for these fragmented

voids, an intervention strategy should be initiated by the public authorities and joined by citizen activists and experts in urban planning and interior design. These stakeholders should use pilot projects to find the most suitable and flexible long-term solution through the methodology of tactical urbanism. The northern part of the site is its entrance sequence, which could incorporate programmatic interventions such as pop-up cafes and arts and crafts shops, accompanied by new seating options. Reactivation of the spaces at the rear of the site, adjacent to the small building structure of the private houses, could involve slight functional upgrades to target the local community, such as the installation of small playgrounds, with smart interactive tools. The legibility and visibility of the civic square and the preservation of the green infrastructure could be enhanced by establishing the New Temple Gallery as the site's main focal point. This could be achieved by redistributing the urban furniture into smaller groups that lead the eye towards the gallery's entrance and provide seating for individuals and smaller groups. The experience of a cohesive urban public space could be further accentuated by a unified pavement that includes the featured design leitmotifs, to unite the area visually. The design of the urban furniture, lighting and ephemeral structures for this urban room should reflect the memory and cultural background of the space in terms of its size, shape and materialisation, thus adhering to the site-specific design criterion of enhancing the *genius loci*. Activating the corridors and passages of this urban room, located at the back of the site, could involve placing discrete but poignant urban art installations either at pavement level or as an "urban ceiling". These small spatial sequences would have their own narratives within the overall transformation scenario. The memory of the place and the idea of domesticity conveyed in the *Velika avlija* toponym, which is reminiscent of the history of ancient Sephardic residential quarters, is a valuable source of inspiration for the future transformation and reactivation of this urban room.

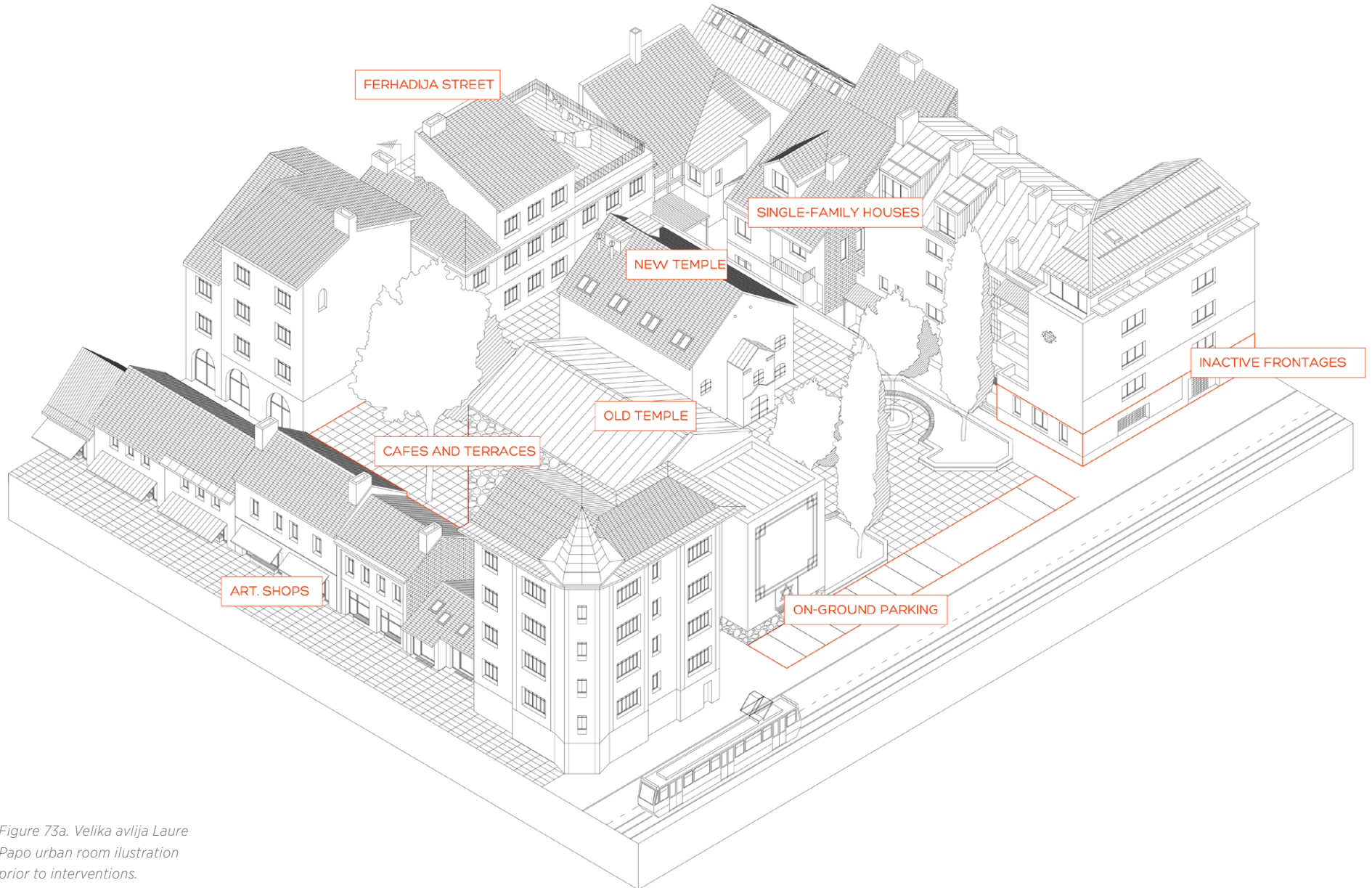


Figure 73a. Velika avlija Laure
Papo urban room illustration
prior to interventions.

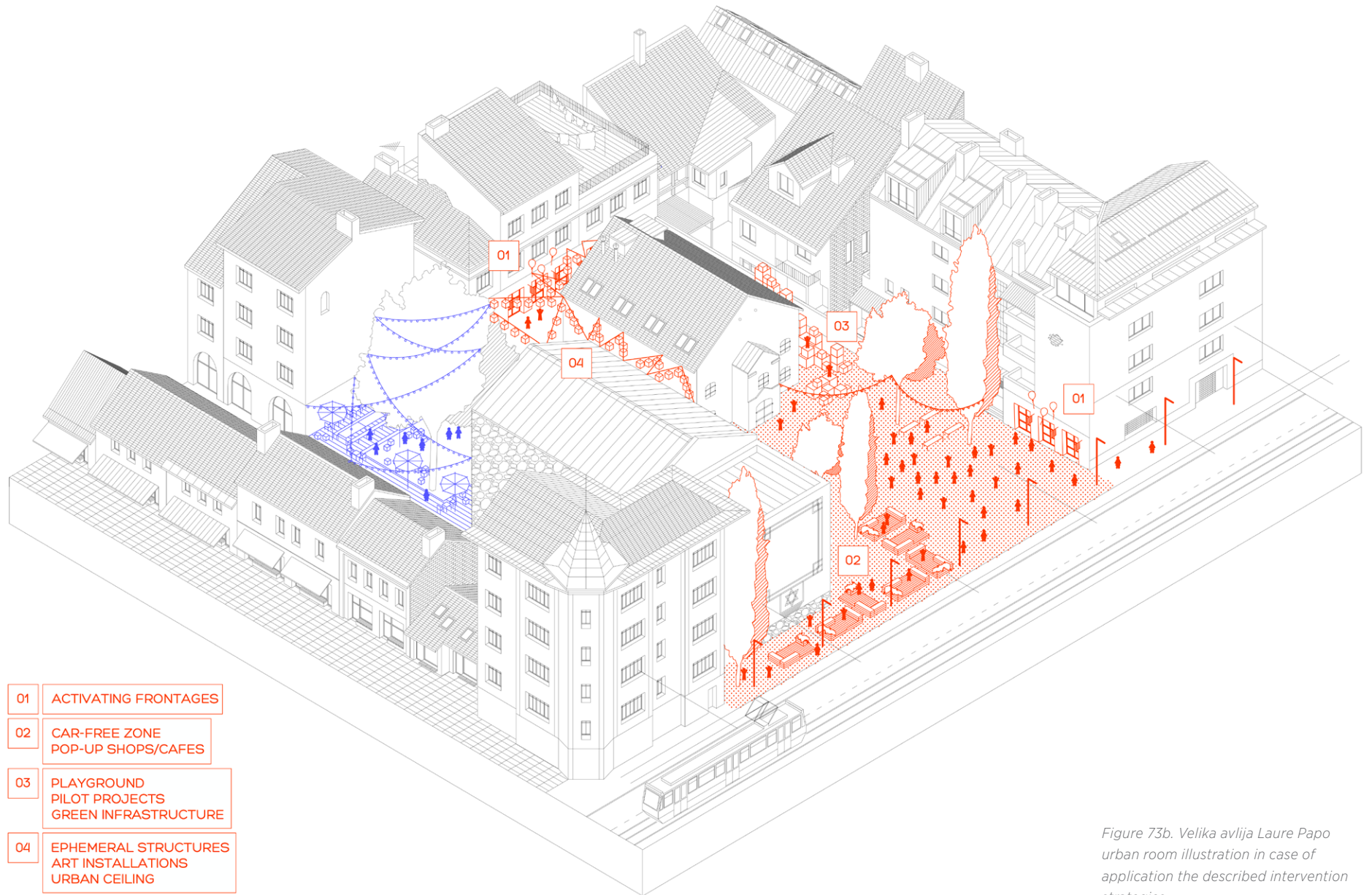


Figure 73b. Velika avlija Laure Papo urban room illustration in case of application the described intervention strategies.



Figure 74. Urban room No. 2: Tekija cikma courtyard aerial photos.

URBAN ROOM NO. 2: TEKIJAKIKMA COURTYARD

Overview

Tekija cikma is a cul-de-sac inside a courtyard, enclosed by the feature buildings of the Obala Kulina bana river bank, near the Cumurija bridge in Sarajevo's Old town municipality. The courtyard (urban void) measures approximately 1700 m² and is distinguished by a complex geometric configuration. The interior elevations of this urban block are modest and lack harmony in their architectural composition, especially compared to its outer shell, which comprises representative facades from the Secession and pseudo-Moorish styles of the Austro-Hungarian period, combined



with modernist architectural infills from the 1950s. The name *Tekija cikma* is derived from the renowned 17th-century *tekke* that stood on the site, a dervish monastery led by famous Bosnian writer Hasan Kaimija. The ancient *tekke* caught fire several times, and finally burnt down in a blaze in 1879 (Bejtici, 1973). The name of this site has changed over the course of historical transitions,⁶⁴ but its present-day title is from its Ottoman incarnation. Today, it is a private parking lot, accessed from Obala Kulina bana and Cumurija Streets via a narrow, winding passage alongside a large modernist residential building. The site can also be accessed by foot on its west side, from the direction of the Stari Grad Municipality administrative buildings. A third entry is from the Obala Kulina bana riverbank, but it is reserved for

64 In 1931, during the Early Yugoslav period, it was named Zrinjskog cikma, because it was adjacent to Zrinjskog Street (today's Cumurija Street), which honoured Croatian politician Petar Zrinjski (Bejtici, 1973). The Turkish word *cikma* is a diminutive form of the word for street, and is therefore used to indicate a small street.

vehicular access by local residents. As well as the residential buildings that form this urban block, the site contains two smaller attached multi-family houses and three impressive chestnut and poplar trees.

Site assessment

Though its Ottoman narrative is inscribed in its name, the *Tekija cikma* urban void carries the architectural legacy of the Habsburg and Socialist Yugoslav eras. Its historical layers intersect in this complex and neglected site in tangible and intangible ways. Today, this urban void is primarily considered a transport-related public space run by a private company, with the secondary function of a communal space for residents of the heterogeneous urban block (Table 16). According to our nomenclature of scale, this is a medium-sized urban space. It is encircled by residential buildings along its entire perimeter, which categorises it as a semi-enclosed urban void. Of the three existing access points, the one on Cumurija Street is considered the official vehicular entry. It is accessible via a narrow passage between residential buildings on its eastern edge, and is hardly visible from outside. The other two entries, from the south and west, do not permit full access to the site, as they are blocked by barriers such as walls and fences. The space's unclear legibility, limited right of way and use, disorganised communication flow and numerous physical barriers, such as fences, gates and changing ground levels make this urban void passive and conditionally accessible. These characteristics contribute to a substantially introverted atmosphere in the *Tekija cikma* courtyard. This introversion could be a genuine asset in the context of urban acupuncture and the site's potential transformation into an urban room – a secluded, quiet and intimate space, reclaimed and shared by its citizens and reintegrated with the urban fabric of its surroundings. A vital aspect to consider when assessing this site is the transformation processes that have occurred on it over time. During the most recent transition from socialist to capitalist socio-economic systems, the site became even more fragmented and heterogeneous, due to the privatisation process and the appropriation of what used to be shared space. These factors

have led to the site's current state of being inadequately utilised, vaguely defined, largely inactive and neglected. Paradoxically, this gives it great transformative potential.

Table 16. Identification matrix: key attributes of the *Tekija cikma* courtyard
Source: Authors

I. HISTORY					
Medieval	Ottoman	Habsburg	Early Yugoslav	Soc. Yugoslav	Contemporary
II. ATTRIBUTES					
Typology	Scale	Enclosure	Activity	Accessibility	Atmosphere
Civic/Green/Communal/Transport	Small	Semi-enclosed	Passive	Accessible and cond. accessible	Introverted
III. TRANSITIONS					
Socialist-Capitalist	Low-High-tech	Formal-informal	Global-Site-specific	Oriental-Western	

Intervention strategy

The transformation strategy for the *Tekija cikma* courtyard should primarily encompass substantial changes to its programme, such as replacing its street-level car park with an underground garage. This would give the space the opportunity to become a civic and/or communal urban room. Our site assessment highlighted poor accessibility, visibility and legibility as key issues. In response to these problems, we propose the reinvention of formal and visual identities as an intervention strategy, with the separation of vehicular from pedestrian access as the key intervention. Through the creation of a new passage in the ground floor of the residential modernist building to the west, the approach to the site would become more visible from Cumurija Street. This would simplify pedestrian flow and improve the legibility and visibility of this potential urban room. Vehicular access would remain in its existing position, but would be upgraded with a ramp to a subterranean garage. The issue of accessibility may be further resolved by eliminating all physical barriers,

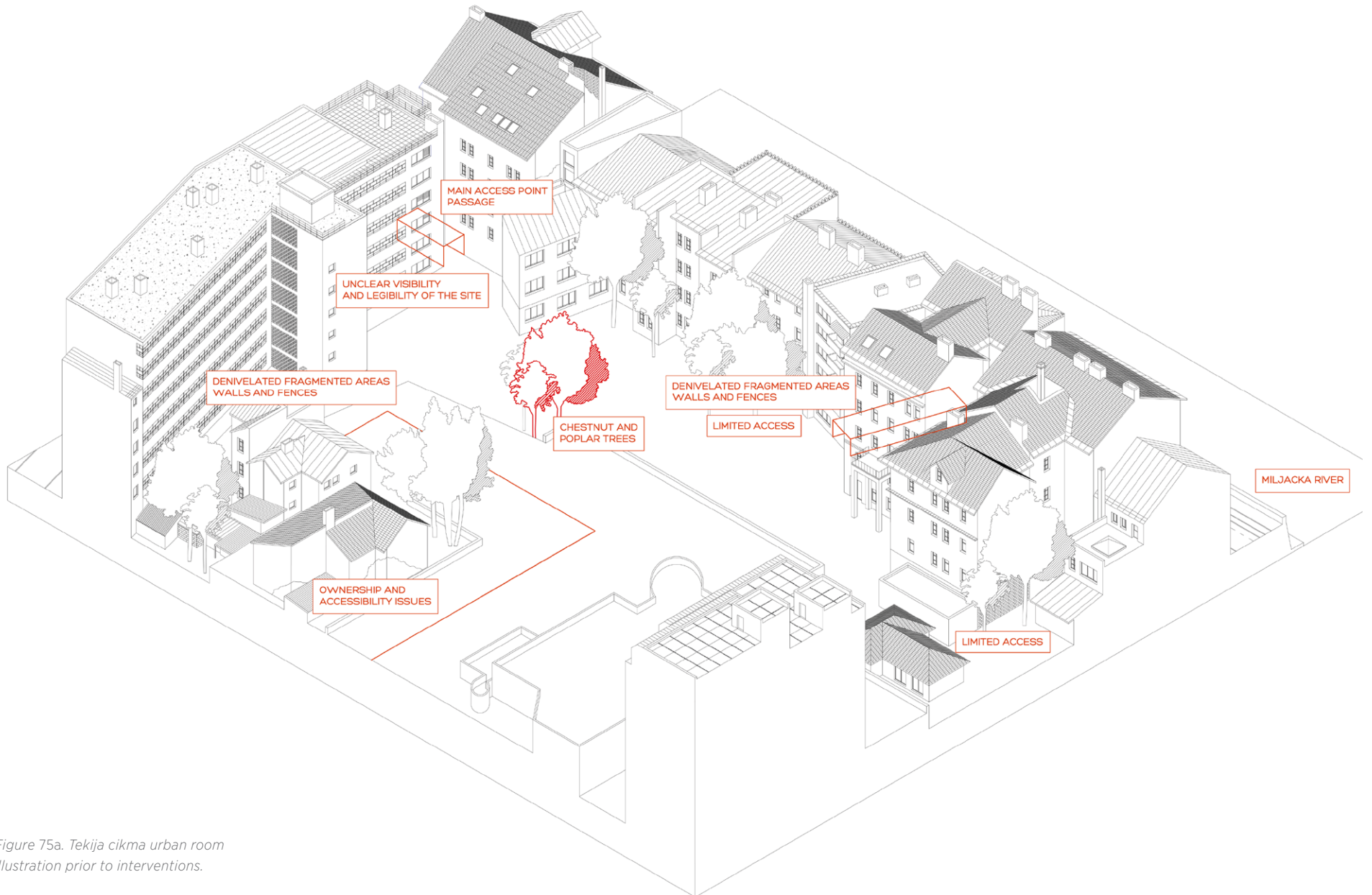


Figure 75a. Tekija cikma urban room illustration prior to interventions.

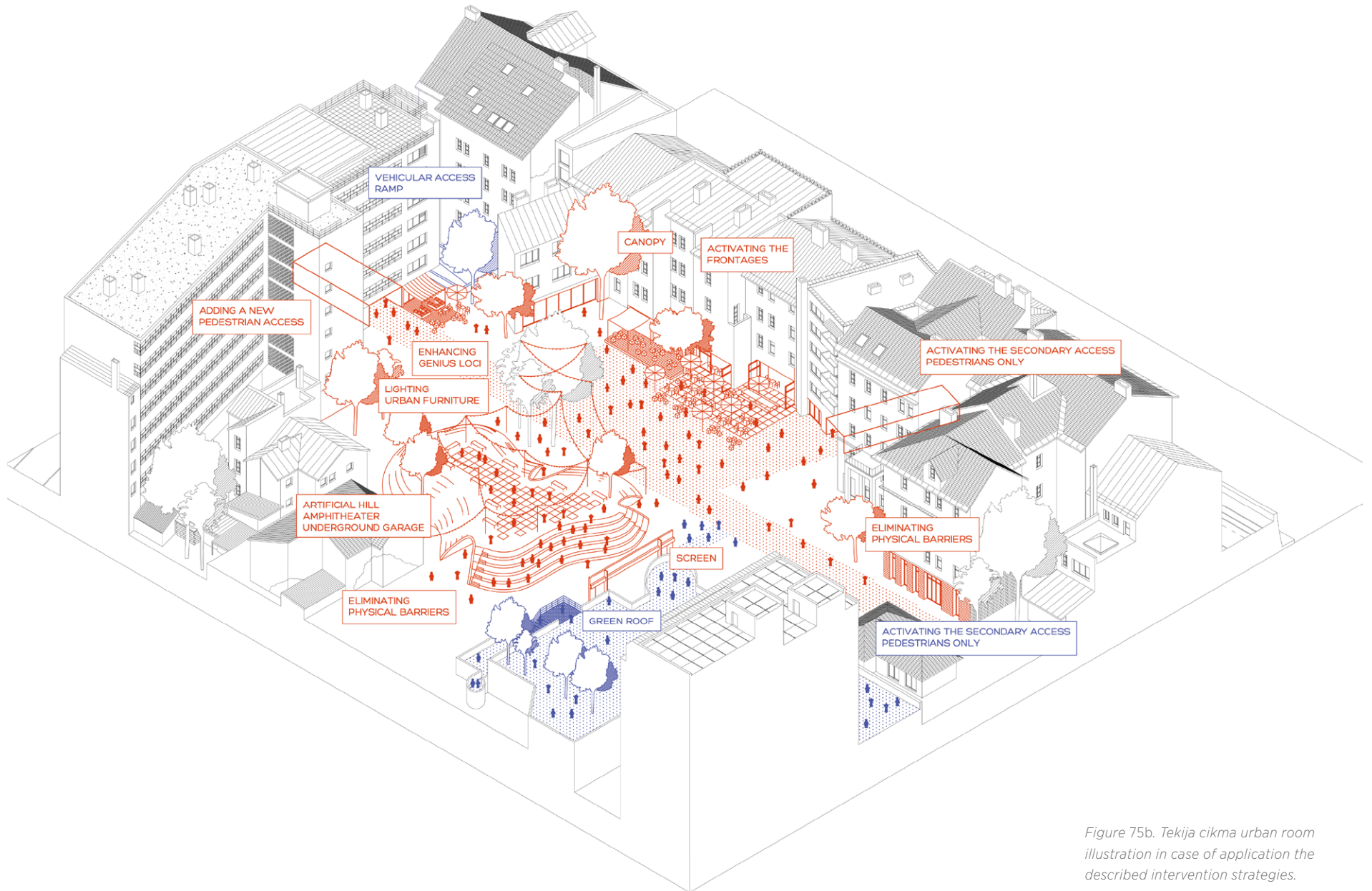


Figure 75b. Tekija cikma urban room illustration in case of application the described intervention strategies.

such as walls and fences, that impede the full use of southern and western entries. In the urban-interior approach to redefining this site, its fragmentation inspires its redesign as an urban room, with the existing poplar trees as its focal points. In this conception, the centrally positioned trees would be metaphors for the dervishes who gave the site its name, and who lived in the *tekke* that stood upon it, while the surrounding areas could be organised radially to simulate their ritual dance. To harmonise the ground level with the extension of the municipality building, the floor in the northern part of the void would be elevated in the form of an amphitheatre: an artificial hill on top of the underground garage. This space could be used for summer movie screenings or performances, or for a children's playground. Interventions in the southern part of this urban room would mainly focus on the activation of facades on the ground floors of the Habsburg and early modernist buildings. Their existing charm could be enhanced through the addition of public spaces such as cafes and shops, the introduction of urban-interior elements, such as seating and lighting, and the creation of small-scale intimate private/public areas under an undulated canopy, to highlight the continuity of the space and link its three access points. In this way, the site's existing heterogeneity and the complexity of its appearance and ownership could be transformed into a multifaceted urban room, using the urban-interior design principle of the gradation of diverse and vibrant spatial narratives. The spatial sequencing would begin with small-scale intimate zones in the southern segment according to communal requirements, and would involve community input in a process of co-design. The northern part of the site would target a wider audience and address cultural regeneration through a public programme. These polarities would complement each other in a dual-concept civic and communal urban room, which would simultaneously be intimate/secluded, and fully reintegrated with its downtown surroundings.



Figure 76. Urban room No. 3: Maršala Tita interior courtyard aerial photos.

URBAN ROOM NO. 3: MARSALA TITA 34 INTERIOR COURTYARD

Overview

Interior courtyards or atriums from Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian architectural legacies are a common type of intra-block urban void in Sarajevo's downtown and old town. Some of these spaces can be categorised as civic public spaces, due to their public ownership and full accessibility. Others are communal atriums, shared by the inhabitants



of residential urban blocks predominantly found in the central zone of Sarajevo. The original purpose of voids within the urban morphology of these historical areas was to provide sunlight and natural ventilation to residential and public spaces. Because of either vague or non-existent regulations during repeated socio-political transitions, most of these atriums mutated into urban voids with an unclear status in terms of programme, ownership and accessibility. Our analysis of this typology of urban void shows that in most cases they are decaying, and lack spatial continuity and integration with their surroundings. A number of factors, including their architectural qualities, location, general status (as shared, public spaces, on either a civic or communal level), and urban interior-like properties make them suitable for transformation and activation as urban rooms.

One such space is located behind Marsala Tita Street, Sarajevo's most vibrant and best known urban promenade. This urban void sits within the Salom residential building (*Salomova palata*) (Commission to Preserve National Monuments of BiH, 2008), designed by Austro-Hungarian architect Rudolf Tonnies and built in 1912 in Secession style (Figure 75). It consists of three wings, and is five stories high, and with its subsequent additions, the Salom building forms a large composite urban block in downtown Sarajevo. The atrium is accessed by a vaulted passage five-metres wide and eight metres high, beneath a feature balustrade and a frieze that depicts in relief people wearing the urban and rural traditional clothes of all Bosnia and Herzegovina's ethnicities. This atrium has been selected to simulate the intervention strategies and design tools that could be applied to similar typologies of interior courtyards throughout the city.

Site Assessment

The geometric features of this urban void are those of a genuine urban room. The atrium, measuring 14 x 28 metres, falls into the category of small-scale public spaces, while its urban envelope (consisting of four 26-metre-high urban facades) categorises it as an enclosed urban public space (Table 17). The atrium has a single direct access from Marsala Tita Street via a vaulted passage leading inwards to a space enclosed by four sides and open solely to the sky, generating a tranquil, introverted atmosphere. This space is occasionally occupied by vehicles, and turned into a passive parking area, and is seasonally transformed with the activation of two cafe terraces during the summer months. The three residential wings are accessed via three entrances with staircases facing towards the courtyard. The three-winged building is dominantly residential, although the ground floor and parts of the subterranean and upper floors are occupied by spaces with public functions: restaurants,

cafes, art galleries and the headquarters international theatre festival. In the atrium's south-western corner is a decorative though inoperative fountain, dating from the building's construction. This space is typical of the type of residual urban void found in its proximity, which includes other small atriums and passages. The architectural legacy and the memory of the site's former active use as a frequented public space are currently being neglected because it is underused, passive, and lacks the identity it merits.

Table 17. Identification matrix: key attributes of the Marsala Tita interior courtyard. Source: Authors

I. HISTORY					
Medieval	Ottoman	Habsburg	Early Yugoslav	Soc. Yugoslav	Contemporary
II. ATTRIBUTES					
Typology	Scale	Enclosure	Activity	Accessibility	Atmosphere
Civic/Green/Communal/Transport	Small	Semi-enclosed	Passive	Accessible and cond. accessible	Introverted
III. TRANSITIONS					
Socialist-Capitalist	Low-High-tech	Formal-informal	Global-Site-specific	Oriental-Western	

Intervention strategy

By recognising its idiosyncratic architectural values and *genius loci*, the strategies for reactivating this void primarily draw attention to its existing features, reuse the space and its components, and synchronise it with its context. This implies the revitalisation and refurbishment of historical buildings, which have been identified and preserved as national monuments of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Commission to Preserve National Monuments of BiH, 2008). Though the site's current public functions and activities (cafes and restaurants) and culture-related spaces (galleries

and theatre festival offices), are adequate and compatible with the dominantly residential program of the block as a whole, their present-day identity and appearance could be redefined and accentuated to increase its urban vitality. The intervention strategy therefore proposes a unified and subtle approach to the redesign of the cafe terraces, in close keeping with the space's architectural peculiarity. The second strategic objective of linking the site with its surroundings and making it more visible and legible from the outside, could be attained by the unification of the space, and the introduction of unique design features (such as a pavement, or other design leitmotifs) visible from Marsala Tita and Kulovica Streets. Another action proposed in the same strategy considers adding a new access point from the western side in the form of a new public passage from Kulovica Street. Both accesses could then be regarded as urban gates, an idea that could be further articulated with customised lighting. The gradation of spatial sequences, starting from these urban gates, would continue through the urban passages, and culminate in the atrium, which would be articulated as an urban room. This could be achieved by introducing the urban-interior element of an urban ceiling, consisting of special pendant light fixtures and accompanied by temporary art installations, which would periodically animate the space. The presence of galleries and other cultural institutions could be further enhanced by connecting the atrium with the Youth Theatre Square through the art gallery on the ground floor. The conversion of this site into an intimate urban room requires a subtle reading of the history of its patterns of previous use, a vision that fuses an artistic and cultural programme with the spaces and elements that provide opportunities for easy social interaction, and the tools to achieve this.

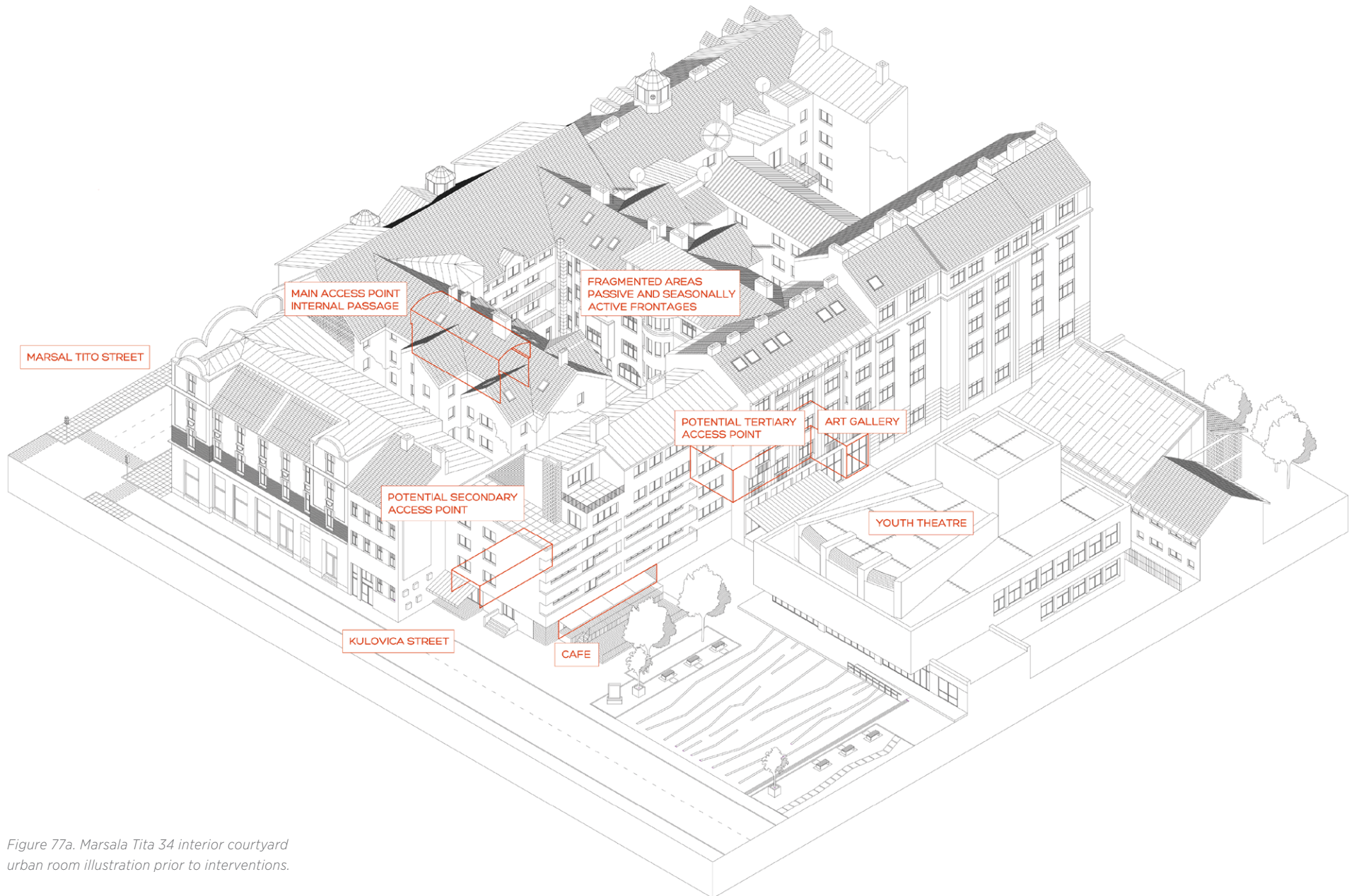


Figure 77a. Marsala Tita 34 interior courtyard urban room illustration prior to interventions.

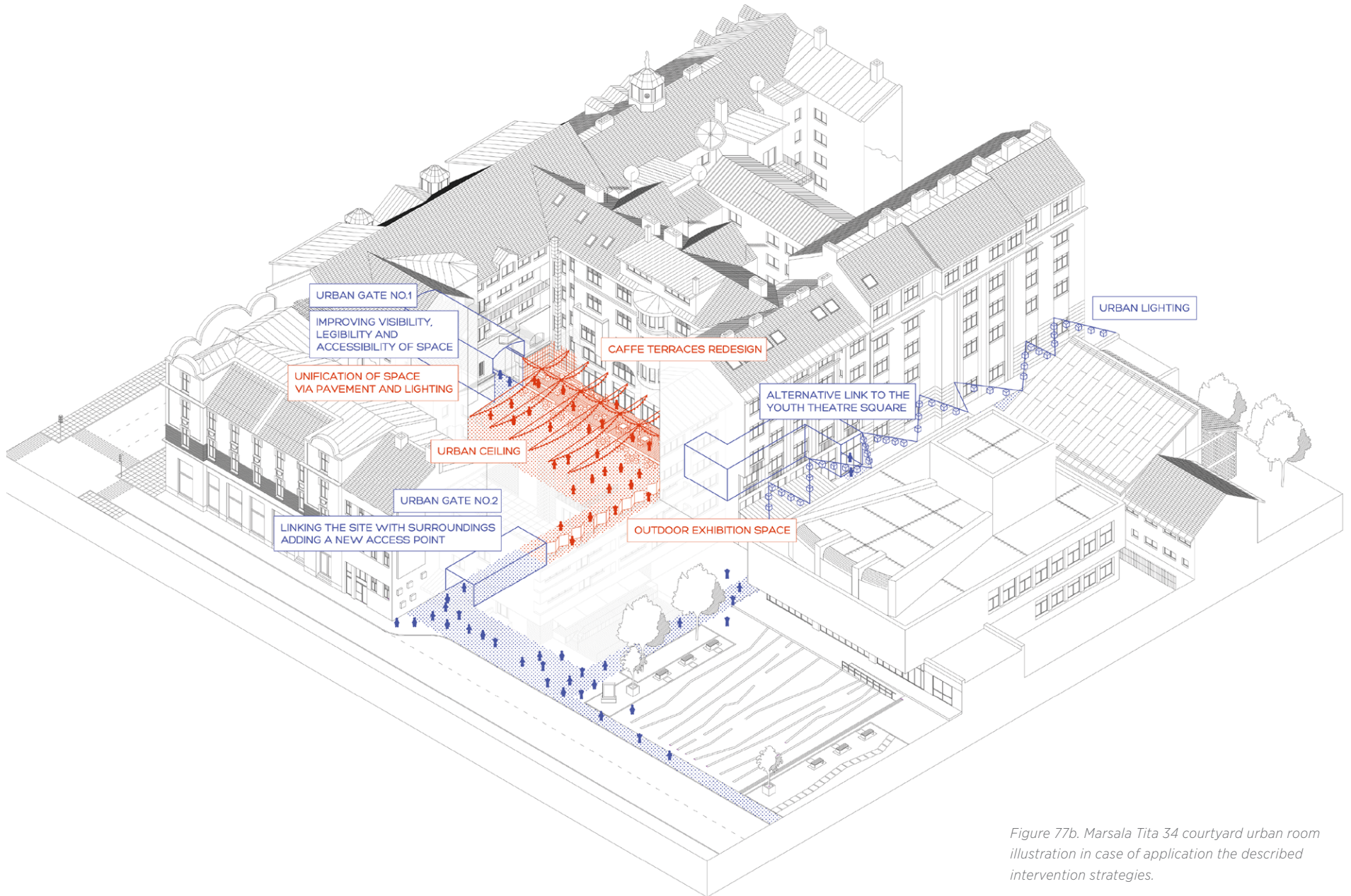


Figure 77b. Marsala Tita 34 courtyard urban room illustration in case of application the described intervention strategies.



Figure 78. Urban room No. 4: Radiceva Street aerial photos. Top: The view of the street towards the Festina Lente bridge and the Academy of Fine Arts, together with the adjacent building blocks and interior courtyards; Right: Focused view on the central segment of the street resembling the urban configuration of a plaza.

URBAN ROOM NO. 4: RADICEVA STREET

Overview

Radiceva street is a north-south oriented street in the centre of Sarajevo, connecting the Miljacka riverbank of Obala Kulina bana and the main urban route of Marsala Tita Street. With an urban form dating from 1935 (Bejtic, 1973), Radiceva Street is situated in the downtown area, near major institutional, public and commercial facilities. It is demarcated by



two large blocks, consisting mainly of residential buildings to the west, and judicial institutions to the east. Internal passages link this street with the interior courtyards of adjacent blocks. These courtyards are currently used as street-level parking areas and individual enclosed garages. Apart from the buildings on its corner blocks, the vertical enclosure of the street is defined by modernist facades from the pre- and post-WWII periods. The street profile consists of two traffic lanes, one parallel parking lane, and lateral green and pedestrian areas accompanied by cafe terraces. The positions of two recessed residential buildings increase the width of the central segment of the street, creating an area of 53 x 75 metres, in a plaza-like urban configuration. The distinctive visual feature of this urban area is its view towards the Festina Lente bridge, and the Academy of Fine Arts.

Site Assessment

Typologically, the assessed urban area is a fusion of civic public spaces, with a street, a plaza, and green areas. It can be regarded as an urban park, indirectly linked to the interior courtyards of adjacent buildings, which are communal spaces. Since its range does not exceed 100 metres, the site is categorised as a medium-sized public space. Its urban form of a disassembled block can be interpreted as semi-open, as opposed to the enclosed spaces of neighbouring interior courtyards. Onsite observations indicate that although Radiceva Street is continuously active and accessible, it is characterised by a relatively introverted urban atmosphere (Table 18).

Because of its low traffic frequency, north-south orientation and abundance of green infrastructure, this urban zone is a quiet urban oasis in Sarajevo’s downtown, only 100 metres from the city’s busiest streets and squares. The site’s existing functions and activities are mostly culture-related, such as literature festivals and art events. These are accompanied by cafes and services, most of which act as third places. Radiceva Street is a particularly interesting case for the simulation of intervention tools and strategies that could enhance its potential and convert it into an urban room.

Table 18. Identification matrix: key attributes of the Radiceva Street area. Source: Authors

I. HISTORY					
Medieval	Ottoman	Habsburg	Early Yugoslav	Soc. Yugoslav	Contemporary
II. ATTRIBUTES					
Typology	Scale	Enclosure	Activity	Accessibility	Atmosphere
Civic/Green/Communal/Transport	Small	Semi-enclosed	Passive	Accessible and cond. accessible	Introverted
III. TRANSITIONS					
Socialist-Capitalist	Low-High-tech	Formal-informal	Global-Site-specific	Oriental-Western	

Intervention strategy

The proposed intervention strategies aim to reinforce the site's existing features, such as its identity and its culture-related program, and to preserve and amplify its prevailing vibrant yet intimate urban atmosphere. The proposed programmatic intervention strategy strives to attain a balance between existing and new functions, through the addition of art installations that reflect the site's periodic artistic events and festivals. These functions could be reinforced with interactive games and smart urban tools that measure urban activity or reinforce sustainability, while simultaneously instigating social interaction. The site's traffic could be reduced to service and transit vehicles at predetermined times of the day, making it a pedestrian street and bicycle lane outside those hours. The insertion of urban-interior elements such as urban furniture and lighting accompanied by unifying pedestrian zones would reinforce the concept of an open and sociable urban room in Sarajevo's downtown. Our assessment of the site's existing conditions shows a high level of activity outside the street's cafes, restaurants and bars. The central green area, while relatively undefined and inactive, echoes the fusion of an urban park and plaza. Further observations indicate the site's general lack of clear visibility, legibility and accessibility, which could be amended by re-establishing the key urban design principles of design hierarchy and visual focal points. Additions to the site could include sustainably designed pop-up shops and cafes to enrich the main north-south axis and introduce transversal connections through the interior passages that lead to adjacent atria. These spaces are mostly used by the local community and can be regarded as communal spaces due to their higher degree of enclosure and intimacy. The interior courtyard to the west of Radiceva Street could be transformed into an underground parking facility that adds green infrastructure and a multipurpose sports court to the roof plane of the existing street-level parking. The atrium in the

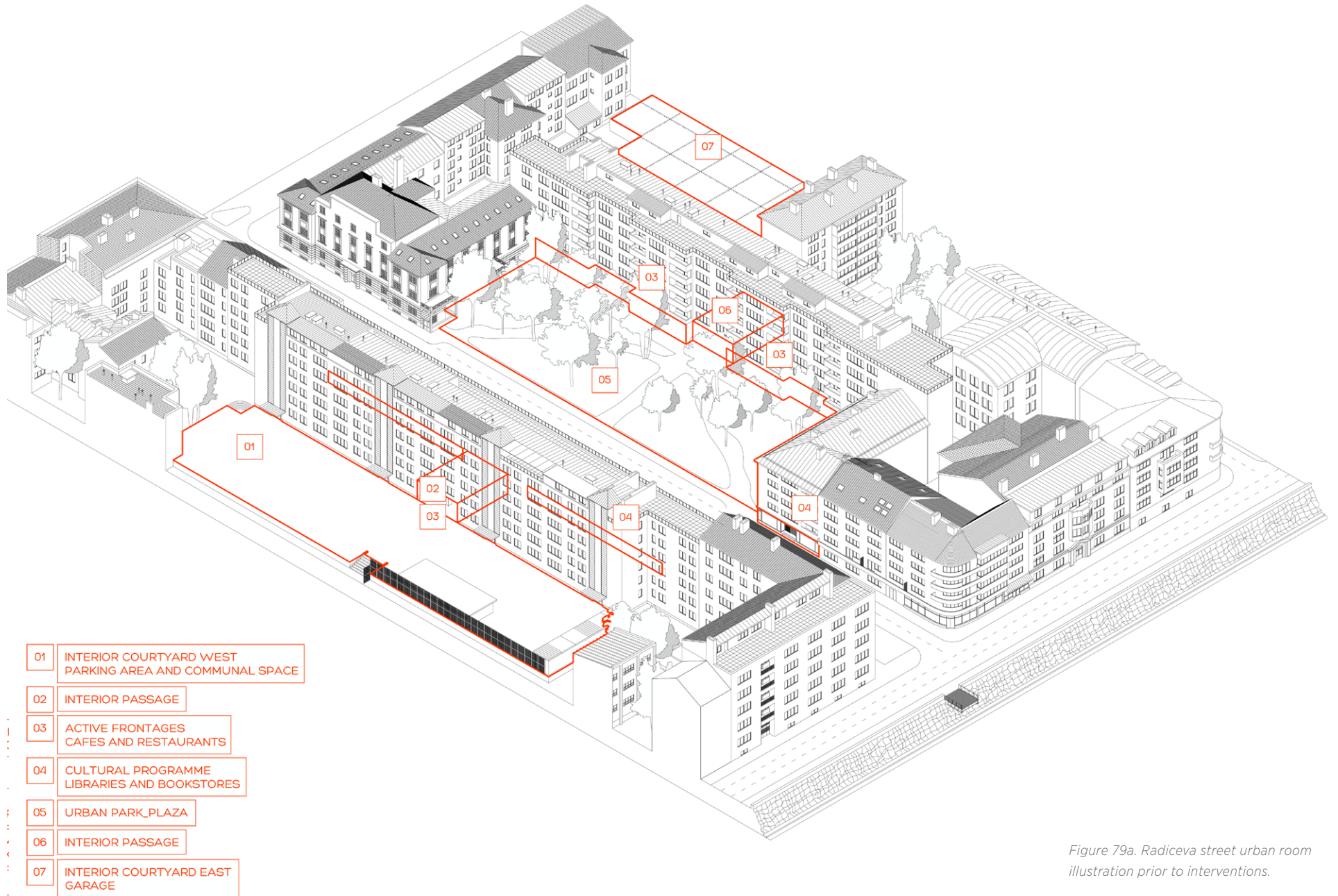


Figure 79a. Radiceva street urban room illustration prior to interventions.

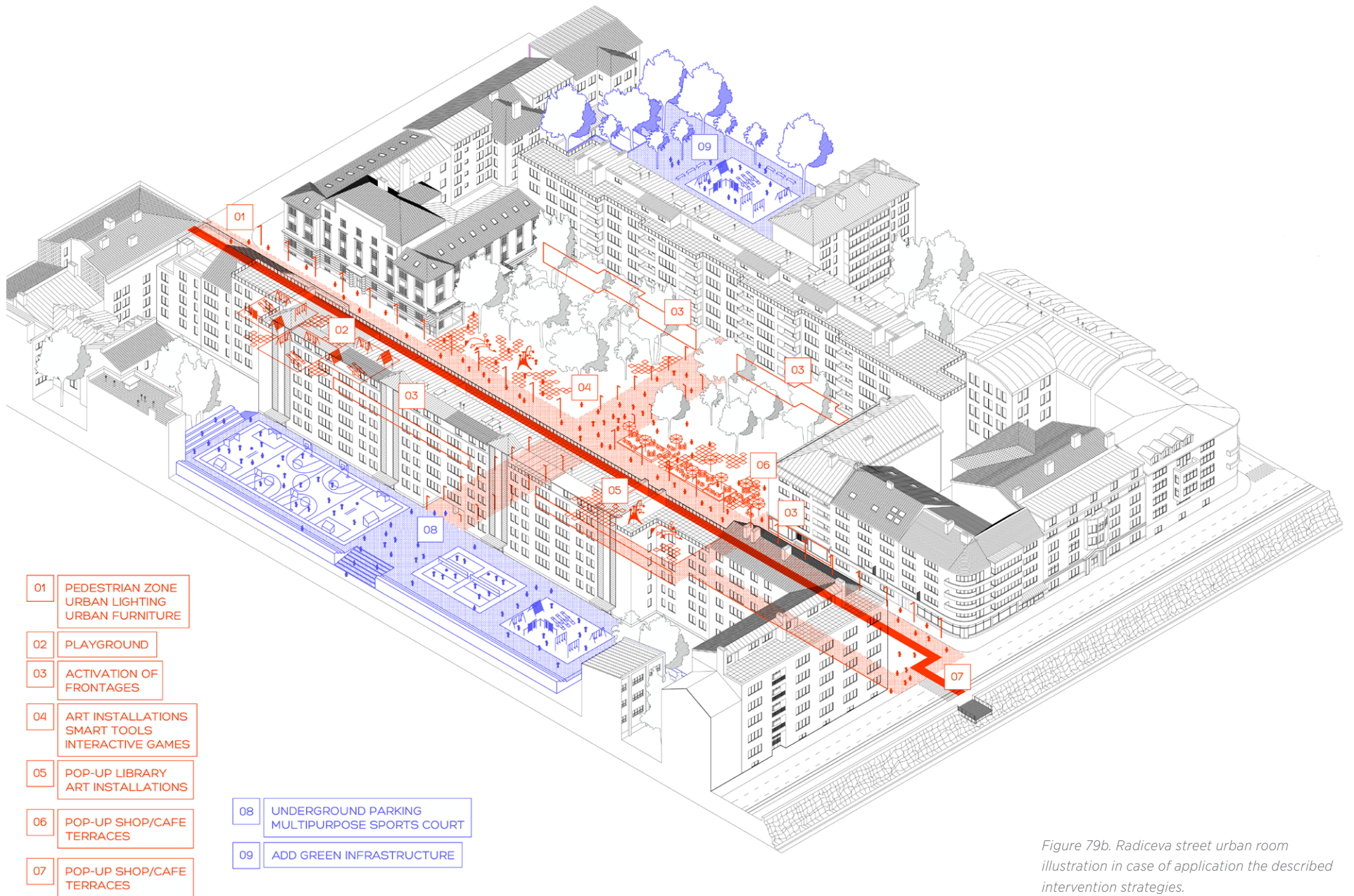


Figure 79b. Radiceva street urban room illustration in case of application the described intervention strategies.

eastern block could be enriched through the addition of green elements and a small playground on top of the existing garage. The intervention measures proposed for this site are subtle and minimal, and require a high level of design sensibility and close collaboration between the municipality (representing the public sector), commercial facilities and services (the private sector), artists and festival organisers, and local residents and other inhabitants of Sarajevo, the latter being the most important element of the site's social infrastructure.



Figure 80. Urban room No. 5: Grbavica Marketplace aerial photos. Left: The view over residential pavilions and green areas towards the market place; Right: Aerial view of the Grbavička street, a congested pathway separating the marketplace and the green areas.

URBAN ROOM NO. 5: GRBAVICA MARKETPLACE

Overview

Grbavica Marketplace (Figure 85) is in the municipality of Novo Sarajevo, an area of residential neighbourhoods from the socialist modernist period. The marketplace is a key gravitational area for the local community of residential quarter Grbavica 1, which has a population of 10,000. It consists of a 1200 m² covered market, and various commercial facilities dispersed throughout the ground floors of residential buildings and in one-storey



provisional buildings, which have emerged since the end of the 1990s war. These unplanned structures from the city's most recent socio-political transition caused the space to fragment into multiple urban voids and discontinuities. The scope of the analysed area includes the wider area of the marketplace and the adjacent green areas between four residential pavilions typical of the 1950s Socialist Yugoslav period. The total site measures approximately 2.5 hectares, comprising of built structures in a compound that embraces the marketplace with its intra-block green areas and interior Grbavicka Street. Some significant public areas within a 1km range are two primary schools, the University of Sarajevo's Forestry Faculty, a youth centre, a mosque, and Wilson's Promenade. Apart from one smaller communal commercial centre and other shops and cafes dispersed in the vicinity, the wider area of the Grbavica Marketplace is a major hub of public activity for the entire neighbourhood.

Site Assessment

According to our typological categorisation, Grbavica Marketplace is a communal public space. Since the maximum distances between referential physical structures and pathways do not exceed 100 metres, it is also a medium-scale public space. The geometric layout of the site is complex, due to the multiple physical obstacles obstructing its pedestrian flow, and highly congested stationary traffic. Consequently, the attributes of urban activity, accessibility and atmosphere in this site vary (Table 19). Some segments, such as the open-air and covered market areas, are highly active, accessible and extroverted, while others, such as the intra-block green areas, are inactive, partially inaccessible and highly introverted. The overall site is swamped by urban voids, physical barriers and parking areas, interrupting pedestrian flows and views. On the other hand, assessment of the site has shown its strengths: its favourable location as a gravitational point in the wider context, its unique variety of public programmes, and the potential of its underused and undefined adjacent green areas.

Table 19. Identification matrix: key attributes of the Grbavica Marketplace wider area. Source: Authors

I. HISTORY					
Medieval	Ottoman	Habsburg	Early Yugoslav	Soc. Yugoslav	Contemporary
II. ATTRIBUTES					
Typology	Scale	Enclosure	Activity	Accessibility	Atmosphere
Civic/Green/Communal/Transport	Small	Semi-enclosed	Passive	Accessible and cond. accessible	Introverted
III. TRANSITIONS					
Socialist-Capitalist	Low-High-tech	Formal-informal	Global-Site-specific	Oriental-Western	

Intervention strategy

The transformation of this site into an extended living room for the community of Grbavica can be achieved through programmatic improvements, the development of its urban identity (such as its spirit and urban resilience), the enhancement of its design criteria, and the engagement of its public, private and community sectors. Through the use of urban-interior design tools, this area could be transformed into a communal plaza with an accompanying park. The proposed intervention strategy is based on the idea of establishing continuity and uninterrupted spatial flows by connecting disparate urban voids. This could be achieved by enhancing existing programmes (such as the open and enclosed markets, which have generated vibrant urban life for decades) while eliminating or redefining physical obstacles, such as unplanned structures and copious parking areas. Underground parking could be built, which would enable the observed branch of Grbavicka Street to be closed to traffic. Vehicles could be redirected 100 metres to Hamdije Cemerlica and Zagrebacka Streets. This programmatic intervention strategy would entail a traffic adjustment that only allowed service access, and a substitution of the disparate commercial facilities with pop-up shops, cafes and bars, to enable unification of the pedestrian zone. Opposite the marketplace are intra-block green areas, hidden behind one-storey commercial structures. If their geometric properties and layout were refined, these wonderful though inactive green spaces could be reunited with the prospective plaza to provide new views and programmes. The urban-interior tools proposed for this space include urban gardening and the installation of site-appropriate playgrounds and youth/recreational areas. Our intervention strategies envision this site as an ensemble of multiple urban rooms, attracting all generations of people who live in the neighbourhood. Some of the tools we recommend (such as pop-up shops in the market and graffiti art and a skate park in the urban

void behind it) are inspired by social and cultural events that have taken place in the area.⁶⁵ These civic activities are a basis for the application of collaborative strategies, such as tactical urbanism and iterative place-making. The prospective atmosphere of the urban room of Grbavica Marketplace could be created through the use of urban-interior tools, such as emphasising the visibility, legibility and accessibility of the space, along with the gradation of sequences, and the installation of urban furniture and lighting. The methodology of urban acupuncture can be applied at the micro level (by pinpointing the highlighted areas/rooms), and at the macro level (by multiplying these tools in surrounding areas), to generate the transformation of the wider Grbavica neighbourhood.

65 The *Dobre kote* group of young activists organised an open-air youth art exhibition in 2015, with the help of the local community. In 2019, series of socio-cultural gourmet events were organised at the Grbavica Marketplace under the banner of *Time Out Grbavica*.

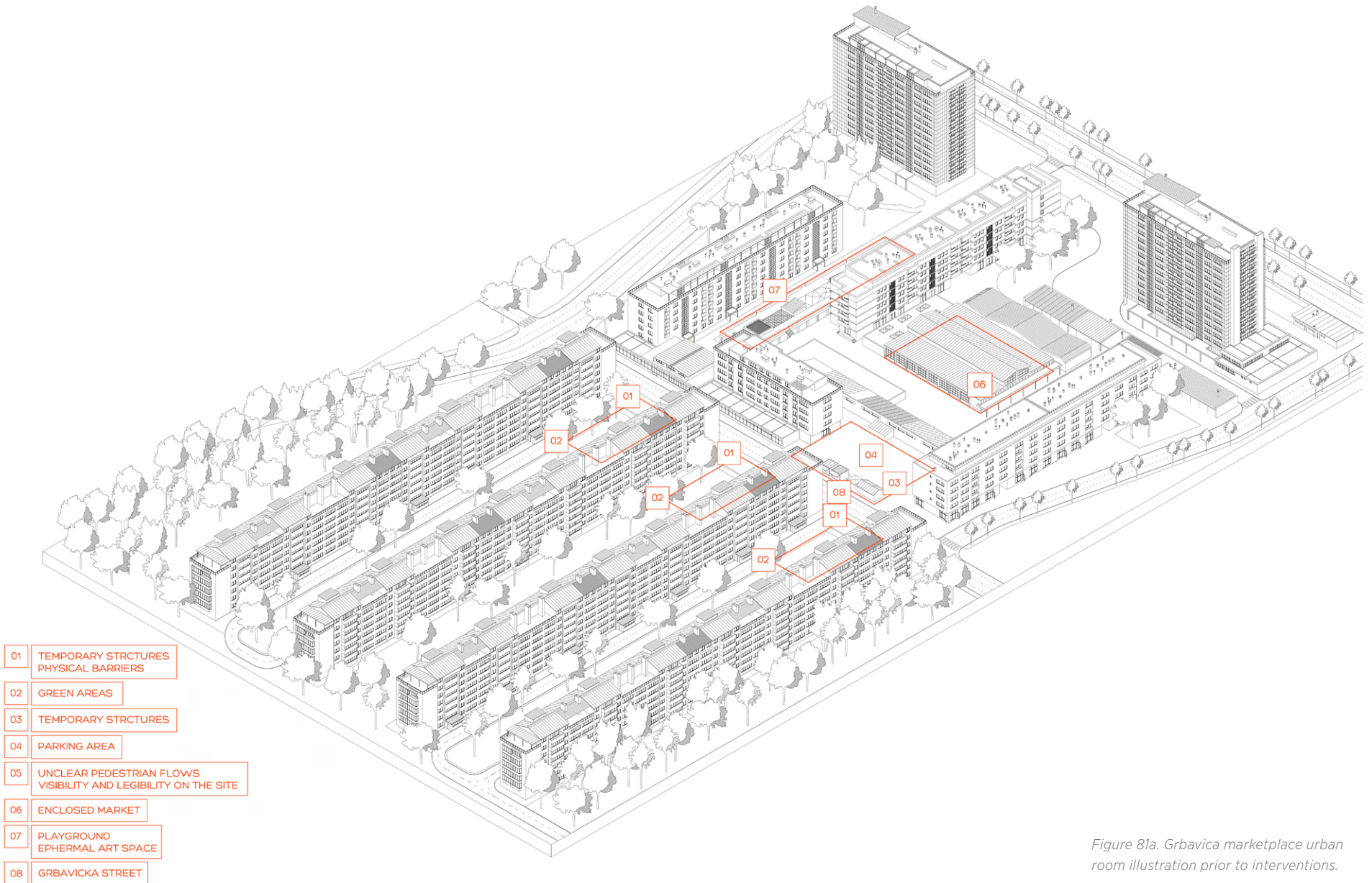


Figure 81a. Grbavica marketplace urban room illustration prior to interventions.

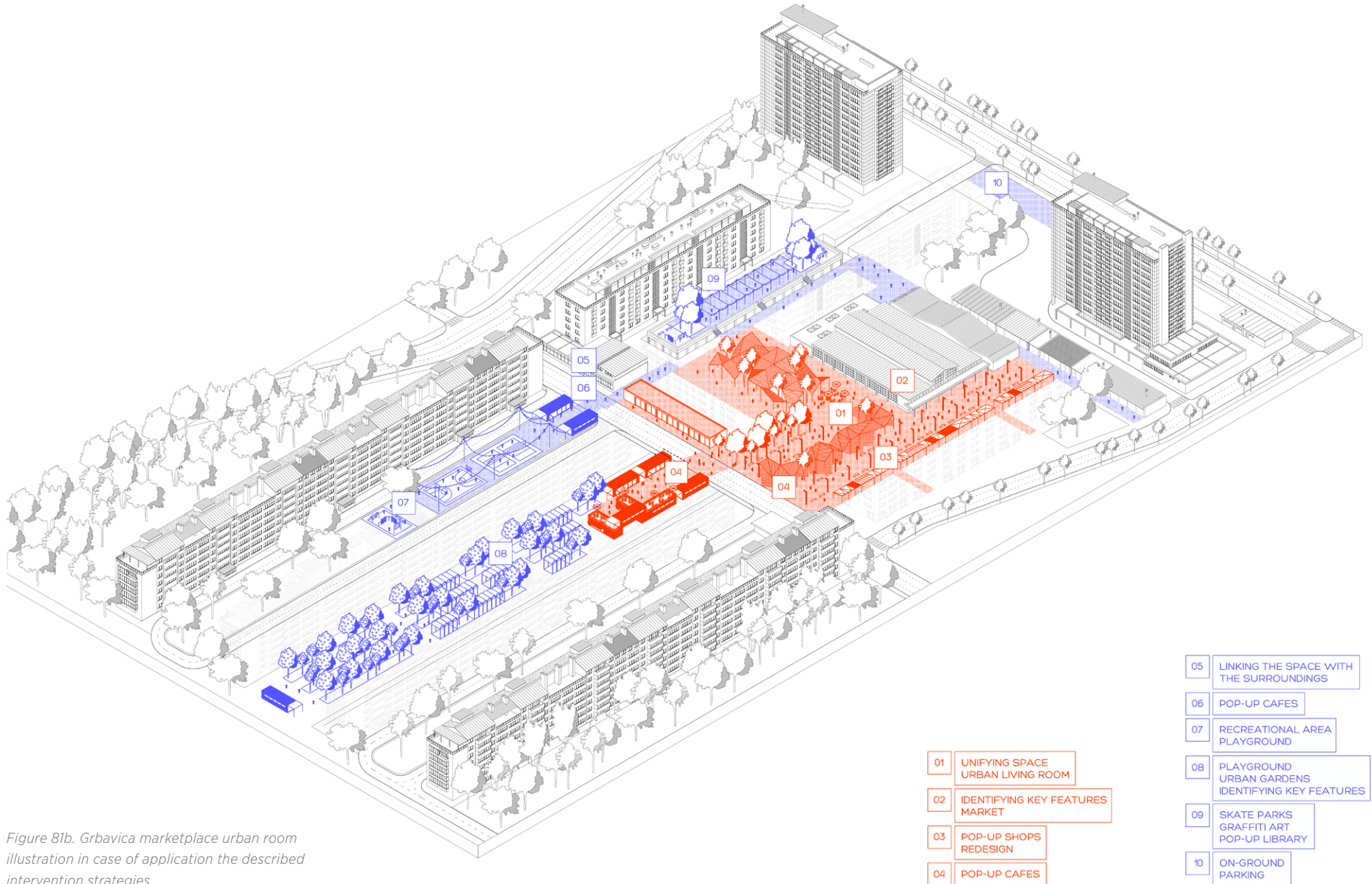


Figure 81b. Grbavica marketplace urban room illustration in case of application the described intervention strategies.

- | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|----|---|
| 01 | UNIFYING SPACE
URBAN LIVING ROOM | 05 | LINKING THE SPACE WITH
THE SURROUNDINGS |
| 02 | IDENTIFYING KEY FEATURES
MARKET | 06 | POP-UP CAFES |
| 03 | POP-UP SHOPS
REDESIGN | 07 | RECREATIONAL AREA
PLAYGROUND |
| 04 | POP-UP CAFES | 08 | PLAYGROUND
URBAN GARDENS
IDENTIFYING KEY FEATURES |
| | | 09 | SKATE PARKS
GRAFFITI ART
POP-UP LIBRARY |
| | | 10 | ON-GROUND
PARKING |



VI
CONCLUSIONS



I am not asking for miracles or visions but strength to get through the day. Give me the wit to understand at the right moment who and what really matter to me. Help me to choose how I portion out my time.

Give me the sense of what is essential and what comes second. I ask for strength, self-discipline and moderation so that I don't get swept up in life but can order my day wisely.

Help me to face up to the immediate as best I can and to recognize the present hour as the most important. Let me recognize that life is accompanied by difficulties and setbacks, which are chances to grow and mature.

Make of me a man capable of joining those who have gone below. Give me not what I want but what I need. Teach me the art of small steps.

Antoine de Saint-Exupéry

VI. CONCLUSIONS

TRANSITIONS

This research embarked on a historical inquiry into how recurrent transitions have affected socio-cultural identity and public spaces in Sarajevo. The impact of the periodic socio-political changes on the mind-sets of citizens is clearly legible in the character of the city's public spaces. Historical exploration of the early East-West political and cultural transition revealed that the Ottoman period favoured intimacy of private life over the collectivity of public life. Conversely, the Habsburg era featured representative civic buildings and expansive urban development in the Western style. A major architectural paradigm shift occurred in the Early Yugoslav period, which yielded the first progressive modernist buildings in Sarajevo. Though the following transition was equally radical (both were triggered by world wars), the Socialist Yugoslav regime introduced novelty in the public realm. Its new spaces epitomised the socialist-modernist urban utopia and national unity, which simultaneously enabled the system to supervise socio-cultural life in Yugoslavian cities. Half a century later, Sarajevo was struck by the 1990s war, uricide and a three-year state of dystopia, and as a result the city endured a prolonged post-socialist, post-conflict and postmodern transition. All these events accustomed its citizens to transiency, which has resonated in their sense of the collective spirit and their attitude towards shared values. A collective identity crisis is noticeably embodied in Sarajevo's public spaces, which, like its socio-cultural identity, are in a permanent state of in-betweenness: a condition between *before* and *after*, *here* and

there, public and private, and us and them. The transitory character of the socio-cultural context is projected in the transitory character of public spaces. On one hand, these circumstances contribute to a powerful and unique cultural image of Sarajevo on a global level. The historical timeline of the city's evolution is clearly legible in its urban-morphological alignment, where public architectural typologies of various socio-cultural provenience stand side-by-side. On the other hand, these radical shifts have created spatio-physical and mental thresholds, gaps and grey-areas, which result in a lack of cultural and urban continuity.

URBAN MAPPING

After researching the genesis of public spaces in Sarajevo, the study concentrated on their contemporary status and identity. Mapping was used to determine the distribution logic of public spaces within the city, while indicating six socio-spatial attributes: typology, scale, enclosure, accessibility and urban atmosphere. The superimposition of maps revealed a particular category of small- to medium-sized public spaces that correspond to the general definition of urban voids. These spaces have vaguely defined or undefined functions and a typically semi-open and semi-enclosed configuration. They are seasonally active and conditionally accessible, semi-private and semi-public spaces, at the threshold of interior and exterior space. The sense of *in-betweenness* inherent in these urban voids was an intriguing and stimulating research and design topic in the context of the urban regeneration of public spaces in Sarajevo.

IN-BETWEENNESS

The topic of transiency, or the state of *in-betweenness*, as a spatial, socio-cultural and temporal condition of public spaces in Sarajevo was further pursued to determine whether this condition was solely an obstacle, or whether it could be an opportunity for future development. The study of good practice and successful urban transformation projects has shown that even radical cases of socio-economic and technological transitions and polarised approaches (such as formal vs informal, global vs site-specific and East vs West) can yield new values and instigate progress. The translation of these principles to public spaces in Sarajevo could contribute to a paradigm shift in the perception of their *status of in-betweenness*, from accepting the status-quo to launching an integrative, inclusive and transformative force.

URBAN VOIDS

The urban voids of Sarajevo were designated as the principal research and design intervention target. Looking beyond their most common features – their inherent emptiness, instability, confusion and indeterminacy – the focus of the research was instead their promise, possibilities and expectations (de Sola Morales, 2003), and the potential role of urban voids to trigger wider urban transformation and development. Similar to the Aikido principle of using the force of the attack to neutralise the attacker, it is the ambiguity, transiency and *in-betweenness* of urban voids that are key to their potential transformative force.

URBAN ROOMS

Our acquired awareness of the ambiguities of interior and exterior, private and public, and domesticity and collectivity as opportunities for the transformation of urban voids allowed us to formulate our theory of urban rooms. The subsequent research revolved around the subject of the transformation of urban voids into urban rooms. In summary:

- Urban rooms are spatially contained urban spaces, comparable in certain features to interior spaces;
- Urban rooms are simultaneously private and public. Because of their private-public ambiguity, they simultaneously support both the individualism and collective identities;
- An urban room can be a square or street that feels like a room. It is a space that evokes a sense of domesticity, and incites social cohesion between the members of a community, similar to the cohesion of family members in a home;
- Urban rooms are the desired outcome of the transformation of urban voids, and are a model of reactivated, vibrant public spaces.

INTERVENTION STRATEGIES

Urban voids in the city of Sarajevo (our research and intervention target) require an alternative approach to traditional top-down urban planning methods. Our proposed methodological hybrid of strategies includes low-cost, small-scale, permanent or temporary interventions, such as urban acupuncture, place-making, urban recycling and other collaborative models. These micro-interventions can create a ripple

effect of transformations in the wider urban area, depending on the interconnections between the selected urban voids. Additionally, the conversion of Sarajevo's urban voids into urban rooms should be underpinned by the idea of recreating the meaning or notion of a locality while considering its memory, and the physical, cultural, and social identities that define it.

INTERVENTION SIMULATIONS

Our research methodology combined top-down and bottom-up approaches. The former encompassed an overall study of public spaces in Sarajevo, in the form of a historical overview, urban mapping and an analysis. Once the intervention targets (urban voids) were identified, they were subjected to bottom-up scrutiny. Five case studies were selected: urban voids in the city of Sarajevo with the potential to become urban rooms. Each site was assessed according to the methodological structure provided in previous chapters, and the proposed interventions were structured in three levels: scope, strategy and tools. These simulations highlight the synergetic link between the programme and formal identity of urban rooms, achieved by urban design principles. They represent the translation of the program into tangible objects, but still adhere to essential design values, such as site-specificity and urban resilience, to reach a solution through collaboration between the community and public and private sectors. One of the key intervention tools proposed for the conversion of urban voids into urban rooms is a new dualistic approach, based on a synergy of the disciplines of urban planning and interior design. This approach encompasses urban-interior elements, principles and methods, with the objective of creating an interior urban atmosphere: an urban room.



An isometric architectural drawing of a city street scene, rendered in a light orange color. The scene features several multi-story buildings with various rooflines, including gabled and arched structures. A prominent building in the foreground has a curved facade and a series of windows. To the left, there are stylized trees. In the foreground, a road with lane markings and a sidewalk with small human figures is visible. The overall style is clean and modern, with a focus on geometric forms and perspective.

VII SUMMARY

VII. SUMMARY

This book addresses the contested identity of public spaces in Sarajevo on several levels. A historical overview of the genesis of public spaces and the mapping of their essential socio-spatial attributes yielded the category of urban voids: critical areas for potentially widespread urban regeneration in the city of Sarajevo. We identified their underlying condition of transiency or in-betweenness as one of their key features, in both physical and non-physical terms. This condition reflects the city's recurrent historical transitions and its socio-cultural context; urban voids are the physical evidence of Sarajevo's urban discontinuities. Nevertheless, although they are characterised as vague, unstable, empty and indeterminate, their ambiguity contains the potential energy for their transformation into active, vibrant rooms of the city. Urban rooms are spatially contained urban spaces, which are simultaneously interior and exterior, and private and public. They provide a sense of domesticity as well as common ground for community building and social cohesion. Urban life occurs inside the rooms of the city. Because of its topographic layout, urban scale and morphology, cultural legacy and introverted urban and architectural concepts, the city of Sarajevo contains a potential network of urban rooms to be activated and regenerated. These include its many neglected public spaces, its intra-block urban voids from Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian times, and its fragmented modernist urban voids, all of which may be converted to urban rooms. The emergence of a new perspective on urban rooms, however, requires a paradigm shift, and a new planning and intervention strategy. The implicit blurring between interior and urban spaces encompassed by the notion of urban rooms suggests a need to upgrade the usual methodological approach by merging interior and urban design practice as two relational and compatible disciplines, contrary to the traditional bias. This new dualistic

urban-interior intervention strategy combines urban-interior elements, principles and methods, with the objective of creating the atmosphere of an urban room. Ultimately, this new perspective shifts the focus from traditional, institutional top-down city planning, to a correlation between people, urban public spaces, and their context. The simulated intervention strategies presented in the case studies of five urban rooms in Sarajevo show that, as in interior design, a human-centred and collaborative approach to urban design means making the city from the inside out.

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This book is dedicated to exploring the multiform relations between public space and interior design through the previous experiences and researches developed by the authors. Public space had a strategic role in the process of transformation of the city, in particular in the case study of Sarajevo that was considered in this book through historical, urban and socio-cultural perspective. As urban voids are recognized by the authors as key research target, urban rooms are identified as the regenerated counterpart of the same urban voids in the city.

Alessandro Massarente, PhD

This book is a very concise elaboration on some important urban public spaces in Sarajevo. It is grounded on very good historical evidence, description and architectural handcraft, in understanding the great variety of influence, which trigger and steer urban development. This the authors use to come up, with a not less complex, but easy comprehensible elaboration of possible interventions. The book is also filled with references of historical and contemporary architectural practice and theory. Additionally, is the book an extensive documentation of a relevant, often neglected, complex discussion in urban development and its possible forms.

Markus Schwai, PhD



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